

## Notes

### Introduction

1. Rolf Goebel uses the phrase “textual traveler” in relation to Kafka in his *Constructing China: Kafka's Orientalist Discourse* (Columbia, SC, 1997), 1. In this sense, Kafka resembles Kant, who barely left his home town and never left Prussia yet, in the polemical formulation of Thomas de Quincey, read *no* books other than those describing voyages and travels (*The Works of Thomas de Quincey* [Cambridge, 1877], 9:450). Cf. Willi Goetschel, *Constituting Critique: Kant's Writing as Critical Praxis*, trans. Eric Schwab (Durham, NC, 1994), 31, 193n43.
2. Barthes refers to this “releas[ing]” detail as the “biographème” and gives as examples “Sade’s white muff, Fourier’s flowerpots, Ignatius’ Spanish eyes” in Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, trans. Richard Miller (New York, 1976), 9.
3. “The Second Home” is the title of the “most important” chapter of the Schaffstein book that seemed to Kafka to be “about myself” (*LF* 532; *BF* 738), Oskar Weber’s *Der Zuckerbaron: Schicksale eines ehemaligen deutschen Offiziers in Südamerika* (Cologne, 1914), 83.
4. This cousin was traveling through Prague in 1906. Kafka finds him intriguing and finally persuades him to stay on another day so that Kafka can introduce him to Brod (*L* 22; *B* 34).
5. Cited in Max Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography* (New York, 1995), 119.
6. According to Brod, Kafka often quoted Flaubert’s sentence, “ils sont dans le vrai” (Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 98).
7. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 100.
8. Brod’s afterword to the first, 1927 edition of Kafka’s *Amerika* (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), 260.
9. Laurence Rickels, “Writing as Travel and Travail: *Der Prozess* and ‘In der Strafkolonie,’” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America*, 5 (1985): 32. Despite the lack of a comprehensive analysis, sporadic references to travel and the traveler figure do appear throughout the secondary literature. I will address these at the pertinent points in my argument.
10. Oskar Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 83.
11. Waldemar Bonsels, *Indienfahrt*, in *Wanderschaft zwischen Staub und Sternen: Gesamtwerk* (Munich, 1980), 3:44.

12. Allen Thiher has noticed a similar relation between travel and writing in the stories from Kafka's *Nachlaß*: "Here we might lay hold of one of the basic rules of Kafka's textual games: forward motion generates the spaces to be filled by that motion. This motion, moreover, points to the power of mere going to generate the metaphors that in turn appear to valorize the going itself, whatever be the goal of this movement" (Allen Thiher, "The *Nachlaß*: Metaphors of *Gehen* and Ways Toward Science," in *Kafka and the Contemporary Critical Performance*, ed. Alan Udoff [Bloomington, 1987], 258).
13. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis, 1986), 35; Charles Grivel, "Travel Writing," *Materialities of Communication*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht and K. Ludwig Pfeiffer (Stanford, 1994), 254 (Grivel's emphasis).
14. Scott Spector argues that "Zionism" and "marriage" converge in Kafka's fantasy during his correspondence with Felice Bauer (Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* [Berkeley, 2000], 143).
15. One of the most brilliant analyses of Kafka's use of the postal system *against* Felice remains Michel Cournot's "Toi qui as de si grandes dents . . .," *Le Nouvel Observateur* (April 17, 1972), 59–61. Other discussions of letters, travel, and technology appear in my chapter six, "The Traffic of Writing."
16. Grivel, "Travel Writing," 254.
17. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) Freud first refers to travel as a dream-symbol for death: death is the "undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveler returns." Seventeen years later, in the *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, Freud specifies that "dying is replaced in dreams by *departure*, by a *train journey*." He refers to the colloquial notion of death as "the last journey" as well as to the ancient rituals in which one always *journeys* to the "land of the dead": in Ancient Egypt, for instance, *The Book of the Dead* "was supplied to the mummy like a Baedeker to take with him on the journey." See *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey (London, [1953–74]), 4:255 and 15:153, 161.
18. This tendency to identify Kafka's work with a cramped, static existence within Prague began with the excellent pioneering work of Klaus Wagenbach, who wrote in 1958 what remains the most influential critical biography of Kafka's early years. As Wagenbach points out, Kafka was born "early enough to experience the labyrinth of the former [Prague] ghetto, the Josefstadt. The house names are indicative of the ghostly life that reigned in its narrow, tortuous streets until the turn of the century: 'The Mouse Hole,' 'The Left Glove,' 'Death,' 'Gingersnap,' and most curiously of all, a little house called 'No Time.'" Wagenbach insists on a connection between this cramped world and Kafka's writing: "For Kafka, the 'unnatural isolation' of Prague had serious consequences. In his work the city limits are almost never crossed; nature seldom emerges and then only in a sketchy

- fashion. In this ‘lifeless’ sphere, the experience of things becomes much more intense and painful” (Klaus Wagenbach, *Franz Kafka: Eine Biographie seiner Jugend, 1883–1912* [Bern, 1958], 68, 93; the translation [slightly revised] is from Wagenbach, “Prague at the Turn of the Century,” in *Reading Kafka: Prague, Politics, and the Fin de Siècle*, ed. Mark Anderson [New York, 1989], 27, 48).
19. There is now a travel guide available for literary pilgrims: Wagenbach’s *Kafkas Prag: Ein Reiselesebuch* (Berlin, 1993) (translated into English as *Kafka’s Prague: A Travel Reader* [Woodstock, N.Y., 1996]). Among the other writers arguing that the effect of the Kafkaesque depends on the restrictive topography of Prague (past and present) are Kafka’s Prague contemporary, Pavel Eisner, and Kafka’s Prague descendant, Milan Kundera (Pavel Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague* [New York, 1950]; Milan Kundera, “Somewhere Beyond,” *Cross-Currents* 3 [1984]: 61–70).
  20. Lukács devalues Kafka’s work from a Marxist perspective as a prototypically “sick,” politically “static” modernism (as opposed to Thomas Mann’s “healthy,” “progressive” social realism). Picking up on Lukács’ metaphor of motion, I demonstrate throughout this book that, although Kafka’s fictions are not “progressive,” they are nonetheless not “static.” Rather, Kafka offer us the motion of “eluding”: escaping pre-scribed itineraries, discovering ways off of beaten discursive paths. For more on the stakes involved in “eluding,” see especially my chapters four and five (Georg Lukács, “Franz Kafka oder Thomas Mann?,” in *Wider den Mißverständenen Realismus* [Hamburg, 1958], 86, 90). For the Marxist opposition to Lukács’ views on Kafka, see Theodor Adorno’s various remarks on Kafka, most concentrated in “Notes on Kafka,” in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, MA, 1981), 243–71.
  21. As Rudy Koshar points out, the nineteenth century gave rise to modern tourism for a number of reasons but most notably because of the development of the railroad and because capitalism was now “unleashed” (leading to an unheard-of “capital accumulation” that created “both the necessity and the means for innovative leisure practices”) (Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* [New York, 2000], 2–3). I would add to this list the unprecedented colonial expansion of the nineteenth century: by the final third of the nineteenth century, virtually the entire world was under European dominance and thus open to tourism. Koshar offers an excellent introduction to the vast literature on travel and tourism (1–18). I would like specifically to mention Dean MacCannell’s groundbreaking sociological study, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1976) (to be discussed in chapter one) and James Buzard’s in-depth discussion of the early years of middle-class tourism (specifically, the attempt of the “traveler” to distance himself from the “tourist”) in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993), 1–79. On the development of the railway and its effect on the way the traveler saw the world, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s classic *The Railway*

- Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, 1986).
22. *Palestine and Syria*, the first extra-European Baedeker guide, appeared in 1875. Cook started bringing travelers to Palestine already in 1869, just three years after the first Cook tour of America.
  23. As MacCannell writes, “for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere” (MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3).
  24. See *EFI* 95, 104, 119, 137, 182, 189, 191. As Hannelore Rodlauer points out in her dissertation on Kafka’s Paris diaries, Kafka and Brod oriented themselves according to their Baedeker’s *Paris* “in order to best use their available time in the terms of a conventional ‘educational journey’ [*Bildungsreise*]” (Hannelore Rodlauer, “Kafkas Pariser Tagebuch,” Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1984), 214.
  25. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 120–21.
  26. K.’s uncle (whose Panama hat marks him as a traveler) tells K. that taking a trip to the countryside is the best way for him to get beyond the court’s reach (*T* 88, 93–94; *P* 118, 125–26).
  27. In a certain sense, the Romantic era, too, is characterized by voyages—mundane and fantastic—and I will discuss Goethe’s travel diaries in depth in chapter two. Another example is the paradigmatic poem in English, Wordsworth’s *Prelude*, which is framed through a walk in the Lake District (Wordsworth even wrote a travel guide for the Lake District, “A Guide to the Lakes”). Another famous Romantic poem, Coleridge’s “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” forms a supernatural counterpart to Wordsworth’s travels through natural landscapes: Coleridge takes us to the mythic land of ice, the same exotic wasteland that Caspar David Friedrich repeatedly paints. This said, however, modern travel differs remarkably from Romantic travel in its middle-class, everyman nature. Three major nineteenth-century developments—the invention of the railway, the expansion of colonialism, and the wide-ranging marketing of travel by Cook and Baedeker—conspired to make travel a more encompassing popular reality in Kafka’s era than in Goethe’s and Wordsworth’s. By 1900, the nondescript middle-class bureaucrat—Franz Kafka—would inevitably find himself traveling, even against his will, as one of the first in a long series of twentieth-century “accidental tourists.” I thank David Clark for pointing out the connection to Wordsworth and Coleridge.
  28. Malcolm Bradbury, “The Cities of Modernism,” in *Modernism: 1890–1930*, ed. Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane (Harmondsworth, 1976), 101.
  29. Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York, 1980), 11.
  30. Kafka’s 1909–12 travel itinerary was as follows: September 1909 (Riva-Brescia-Desenzano); October 1910 (Paris); December 1910 (Berlin); January–February 1911 (Friedland-Reichenberg); August–September 1911 (Munich–Zurich–Lucerne–Lugano–Milan–Stresa–Paris–Erlenbach); June–July 1912 (Leipzig–Weimar–Jungborn).

31. According to the editors of the Fischer critical edition, Kafka left behind 188 pages of travel notes from his 1911 and 1912 trips alone (*Ta*<sup>1</sup> 49–74). Published in the form of the critical edition, these pages convert to 127 pages (*Ta* 931–1057). This does not include Kafka's 1909 essay on the air show he witnessed in Brescia (Italy) nor does it include his brief "Notizen zu Paris," probably written down in Prague in preparation for his 1910 trip (for these two texts, see *EFI* 17–26 and 50–51). An English translation of the critical edition of the travel diaries has not yet appeared; the current translation follows Brod's older (lightly censored) version and can be found in *D* 427–87.
32. Brod, *Der Prager Kreis* (Stuttgart, 1966), 110.
33. Anthony Northey correctly points out that this was not the first such essay published in German (as three different biographers have claimed). Rather, Kafka's essay fits into a burgeoning, early twentieth-century trend of writing about airplanes and dirigibles (Anthony Northey, "Myths and Realities in Kafka Biography," in *The Cambridge Companion to Kafka*, ed. Julian Preece, 189–90).
34. For a detailed depiction of Kafka's and Brod's two trips to Paris (including numerous photographs of early-twentieth-century Paris), see Hartmut Binder's *Kafka in Paris: historische Spaziergänge mit alten Photographien* (Munich, 1999).
35. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 105 (my emphasis).
36. Brod, *Prager Kreis*, 110.
37. With the exception of a couple of entries from around May 1909, the diaries do not begin until after Kafka's September journey with Brod; they finally become regular—and regularly dated—in 1910. For an account of the genesis (and dating) of Kafka's diaries, see *Ta*<sup>1</sup> 85–97.
38. See Hartmut Binder's critique of Brod's theory (Binder, *Kafka in Paris*, 119).
39. Cf. Malcolm Pasley's essay on Kafka's travel diaries, in which he agrees with Brod's claim that Kafka's travel writing led to his fiction writing (Malcolm Pasley, "Kafka als Reisender," in *Was bleibt von Franz Kafka?*, ed. Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler [Vienna, 1985], 1–15).
40. Binder employs the above Kafka citation (*D* 50) in an attempt to invert Brod's and Pasley's argument. Since Kafka claims that he can only properly travel *after* he writes well at home—Binder argues—Kafka must have used his Prague diaries as a way of practicing for his travel writing (not, as I am arguing, the other way around). But—contra Binder—Kafka's stated goal is a general improvement in "perception"; and, as Kafka's next citation from my main text demonstrates, this perception is not ultimately aimed at a discernible reality (e.g., the Paris or Milan of 1911) but rather at what Kafka calls "true description"—a kind of writing that is free from the objective "experience" of the foreign worlds to which he actually travels (Binder, *Kafka in Paris*, 120).
41. Cf. Pasley, "Kafka als Reisender," 6.

42. The remarks of René Dumesnil (whose Flaubert book Kafka had already given to Brod) concerning Flaubert's *Notes du voyage* point toward what might have drawn Kafka to Flaubert's travel writing: "Les années d'apprentissage de son dur métier se confondent chez lui avec les années de voyage. Le voyage n'est qu'un complément de la préparation au métier—un complément indispensable. Il faut apprendre à bien voir, à observer. [. . .] 'Je sais voir,' disait Flaubert, 'et voir comme les myopes, parce qu'ils se fourrent le nez dessus'" (René Dumesnil, introduction to *Voyages*, by Gustave Flaubert, ed. Dumesnil [Paris, 1948], 1:viii; cited in Pasley, "Kafka als Reisender," 11).
43. Gerhard Kurz likewise sees this passage as prototypical of Kafka's travel writing style (Gerhard Kurz, "Einleitung: Der junge Kafka im Kontext," in *Der junge Kafka*, ed. Kurz [Frankfurt a. M., 1984], 7–39 [here, 30–32]).
44. The sparse additional scholarly work on Kafka's travel diaries concentrates primarily on Kafka's journeys to Paris: Hannelore Rodlauer's dissertation ("Kafkas Pariser Tagebuch") and article ("Kafkas Paris," *Etudes Germaniques* 39 [1984]: 140–151), as well as Hartmut Binder's more recent, above-mentioned *Kafka in Paris*. See also Rodlauer's "Die Paralleltagebücher Kafka-Brod und das Modell Flaubert," *Arcadia* 20 (1985): 47–60 and Binder's *Kafka in neuer Sicht: Mimik, Geste und Personengefüge als Darstellungsformen der Autobiographie* (Stuttgart, 1976), 35–76.
45. Pasley, "Kafka als Reisender," 6. Wolfgang Jahn was the first to remark on the cinematic aspects of Kafka's style, in *Kafkas Roman "Der Verschollene" ("Amerika")* (Stuttgart, 1965). Later, Mark Anderson (*Kafka's Clothes: Ornament and Aestheticism in the Habsburg Fin de Siècle* [Oxford, 1992], 115–22) and Hanns Zischler (*Kafka geht ins Kino* [Hamburg, 1996]) also discuss the "filmic" aspects of Kafka's style.
46. It is important to note that this "little motor-car story" is only a transition piece between Kafka's travel writings and his mature prose. As Kafka is quick to point out, it too retains some of the "disconnected starts" typical of his travel observations (this story, too, remains "homeless" [*heimatlos*]). Despite (or because of) this piece's residual travelogue-like faults, however, it encourages Kafka to set his sights on a more continuous, seamless form of fiction: he now imagines writing something "large and whole, well shaped from beginning to end" (*D* 104–5; *Ta* 226–27).
47. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 119.
48. In Benjamin's original German, film allows us "gelassen abenteuerliche Reisen [zu] unternehmen" ("Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," in *Gesammelte Schriften* 7[1] [Frankfurt a. M., 1989], 376; English translation in *Illuminations* [New York, 1968], 236). Deniz Göktürk similarly describes film as an ersatz form of travel in her study of German representations (including Kafka's) of America between 1912 and 1920 (Deniz Göktürk, *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure: Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien zu deutschen Amerika-Texten 1912–1920* [München, 1998], 1–22).

49. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 132.
50. Kafka mentions his desire for this kind of writing obliquely in his travel diaries, when describing the Milan Galeria—“there was nothing to arrest the sweep of the eye”—and, later, when sweeping his own writerly eye over the Borghese Gladiator in the Louvre: “your eye is lured along the rigidly extended leg and flies securely over the inexorable back to the arm and sword raised toward the front” (D 443, 460; *Ta* 967, 1008, trans. rev.; see figure 8).
51. Kafka had already admired the “*Ruhe*” of Goethe’s style in a December 19, 1910 diary entry (D 31; *Ta* 135).
52. Anderson, *Kafka’s Clothes*, 120.
53. See Klaus Wagenbach’s commentary to his edition of “In the Penal Colony” (Franz Kafka, *In der Strafkolonie. Eine Geschichte aus dem Jahre 1914. Mit Quellen, Abbildungen, Materialien aus der Arbeiter-Unfall-Versicherungsanstalt, Chronik und Anmerkungen von Klaus Wagenbach* [Berlin, 1975]) and Walter Müller-Seidel, *Die Deportation des Menschen: Kafkas Erzählung “In der Strafkolonie” im europäischen Kontext* (Stuttgart, 1986). Other recent important cultural-historical contributions (not pertaining primarily to “In the Penal Colony”) are Ritchie Robertson’s *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, and Literature* (Oxford, 1985) and Sander Gilman’s *Franz Kafka, the Jewish Patient* (New York, 1995).
54. Rickels, “Writing as Travel and Travail,” 32–40. The long tradition of formal analysis gained much of its impetus from Friedrich Beissner’s 1952 *Der Erzähler Franz Kafka* (in which he comes up with his theory of “*Einsinnigkeit*” as Kafka’s central narrative principle) and Martin Walser’s 1961 *Beschreibung einer Form*. Perhaps its most elegant formulation appears in Stanley Corngold’s *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form* (Ithaca, NY, 1988).
55. See Elizabeth Boa, *Kafka: Gender, Class, and Race in the Letters and Fictions* (Oxford, 1996), 133–47; Karen Piper, “The Language of the Machine: Kafka and the Subject of Empire,” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 20 (1996): 42–54; Paul Peters, “Witness to the Execution: Kafka and Colonialism,” *Monatshefte* 93 (2001): 401–25; and Rolf Goebel, “Kafka and Post-colonial Critique: *Der Verschollene*, ‘In der Strafkolonie,’ ‘Beim Bau der chinesischen Mauer,’” in *A Companion to the Works of Franz Kafka*, ed. James Rolleston (Rochester, NY, 2002), 187–212.
56. Rainer Nägele, “Introduction: Reading Benjamin,” in *Benjamin’s Ground: New Readings of Walter Benjamin*, ed. Nägele (Detroit, 1988), 9. Scott Spector cites Nägele, as well, as a critical credo for “sav[ing] the text.” Spector holds to this principle in his careful examinations of texts by various near-forgotten Prague writers, but, because of the broad historical sweep of his book, he does not offer close readings of Kafka’s fictions (with the exception of some excellent pages on “Jackals and Arabs” and “A Report to an Academy”) (Spector, *Prague Territories*, 34, 191–93).
57. See Goebel’s *Constructing China* for a thorough discussion of Kafka’s fascinating “Chinese” stories—which I do not handle in depth here—in the terms of the history of German Orientalist discourse.

58. Anderson, "Kafka in America: Notes on a Travelling Narrative," in *Kafka's Clothes*, 98–122. According to my research, the first critic to address Kafka's interest in the multiple meanings of *Verkehr* (here, the connection between epistolary and sexual "intercourse") was Charles Bernheimer, in 1982. Later, Gayatri Spivak emphasized the importance of the Marxian notion of "commerce" contained within Kafkan *Verkehr*. Rainer Stach then identified the connection between legal and sexual "traffic" in Kafka (Charles Bernheimer, *Flaubert and Kafka: Studies in Psychopoetic Structure* [New Haven, CT, 1982], 152–61; Gayatri Spivak's remarks are found in "Discussion [of Stanley Corngold's "Consternation: the Anthropological Moment in Literature"]," in *Literature and Anthropology*, ed. Jonathan Hall and Ackbar Abbas [Hong Kong, 1986], 192; Rainer Stach, *Kafkas erotischer Mythos: Eine ästhetische Konstruktion des Weiblichen* [Frankfurt a. M., 1987], 145–57).
59. Müller writes: "Why do I speak so much about the tropics [*Tropen*]? The savage doesn't know of them, only the Northerner does; they are for him the trope [*Tropus*] for his ardor and the burning fever in his nerves" (Robert Müller, *Tropen: der Mythos der Reise: Urkunden eines deutschen Ingenieurs* [*Tropics/Tropes: Myth of the Journey*] [Paderborn, 1990], 185). Kafka knew of Müller, whose *Tropen* was originally published in 1915, because Müller was one of the earliest reviewers of *The Metamorphosis*. Kafka commented on Müller's review in an October 7, 1916 letter to Felice Bauer (LF 517; BF 719–20).
60. In this regard, I will discuss the theoretical work of James Clifford, Caren Kaplan, Dean MacCannell, Paul Rabinow, and Renato Rosaldo.
61. Walker Percy, *The Message in the Bottle* (New York, 1975), 86.
62. Xavier de Maistre, *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (Lausanne, 1794).

### Chapter One

1. Walter Benjamin, "Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death," in *Illuminations*, 118–19; *Benjamin über Kafka. Texte, Briefzeugnisse, Aufzeichnungen* (Frankfurt a. M., 1992), 16.
2. Benjamin, "Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death," 118.
3. According to Klaus Wagenbach, Kafka was approximately four years old at the time of this photograph—not six, as Benjamin claims (Wagenbach, *Franz Kafka: Bilder aus seinem Leben* [Berlin, 1994], 28).
4. For a concise summary of the various definitions of literary exoticism, see Wolfgang Reif, "Der Exotismus und der exotistische Roman," in *Zivilisationsflucht und literarische Wunschräume: Der exotistische Roman im ersten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1975), 1–35.
5. "The taste for the exotic feeds on cultures that are experienced as distant and different, whether remote in space or in time," *Encyclopaedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), 297.
6. Cf. Chris Bongie, "An Idea Without a Future: Exoticism in the Age of Colonial Reproduction," in *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the*



- Fin de Siècle* (Stanford, 1991), 1–33. The later chapters of Bongie’s book discuss the “exotic memories” of Jules Verne, Pierre Loti, Victor Segalen, and Joseph Conrad.
7. For Dauthendey (in South America), see Hans Christoph Buch, *Die Nähe und die Ferne: Bausteine zu einer Poetik des kolonialen Blicks* (Frankfurt a. M., 1996), 115–21. For Jacques (who toured Japan), see Günther Scholdt, *Der Fall Norbert Jacques: Über Rang und Niedergang eines Erzählers (1880–1954)* (Stuttgart, 1976). For Kellermann, see the dedication to his publisher, Paul Cassirer, on the first page of Kellermann’s memoir, *Ein Spaziergang in Japan* (Berlin, 1911).
  8. For Kellermann’s description of geishas, see *Ein Spaziergang in Japan*, 46–48.
  9. According to MacCannell, travelers desire to pass through several stages of “front spaces” in order to reach the “authentic” back space of the foreign land. This authentic space motivates touristic desire, but the prevalence of “staged authenticities” (e.g., the “authentic” back room of a Provence tavern constructed especially for the tourist) continually undermines the reality of back spaces. For MacCannell, this touristic desire for authenticity is a symptom of modern alienation, a reaction to the domestic alienation characteristic of the post-industrial Western world: “the generalized anxiety about the authenticity of interpersonal relationships in modern society is matched by certainty about the authenticity of tourist sights” (MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101–2, 14).
  10. For Bonsels’ plague-infested Bitschapur and his Bombay brothel vignette, see Bonsels, *Indienfahrt*, in *Wanderschaft* 3:126–27 and 3:97–100, respectively.
  11. Hesse’s desire to locate a “primitively authentic” Sri Lankan whorehouse (as opposed to an inauthentic “European” one, which he carefully avoids) resembles Bonsels’ above-cited attempt to penetrate India’s back spaces (Hermann Hesse, *Aus Indien: Aufzeichnungen, Tagebücher, Gedichte, Betrachtungen und Erzählungen* [Frankfurt a. M., 1982], 178). For more on brothel tourism and its connection to the modernist desire for authenticity, see John Zilcosky, “Franz Kafka, Perverse Traveler: Flaubert, Kafka, and the Travel Writing Tradition,” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 23 (1997): 80–87.
  12. Regarding Kafka, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari speak of an “immobile voyage that stays in one place.” This voyage, they continue, “takes place in a single place, in ‘one’s bedroom,’ and is all the more intense for that” (Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, 35, 95n12).
  13. Norbert Jacques, *Heiße Städte: Eine Reise nach Brasilien* (Berlin, 1911). The Flaubert debate is recorded in *Pan* 1 (January 16, 1911), 181–88, *Pan* 1 (February 1, 1911), 226–34, and *Pan* 1 (July 15, 1911), 591–93.
  14. For Kafka’s strong interest in Flaubert’s travel writings, see Pasley, “Kafka als Reisender”; Rodlauer, “Die Paralleltagebücher Kafka–Brod und das Modell Flaubert”; and Kurz, “Einleitung: Der junge Kafka im Kontext,” in *Der junge Kafka*, 25–32.

15. Kafka did not initially propose a novel but rather only that he and Brod keep parallel travel diaries. Hartmut Binder claims that the project eventually shifted from this primarily non-fictional one to a primarily fictional one during the friends' journey (Binder, *Kafka in Paris*, 121). But any such shift was minor: As my discussion in this chapter will reveal, the *fictional* device at the heart of Kafka's original idea (each traveler would imagine the world from the *other traveler's* perspective) also governs the form of the eventual novel (through "contradictory stereoscopy").
16. Brod, *Prager Kreis*, 111.
17. Max Brod and Franz Kafka, "Erstes Kapitel des Buches, 'Richard und Samuel,'" *Herder-Blätter* 1 (May 1912): 15–25. I cite from the most recent edition of "The First Long Train Journey," in *EFI* 193–208.
18. Brod, *Prager Kreis*, 111.
19. Concerning the bed as a symbol of intimacy and domesticity, I think of Penelope's test of Odysseus upon his return home in Book 23 of *The Odyssey*.
20. Brod, *Prager Kreis*, 110–11.
21. Brod, *Prager Kreis*, 110 (Brod's emphasis).
22. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 102.
23. Zischler, *Kafka geht ins Kino*, 50–60. One obvious example countering Zischler's claim is "Richard's" quotation early in *Richard and Samuel*: "we really see only as far as the first floor of all the buildings" (*M* 287; *EFI* 198). This first appeared in Brod's notebooks (*EFI* 74).  
One of Kafka's diary entries suggests that, exceptionally, he wrote the final "Richard" entry (*M* 292–96; *EFI* 203–6) by himself on December 8, 1911 (*D* 131; *Ta* 281). See James Rolleston, "Die Romane," in *Kafka-Handbuch*, ed. Hartmut Binder (Stuttgart, 1979), 2:406. But even if Kafka did write a version of this entry alone, we have no way of knowing whether these exact words made their way into the published text (especially since Brod was explicitly "not pleased" with Kafka's draft) (*D* 132; *Ta* 282).
24. Hartmut Binder, *Kafka-Kommentar zu sämtlichen Erzählungen* (Munich, 1975), 93.
25. For Pratt, the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" view has three defining qualities: (1) the landscape is "aestheticized"; (2) "density of meaning" is sought; (3) a relation of "mastery" is constructed between seer and seen. Aesthetics and ideology thus combine to create what Pratt terms a "rhetoric of presence" (Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* [New York, 1992], 204–5).
26. For Goethe and Flaubert, see my chapter two; for Hesse, see the next paragraph. Pratt also cites British explorers from the 1860s who were looking for the source of the Nile (e.g., Richard Burton and John Speke) (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 201–8).
27. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 105.
28. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 178.
29. Bonsels, *Indienfahrt*, 44.

30. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 32.
31. Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC, 1996), 33–57. Kaplan has her sights set on Malcolm Cowley's commemoration of expatriate Euro-American writers in the period between the two World Wars, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (Harmondsworth, 1982) and on Paul Fussell's similarly celebratory description of the period, *Abroad*.
32. Cf. Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York, 1979).
33. Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 33; for more on nostalgia as an illness, see Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday*, 1–7.
34. Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 33–34.
35. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston, 1993), 70; cited in Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 34.
36. Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*, 69–70.
37. Dean MacCannell equates modern travelers' exotic nostalgia with a desire for "naturalness" in *The Tourist*, 3.
38. Cf. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3.
39. See the section entitled "Entfremdete Arbeit und Privateigentum" ("Alienated/Estranged Labor and Private Property"), where Marx claims that the modern subject "only feels himself in himself [*fühlt sich bei sich*] outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home" (Karl Marx, *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus [Berlin, 1982], 1(2):363–75 [here, 367]).
40. Already alienated/estranged from his labor, man is also alienated, Marx writes, from "nature," from "himself," and from his "*species*" (Marx, *Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe*, 1(2):369 [Marx's emphasis]).
41. The railway, first developed in the 1830s, was vital to the development of middle-class tourism. Not surprisingly, the first modern travel guidebooks were published in England and German in that same decade. For a concise summary of the history of the rise of middle-class tourism, see Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 1–5.
42. On the tourist's desire to escape alienation through travel, see MacCannell's *The Tourist*: "it is through sightseeing that the tourist demonstrates better than by any other means that he is not alienated from society" (68). See also 17–37, 55.
43. Hans-Magnus Enzensberger, "Eine Theorie des Tourismus," in *Einzelheiten I. Bewusstseins-Industrie* (Frankfurt a. M., 1964), 196.
44. "Dort [im Osten], im Reinen und in Rechten/ Will ich menschlichen Geschlechtern/ In des Ursprungs Tiefe dringen" (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Westöstlicher Diwan* [1819; rpt., Munich, 1958], 9).
45. Jean Bruneau, *Le "Conte Orientale" de Flaubert* (Paris, 1973), 79.
46. For a reading of the socio-psychological importance of popular literature in the *Kaiserreich*, especially Karl May's exotic adventure novels, see Jochen

- Schulte-Sasse, "Karl Mays Amerika-Exotik und deutsche Wirklichkeit: Zur sozialpsychologischen Funktion von Trivilliteratur im wilhelminischen Deutschland," in *Karl May*, ed. Helmut Schmiedt (Frankfurt a. M., 1983), 101-29.
47. Paul Gauguin, *Die Aufzeichnungen von Noa Noa* (Wetzlar, 1982), 96, 64.
48. Reif, *Zivilisationsflucht*, 15. Reif opposes exoticism (which is more closely allied to expressionism) to the decadent, "impressionistic" travel accounts that preceded early-twentieth-century German-language exoticism. Good examples of the impressionistic traveler are, for Reif, Albrecht von Qualen in Thomas Mann's 1903 "Der Kleiderschrank" and Rainer Maria Rilke's self-stylized life: both live in hotels and do not want to arrive anywhere (36). Bernhard Kellermann's *Das Meer* is typical of the impressionist travel novel, in which the hero never wants to arrive but instead exclaims "let's discover *new things!*" (37). Reif's working definition of exoticism is that it expresses nostalgic desires for a regressive utopia: for a primitive world better than the European one (71). Novels such as Joris-Karl Huysmans' *A rebours* (1884) are thus not exoticist because they are not interested in the formation of "simpler and more primal worlds" but rather go "so to speak 'à rebours' through a purposeless refinement and the technology of completely artificial worlds" (86).
- The few other monographs devoted to German-language exoticism either do not focus, as does Reif, on the early twentieth century, or they limit themselves (like Wolfgang Kubin's book on China) to one exotic region only. See Anselm Maler, *Der exotische Roman: bürgerliche Gesellschaftsflucht und Gesellschaftskritik zwischen Romantik und Realismus* (Stuttgart, 1975); Daniela Magill, *Literarische Reisen in die exotische Fremde: Topoi der Darstellung von Eigen- und Fremdkultur* (Frankfurt a. M., 1989); Wolfgang Kubin, *Mein Bild in Deinem Auge. Exotismus und Moderne: Deutschland—China im 20. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1995).
49. Reif, *Zivilisationsflucht*, 13.
50. Bonsels, *Indienfahrt*, 217.
51. Fritz Hübner, "Reise-Impressionismus," *Der Bücherwurm. Eine Monatsschrift für Bücherfreunde* 3 (Reiseheft) (July 1913): 263.
52. Hanns Heinz Ewers, *Indien und Ich* (Munich, 1919), 178-79 (originally published in 1911).
53. Ewers, *Indien und Ich*, 178-79.
54. Freud probably began "The Uncanny" as early as 1913, shortly after Kafka and Brod toured central Europe and Hesse traveled to India. For the genesis of "The Uncanny," see *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 17:218.
55. Freud, "The Uncanny," in *Standard Edition*, 17:245. Cf. Freud's account (also in "The Uncanny") of repeatedly losing his way while visiting an Italian town; each time he gets lost, he emerges, as if against his will, in this town's red-light district.

56. Alfred Winterstein, "Zur Psychologie des Reisens," *Imago. Zeitschrift fuer Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften*, 1. Jahrgang, Heft 1 (March 1912), 502.
57. Discussing mythical heroes such as Gilgamesh, Dionysus, Hercules, Christ, and Mithras, Jung writes: "That these heroes are almost always wanderers has a clear psychological symbolism: Wandering is an image of longing, of the restless urge that can never find its object because it is searching, without knowing it, for the lost mother" (Carl Jung, "Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido: Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens" [2. Teil], *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathische Forschungen* 4 [1912]: 249).
58. Alfred Kerr, "Jagow, Flaubert, Pan," *Pan* 1 (February 1911): 222.
59. Müller's hero senses that he has experienced the lush heat of the tropics before, but only in dimmest memory: "Where, where had I gone through this tropical condition, this scene of will-less growth, where, where?"; later he refers to the tropics as that "great race [sex, *Geschlecht*] of primal nature, mother and whore at once." Finally, toward the end, when wandering into a deserted grotto, he claims to have discovered his "second womb": "The second womb! [. . .] When you miss the first one,—you can still live here in the spare" (Müller, *Tropen*, 15, 23, 169). For Müller's connection to Kafka, note 59 in my introduction.
60. Müller, *Tropen*, 24.
61. Shortly before acquiring his lover, Zana, Müller's protagonist threatens, "Either I get a *Weib* or I pulverize the village" (Müller, *Tropen*, 135).
62. See Reif's analysis of *Tropen* in *Zivilisationsflucht*, 121–45 (here, 135).
63. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 17:241–43, 246–47.
64. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979), 167 (Said's emphasis).
65. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 5.
66. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 84, 83.
67. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 83.
68. See, for example, James Clifford's attempt to unsettle the traditional dualism between "dwelling" and "traveling" in "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (New York, 1992), 96–116.
69. Kafka's attitude here crucially refines Zygmunt Baumann's oft-cited interpretation of Kafka's position as a double-outsider in Prague. Baumann claims that Kafka's outsider-ness led to his remarkably clear-eyed capacity for depicting alienation and homelessness, but this same stranger-status seems to be responsible for Max Brod's powerful nostalgia at the hat rack and Kafka's sometimes sentimental attraction to colonial adventure stories. In Kafka, we see a heightened awareness of alienation (as Baumann would have it) but also a heightened nostalgia. See Zygmunt Bauman, "Excursus: Franz Kafka, or the Rootlessness of Universality," in *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 85–90.
70. Paul Rabinow, "Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology," in *Writing Culture*, ed. James Clifford and

George E. Markus (Berkeley, 1986), 241. I thank Monika Shafi for directing me toward Rabinow during her response to an earlier version of this argument at the MLA Convention in Chicago (December 1999).

71. “War er ein Tier, da ihn Musik so ergriff?” (Was he an animal, that music could move him so?) (*DL* 185; *MO* 117).
72. Clifford, “Traveling Cultures,” 101. I think, furthermore, of how Kafka’s protagonists repeatedly locate “homes” on the road—suggesting that “traveling” is as unstable a concept as is “dwelling” (e.g., in *The Castle*, K.’s and Frieda’s cramped room in the Bridge Inn; also in *The Castle*, K.’s and Frieda’s carefully arranged residence on the schoolhouse floor; in *Amerika/ Der Verschollene*, Karl Rossmann’s homey elevator in the Hotel Occidental; also in *Amerika*, Karl’s balcony bedroom outside Brunelda’s apartment).

### Chapter Two

1. Marion Sonnenfeld first referred to the “America” novel as a *Bildungsroman* (“Die Fragmente ‘Amerika’ and ‘Der Prozeß’ als Bildungsromane,” *German Quarterly* 35 [1962]: 34–46), but Mark Spilka correctly pointed out that Kafka’s novel is a modern revision of the Dickensian *Bildungsroman* tradition: it displays a “surge toward moral dissolution” and the “replacement of all sympathetic fervor with anxiety, or with the objective depiction of despair” (*Dickens and Kafka: A Mutual Interpretation* [Bloomington, 1963], 174). Peter Beicken claimed that Kafka uses elements of the *Bildungsroman* only to rob these of their traditional function and significance: Kafka fails to present an unambiguous doctrine of either “upbringing” or “education [*Bildung*]” (*Franz Kafka: Eine kritische Einführung in die Forschung* [Frankfurt a. M., 1974], 254). Finally, in 1983, Jürgen Pütz fully examined the specific ways in which Kafka’s novel revises the *Bildungsroman* tradition (*Kafkas Verschollener—ein Bildungsroman* [Frankfurt a. M., 1983]).
2. For the theme of forgetting in *Der Verschollene*, see Walter Sokel, “Das Labyrinth und Amerika,” in *Franz Kafka—Tragik und Ironie* (Munich and Vienna, 1964), 311–29.
3. Max Brod’s edition (the only one available through 1983) “corrects” Karl’s age in the opening sentence of the novel to sixteen (he is seventeen in Kafka’s original), thereby neutralizing some of the novel’s fundamental non-progressivity.
4. Said, *Orientalism*, 167.
5. See my discussion of melancholic nostalgia in chapter one. Said also points out how colonial travelers generally viewed their journeys as ideal opportunities for “remaking” themselves in a new, better form (Said refers here specifically to Alexander Kinglake’s 1844 *Eothen, or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* [Said, *Orientalism*, 193]).
6. Reif, “Exotismus im Reisebericht des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt a. M., 1989), esp. 443–51.

7. Norbert Jacques, *Piraths Insel* (Berlin, 1917), 171–72, 217–18. The narrative of *Selbstfindung* recurs not only in Weber's *Sugar Baron* but also throughout Kafka's treasured *Little Green Books*, where the heroes often achieve psychological and professional fullness in faraway lands. For more on the general discourse of *Selbstfindung* in the *Little Green Books*, see my chapter five.
8. Arthur Holitscher's *Amerika heute und morgen* (which I discuss later in this chapter) first appeared in installments in the 1911–12 *Neue Rundschau*, where Kafka likely read it. Later, Kafka acquired the seventh edition, printed in 1913. Many critics have discussed Kafka's use of Holitscher as source material. The earliest to do so were: Jahn, *Kafkas Roman "Der Verschollene"* ("Amerika"); Gerhard Loose, *Franz Kafka und Amerika* (Frankfurt a. M., 1968); and Alfred Wirkner, *Kafka und die Außenwelt: Quellenstudien zum 'Amerika'-Fragment* (Stuttgart, 1976). Other, above-mentioned examples of travel narratives named after their destinations are *Indian Journey*, *Hot Nights in Brazil*, *A Stroll through Japan*, *Out of India*, and *Voyage en Orient*; below I will discuss Goethe's *Italian Journey*.
9. See Wolfgang Jahn's claim that the two halves of this part of the text completed/titled by Kafka (chapters 1–3 and 4–6) form two separate narratives of banishment (Jahn, "Der Verschollene (Amerika)," in *Kafka-Handbuch*, ed. Hartmut Binder, 2:410–11).
10. For the construction of Italy as an exotic space for Northern Europeans in the eighteenth century, see the body of work by Chloe Chard, who argues that eighteenth-century Italy—due to the "major symbolic and geographical transition" figured by a journey over or around the Alps—was a unique site of "drama and excess": the "*mise-en-scène* of the forbidden." See Chard's introduction to *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830*, ed. Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon (New Haven, CT, 1996), 6; "Effeminacy, Pleasure and the Classical Body," in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gill Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester, 1994), 153; *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999), 91.

Eric Downing has demonstrated how this exoticization carried on into Kafka's fin de siècle, in Downing's examination of Wilhelm Jensen's "Gradiva" (famous as the subject of Freud's first sustained analysis of a literary text). As Downing points out, this story, which describes the journey of a German archaeologist to Italy, consistently constructs the "link between the African and the Italian sun"—thereby endowing Italy with all of Africa's "implicitly racist (and racistly erotic) shadings" (Eric Downing, "Dead Woman Walking: Jensen's 'Gradiva'" [paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Comparative Literature Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 2002]).

The most obvious and enduring example of the eighteenth-century exoticization of Italy comes from Goethe himself, in Mignon's song about Italy in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–96): "Kennst du das Land, wo die

Zitronen blühh [. . . ] ?” (Do you know that land where the lemon blossom grows?).

11. Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 122. For a full-length comparative study of Kafka and Goethe, seen through the shifts in German literature from Goethe to Kafka, see Bert Nagel's *Kafka und Goethe: Stufen der Wandlung von der Klassik zur Moderne* (Berlin, 1977).
12. See Wilfried Barner, “Jüdische Goethe-Verehrung vor 1933,” in *Juden in der deutschen Literatur: Ein deutsch-israelisches Symposium*, ed. Stéphane Moses and Albrecht Schöne (Frankfurt a. M., 1986), 127–151, and Eduard Goldstücker, “Die Prager deutsche Literatur als historisches Phänomen,” in *Weltfreunde: Konferenz über die Prager deutsche Literatur 1965*, ed. Goldstücker (Prague, 1967), 29.
13. In this postcard, Kafka describes attempting to locate the exact spot from which Goethe had sketched the Malcesine castle in 1786—before the Italian police accosted him: “The castellan showed me the spot where Goethe did his drawing, but this spot did not correspond with [Goethe’s] journal and so we could not agree about that, any more than we could about Italian” (LO 7; BO 20). Kafka’s postcard thus playfully adds another layer to the confusions already present in Goethe’s text: as Kafka knew, Goethe’s Malcesine story of mistaken identity was already a doubled or even tripled case (traveling as Möller, the Frankfurt-born Goethe was taken for an Austrian and for a spy); Kafka—the Jewish, Austrian-Czech aspiring writer—arriving at the castle as a tourist 150 years later, lightheartedly imagines himself in the role of the classical German writer; to confuse matters more, he miscommunicates with the Italian castellan—in broken Italian—about the spot on which this great writer is meant to sit.
14. This anecdote is included in most biographies of Beckett, including James Knowlson’s recent *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (New York, 1996), 108.
15. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Letters from Goethe*, trans. Dr. M. Herzfeld and C. A. M. Sym (Edinburgh, 1957), 164; *Goethes Briefe: Briefe der Jahre 1786–1805* (Hamburg, 1964), 9 (my emphasis).
16. “N’importe où! N’importe où! pourvu que ce soit hors de ce monde” (Charles Baudelaire, “Anywhere out of the world—N’importe où hors du monde,” *Petits Poèmes en Prose [Le Spleen de Paris]* [Paris, 1958], 213 [my emphasis]).
17. In Terdiman’s reading, Flaubert desires to both dissolve into the Orient and to absorb it into his reconfigured self. Dis-Orient-ation is, for Terdiman, both resistant to and complicit with Orientalism. Flaubert’s desire for self-loss, in Terdiman’s reading, is eventually overcome by self-reclamation: Flaubert returns to France with a reinvigorated sense of self, as the writer now capable of *Madame Bovary*. This profitable economy of self-loss also functions for Goethe, who only begins his mature work after returning from Italy. See Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 1985), 227–57.



18. Goethe, *Letters from Goethe*, 164.
19. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, trans. Robert R. Heitner (Princeton, NJ, 1994), 121, 120.
20. Auden and Mayer claim to witness this benevolent transformation in portraits from around the time of Goethe's journey: through the "striking" difference between Goethe's "over-refined, delicate, almost neurasthenic" pre-Italian face and the "masculine, self-assured" post-Italy one, which belongs to a "man who has known sexual satisfaction" (W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer's introduction to their translation of *Italian Journey*, by J. W. Goethe [New York, 1970], 16). I have chosen Robert Heitner's translation over Auden/Mayer's because the former is much more accurate (if less elegant). For the extensive flaws in Auden/Mayer's translation, see Thomas P. Saine's brief discussion in the preface to Heitner's translation of *Italian Journey* (8–9).
21. Said, *Orientalism*, 193.
22. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 16, 3.
23. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 58.
24. Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism," in *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman, OK, 1988), 153–167 (here, 161).
25. Percy, *The Message in the Bottle*, 52 (discussed in Culler, *Framing the Sign*, 163–64). Consider also Roland Barthes' description of losing his way in Japan in *Empire of Signs* (London, 1983), 33–36.
26. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 59; *Italienische Reise* (Munich, 1978), 68.
27. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 60; *Italienische Reise*, 70.
28. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3.
29. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 60.
30. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 120, 60.
31. Freud, "Beyond the Pleasure Principle," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 18:27–28, 15. A modern revision of Goethe's lost-and-found story is Walter Benjamin's in his *Berliner Chronik*, where he connects the experience of childhood itself with the sensation of being lost in a city: he remembers "the dreamy recalcitrance with which I accompanied [my mother] as we walked through the streets," looking at the city with a gaze that saw "not a third" of what it took in. According to Benjamin, "it was thirty years before the distinction between left and right had become visceral to me, and before I had acquired the art of reading a street map" (Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle," in *Reflections*, trans. Edmund Jephcott [New York, 1978], 3–60 [here, 4]).
32. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 120; *Italienische Reise*, 146.
33. Gustav Janouch, *Conversations with Kafka*, trans. Goronwy Rees, 2nd ed. (New York: New Directions, 1971), 70.
34. *LF* 179, 315, 42; *BF* 281, 460, 96. For Kafka's general enthusiasm for Flaubert, see Wagenbach, *Franz Kafka: Eine Biographie seiner Jugend*, 159–61. For Kafka's specific interest in Flaubert's travel writings, see note 14 in chapter one.

35. For Flaubert's desire to escape the ennui that he generally associated with death, see Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 231–33, and Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'Idiot de la famille: Gustave Flaubert de 1821 à 1857* (Paris, 1988), 2:1107 ff. (cited in Terdiman, 232n11).
36. "Self-obliteration" is Terdiman phrase; the term "Oriental renaissance" is Edgar Quintet's and dates from 1842 (*Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 237, 234). For a further discussion of Flaubert's Oriental renaissance, see Bruneau, *Le "Conte Oriental" de Flaubert*, 23, 32–33.
37. Gustave Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour* (New York, 1996), 77 (my emphasis).
38. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101–2.
39. Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC, 1994), 67.
40. Lowe employs Homi Bhabha's idea that the Orient is not "the Orient" per se but rather that which inheres in between Orient and Occident and thus opens up, for Western travelers, a terrifyingly inexplicable/unknowable conceptual absence. This fear-inducing absence, Lowe argues, causes Flaubert to attempt to materialize the Orient in the form of a stereotype and (like the Freudian fetishist) obsessively repeat this form. Later, Lowe concedes that the mature Flaubert seems to criticize Orientalism in his *Salammô* (Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* [Ithaca, NY, 1991], 75–101 [for her discussion of fetishism, see 86–87]).
41. Flaubert, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, [1971–75]), 13:137 (my emphasis).
42. Kurz, "Einleitung: Der junge Kafka im Kontext," in *Der junge Kafka*, 26.
43. *A* 5, 8, 9, 31; *V* 10, 14–16, 44, trans. rev. Karl eventually re-locates his suitcase at the end of the "Country House near New York" chapter only to again lose possession of it at the end of "The Case of Robinson" (*A* 95, 193; *V* 123, 251).
44. Benjamin writes of Rossmann's "Neugeburt" (rebirth) in "Franz Kafka: Zur zehnten Wiederkehr seines Todestages," in *Benjamin über Kafka*, 17; English translation in "Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death," 119.
45. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 60; *Italienische Reise*, 70.
46. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 108–9.
47. Malcolm Pasley, "The Act of Writing and the Genesis of Kafka's Manuscripts," in *Reading Kafka*, ed. Mark Anderson, 206 (Pasley's emphasis).
48. Pasley, "Act of Writing," 209 (my emphasis).
49. Max Brod, "Uyttersprot korrigeriert Kafka," *Forum* 43/44 (1957): 265.
50. See Matt. 18:12 (where the reflexive verb, "sich verirren," is used). *Verirnung*—which refers to literally and metaphorically lost sheep—appears throughout the Bible, for example, in Ezek. 34:12 and Ps. 119:176 (all references are to the Luther translation).
51. Wittgenstein thus recommends that a follower come along and, after climbing the ladder Wittgenstein has built (through the *Tractatus*), throw the ladder away (Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* [bilingual edition] [London, 1961], 150).

52. Ellison's protagonist sees a man lost in the New York subway and muses, in relation to his own "lost," "invisible" self: "Perhaps to lose a sense of *where* you are implies the danger of losing a sense of *who* you are. That must be it, I thought—to lose your direction is to lose your face" (Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* [New York, 1972], 564 [Ellison's emphasis]).
53. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 59.
54. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 77.
55. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 61.
56. Flaubert, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10:469. As Behdad remarks, Flaubert "indulged" here "in his imperialist fantasy of all-seeing" (Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 58). Before this, Flaubert recorded a similar view from high above Cairo: "From there [the top of a minaret] I have Cairo beneath me; to the right the desert, with camels gliding on it and their shadows beside them as escorts; opposite, beyond the plains and the Nile, the Pyramids" (Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 46).
57. See the previous chapter for a discussion of the colonial history of the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" view. Fin de siècle travel guides and travelogues generally recommended that modern travelers (like their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century predecessors) immediately gain a good viewpoint upon arriving in a foreign city. Arthur Holitscher, for example, recommended surveying New York from a skyscraper, and the Baedeker guide that Kafka used in Paris listed the best places for viewing Paris from above (Arthur Holitscher, *Amerika: heute und morgen* [Berlin, 1912], 57–58; Karl Baedeker, *Paris und Umgebungen* [Leipzig, 1896], 49).
58. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 104–13. For more on Kafka and Holitscher, see note 8 above.
59. Holitscher, *Amerika*, 58.
60. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 106.
61. Just one year earlier, while riding the subway beneath Paris' streets, Kafka likewise enjoyed the "calm [*ruhige*], pleasant sense of speed" (*D* 460; *Ta* 1009).
62. Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985): 124.
63. Dennis Porter, "The Perverse Traveler: Flaubert's Voyage en Orient," *L'Esprit Créateur* 29 (1989): 24.
64. Flaubert, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10:443 (my emphasis). Porter writes, regarding this passage: "such a visual pursuit of nakedness of and beyond the unclothed body is a recurrent motif in the *Voyage*. The perverse scenario of this and other passages anticipates in a more explicit way Frédéric Moreau's [the hero of *L'Éducation sentimentale*] experience of women. It even suggests that that wayward hero's famous 'N'est-ce que ça?' is less the lament of a disabused idealist than that of an embittered fetishist who compulsively repeats in disgust and anger his encounter with non-phallic woman" (Porter, "Perverse Traveler," 30).

65. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 117.
66. Cf. Reif, "Exotismus im Reisebericht des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts," 445.
67. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 178 (my emphasis).
68. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 119.
69. Flaubert, *L'Éducation sentimentale*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 3:398.
70. For a theoretical discussion of the uses of parody for political critique (in Butler's case, a critique of gender politics), see Judith Butler, "Conclusion: From Parody to Politics," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 142–49.
71. *D* 459; *Tā* 1006; Flaubert, *L'Éducation sentimentale*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 3:398.
72. Flaubert, *L'Éducation sentimentale*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 3:399.
73. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 117.
74. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 113–22.
75. Anderson mentions Kafka's essay (originally written as a private response to Max Brod's published article, "On Aesthetics") in *Kafka's Clothes*, 100; Stanley Corngold discusses it in greater depth (and offers the first full English translation) in *Complex Pleasure: Forms of Feeling in German Literature* (Stanford, 1998), 125–29.
76. As Jürgen Kobs points out in his detailed study of Kafka's narrative form, Kafka similarly limits the perspective of his protagonists as part of deliberate aesthetic strategy (Jürgen Kobs, *Kafka: Untersuchungen zu Bewußtsein und Sprache seiner Gestalten*, ed. Ursula Brech [Bad Homburg, 1970], 98–531). In the words of the priest from *The Trial* (speaking to Josef K.), Kafka's characters cannot see "two steps" in front of them (*T* 214; *P* 290).
77. See *A* 225, 228, 236, 254, 263; *V* 292, 295, 306, 330, 343.
78. See René Dumesnil's introductory comments to *Voyages*, by Gustave Flaubert, 1:viii.
79. Reif, *Zivilisationsflucht*, 75, 61. Müller's protagonist literally imagines that the tropics are the reincarnation of his mother's "womb" (see note 59 in chapter one).
80. Margot Norris, *Beasts of the Modern Imagination: Darwin, Nietzsche, Kafka, Ernst, & Lawrence* (Baltimore, 1985), 114–16.
81. Winterstein, "Zur Psychologie des Reisens," 502. See also Freud, "The Uncanny," in *Standard Edition*, 17:245.
82. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 17:245.
83. Benjamin, "Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death," 120.
84. *A* 300; the German version can be found in Brod's afterword to the first, 1927 edition of Kafka's "America" novel (Kafka, *Amerika*, ed. Max Brod [Frankfurt a. M., 1991], 260).
85. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 83.
86. Emrich sees in the Theater in Oklahoma the "image of a life unmotivated and free of purpose, a life in which play and work, theater and reality, childhood and vocation unite and become reconciled in a world-play, in which 'everybody,' taken on and enabled to play his natural role, could ex-

- press his true being that ‘cannot but be loved’” (Wilhelm Emrich, *Franz Kafka* [Frankfurt a. M., 1957], 258; translation in Emrich, *Franz Kafka: A Critical Study of His Writings* [New York, 1968], 315).
87. “Rolle und Selbstverwirklichung fallen zusammen” (cited in Peter Beicken’s summary of the secondary literature [Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 260]).
  88. Martin Walser, *Beschreibung einer Form* (Munich, 1961), 98. As Josef Vogl writes: “Ultimately there is nothing to support the assumption that Karl Rossmann’s entrance into the Theater of Oklahoma is about his salvation, self-becoming [*Selbstwerdung*], and self-realization” (Josef Vogl, *Ort der Gewalt: Kafkas literarische Ethik* [Munich, 1990], 31).
  89. Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 260.
  90. See my chapter one, and Theresa Mayer Hammond, *American Paradise: German Travel Literature from Duden to Kisch* (Heidelberg, 1980). On the utopian nature of exotic novels in general, see Reif, “Die Reise in den Urzustand,” in *Zivilisationsflucht*, 36–77.
  91. Brent Staples, “Unearthing a Riot,” *New York Times Magazine* (December 19, 1999).
  92. Benjamin, “Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death,” 119.
  93. Cf. Anderson’s mention of *verschollen*’s etymology in *Kafka’s Clothes*, 104.
  94. Kurz writes: “Negro: the black one. When Karl gives up his name, he is not heard of again [is presumed dead, *verschollen*]” (Gerhard Kurz, *Traum-Schrecken: Kafkas literarische Existenzanalyse* [Stuttgart, 1980], 158). Remarking on how American racist discourse defines whiteness in terms of completeness and blackness in terms of fragments and parts, Arthur Holitscher points out that—in America—a “white” person is utterly white whereas “blackness” is determined by only a “drop of black blood” (Holitscher, *Amerika*, 363).  
This conception of whiteness as complete and blackness as fragmentary (or even as absence) is also present in late-nineteenth-century colonial discourse. As David Spurr writes (commenting on an 1877 remark by H.M. Stanley), Western colonial writing tended to conceive of the African Other “as absence, emptiness, nothingness, or death” (David Spurr, “Negation,” in *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* [Durham, NC, 1993], 92–108 [here, 92]).
  95. Commenting on the power of the Irish in America, Holitscher writes mischievously, “How long does one have to live in America before one can become an Irishman?” (Holitscher, *Amerika*, 351). Cf. *A 4; V 9*.
  96. Holitscher also wrote about the oppression of American blacks in a novella with which Kafka was probably familiar: Holitscher, “Scab,” *Die neue Rundschau* 24 (1913): 1267–1280 (cf. Gökürk, *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure*, 35n75).
  97. Staples, “Unearthing a Riot,” 64.
  98. Holitscher agrees wholeheartedly with the young black man who tells him: “‘We [Blacks and Jews] are in the same boat! [ . . . ] Our fates are very similar. And both of us even come from Africa, the Jews as well as we Negroes’” (Holitscher, *Amerika*, 365).

99. Goethe, *Italian Journey*, 120.

### Chapter Three

1. This is the chronology of what are listed as “completed” chapters of *The Trial* in the Fischer critical edition. The Fischer edition distinguishes between these and the “fragmentary” chapters, which take place at the following additional sites: at home; in a city restaurant; in a carriage on the way to Elsa’s; in the office; in a taxi on the way to K.’s mother’s.  
The more recent Stroemfeld facsimile edition of *The Trial* does away with chronology (since Kafka never gave the chapters/fragments a final order) and makes no distinction between what the Fischer editors term “completed” and “fragmentary” chapters. In the Stroemfeld edition, all sixteen of the chapters/fragments are presented as individual booklets and are collected in one slip box. The many new ordering possibilities render K.’s “travels” even more chaotic.
2. See *A* 14, *C* 4, and *T* 7; *P* 12. This trouble with “*Legitimationspapiere*” prefigures Kafka’s own later difficulties in Europe’s early (post–World War I) days of passports: Just as Karl Rossmann cannot produce his “identification papers” when detained by a policeman in upstate New York, so too is Kafka (lacking a proper visa) detained by Austrian agents at the Czech/Austrian border upon returning from visiting Milena Jesenská in Vienna in July 1920 (*A* 214; *V* 277; *LM* 64–67; *BM* 86–90).
3. For a popular account of apparent Irish-American control of the police and the connection to Kafka’s America novel, see note 95 in chapter two.
4. Adorno claims to be following Klaus Mann’s “insiste[nce] that there was a similarity between Kafka’s world and that of the Third Reich” (Adorno, “Notes on Kafka,” in *Prisms*, 259). For an overview of early sociological approaches to Kafka, see Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 214–25.
5. Pavel Eisner, “Franz Kafka and Prague,” *Books Abroad* (Summer 1947): 267.
6. Eisner, “Franz Kafkas Prozeß und Prague,” *German Life and Letters* 14 (1960): 17, 20.
7. Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague*, 21.
8. Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague*, 8, 79; “Franz Kafka and Prague,” 267 (Eisner’s emphasis).
9. Heinz Politzer, *Franz Kafka, der Künstler*, (Frankfurt a. M., 1965), 247 (originally published in 1962).
10. *T* 3, 201; *P* 7, 273. See Sokel, *Franz Kafka—Tragik und Ironie*, 138, 145 (originally published in 1964); Kurz, *Traum-Schrecken*, 160, 183.
11. Laurence Rickels, “Writing as Travel and Travail”; Manfred Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt: Ein Motiv und sein Text* (Frankfurt a. M., 1979), 17–37.
12. See Clifford, “Traveling Cultures.” For a neo-Marxist perspective (which “many Marxists might find abhorrent”) on the fragmentation of home (and of narrative authority), note Arjun Appadurai on global disjuncture: “This is not to say that there are no relatively stable communities [ . . . ].

- But it is to say that the warp of these stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion, as more persons and groups deal with the realities of having to move or the fantasies of wanting to move” (Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* [Minneapolis, 1996], 201n1, 33–34).
13. *Währig Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1986 edition, s.v. “ver-.”
  14. Ritchie Robertson, “Der Proceß,” in *Franz Kafka: Romane und Erzählungen*, ed. Michael Müller (Stuttgart, 1994), 137.
  15. David H. Miles, “‘Pleats, Pockets, Buckles and Buttons’: Kafka’s New Literalism and the Poetics of the Fragment,” in *Probleme der Moderne*, ed. B. Bennett, A. Kaes, and W. J. Lillyman (Tübingen, 1983), 331–42.
  16. Kurz, *Traum-Schrecken*, 160.
  17. Anderson, *Kafka’s Clothes*, 159.
  18. “The arrest is an intrusion into [K.’s] intimate life, almost a rape” (Anderson, *Kafka’s Clothes*, 161).
  19. For example, Ernst Lubitsch’s film *Die Bergkatze* (1919) (Boa, *Kafka*, 189n16).
  20. Derrida speaks of this notion of “invagination” at several points throughout his work, but probably his first reference of consequence is from his 1977 “Living On / Border Lines”: “By definition, there is no end to a discourse that would seek to describe the invaginated structure of [Maurice Blanchot’s] *La folie du jour*. Invagination is the inward refolding of *la gaine* [sheath, girdle], the inverted reapplication of the outer edge to the inside of a form where the outside then opens a pocket. Such invagination is possible from the first trace on. This is why there is no ‘first’ trace” (Jacques Derrida, “Living On / Border Lines,” in Harold Bloom et al., *Deconstruction and Criticism* [New York, 1979], 97).
  21. Derrida, “Living On / Border Lines,” 97.
  22. Boa, *Kafka*, 188.
  23. According to Canetti, the most upsetting aspect of K.’s arrest is its “being public” (Elias Canetti, *Kafka’s Other Trial: The Letters to Felice*, trans. Christopher Middleton [New York: Schocken, 1974], 64–65).
  24. Canetti, *Kafka’s Other Trial*, 72.
  25. Max Brod deleted Kafka’s remark on the Milan prostitute’s *Scham* from his editions of Kafka’s diaries; it has still not been translated into English (*D* 459; *Ta* 969, 1006).
  26. Caitriona Leahy, “Reisen in einem Zimmer, oder: die Wände hochgehen,” in *Reisen im Diskurs*, ed. Ann Fuchs and Theo Harden (Heidelberg, 1995), 87–101. Leahy points out that Kafka’s mad room-traveling was foreshadowed by Xavier de Maistre’s *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (1794) and Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s “The Yellow Wallpaper” (1892). For more on the affinity between Kafka and Gilman, see Boa, *Kafka*, 120–33.
  27. These conflicts include Gregor’s desire to punish himself (for having usurped his father’s dominant role in the family) (Kaiser), his masochistic “self-hatred” (Neider) and his latent “death drive” (Landberg). See Hellmuth Kaiser,

- “Franz Kafkas Inferno: Eine psychologische Deutung seiner Strafphantasie,” *Imago* 17 (1931): 41–103; Charles Neider, *The Frozen Sea: A Study of Franz Kafka* (New York, 1948), 77–78.; Paul Landsberg, “Kafka et ‘La Metamorphose,’” *L’Esprit* 72 (1938): 671–684. For an overview of the criticism, see Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 261–72 and Stanley Corngold, *The Commentator’s Despair: The Interpretation of Kafka’s “Metamorphosis”* (Port Washington, NY, 1973).
28. Beicken summarizes Marxist interpretations of this story in Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 265–66. See also Kenneth Hughes (ed.), *Franz Kafka: An Anthology of Marxist Criticism* (Hanover, NH, 1981).
29. Another example is Waldemar Bonsels’ best-selling *Indienfahrt* (*Indian Journey*), which is rife with *Ungeziefer*. In one especially explicit account, Bonsels describes how bloodthirsty Indian rats maul a helpless kitten:

A dainty little kitten, hardly realizing the danger, sprang into the moonlight, gracefully leaping. Two shadows, perceptible only by their furtive movements, followed swiftly—a few moments later and the little thing was torn to shreds. At its heartrending cry of distress, its mother made a desperate effort to come to the rescue. I looked on horrified, as the dreadful assailants fixed their teeth in her body. With screams of pain, *such as I had never heard from a cat*, she writhed upon the floor. (my emphasis)

Even more frightening, to the narrator, than the image of the foreign horde tearing apart a kitten is the uncanny transformation of the kitten’s mother. In the midst of the squeals of the rats, she emits an expression of pain that, for Bonsels, does not sound like a cat’s. He implies that she, like another cat in the fray, has been infected psychologically by the rats: “Out of its mind [*wie von Sinnen*]” with pain, the cat suddenly became for him “monstrous [*ungeheuer*].” (Bonsels, *Indienfahrt*, in *Wanderschaft*, 3:18–20). The use of *ungeheuer*, here, has the same etymological echo that it does in the first sentence of Kafka’s *Metamorphosis*: *geheuer* issues from the Middle High German *gehiure*, which is related to “home” and means, specifically, “belonging to the same settlement.”

If Bonsels’ cat is *ungeheuer* (not belonging to the same settlement as the narrator), it is not *ungeheuer* to the same degree that Kafka’s *Ungeziefer* is. Bonsels’ narrative—unlike Kafka’s—limits its own unsettling force in two ways. First, Bonsels’ narrator is always safely distanced from the grotesque, foreign element. Observing the rats from a distance, he is never in danger of getting ill or being bitten himself. His own human body, unlike Gregor’s, is not itself the site of the uncanny transformation. Secondly, this narrative takes place in a faraway land. The grotesque vermin (rats, but also various bugs and snakes) upset his temporary home in India, but not his true *Heimat* in Germany. Unlike Kafka’s novella, then, *Indian Journey* is a kind of uncanny tease. It offers its audience only as much alterity as it can handle (indeed, precisely enough to make *Indian Journey* a best-seller). In the end, however, it assures



its bourgeois readership that the grotesque Other is quite far away, both literally and conceptually, from “home.”

Kafka's beloved *Little Green Books*, first published in 1910, contained many similar descriptions of *Ungeziefer* in exotic realms. See (all published in Cologne, by Schaffstein): Karl von den Steinen's 1912 *Bei den Indianern am Shingu*, 21; Förster Fleck's 1912 *Erzählung von seinen Schicksalen auf dem Zuge Napoleons nach Rußland und von seiner Gefangenschaft 1812–1814*, 91; Oskar Weber's 1913 *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers: Zwei Jahrzehnte deutscher Arbeit in Zentral-Amerika*, 9; and esp. K. Wettstein's 1911 *Durch den brasilianischen Urwald: Erlebnisse bei einer Wegerkundung in den deutschvölkischen Kolonien Süd-Brasiliens*, 6–8, 18, 22, 28, 35–36, 42, 57.

30. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 119, 220.
31. Cf. the similar phrasing in Kafka's earlier “Description of a Struggle,” where we learn of a man who is suffering from “a seasickness on dry land” (*DS* 60; *NSI* 89, trans. rev.).
32. See chapter one for a general discussion of the second home (and the fantasy of the lost-and-found mother) in exotic fin de siècle literature. For the specific case of Karl Rossmann, see chapter two.
33. Freud, “The Uncanny,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 17:245.
34. *T* 43; *P* 59; for further examples, see *T* 37, 103, 196; *P* 52, 138, 266.
35. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Faustdichtungen* (Munich, 1989), 338–41, 526.
36. Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle (Jenseits des Lustprinzips)*, in *Standard Edition*, 18:38, 41, 40.
37. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 18:39, 38; *Freud-Studienausgabe*, ed. Alexander Mitscherlich, Angela Richards, James Strachey (Frankfurt a. M., [1969–75]), 3:248.
38. Jean Baudrillard points out a connection between the Freudian death drive and utopia that matches precisely with K.'s own u-topian desire to die: “[The death drive] dissolves assemblages, unbinds energy and undoes Eros' organic discourse by returning things to an inorganic, *ungebunden*, state, in a certain sense, to utopia as opposed to the articulate and constructive topics of Eros. Entropy of death, negentropy of Eros” (Jean Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death* [London, 1993], 149).
39. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 18:39.
40. Rickels, “Writing as Travel and Travail,” 32, 33.
41. Rickels' use of “ver-dict's” literal meaning is dubious since Kafka never once uses the German word “*Verdikt*” (instead employing “*Urteil*”) in *The Trial*. Suggestive as this connection between “verdict” and “meaning” is, it depends on importing the word “verdict” into the German text. I thank an anonymous reader at Palgrave for pointing this out (Rickels, “Writing as Travel and Travail,” 33).
42. The K. of the later chapters seems to learn intertextually from “In the Penal Colony,” which Kafka began mid-way through *The Trial*: K. only

- consults with Titorelli on a full-blown traveling defense and begins to travel more frantically in the second half of *The Trial*.
43. For more on Mauthner and his importance for Prague culture in Kafka's era, see Christoph Stözl, "Prag: Die Verhältnisse um 1900," in *Kafka-Handbuch*, ed. Hartmut Binder, 1:86–88.
  44. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Ein Brief," in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Ellen Ritter (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), 31:54.
  45. For a description of writing's loss of authority for Kafka after 1917, see Corngold, "Kafka's Double Helix," in *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 105–36.
  46. Rainer Stach, "Eros, Macht und Gesetz: Der Verkehr der Behörden," in *Kafkas erotischer Mythos*, 145–57; Anderson cites Stach in his discussion of *Verkehr* in *The Trial* (Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 155n16).
  47. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 163, 162.
  48. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 162.
  49. In addition to Anderson, see Stanley Corngold: "And, indeed, the outcome for Josef K., who has evidently conducted his trial badly—obtusely, faintheartedly—is to be stabbed to death 'like a dog,' an unteachable dog" (Corngold, *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 236).
  50. Gerhard Kurz, "Figuren," in *Kafka-Handbuch*, ed. Hartmut Binder, 2:120.
  51. Benjamin, "Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death," 132. The original reads: "unter allen Geschöpfen Kafkas kommen am meisten Tiere zum Nachdenken" (*Benjamin über Kafka*, 30–31).
  52. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, 12.
  53. For Freud's definition of perversity, see his "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality," in *Standard Edition*, 7:125–245.
  54. Robertson, *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, Literature*, 110.
  55. For the importance of Otto Weininger's best-selling, misogynist *Sex and Charakter* (*Geschlecht und Character*, 1903) for Kafka, see Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 194–216. Further in this cultural-historical vein, Elizabeth Boa sees Fräulein Bürstner as a prototypically independent "New Woman"; in Boa's view, K.'s actions are part of a cultural "mean rage against the New Woman, whose escape from stereotypes proves difficult if not impossible to accept" (Boa, *Kafka*, 197).
  56. Leni's fingers could also signify the human "degenerate" as represented, for example, in the deformed fingers and toes from Paul Gauguin's 1880s/1890s "Eve" paintings, about which Kafka (a reader of Gauguin's Tahitian journals) likely knew. Like Gauguin's Eves, Leni has a "defect," is a "whim of nature." This notion of the "degenerate" is of course not far apart from notions of the "animal" (the non-human) in exclusionary nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourses (as National Socialism finally bears out). (See, among other Gauguin paintings, *Ève—pas écouter li li menteur* [1889], *Ève bretonne* [1889], *Ève exotique* [1890], and *Tè nave, nave fenua* [1892].) I thank Sander Gilman for the reference to Gauguin.
  57. Weininger's *Sex and Character* generally devalued women as purely instinctual, sensual, and unreflective beings, for whom "emotion" and "thought"

- were one and the same (not separate categories as they were for men). Max Brod's *A Czech Servant Girl (Ein tschechisches Dienstmädchen, 1909)* comments specifically (as did Freud, in scattered remarks) on the excessive sexuality of servant girls. For more on *A Czech Servant Girl* and its possible connection to Kafka's depictions of women, see Spector, *Prague Territories*, 174–77.
58. In Paul's letter to the Romans (during his discussion of the depravity of the gentiles), sexual *Verirrung* refers to perversity, explicitly to homosexuality: "their men, in turn, giving up natural intercourse [*den natürlichen Verkehr*] with women, burn with lust for one another; men carry on disgracefully with men, and they are paid the wage of their perversion [going astray, *Verirrung*] in their own person, as is fitting" (Rom. 1:27; my translation from Martin Luther's German).
  59. Georges Van Den Abbeele, "Sightseers: The Tourist as Theorist," *diacritics* 10 (December 1980): 2–14.
  60. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 45.
  61. Kafka and Brod named their prospective series "Billig" (On the Cheap) and planned to issue titles such as "On the Cheap through Switzerland," "On the Cheap in Paris," etc. (Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 120–21). The entire text of Kafka's and Brod's sketch (not yet translated into English) is entitled "Unser Millionenplan 'Billig'" ("Our Plan to Make Millions 'On the Cheap'") (*EFI*, 189–92).
  62. Karl Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn (nebst Cetinje Belgrad Bukarest): Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig, 1910).
  63. Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, v–vi.
  64. Baedeker, *Paris und Umgebungen*, 48.
  65. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 120 (Brod's emphasis); cf. *EFI* 190.
  66. Baedeker employs precisely this mode of "guiding" the tourist through museums. See, for example, Baedeker's guide to central and northern Germany (Baedeker, *Mittel- und Nord-Deutschland: Westlich bis zum Rhein: Handbuch für Reisende*, 22nd edn. [Leipzig, 1887]), which guides the tourist, artwork by artwork, through the Altes Museum in Berlin; this (or a slightly updated edition) was likely the guide that Kafka carried with him on his journeys to Weimar and Leipzig in 1912 (and perhaps later to Berlin, when visiting Felice Bauer or moving in with Dora Diamant).
  67. Rickels, "Writing as Travel and Travail," 33.
  68. According to Kafka's diary entries from December 1914, he was beginning his "mother chapter" in the same days that he was finishing "In the Cathedral" (*D* 320–21; entries from December 8 and 13). The logic of the Fischer critical edition of *Der Prozeß* (which, unlike the more recent Stroemfeld slip-box version, orders chapters according to the chronology of their creation) would thus likely position "Journey to His Mother" immediately after "In the Cathedral."
  69. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 45.
  70. There is a similar randomness leading up to the sexual encounter with Leni: K. meets her in a dark hallway, and he allows himself to be led blindly

- until they reach the door of the lawyer's empty office (where the love scene occurs) (T 104; P 139–40).
71. Stanley Corngold uses this term to discuss Karl Rossmann from *The Man Who Disappeared*, but I think that it also pertains to *The Trial*'s K. (whose rapture, like Rossmann's, often seems to issue from fatigue). See Corngold, "Rapture in Exile: Kafka's *The Boy Who Sank Out of Sight*," in *Complex Pleasure*, 121–38.
  72. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1981), 26–27.
  73. K. arrives at work at seven o'clock ("um sieben Uhr"), plans to meet the Italian around ten ("etwa um zehn Uhr"), arrives punctually ("pünktlich") at the Cathedral, waits at least half an hour ("zumindest eine halbe Stunde") for the Italian, and, later, looks at his watch ("sah auf seine Uhr") (T 201, 203, 206, 210; P 272, 276, 279, 285).
  74. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96, 97.
  75. "Doch das Paradies ist verriegelt und der Cherub hinter uns; wir müssen die Reise um die Welt machen, und sehen, ob es vielleicht von hinten irgendwo wieder offen ist" (Heinrich von Kleist, "Über das Marionettentheater," in *Über das Marionettentheater: Aufsätze und Anekdote* [Frankfurt a. M., 1987], 7–16 [here, 11]).
  76. Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle (Jenseits des Lustprinzips)*, in *Standard Edition*, 18:38, Freud's emphasis, trans. rev. Freud's German reads "zum Leblosen zurückzukehren" (*Studienausgabe*, 3:248). Freud uses the term *zurückkehren* because he views life (i.e., the organic) as something that has come out of the inorganic (i.e., from "unsere[r] Erde und ihr[em] hältnis zur Sonne" [*Studienausgabe*, 3:247]). Hence the idea of return: "Der konservativen Natur der Triebe widerspräche es, wenn das Ziel des Lebens ein noch nie zuvor erreichter Zustand wäre" (*Studienausgabe*, 3:248).
  77. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 18:37–38 (Freud's emphasis).
  78. Boa, *Kafka*, 234.
  79. Boa, *Kafka*, 234.
  80. Boa, *Kafka*, 233.
  81. K.'s "refusal of the knife becomes a refusal of the Janus-like position which sado-masochism represents" (Boa, *Kafka*, 235).
  82. Deleuze correctly points out, in his reading of Sacher-Masoch's *Venus in Furs*, that the masochist's torturer is generally not a "truly sadistic torturer" but rather only a dominator/dominatrix who has been trained by the masochist (who needs a well-trained torturer to fit into *his* masochistic fantasy). Moreover, a "genuine sadist could never tolerate" a masochistic victim (i.e., one who gained pleasure from the torture). See Gilles Deleuze, "Coldness and Cruelty," in *Masochism* (New York, 1991), 40–41.
  83. Boa, *Kafka*, 235.
  84. Walter Sokel, "Franz Kafka, *Der Process* (1925)," in *Deutsche Romane des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Paul Michael Lützeler (Königstein, 1983), 117.

85. Peter Beicken discusses, in his review of the secondary literature, the various ways in which critics have traditionally understood K.'s guilt (Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 275–84). In a later publication, Stanley Corngold argues that K. is guilty because he relies too much on “personal,” “lived experience”—at the expense of writing, or, more specifically, of a kind of writing that is not beholden to experience (Corngold, *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 245, see also 246–49).
86. According to Mark Anderson, K. suffers under both the “nightmarish” “criminal justice system” and the “sexual ethics of the patriarchal society”: this legal and social system has the awesome power to “corrupt everything, even the accused men it persecutes without reason and will finally execute” (Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 169, 171).
87. For *The Metamorphosis*, see Ruth Klüger Angress, “Kafka and Sacher-Masoch: A Note on *The Metamorphosis*,” *MLN* 85 (1970): 745–46; F. M. Kuna, “Art as Direct Vision: Kafka and Sacher-Masoch,” *Journal of European Studies* 2 (1972): 237–46; Anderson, “Kafka and Sacher-Masoch,” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 7 (1983): 4–19. For “A Hunger Artist,” see Norris, “The Fate of the Human Animal in Kafka's Fiction,” in *Beasts of the Modern Imagination*, 101–17.
88. *T* 84, 195; *P* 114, 265. Sabine Wilke, “‘Der Elbogen ruhte auf dem Kissen der Ottomane’: Über die sado-masochistischen Wurzeln von Kafkas *Der Prozess*,” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 21 (1997): 75, 77.
89. Wilke, “Der Elbogen,” 74.
90. Wilke, “Der Elbogen,” 69.
91. Canetti, *Kafka's Other Trial*, 71–72.
92. Sokel, “Franz Kafka, *Der Prozess*,” 117.
93. This story grouping opposes Sokel's, who (failing to notice K.'s masochism) sees K. as disconnected from Georg Bendemann (Sokel, “Franz Kafka, *Der Prozess*,” 120). For more on masochism and performance, see Deleuze's claim that masochism “always has a theatrical quality” (Deleuze, “Coldness and Cruelty,” 55). Deleuze borrows this notion from Theodor Reik, who argues that masochism corresponds to the “staging of a drama” (Reik, *Masochism in Modern Man*, trans. Margaret H. Biegel and Gertrud M. Kurth [New York: Farrar, Straus, 1949], 49).
94. Brod, *Franz Kafka*, 129.
95. See Sacher-Masoch's contract with his dominatrix, Wanda, which gives her the “right to torture you to death by the most horrible methods imaginable” (Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs*, in *Masochism* [New York: Zone, 1991], 279).

#### Chapter Four

1. Hans Beilhack, “Fünfter Abend für Neue Literatur,” in *Münchener Zeitung*, November 12, 1916, rpt. in *Franz Kafka: Kritik und Rezeption zu seinen*

- Lebzeiten 1912–1924*, ed. Jürgen Born (Frankfurt a. M., 1979), 121 (Beilhack's emphasis).
2. Otto Erich Hesse, "Franz Kafka, In der Strafkolonie," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, March/April 1921, rpt. in Born, *Franz Kafka: Kritik und Rezeption zu seinen Lebzeiten*, 97.
  3. Kurt Wolff, *Briefwechsel eines Verlegers* (Frankfurt a. M., 1966), 49.
  4. Kurt Tucholsky [Peter Panter, pseud.], "In der Strafkolonie," *Die Weltbühne*, June 3, 1920, rpt. in Born, *Franz Kafka: Kritik und Rezeption zu seinen Lebzeiten*, 94.
  5. Tucholsky, "In der Strafkolonie," 95. Otto Erich Hesse immediately countered Tucholsky by claiming that, even though "In the Penal Colony" indeed seems to criticize a political "lust for power," the story remains primarily sadistic and "sensational[ist]" (Hesse, "Franz Kafka, In der Strafkolonie," 97). Beilhack, likewise, claimed that Kafka's fascination with what is "loathsome and disgusting" cancels out the story's otherwise "political" connections to our "men-murdering epoch" (Beilhack, "Fünfter Abend," 121).
  6. Janouch, *Conversations with Kafka*, 131; *Gespräche mit Kafka*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a. M., 1968), 180; *LM* 214; *BM* 290.
  7. Margot Norris, "Sadism and Masochism in Two Kafka Stories: 'In der Strafkolonie' and 'Ein Hungerkünstler,'" *MLN* 93 (1978): 430–47 (expanded version in Norris, *Beasts of the Modern Imagination*, 101–17 [here, 102, 107]). "Pornology" is Gilles Deleuze's term; I employ this throughout this chapter to denote a kind of erotic language that, as in the work of Sade and Masoch, goes beyond pornography's "elementary functions of ordering and describing" (Deleuze, "Coldness and Cruelty," 18).
  8. Peter Cersowsky, "Das Erbe des Sodomasochismus," in *Phantastische Literatur im ersten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1983), 183–209. Most recently, building on Norris and Cersowsky, Mark Anderson has argued that the decorative arabesques on the Penal Colony victim's body can be read as signs of theatrical sado-masochism and "play" (*Kafka's Clothes*, 175).
  9. Müller-Seidel specifically criticizes Cersowsky for neglecting the story's manifest political landscape (Müller-Seidel, *Deportation des Menschen*, 141–42 and 182n124).
  10. Müller-Seidel, *Deportation*, 17–25. Müller-Seidel builds on the pioneering historical work of Klaus Wagenbach in Wagenbach's edition of Kafka's "In the Penal Colony" (Wagenbach [ed.], *In der Strafkolonie. Eine Geschichte aus dem Jahre 1914*). Müller-Seidel, like Wagenbach, claims that Kafka's fictional voyager is probably modeled after the German jurist, Robert Heindl, who was commissioned by the German Colonial Ministry to investigate deportation practices in New Caledonia and other European penal colonies (Müller-Seidel, *Deportation*, 80–87, 108–10). Heindl published his findings in 1912 in *Meine Reise nach den Strafkolonien* (*My Journey to the Penal Colonies*).

11. Müller-Seidel speaks of the text's thoroughgoing "critical vision, which cannot be gained from the perspective of a single character but rather through the text in all of its perspectives" (Müller-Seidel, *Deportation*, 135). See also *Deportation*, 145.
12. For Karen Piper, Kafka "condemn[s]" the colonial system and moreover ultimately opens up the possibility of postcolonial liberation (Piper, "The Language of the Machine: Kafka and the Subject of Empire," 47). Although Rolf Goebel does not allow for Piper's optimism, he similarly sees "In the Penal Colony" as a narrative of a "victim of colonial power" being oppressed by the "ideological language" of the colonists (Goebel, "Kafka and Postcolonial Critique," 201). Paul Peters relies less on postcolonial theory than do Piper and Goebel (arguing that "In the Penal Colony" is more akin to the anticolonialist classics of Fanon, Césaire, and Memmi than to the discourse-centered work of Said, Bhabha, and Spivak) but comes to a similar conclusion regarding the close connection between Kafka's fiction and colonialism: the "landscape of colonialism," Peters claims, is the "actual historical topography" for Kafka's story (Peters, "Witness to the Execution: Kafka and Colonialism," 401).
13. In Elizabeth Boa's brief discussion of "In the Penal Colony," she briefly mentions the coexistence of colonial and sadistic tensions in this story. But because her interests primarily concern representations of the male body in the crisis of "modernity," she does not fully investigate, in "In the Penal Colony," the specifically colonial aspects of sadism.  
 In her conclusions about the story, Boa correctly points out that Kafka ultimately rejects a Sadean pornological structure by not having his Penal Colony traveler become a "sadistic voyeur" (the observer/reader figure central to Sadean aesthetics). But Boa fails to notice the story's equally essential masochistic structures, without which, I maintain, we cannot adequately interpret the story's finale (Boa, "The Double Taboo: The Male Body in *The Judgment*, *The Metamorphosis*, and *In the Penal Colony*," in *Kafka*, 107–47 [Boa discusses "In the Penal Colony" on 133–47]).
14. Russell Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE, 1998), 232.
15. Mirbeau's narrator's original commission was to go to Fiji and Tasmania to "study their systems of penal administration" (Octave Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, trans. Michael Richardson [Sawtry, Cambs, England, 1995], 64).
16. *Schaffsteins Grüne Bändchen*, ed. Nicolaus Henningsen (Cologne: Schaffstein, 1910–70). By way of general introduction, it is important to note that the *Little Green Books*' connection to German colonialism is remarkably unobvious: Appearing first in 1910 and sometimes used as "*Sachliteratur*" in imperial German schools, these volumes offered entertaining, detailed descriptions of how to plant and harvest the exotic crops (sugar, coffee, bananas) grown in the colonies. Notable in this regard are some of the volumes that I will discuss either here or in the following chapter: *The Sugar Baron*, *Letters of a Coffee Planter*, and *The Banana King*. Moreover, the

- Little Green Books* also instructed future colonialists on how to hunt exotic wildlife and discipline “savages,” as part of a thrilling colonial adventures (in, for example, *In the Hinterlands of German East Africa* [*Im Hinterlande von Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 1910] and *Through Brazil’s Tropical Forest: Experiences of a Reconnaissance Mission in the Ethnic-German Colonies of Southern Brazil* [*Durch den brasilianischen Urwald: Erlebnisse bei einer Wegerkundung in den deutschvölkischen Kolonien Süd-Brasiliens*, 1911]). More brutal and direct were the lessons taught by *The Battle against the Herero: Images from the Campaign in the Southwest* (*Im Kampfe gegen die Hereros: Bilder aus dem Feldzug in Südwest*, 1911), and, after the outbreak of World War I, *How We Liberated East Prussia* (*Wie wir Ostpreußen befreiten*, 1915).
17. Peter F. Neumeyer, “Franz Kafka, Sugar Baron,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 17 (Spring 1971): 5–16. The only subsequent mentions I have found in the secondary literature are two very brief ones in Beicken’s *Franz Kafka*, 287, 337 and one brief one in Binder, *Kafka in neuer Sicht*, 627n304. See also my “Of Sugar Barons and Banana Kings: Franz Kafka, Imperialism, and Schaffstein’s *Grüne Bändchen*,” *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 22 (1996): 63–75.
  18. Kafka’s personal library as well as the books that he refers to in his diaries and letters are expertly indexed by Jürgen Born in *Kafkas Bibliothek: Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Frankfurt a. M., 1990). For Kafka’s personal collection of and references to the *Little Green Books* (he owned at least seven of them), see *Kafkas Bibliothek*, 145–48, 175 (“the great literature of travel”), 180, 217. For the reference to Kafka’s tears, see D 248 (diary entry from December 15, 1913). Recently, the Stuttgart antiquarian Herbert Blank collected most of the books from Kafka’s library documented by Born (including many of Schaffstein’s *Little Green Books*) (Herbert Blank, *In Kafkas Bibliothek: Werke der Weltliteratur und Geschichte in der Edition, wie sie Kafka besaß oder kannte* [Stuttgart, 2001]).
  19. Although this term undergoes revision in Foucault’s work, I will take “discourse” to mean the quotidian reflection of what he calls an *episteme*: the “fundamental codes of a culture,” the “historical *a priori*,” the “positive basis of knowledge” in a specific historical moment. This definition issues from Foucault’s first attempt at articulating discourse, from *Les Mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris, 1966); English translation from *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1973), xx–xxii. He outlines his notion of discourse further in *L’ordre du discours* (Paris, 1971); English translation in “The Discourse on Language,” appendix to Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1976), 215–37.
  20. *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1986 edition, s.v. “entweichen.” *Entweichen* is rendered in the standard English translation of *Letters to Felice* as “avoid,” which is inadequate because it does not contain *entweichen*’s suggestion of a possible liberation.
  21. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 29.



22. Neumeyer discusses this example and admits, likewise, that the link between the two machines is speculative, but his essay remains primarily positivistic: he does not investigate discursive correlations. Nonetheless, another of Neumeyer's connections is worth mentioning. He points to similarities between another piece of machinery in *The Sugar Baron* (a sugar press; see figure 14) and Kafka's "Penal Colony" apparatus: The former twists and turns a piece of cane until it expels syrup, redolent of the expelled blood from "In the Penal Colony," which also leads—for the viewers—to purifying "sweet[ness]" (Neumeyer, "Franz Kafka," 10–13; Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 17). Unnoted by Neumeyer, Kafka might also have been influenced by Weber's terminology of "pressing out" or "crushing" (*auspressen*): the Sugar Baron's press cannot satisfactorily "crush" the syrup out of the cane ("*die Auspressung [war] ungenügend*"); the penal colony's torture machine, similarly, can no longer adequately "crush" a scream out of its victim ("Heute gelingt es der Maschine nicht mehr, dem Verurteilten ein stärkeres Seufzen auszupressen") (Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 17; *DL* 226).
23. Weber, *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers*, 36.
24. Weber, *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers*, 37.
25. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 11.
26. For the machines in Cox and Wladiczek, see Klaus Wagenbach's notes in his expanded, 1995 edition of Franz Kafka, *In der Strafkolonie: Eine Geschichte aus dem Jahre 1914*, 77–9, 113–15; for the phonograph, see the fascinating discussion by Wolf Kittler in "Schreibmaschinen, Sprechmaschinen. Effekte technischer Medien im Werk Franz Kafkas," in *Franz Kafka: Schriftverkehr*, ed. Wolf Kittler and Gerhard Neumann (Freiburg, 1990), esp. 116–41.
27. For example, Hermann Glaser cites an article from the popular German magazine *Die Gartenlaube* (entitled "A Disgrace to the Nineteenth Century") that describes voyeurism at a slave auction in late-nineteenth-century Dutch Surinam ("The male or female slave is immediately compelled to discard all clothing") and, later, brutal sadism ("Yes, it is scarcely believable, but in Surinam there are [European] ladies who do not hesitate to examine and scrutinize the thighs of their slaves to see whether the depths of their wounds are in good relation to the guilders they have paid; ladies who rub Spanish pepper into bloody limbs"). See *Querschnitt durch die Gartenlaube*, ed. Heinz Klüter (Bern, 1963), 158–60; cited in Hermann Glaser, *Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts in Motiven* (Munich, 1978), 1:135. John Noyes discusses this citation in relation to colonial sadism and masochism in *The Mastery of Submission: Inventions of Masochism* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), 117–18.
28. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 127.
29. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 127–38 (includes reproductions of some of these images).
30. As Chris Bongie points out, the New Imperialism began to gain the upper hand in 1876, during the British debate surrounding the Royal Titles Act,

- which was to proffer the title of “Empress of India” to Queen Victoria. Although the Old Imperialists won this battle (Victoria became Empress), the liberal opposition acquired a moral momentum that led to reforms in official colonial policy in the last decades of the century. As Bongie argues (and as I will discuss in relation to Kafka’s story), the New Imperialism’s apparently modern notion of enlightened colonialism had, however, contradictions of its own: “Ridding the Empire of its imperial vestiges is the paradoxical imperative of the New Imperialism, as it engages in and is engaged by a process of rationalization that must (in theory, to be sure) lead to the transformation of an enlightened despotism into an even more luminous paternalism, one better suited to the global pretensions of colonial power in the age of the New Imperialism” (Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 36–38).
31. The New Imperialism insisted that the “founding contradiction of the Old Imperialism—the two-fold postulate of democracy at home and despotism abroad—had to give way, or at the very least be represented as giving way, to a more ‘civilized’ relationship between metropolitan and peripheral territories” (Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 36–37).
  32. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 127, 129. As Noyes points out, the German Colonial Society (founded in 1887) and the German-Colonial Women’s League (1907) “provided free passage to South-West Africa for prospective settler-wives” (129).
  33. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 129. Sabine Wilke elaborates on the same point: “the training of women for service in the colonies culminated in providing the settler with the cozy atmosphere of a German household and keeping him from fraternizing with the natives. This project is intimately tied to the strict prohibition of miscegenation” (Sabine Wilke, “The Colonial Pedagogy of Imperial Germany: Hegelian Dialectics, Hermeneutics, and Masochism,” in *Competing Imperialisms*, ed. Elizabeth Sauer [forthcoming]).  
Moreover, the women’s (sexually) civilizing influence was to help with the general New Imperial re-direction of male libidinal energy away from sadism and toward what Chris Bongie terms economic “rationalization” and “efficiency” (the latter being the modern “watchword” of the New Imperialism) (Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 37, 41).
  34. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 127–28.
  35. This fact cements the Schaffstein heroes’ position within a “new” colonial discourse that demanded that sadism be repressed. Further, contemporaneous examples of German colonial sadism (and its more or less successful repression) include Frieda von Bülow’s aptly named 1895 *Tropenkoller* (a critical account of the brutal German colonialist, Karl Peters) and Gustav Frenssen’s 1906 *Peter Moor’s Journey to Southwest Africa*. See John Noyes, “National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration in Gustav Frenssen’s *Peter Moor’s Journey to Southwest Africa*,” in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 87–105.

36. Cornelia Schneider, “Die Bilderbuchproduktion der Verlage Jos. Scholz (Mainz) and Schaffstein (Köln) in den Jahren 1899 bis 1932” (Ph.D. diss., Frankfurt a. M., 1984), 66. Schaffstein’s *Little Green Books* were, the publishers claimed, the first series devoted to *Sachlesen* (“history, geography, natural history”) in German schools, and the publishers advertised for these books’ continued use in schools into the 1930s and beyond (Severin Rüttgers, *Schaffsteins Grüne Bändchen im Schulunterricht und als Klassenlektüre* [Cologne, 1930], 1).
37. The official policy against sadism in the colonies foreshadows the Nazi prohibition against sadism in Auschwitz three decades later. For the Nazi legal regulations against sadism in Auschwitz (including the 1943 charges filed by the government against the Head of the Auschwitz Political Department) and the attempt to enforce what would seem to be a more orderly and domestically acceptable form of genocide, see Rebecca Wittmann, “Holocaust on Trial?: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial in Historical Perspective” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 2001), 127–39. With this particular connection between colonial and National Socialist discourse in mind, it is interesting to note that Schaffstein’s *Little Green Books* became favorites of the Nazi Wehrmacht—sent along (like Karl May books) as *Feldpostausgaben* (military editions) for the soldiers to read on the front. This *Feldpostausgabe* stamp can still be seen on 1940s reprints of some of the *Little Green Books*.
38. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 10, 9.
39. Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, *Im Hinterlande von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Cologne, 1910), 47, 11.
40. Mecklenburg, *Im Hinterlande von Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 59–60.
41. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 117.
42. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 42–43. Throughout his notes and personal letters from the Orient, moreover, Flaubert regularly revels in looking at the tortured and ill bodies of the “natives”: a beaten “black behind” (33), rotten teeth (114), lepetic genitalia (40), plague-sores (118). As Ali Behdad argues, however, Flaubert seems to exaggerate his sadistic perspective, and even to drive perverse clichés to absurd extremes (as in Flaubert’s trumped-up remake of what he calls “the old comic business of the cudgeled slave”) (Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 33). Flaubert pushes his perversity beyond colonialism’s traditional limits; in so doing, he ends up by (perhaps unconsciously) parodying the very colonial system that made space for his sadism to begin with. Flaubert’s desire is, says Behdad, “transgressive” because of its excess: he over-produces sadism and thereby “transcend[s] the power relations of Orientalism” that had prepared the stage for his fantasies. Flaubert thus turns cliché into pornographic over-indulgence. (Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 65).

And Flaubert, like Kafka’s officer (and unlike the heroes of the *Little Green Books*), toys with the idea of perhaps ultimately becoming one of the beaten, one of the injured native bodies. Flaubert does more than just

attempt to “go native” by dressing like an Egyptian (as evidenced by the only surviving photograph of Flaubert in Egypt); he also courts “native” infections, encouraging illness, through deliberately reckless sex. As he writes after having sex with a “crazy,” plague-stricken Egyptian prostitute: “On the matting: firm flesh, bronze arse, shaven cunt, dry though fatty; the whole thing gave the effect of a plague victim or a leperhouse” (Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, 40; cf. Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 145n13). Flaubert sadistically penetrates this powerless foreign Other, but she might, in turn, penetrate his body with her disease. How much of her Otherness—her insanity, her infection, her proximity to death—will he be able to contain? As Behdad argues, sadistic pleasure becomes, in the end, less important to Flaubert than these self-exposures to death (Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 66–68).

Comparable to Flaubert’s attempt at Oriental self-obliteration is T. E. Lawrence’s, whose homosexuality and masochism Kaja Silverman investigates in “White Skins, Brown Masks: The Double Mimesis, or With Lawrence in Arabia,” in *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York, 1992), 299–338.

43. Long viewed as the primary source for the sadism in Kafka’s story, *Torture Garden* has, however, yet to be seen as a source for “In the Penal Colony’s” specifically colonial sadism. See Binder, *Kafka-Kommentar zu sämtlichen Erzählungen*, 174–81.
44. Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 106, 125.
45. Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 153, 152.
46. As we read in *Torture Garden*: “[T]he Chinese alone know the divine secret” of artful torture (Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 153–54).
47. For more on the politics of Mirbeau and his *Torture Garden* (especially in relation to the Dreyfus Affair), see Müller-Seidel, *Deportation*, 143–45; Anderson, *Kafka’s Clothes*, 177–78; and Brian Stableford’s introduction to the latest translation of Mirbeau’s *Torture Garden*, 10–11. Anderson, too, sees *Torture Garden* as a political “parody” (albeit of European decadence, not of colonial sadism) (177).

Kafka was also a supporter of Dreyfus, who was imprisoned on the French penal colony, Devil’s Island, from 1895 to 1899. In a letter to Max Brod, Kafka wrote of the “fight for Dreyfus” (“*Kampf für Dreyfus*”) (L 348; B 402). See Gilman, *Franz Kafka, the Jewish Patient*, 68–88.

48. Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 139.
49. As Clara points out to Mirbeau’s narrator, European sadism is by no means limited to Europe: “I’m sure you think the Chinese are fiercer than us? Not at all! We English? Ah, tell me about it! And you French?” She then goes on to recall seeing the French bury thirty fleeing Algerians in the hot desert sand (with only their heads protruding) until they died of dehydration. She then remembers how the English slit the throats of the “little Modeljar princes” on the temple steps in the sacred city of Kandy, the former capital of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) (Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 140–41).

50. This leads the narrator to think of “the [European] judges, the soldiers and the priests who, everywhere [ . . . ] continued death’s work” (Mirbeau, *Torture Garden*, 189–90).
51. The steel belt on the engraving part of the old commandant’s machinery “*strafft sich sofort [ . . . ] zu einer Stange*” (stiffens immediately to form a rigid bar) and then begins to cut and spray acid into the prostrate man’s skin (MO 134; DL 215). On the phallic nature of the old commandant, Clayton Koelb writes: “This ‘Straffheit’ of the machine, which is really just a reflection of the ‘Straffheit’ of the old Commandant and his ethic, an ideal of ‘straffe Zucht,’ rigid discipline, is thus both sexual and authoritarian” (Clayton Koelb, “‘In der Strafkolonie’: Kafka and the Scene of Reading,” *German Quarterly* 55 [1982]: 512).
52. The sovereign based his power on his “dominion over bodies and his capacity for their total subjection” (Roberta Maccagnani, “Esotismo-erotismo—Pierre Loti: Dalla maschera erotica alla sovranità coloniale,” in *Letteratura, esotismo, colonialismo*, ed. Anita Licari, Roberta Maccagnani, and Lina Zecchi [Bologna, 1978], 68). Cited in Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 38.
53. Peter J. Brenner, “Schwierige Reisen: Wandlungen des Reiseberichts in Deutschland 1918–1945,” in *Reisekultur in Deutschland: Von der Weimarer Republik zum “Dritten Reich,”* ed. Peter J. Brenner (Tübingen, 1997), 129.
54. For more on Sade’s erotic Panopticon, see Marcel Hénaff, *Sade: The Invention of the Libertine Body*, trans. Xavier Callahan (Minneapolis, 1999), 109. See also Peter Cersowsky’s claim that Kafka’s Penal Colony traveler is an instantiation of sado-masochism’s prototypical “voyeuristic observer” (Cersowsky, *Phantastische Literatur*, 198–201).
55. Hénaff, *Sade*, 106, 109. One of many examples of Sade’s exposure of everything, from all possible angles, is an early scene in part one of *Juliette*, where Juliette tells us that “the tableau was comprised in this manner” and then goes on painstakingly to describe the convoluted positionings and penetrations of herself, the Mother Superior, Télème, Laurette, Volmar, Flavie, and Ducroz. Since everyone is involved in the orgy, no one (least of all Juliette) could have witnessed all of this on his/her own; but this omnivoyeuristic perspective is nonetheless related, throughout the narrative, to the reader (Marquis de Sade, *Juliette*, trans. Austryn Wainhouse [New York, 1968], 57).
56. MO 130, 132–35; DL 208, 212–13, 216–17.
57. On sadism and speculative processes, see Deleuze: “The essential operation of sadism is the sexualization of thought and of the speculative process as such” (Deleuze, “Coldness and Cruelty,” 127).
58. As Elizabeth Boa points out, the voyager refuses to accept the pornological position of “viewer-hero” (which had been filled, in Mirbeau’s *Torture Garden*, by Clara) (Boa, *Kafka*, 145). Boa borrows this term from Susanne Kappeler, *The Pornography of Representation* (Oxford, 1986), 59.
59. For a summary of the first (traditional theological interpretations), see Becken, *Franz Kafka*, 288–89; for an example of the second, see Norris,

- Beasts of the Modern Imagination*, 113; for an example of the third, see Allen Thiher, *Franz Kafka: A Study of the Short Fiction* (Boston, 1990), 59.
60. Cf. Koelb, who likewise sees in this suicide an act of defiance against the voyager. (Koelb, “In der Strafkolonie,” 519).
  61. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 120–38.
  62. The officer thus ostentatiously surrenders what Noyes would term his “imperial male sexuality” (Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 114).
  63. For the importance of the contract (outlining the dominator’s/dominatrix’s powers over the masochist) see Leopold von Sacher-Masoch’s appendix to *Venus in Furs* (“Two Contracts of Masoch,” in *Masochism*, 277–79), and Deleuze, “Coldness and Cruelty,” 91–102.
  64. See Norris, *Beasts of the Modern Imagination*, 113. In contrast to Norris’ claim of an autoexecution, note Kafka’s description: When the strapped-down officer can no longer reach the crank (to start the designer), the designer inexplicably starts on its own (“hardly were the straps in place when the machine began to operate”). Later, we learn that the machine develops something like a consciousness: it “notic[es]” its own performance (*MO* 150, 152; *DL* 242, 245).
  65. In later fragments of “In the Penal Colony,” not included in the published version, the voyager beats the two stragglers with his fists and then imagines that a “good old miller back home in the north” might grind these “two grinning fellows” to death between his millstones (*D* 380; *Ta* 824).
  66. As Goebel points out, it is not altogether clear that this man is a native of the island, but Boa correctly asserts that he does seem not to be European: his “bulging” (*wulstig*) lips are a “racist marker suggesting African features” (*MO* 131; *DL* 139) (Goebel, “Kafka and Postcolonial Critique,” 201; Boa, *Kafka*, 139).
  67. For example, Müller-Seidel speaks suspiciously of the officer’s assumptions: “the transfiguration and redemption” that the officer “believes to perceive” in the faces of the condemned men is “not verified by a single character in the story.” But at the same time Müller-Seidel seems to believe the voyager’s equally unconfirmed assumptions about the officer: “But when the officer could verify such an absurd redemption through his own death, this precisely does not occur” (Müller-Seidel, *Deportation*, 122).
  68. Stanley Corngold writes: “Who says—and on what authority—that the officer found no trace of the promised redemption? The officer remains convinced; he has not registered the shortfall in the promised redemption” (Corngold, “Allotria and Excreta in ‘In the Penal Colony,’” *Modernism/Modernity* 8 [2001]: 290).
  69. See the chapter entitled, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994), 85–92 (here, 86, 88).
  70. See Goebel’s use of Bhabha’s theory of mimicry in relation to “In the Penal Colony” in Goebel, “Kafka and Postcolonial Critique,” 199–200.

71. See Kafka's 1907 letter to Max Brod, in which he writes of the "forlorn" German colonists in "Dar es Salaam, Ujiji, Windhoek" (L 23; B 35–36). I discuss this passage in depth at the end of the following chapter.
72. Cf. Silverman's notion of "the double mimesis" in *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, 299–338. See also note 42 above.
73. For an account of colonialism's existential crisis (but not a discussion of mimicry), see Jean-Paul Sartre's preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*, by Frantz Fanon (New York, 1963), 7–31.
74. Two of many possible examples of this theme of extinction from the *Little Green Books* occur in volumes three and twenty: Mecklenburg's 1910 *In the Hinterlands of German East Africa* and Steinen's 1912 *With the Xingú Indians (Bei den Indianern am Schingu)*. In the former, the narrator witnesses an "authentically original" Watusi (Tutsi) celebration directed by a "Negro prince"; the narrator claims that his experience has been especially meaningful because the Watusi will soon be forced to "give way" to the domination of Europeans (25, 34). In the latter, explorers/ethnographers tell of one of the world's last populations still managing to evade "civilization" and still leading the "primal, simple life of the 'Stone Age'" (5). Kafka seemed to have been especially interested in this latter book: he presented a copy to a friend in 1912, just two years before he wrote "In the Penal Colony" (Binder, *Kafka in neuer Sicht*, 127).

Concerning Kafka's interest in cultural extinction, see also his description of one of the "last large battles that the American government had to wage against the Indians," written on the same day and in the same notebook as Kafka's final (unpublished) variation of "In the Penal Colony" (August 9, 1917). Here, Kafka writes of a legendarily brutal General Samson, who struck fear into the hearts of the few Indians who were still left to resist the American government: "The shout, 'General Samson!' was almost as effective as a musket against a lone Indian" (D 382; *Ta* 827, trans. rev.).

75. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 103.
76. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 103.
77. Pierre Loti, *Aziyadé*, trans. Marjorie Laurie (London, 1989) (originally published in 1879). For a discussion of colonial masochism in *Aziyadé*, see Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 107–9.
78. Cersowsky, *Phantastische Literatur*, 200.
79. See my discussion of Josef K.'s masochism in chapter three.
80. Norris, *Beasts of the Modern Imagination*, 114
81. In the words of Red Peter, the ape, "One watches over oneself with the whip; one flays oneself at the slightest sign of resistance" (*MO* 194; *DL* 311).

Kafka's own masochistic fantasies are legend, as is his sense that both writing and reading are the reward for this pain. His most graphic torture fantasies—such as being yanked upward through a house, "bloody and ragged" until all that remains is the empty noose, "dropping the last fragments of me when it breaks through the roof"—are never far from his

- conception of literature (D 224; July 21, 1913). Reading is akin to taking part on a violent internal journey: to smashing, with an ax, the “frozen sea inside us” (L 16; January 27, 1904 letter to Oskar Pollak). Writing corresponds to the body’s most painful physical experiences (it is a “birth, covered with filth and slime, and only I have the hand that can reach to the body”) as well as to a peculiar desire to literally incorporate language (D 214, 134; February 11, 1913, December 8, 1911). When Kafka sits down at the desk to write, he feels the same pain as he would feel falling down and breaking both of his legs (D 29; December 15, 1910). One month after writing the above-cited alternate endings to “In the Penal Colony,” Kafka describes writing (letters) as a form of bleeding to death, in which the correspondents’ “throats, our poor pigeons’ throats, one here, one there, are cut. But so slowly, so provocatively, with so little blood, so heartrendingly so hearts-rendingly” (L 140, letter to Brod, mid-September 1917, trans. rev.). This notion of writing painfully yet pleasurably “on one’s own body” is finally literalized in “In the Penal Colony”: the officer’s body should be, through writing, tortured and redeemed. For more examples of Kafka’s masochism, see also his diary entry from September 16, 1915, as well as Pietro Citati’s biography, *Kafka* (New York, 1990), 27–28.
82. For the connections between the New Imperialism and economic efficiency, see Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 40–46.
  83. Noyes, *Mastery of Submission*, 114.
  84. Cf. Kafka’s later (1920) aphorism: “The animal wrests the whip from its master and whips itself in order to become master, not knowing that this is only a fantasy produced by a new knot in the master’s whip-lash” (WP 41; NSII 119).
  85. In this regard, see Judith Butler’s argument concerning the subject’s “stubborn attachment” to its subjection in “Stubborn Attachment, Bodily Subjection: Rereading Hegel on the Unhappy Consciousness,” in *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford, 1997), 31–62.

### Chapter Five

1. “Landvermesser” appears in the text 112 times, almost as often as “Schloß” itself, which appears 189 times (Heinrich P. Delfosse and Karl Jürgen Skrodzki, *Synoptische Konkordanz zu Franz Kafkas Romanen*, vols. 2 and 3 [Tübingen, 1993], 1137).
2. Marthe Robert, *The Old and the New: From Don Quixote to Kafka* (Berkeley, 1977), 18.
3. According to Charles Bernheimer: “[K.] is a land-surveyor in the sense that his vocation is to delimit differences, to map out boundaries, in order to establish the symbolic principle relating possession to authority, ownership to its origin, material presence to an absent but recuperable presence. His ambition is to be a successful reader of the symbolic structure binding Cas-



- tle and village, and he feels that his very existence depends on this success” (Bernheimer, *Flaubert and Kafka*, 198).
4. Helga Göhler, *Franz Kafka: “Das Schloß”* (Bonn, 1982), 52; Robertson, *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, Literature*, 228–35.
  5. Sokel, *Franz Kafka—Tragik und Ironie*, 403–5.
  6. Erich Heller, “The World of Franz Kafka” (1952), rpt. in *Twentieth-Century Interpretations of “The Castle,”* ed. Peter F. Neumeyer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1969), 70.
  7. Weber’s memoir could well be fictional, since he wrote another “memoir” about a South American coffee planter (*Letters of a Coffee Planter*) that tells a different life story. The important thing for my argument, however, is not the “truth” of Weber’s account and its depiction of land-surveying but rather the book’s connection to the general turn-of-the-century discourse surrounding land surveying.
  8. Neumeyer, “Franz Kafka, Sugar Baron,” 9–10.
  9. Born, *Kafkas Bibliothek*, 228.
  10. Wirkner, *Kafka und die Außenwelt*, 14–40.
  11. See Max Brod’s afterword to the first, 1927 edition of Kafka’s *Amerika*, edited by Max Brod (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), 260.
  12. Born, *Kafkas Bibliothek*, 228.
  13. Kafka’s note to Elli is excerpted in *EFI 300n30* and published in its entirety in Born, *Kafkas Bibliothek*, 180.
  14. For possible historical sources for Kafka’s Castle and village, see Binder, *Kafka-Handbuch*, 2:442–43, and Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 337.
  15. Evelyn Torton Beck, *Kafka and the Yiddish Theater: Its Impact on His Work* (Madison, WI, 1971), 195.
  16. Emrich, *Franz Kafka* (Frankfurt a. M., 1957), 300–303.
  17. Walter Sokel and, later, Stephen Dowden correctly argue against Emrich and any such benevolent reading of K. They point out that K. often seems to be interested only in his own well-being—not in the needs of the community (Sokel, *Franz Kafka—Tragik und Ironie*, 165, 414, 419 [cited in Binder, *Kafka-Handbuch*, 2:462]; Stephen Dowden, *Kafka’s Castle and the Critical Imagination* [Columbia, SC, 1995], 30–31, 34–35).
  18. The few recent scholars who address the historical-political framework of *The Castle* generally focus on Kafka’s connection to fin de siècle Jewish culture and politics (Zionism, the Yiddish theater, Messianism). See, for example, Harold Bloom’s introduction to *Franz Kafka’s “The Castle”* (New York, 1988), 1–22, Robertson, *Kafka: Judaism, Politics, Literature*, 218–72, and David Suchoff, *Critical Theory and the Novel: Mass Society and Cultural Criticism in Dickens, Melville, and Kafka* (Madison, WI, 1994), 136–77.
  19. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 17. See also Pratt’s entire chapter, “Science, planetary consciousness, interiors,” in which she discusses Linnaeus and the general eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European desire to classify the world (15–37).

20. The state, according to this definition, is a form of power separate from ruler and ruled, and also from the economy. It exists primarily as *territory*, and as the corresponding exclusive right to commit violence within this territory's boundaries. See Quentin Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 Vols. (New York, 1978), and Nicos Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism* (London, 1978); both are cited in Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country," 126n16.
21. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 18.
22. Kafka's library and reading notes included works about the North Pole, the South Seas, Greenland, Iceland, Mexico, Italy, Russia, Central and South America, Africa, the United States, England, Scotland, East Prussia, and Germany. All of the travel books owned by Kafka—including the Schaffstein volumes—are indexed in Born's *Kafkas Bibliothek*, 144–48. To review the books mentioned in Kafka's letters and diaries, see the index to *Kafkas Bibliothek* (235–55), where all of the books to which Kafka refers are listed according to the author's name. See also note 18 in chapter four.
23. Peter J. Brenner refers to this development in his aptly titled chapter on the nineteenth-century German travel writers Alexander von Humboldt and Adelbert von Chamisso: "Die Vermessung der Welt" (Surveying the World), in Peter J. Brenner, *Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur* (Tübingen, 1990), 443–90 (here, 445).
24. Josef Löwy was active in a commercial venture in Panama, and then held important colonial posts in the Congo (for nearly twelve years) and, later, in China. During Löwy's (and Kafka's) lifetime, the Panama Canal region was surveyed, measured, and occupied—first unsuccessfully by the French (for whom Löwy likely worked), and later by the Americans. The Congo was assigned to King Léopold of Belgium during the 1885 Berlin conference. One of Léopold's driving desires was to build the Congo Railway, for which Löwy was the chief of commercial sections (Anthony Northey, *Kafka's Relatives: Their Lives and His Writing* [New Haven, 1991], 9, 15–30).
25. Surveyors appear in the following *Little Green Books* (all published in Cologne by Schaffstein): Carsten Borchgrevink, *Festes Land am Südpol: Erlebnisse auf der Expedition nach dem Südpolarland 1898–1900* (1911), 53; Sven Hedin, *Über den Transhimalaja* (1911), 96–99; Mecklenburg, *Im Hinterlande von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (1910), 37; Weber, *Zuckerbaron* (1914), 55–6, 87; Weber, *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers* (1913), 54, 58, 61–2; Wettstein, *Durch den brasilianischen Urwald* (1911), 6–7, 29, 48. In Wettstein's *Durch den brasilianischen Urwald* (*Through the Brazilian Jungle*), to offer just one example, the narrator recalls his earlier pleasures of "surveying and hunting" in colonial Africa (a theme later repeated at the outset of Kafka's "A Report to an Academy") (48).  
 For more on the general pro-imperial stance of the *Little Green Books* and the Schaffstein Verlag, see note 16 in chapter four.
26. Said writes: "The great cultural archive, I argue, is where the intellectual and aesthetic investments in overseas dominion are made" (Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* [New York, 1993], xxi).

27. In *The Banana King*, the German protagonist is born in a German settlement in the United States, not in Germany. Except for this difference, however, the plot is the same: the young Samuel Rath heads off to Latin America penniless, looking to get rich through colonial crop production.
28. Said, *Orientalism*, 193.
29. This term connects psychological colonialism to the burgeoning fin de siècle interest in travel and travel writing (Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, *Impressionismus*, 2nd ed. [Munich, 1974], 14–30).
30. Reif, “Exotismus im Reisebericht des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,” 447–51.
31. Susanne Zantop similarly refers to colonies, in the German imagination, as a “blank space for a new beginning, for the creation of an imaginary national self freed from history and convention—a self that would prove to the world what ‘he’ could do” (Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* [Durham, NC, 1997], 7). David Spurr likewise delineates the colonial fantasy that the conquered world is a blank, “negative” space—lacking both history and individuality (Spurr, “Negation,” in *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 92–108). See note 94 in chapter two.
32. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 5.
33. For Kafka, Latin America is not a blank landscape, because of Josef Löwy’s work in Panama. But Kafka equates the adjective “Russian,” as he writes in a January 1912 diary entry, with an experience of “extreme solitude”; three years later, he defines Russia as a symbol that is emptied out, a site of eternal erasure: “The infinite attraction of Russia. It is best represented not by Gogol’s troika but by the image of a vast river of yellowish water, which sends waves—but not too high ones—breaking all round. Windswept, desolate heaths upon its banks, blighted grass. *Nothing can represent it; everything rather effaces it* [Nichts erfasst das, verlöscht vielmehr alles]” (D 165, 331; *Ta* 348, 727, my emphasis, trans. rev.). Correspondingly, the Stationmaster in Kafka’s 1914 fragment “Memoirs of the Kalda Railway” claims that Russia is the ideal spot for him because of its barrenness: it creates an inimitable and welcome “solitude ringing in my ears” (D 303; *Ta* 549).
34. Gerhard Neumann, “*Das Urteil*”: *Text, Materialien, Kommentar* (Munich, 1981), 147–48. Neumann borrows the term “extraterritoriality” (*Exterritorialität*) from Ina-Maria Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch: Ein literatur-anthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen* (Frankfurt a. M., 1972). For more on Kafka and extraterritoriality, see note 35 in chapter seven.
35. As Said points out the Orient is, for many travelers, “dead and dry—a mental mummy”; it is something travelers, from Alexander Kinglake to Gustave Flaubert, want to “remake” or to “bring to life” (Said, *Orientalism*, 193, 185).
36. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 87.
37. Weber, *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers*, 54, 61–62, 32–33.
38. Hesse, *Aus Indien*, 105–6. For further examples, see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 201–27.

39. Weber, *Briefe eines Kaffee-Pflanzers*, 57.
40. Mecklenburg, *Im Hinterlande von Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 36–37.
41. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 204.
42. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 216.
43. Max Wiederhold, *Der Panamakanal* (Cologne, 1913), 59–60, my emphasis.
44. According to Malek Alloula, in his study of the colonial postcard, the representation was never allowed to reveal the viewer: it never exposed the embodied eye that made the picture possible (Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna and Wlad Godzich [Minneapolis, 1986]). Tim Mitchell discusses Alloula in *Colonising Egypt* (New York, 1988), 26.
45. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 87–88.
46. G. W. F. Hegel, *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. Hans-Friedrich Wessels and Heinrich Clairmont (Hamburg, 1988), 133; G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (New York, 1977), 116.
47. Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, 133; *Phenomenology*, 116.
48. John Barrell, *English Literature in History 1730–80: An Equal, Wide Survey* (New York, 1983), 33. I thank David Clark for pointing out this connection with Barrell.
49. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, in *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin, 1968), 6(2):215; Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1966), 201 (my emphasis).
50. Nietzsche, *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, in *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 6(2):273; Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York, 1966), 26.
51. Nietzsche, *Jenseits*, 215; *Beyond*, 201. It is important to note, Nietzsche places the modern notion of being disinterested (*désintéressé*) firmly within the moralizing herd instinct (*Genealogie* 274; *On the Genealogy* 26). However, Nietzsche's assertions regarding the pre-historic nobility nonetheless resemble Barrell's description of the disinterested man of the eighteenth century: both figures lay claim to a form of supra-human, in Nietzsche's words, "self-surmounting" point of view that purports to be at once more "distanced" and more "comprehensive" than the commoner's (*Jenseits* 215; *Beyond* 201).
52. Hegel writes, for example: "[The master's] truth is in reality the unessential consciousness and its unessential action" (*Phänomenologie*, 134; *Phenomenology*, 117). Alexandre Kojève famously argues that, by the end of the "master/slave" dialectic, the master loses and the slave wins: "In the long run, all slavish work realizes not the Master's will, but the will—at first unconscious—of the Slave, who—finally—succeeds where the Master—necessarily—fails" (Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* [New York, 1969], 30).
53. See Brod's afterword to the first, 1926 edition of Kafka's *Das Schloß*, edited by Max Brod (Frankfurt a. M., 1968), 347.

54. These critics include Heller, “The World of Franz Kafka” (1952); Politzer, *Franz Kafka, der Künstler* (1965); Robert, *L’Ancien et le nouveau: de Don Quichotte à Kafka* (Paris, 1963); and K.-P. Phillipi, *Reflexion und Wirklichkeit: Untersuchungen zu Kafkas Roman “Das Schloß”* (Tübingen, 1966). Cf. Binder, *Kafka-Handbuch*, 2:463.
55. Richard Sheppard summarizes his own and John Winkelman’s positions as follows: “Winkelman and Sheppard claim [ . . . ] that K. must be liberated from this artificial identity—so that his true self can be revealed, and the power of his proud will can be overcome through humility and love” (cited in Binder, *Kafka-Handbuch*, 2:461).
56. Charles Bernheimer, *Flaubert and Kafka*, 198.
57. Boa, *Kafka*, 253.
58. Gerhard Neumann, “Kafka’s ‘Schloß’-Roman: Das parasitäre Spiel der Zeichen,” in *Franz Kafka: Schriftverkehr*, 208.
59. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 32–33. See also Mitchell’s entire opening chapter (1–33), where he further argues that the traveler desires to re-present the Other as an object and, in so doing, to define himself as distinct from this object. By making photographs, drawings, and maps, and by situating himself on top of Egypt’s pyramids or minarets, the traveler can “organize” an otherwise disorderly view. In so doing, he can see the foreign world “as a picture,” an object from which he is distinct. Organizing the “objectness of the other” means here, as in the Schaffstein narratives, putting the Other into a frame. When the Other becomes a self-enclosed object or “work,” the traveler can confirm his separateness and thereby claim the identity that marks the success of his psychological business.
60. Kurz, *Traum-Schrecken*, 159–60.
61. K. seems to be on the same trajectory of self-discovery as are the heroes of the three Schaffstein novels Kafka claimed to “especially love”: K. begins the novel poor and unemployed (resembling a *Landstreicher* or vagabond more than a *Landvermesser*); he has no friends or family (his rumored wife and child are left at home); and he hopes to gain an identity (both personal and professional) in the foreign land.
62. In the original English translation, the Muirs rendered *Blindschleiche* as “snake in the grass,” thus effacing Kafka’s deliberately visual opposition.
63. K.’s only view of Klamm occurs in the third chapter, at which point the mighty Klamm’s body is revealed to be pedestrian and unimposing. But the “reality” of K.’s sighting is later called into question by Olga, the sister of Barnabas (a Castle messenger): Olga claims that people are continually mistaking others for Klamm—confusing him with various Castle officials and village secretaries (such as Momus). Because Klamm functions as a locus for subjective “yearning,” Olga claims, he takes on a “variety of shapes” in different people’s “imagination”—thereby putting K.’s, and any other, apparently authentic Klamm-sightings in doubt (“ein so oft ersehnter und so selten erreichter Mann wie es Klamm ist nimmt in der Vorstellung der Menschen leicht verschiedene Gestalten an”) (*C* 181; *S* 286; see also *C* 176–77; *S* 277–79).

- Klamm, conversely, claims to maintain a more accurate view of K. He keeps a figurative (and panoptic) “eye” on K. at all times (“*Ich behalte Sie im Auge*”); he does this perhaps with the metonymic help of his many spying secretaries (S 187; C 118, trans. rev.).
64. I thank Mark Anderson for bringing this connection to my attention.
  65. Brod, “*The Castle*; Its Genesis,” in *Franz Kafka Today*, ed. A. Flores and H. Swander (Madison, WI, 1958), 161–64. See also Sokel, who claims that the Castle resembles an “alliance of the Austrian aristocracy and Austrian bureaucracy, that ruled over the peasants of [Czech] Bohemia” (Sokel, *Franz Kafka—Tragik und Ironie*, 397; cited in Suchoff, *Critical Theory and the Novel*, 168).
  66. Although we never see the police in *The Castle*, the schoolmistress suggests calling them to remove K. from the schoolhouse, and before that K. compares his possible status in the administration with that of the village policeman (C 133, 23; S 210, 41). Moreover, the villagers’ fear of the Castle may be a justified fear of violence: the villagers’ deformities (heads flattened at the top, as if they had been “beaten”) suggest some form of violence from above (C 22; S 39).
  67. Guido Kisch, “Kafka-Forschung auf Irrwegen,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 23 (1971): 339–50.
  68. Ronald Gray, *Kafka’s Castle* (Cambridge, 1956), 78–81; John Winkelman, “An Interpretation of Kafka’s *Das Schloß*,” *Monatshefte* 64 (1972): 115–31; Richard Sheppard, *On Kafka’s Castle* (London, 1973), 182–87.
  69. W. G. Sebald, “The Undiscover’d Country: The Death Motif in Kafka’s *Castle*,” *Journal of European Studies* 2 (1972), 33–34; cf. also Gray, *Kafka’s Castle*, 131–32.
  70. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 88.
  71. Brod’s afterword to Kafka’s *Das Schloß*, 347.
  72. Neumeyer, “Franz Kafka, Sugar Baron,” 14, 15.
  73. The final chapter of *The Sugar Baron*, Neumeyer claims, is an ending that Kafka longed for but “could never have written” (“Franz Kafka, Sugar Baron,” 15).
  74. Walter Benjamin, June 1938 letter to Gershom Scholem, published in *Benjamin über Kafka*, 88; translation in Benjamin’s “Some Reflections on Kafka,” in *Illuminations*, 145.
  75. For Althusser, the subject can never avoid ideology, since “the category of the subject is constitutive of all ideology” and moreover all ideology “has the function (which defines it) of ‘constituting’ concrete individuals as subjects.” Within this constricting double constitution, resistance is difficult to imagine. Althusser, however, challenges himself and his readers to attempt to “break” with ideology through a “subject-less” discourse: “while speaking in ideology, and from within ideology we have to outline a discourse which tries to break with ideology, in order to dare to be the beginning of a scientific (i.e., subject-less) discourse on ideology” (Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” in *Lenin and Philosophy* [New York, 1971], 127–86 [here, 171, 173]).

76. See *L* 25; *B* 37; *LM* 236; *BM* 319; *LF* 289; *BF* 427.
77. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, 22, 26.
78. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 87.
79. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 88.
80. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 52.
81. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 78.
82. Weber, *Zuckerbaron*, 83.
83. Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York, 1975), 145-61 (here, 145-46).
84. Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," 101. A contemporary example of how the borders between "dwelling" and "traveling" blur is the 1993 film by Philippe Lioret, *Tombés du Ciel (Lost in Transit)*. The action takes place almost entirely in a Paris airport, in the no-man's land between the runway and the customs gate. People without proper papers, denied admittance to "France," live in an abandoned storage area. Here, they demarcate their own "private" spaces with curtains and piles of belongings. They remain here for years, raising families and engaging in intimate, yet public, acts.
85. In the case of Said, I am referring to *Orientalism* and, specifically, to James Clifford's criticism of *Orientalism*: that, despite Said's efforts to the opposite, he still sometimes drifts toward an essentialist and inaccurately rigid notion of Occident and Orient. It is worth further considering, in the context of my argument about Kafka: where might fin de siècle Jewish-German Prague fit into something known as the "Occident"? (James Clifford, "On *Orientalism*," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* [Cambridge, MA, 1988], 255-76.)
86. Spector writes: "Each and every one of the 'humanists' of the Prague circle [of German-Jewish literati], while diverging from one another in every other way conceivable, set himself in opposition to the liberalism he saw to be at the root of his contemporary dilemma" (Spector, *Prague Territories*, 34; see also 3-4, 13-16, 33-34).
87. Kafka garnered this information from a painstaking reading of the *Memoirs of General Marcellin Marbot* as well as of Paul Holzhausen's *The Germans in Russia 1812: Life and Suffering during the Military Advance on Moscow*. He also read as we shall see below, volume 18 of Schaffstein's *Little Green Books: Forest-Ranger Fleck's Narration of His Fate During Napoleon's March on Russia and of His Imprisonment 1812-1814*.
88. Note the affinity here between Kafka's notion of "escape" and the respective claims of Theodor Adorno/Max Horkheimer and Michel Foucault that historical resistances can only take place within the very socio-linguistic "cultures" or "discourses" that they are working to transform. For Adorno and Horkheimer, the resistant "style" of "great" art is always threatened by the hegemonic "culture" that precedes it. Culture attempts to homogenize style and, in so doing, endeavors to neutralize style's critical capacity for "discrepancy" and "self-negation" (Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialektik der*

*Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente* [Frankfurt a. M., 1969], 139). For Foucault on the relation between “discourse” and resistance, I am thinking of the later permutations of Foucault’s notion of discourse—as in the “Method” chapter in volume 1 (*La volonté de savoir*) of *Histoire de la sexualité* (Paris, 1976); English trans. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York, 1980). Here, Foucault argues that apparent resistances can never function outside of the framework of “power.” Power resides in resistance even as it resides in oppression: “Power is everywhere not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere.” Resistance occurs, in other words, only within power’s network. Moreover, such resistance can never be predicted, categorized, organized, or united in common cause: “instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case” (*The History of Sexuality*, 93, 96). For an elaboration on this point (and Foucault’s “Method” chapter), see Culler, *Framing the Sign*, 57–68.

89. For emigré accounts of writing “home” (in the autobiographical work of Theodor Adorno and Edward Said), see Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 117–22.
90. Fleck, *Förster Flecks Erzählung*, 32.
91. Throughout *The Castle*, Kafka moves back and forth between the two possible meanings of *übersehen*: “to survey/look out over” (S 60, 122, 422; C 36, 76, 269) and “to overlook” (S 10, 388; C 3, 247). I thank Rebecca Comay for bringing up the importance of *übersehen*.

## Chapter Six

1. For more on Milena Jesenská’s life and writing, see the following biographies: Margarete Buber-Neumann, *Milena* (New York, 1988); Jana Černá, *Kafka’s Milena* (Evanston, IL, 1993); Mary Hockaday, *Kafka, Love, and Courage: The Life of Milena Jesenská* (London, 1995).
2. Kafka writes of living through “what is for Europe so extreme an experience of solitude that one can only call it Russian” (D 165; *Ta* 348). For more on Russia as a metaphor for isolation, see note 33 in chapter five.
3. Baudelaire, “Anywhere out of this world—N’importe où hors du monde,” 211–13.
4. If he marries Felice, Kafka tells her and later her father, he would lead a “monastic existence,” and the husband and wife would see each other for only one hour per day (LF 309, 313; BF 451, 457).
5. “When it became clear in my organism that writing was the most productive direction for my being to take, everything rushed in that direction and left empty all those abilities which were directed toward the joys of sex, eating, drinking, philosophical reflection, and above all music. I atrophied in all these directions” (D 163; *Ta* 341).
6. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari refer to Kafka’s “machine célibataire” as follows: “[Kafka] knows that all the lines link him to a literary machine of expression for which he is simultaneously the gears, the mechanic, the op-



- erator, and the victim. So how will he proceed in this bachelor machine [. . .]?" (Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, 58).
7. Neumann writes: "It is the 'media' that draw the subject into their game and, in the worst case, obliterate it; media that show a double face: the circulation of language and writing on the one hand, the succession of images on the other—those elements that, hovering between people, give significance to life and simultaneously alienate the living from one another" (Neumann, "Kafka's 'Schloß'-Roman," 201).
  8. Wolf Kittler focuses especially on the early Kafka narratives (written before and during the Felice correspondence) in which letter writing opposes and/or prevents physical contact: *Hochzeitsvorbereitungen auf dem Lande*, *Das Urteil*, *Der Heizer*, and *Die Verwandlung* (W. Kittler, "Schreibmaschinen, Sprechmaschinen," esp. 84–107). Others discussing media in Kafka's *Letters to Felice* are Cournot, "Toi qui as de si grandes dents . . ."; Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, trans. Michael Metteer (Stanford, 1990), 359–63, and *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, 1999), 222–28; Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford, 1999), 207–64; and Marjorie Rhine, who argues that Kafka constructs a media-sponsored "post"-modern *jouissance* ("Post'-Modernity in Kafka's *Briefe an Felice*," *Journal of the Kafka Society of America* 18 [1994]: 35–40). My argument extends these discussions of mediated love to Kafka's *Letters to Milena* and, more importantly, stresses the importance of other media generally ignored by scholars of media and technology: railway trains (the medium of corporeal transport) and, later in the chapter, postage stamps (a fetishistic medium promising presence in absence).
  9. Theweleit briefly discusses media in the *Letters to Milena*, but he focuses more on the *Letters to Felice* and more on the misogynistic Orphean dynamic between Kafka and his lovers than on the technologies of intercourse (Klaus Theweleit, "Gespensterposten. Briefverkehr, Liebesverkehr, Eisenbahnverkehr. Der Zug ins Jenseits: Orpheus 1913 in Prag," in *buch der könige* [Basel, 1988], 1:976–1055). I address Theweleit's remarks at the close of this chapter. After I finished an earlier version of this chapter ("The Traffic of Writing: Technologies of 'Verkehr' in Franz Kafka's *Briefe an Milena*," *German Life and Letters* 52 [July 1999]: 365–81), I read Scott Spector's excellent pages on the *Letters to Milena*, which contain further insights into Kafka's mediated "love" correspondence with Milena—without, however, focusing on the technological nature of this correspondence (Spector, *Prague Territories* [Berkeley, 2000], 217–33).
  10. Referring to Milena's original role as Kafka's translator into Czech (this is why they started corresponding), Spector refers to her Slavic, genteel exoticism: "the creative power of [Kafka's] German text faces the feminine Czech translation, reproductive and at the same time seductive, sexy in its exoticism and as a result of the exaggerated imbalance of power" (Spector, *Prague Territories*, 220).

11. See Heinrich von Stephan, *Geschichte der Preußischen Post: Nach amtlichen Quellen bis 1858 bearbeitet von Dr. H. v. Stephan. Neubearbeitet und fortgeführt bis 1868 von K. Sautter* (Berlin, 1928), 1:470. Cited in W. Kittler, “Schreibmaschinen, Sprechmaschinen,” 83.
12. This fantasy of no longer traveling by the night mail persisted despite the fact that letters indeed traveled in trains (out of sight, in separate compartments from humans) and, later, in automobiles.
13. In the *Letters to Milena*, I maintain, the two terms eventually begin to function dialectically. Spector also sees a dialectic in the *Letters to Felice*, but this, Spector points out, is a dialectic that only results in more and more powerful writing (the “becoming-real” of Kafka’s writing) (Spector, *Prague Territories*, 145). I am more interested in a technological dialectic, which, as we shall see, creates, however fleetingly, a longed-for third term: a media-sponsored presence-in-absence that inheres both inside and outside of “writing.”
14. It is noteworthy that Freud connects his own *Reiseangst* (travel anxiety) to sexuality and that he specifically relates this to having seen, when he was between two and two-and-a-half years old, his own mother naked in a train. As Freud writes to Fliess on October 3, 1897: “my libido toward *matrem* was awakened, namely, on the occasion of a journey with her from Leipzig to Vienna, during which we must have spent the night together and there must have been an opportunity of seeing her *nudam* [. . .]. You yourself have seen my travel anxiety at its height” (*The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1897–1904* [Cambridge, MA, 1985], 268).
15. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (*Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 7:202. The German text reads: “Den Vorgängen auf der Eisenbahn pflegen sie [Knaben] ein rätselhaftes Interesse von außerordentlicher Höhe zuzuwenden und dieselben im Alter der Phantasietätigkeit (kurz vor der Pubertät) zum Kern einer exquisit sexuellen Symbolik zu machen” (*Freud-Studienausgabe* [Frankfurt a. M., (1969–75)], 5:107.)  
 Writing just two years before Freud, Otto Weininger also directly connects travel (if not explicitly train travel) to eroticism: the desire to travel (*Reiselust*) expresses, for Weininger, “indeterminate longing” (Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* [Vienna, 1903], 317n1).
16. The German text reads: “Ihre Angst bezieht sich auf die Gefahr, sie könnten in eine unaufhaltsame, ihrem Willen nicht mehr gehorchende Bewegung geraten. Die gleichen Patienten pflegen auch Angst vor der Fortbewegung in irgendeinem Fahrzeug zu produzieren, das sie nicht jederzeit nach Belieben zum Stehen bringen können. (Eisenbahn usw.)” (Karl Abraham, *Psychoanalytische Studien* [Frankfurt a. M.: 1971], 2:102).
17. Freud, *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria*, in *Standard Edition*, 7:99; *Bruchstück einer Hysterie-Analyse*, in *Studienausgabe*, 6:166.
18. Abraham, *Psychoanalytische Studien*, 2:103.

19. Freud, *Standard Edition*, 7:201–2; *Studienausgabe*, 5:106–7.
20. Anderson, *Kafka's Clothes*, 19–49, 98–122. For more on *Verkehr* and its importance for Kafka, see note 58 in my introduction.
21. The main characters of “The Passenger,” *Richard and Samuel*, and *The Metamorphosis* are all sexually stimulated (or in the case of Gregor Samsa’s pubescent sister, Grete, sexually awakened) during train or tram travel—thereby echoing Freud’s theory of mechanical, train-induced *Erregung* (excitation).
22. *D* 213; *Ta* 461; Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 129.
23. Although other factors lead to the lovers’ melancholy separation in the dream (Milena’s frustrating vagueness; Kafka’s incessant pushiness; Kafka’s intrusive companions), the deterioration of the relationship begins with the telegraphic clamor that then continues for the entire dream (*LM* 48; *BM* 65).
24. In his preference for letter transport over human transport, Kafka prefigures the wise Catalonian in Gabriel García Márquez’ 1967 *Cien Años de Soledad*, who claims: “The world must be all fucked up when men travel first class and literature goes as freight” (*One Hundred Years of Solitude* [New York, 1971], 368).
25. Fewer than six weeks later, Kafka explicitly connects his Jewishness to *Verkehr*, using the metaphor of the “eternal Jew” to describe his own sexuality: “This drive [*Trieb*] had something of the eternal Jew—senselessly drawn along, senselessly wandering through a senselessly obscene world” (*LM* 147–48; *BM* 198, trans. rev.). Kafka’s benevolent “angel of Jews” foreshadows (part of) Benjamin’s reading of Paul Klee’s “Angelus Novus”: the angel who “would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed” (Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, 257).
26. In the following letter, Kafka’s letter vampirism becomes human vampirism: “I see you bent over your work, your neck bared, I’m standing behind you, but you don’t know it—please don’t be frightened if you feel my lips on the back of your neck” (*LM* 123; *BM* 164–65).

For more on Kafka’s epistolary vampirism, consider the following remarks: “I’m tilting my head way back, drinking the letters, aware only that I don’t want to stop drinking”; “I read [your letters] [ . . . ] the way an animal dying of thirst drinks”; and “one used to drink up the letters and immediately feel [ . . . ] ten times thirstier” (*LM* 18, 45, 170; *BM* 23, 60, 231, trans. rev.).

Kafka’s vampirism in *Letters to Milena* is mentioned by Mark Anderson (“Kafka’s Unsigned Letters to Milena Jesenská,” in *Reading Kafka*, 248–50) and by Deleuze and Guattari (*Kafka*, 29–30). Anderson correctly remarks, as I discuss later, that the letters function as fetishistic substitutes for Milena’s body (248). However, both Anderson and Deleuze/Guattari focus on vampirism as a lack, either of identity (Anderson) or of lifeblood (Deleuze/Guattari)—not as the desire for a magical surplus, for an excessive presence within absence generated by necromantic postal manipulations.

27. Kafka writes of “*Verkehr in Briefen*” (communication/intercourse by letter) in a February 17–18, 1913 letter to Felice and later in a March 1922 letter to Milena (“*durch Briefe [ . . . ] verkehren*”) (*LF* 197; *BF* 304; *LM* 223; *BM* 302)
28. These stamp remarks appear on the following pages (cited in the order I have mentioned them in the text): *LM* 108, 146, 120, 155–56, 132, 158, 146, 140, 112–13; *BM* 144–45, 195, 159–60, 210, 176, 213, 195, 204 (this last citation is missing from the English translation), 187, 150–51. Additional stamp comments can be found on *LM* 108, 111 (*BM* 145, 148) and also in Kafka’s April 1921 letter to his sister Ottila (*L* 277; *BO* 117).
29. Jürgen Born and Michael Müller, “Kafkas Briefe an Milena: Ihre Datierung,” *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 25 (1981): 514.
30. “There is, it is known, a stamp-language that is to flower-language what the morse alphabet is to the written one. But for how long will the flowers continue to bloom between the telegraph poles? Are not the great artistic stamps of the post-war years, with their full colours, already the autumnal asters and dahlia of this flora? Stephan, a German and not by chance a contemporary of Jean Paul, planted this seed in the summery middle of the nineteenth century. It will not survive the twentieth.” Benjamin, of course, has been proven wrong by the beginning of the twenty-first century—but only barely. And his insistence on the fetish value of stamps (and “regular” mail) carries even more validity now than it did in his own day. See Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings* (New York, 1979), 94; Benjamin, “Einbahnstraße,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 4(1):137.
31. “Darf ich Dich also küssen? Aber auf diesem kläglichen Papier?” (May I kiss you then? But on this miserable paper?) (*LF* 51; *BF* 107).
32. There is a legal/criminal parallel to this production of a magical presence in lovers’ discourses: the saliva on stamps has become a DNA source in forensic investigations.
33. The English-language edition of *Letters to Milena* fails to note this peculiarity in the manuscript.
34. Cf. Vincent Kaufmann, *Post Scripts: The Writer’s Workshop*, trans. Deborah Treisman (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 27.
35. Rotraut Hacker Müller, *Kafkas letzte Jahre 1917–1924* (Munich, 1990), 44–48.
36. Max Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 230–31; Born and Müller, “Kafkas Briefe an Milena,” 517–19. The least objectionable reading is Born and Müller’s. They suggest, through paraphrases from Kafka’s letters, that Kafka distanced himself from Milena as a reaction to Milena’s own distancing—especially her refusal to leave her husband. They emphasize Milena’s initial refusal: “[Milena] apparently attempted slowly to distance herself somewhat. The fact that she was unable to disengage herself from Ernst Pollak (as she had already written to Kafka in mid-July) also contributed to the way the relationship was left to die away” (518). Born and Müller’s con-

- clusion is based on the last lines of Kafka's mid-April 1921 letter to Max Brod (*L* 273; *B* 318): "Kafka closes this letter to his friend with the realization that Milena was unattainable; he would have to resign himself to this" (Born and Müller, "Kafka's Briefe an Milena," 519). But this explanation, like the others based on the psychodynamics of the relationship, is belied by Kafka's valorization of imagination and language over the apparent realities of an epistolary love relationship. Earlier in the same letter to Brod, Kafka wrote that Milena was "unerreichbar" (unattainable) only because he created her as such: "I can love only what I can place so high above me that I cannot reach it" (*L* 273; *B* 317). Willy Haas, in the first essay about *Letters to Milena* (from 1952), foreshadows my critique of the explanation based on relationship economics. He argues that the accepted break-up excuse (that Milena "loved her husband too much to leave him") is a transparent one; Haas, however, does not go on to consider the possibility that the structure of letterary love itself could be the source of the split (Willy Haas, afterword to Kafka's *Briefe an Milena*, ed. Haas [Frankfurt a. M., 1952], 215).
37. A recent article on business travelers in *The New York Times Magazine* contains the following Kafka-like confession: "Perhaps the strangest thing [ . . . ] is when I'm sitting here next to my wife, and I'll call up her voice mail in Massachusetts to leave a message" (*New York Times Magazine* [March 8, 1998], 40).
  38. Freud writes in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (*Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*) (1930): "If there had been no railway to conquer distances, my child would never have left his native town and I should need no telephone to hear his voice; if traveling across the ocean by ship had not been introduced, my friend would not have embarked on his sea-voyage and I should not need a cable [*den Telegraphen*] to relieve my anxiety about him" (*Standard Edition*, 21:88; *Studienausgabe*, 9:219).
  39. The passage reads: "Ich brauche nicht einmal selbst aufs Land fahren, das ist nicht nöthig. Ich schicke meinen angekleideten Körper nur. Also ich schicke diesen angekleideten Körper" (I don't even need to go to the country myself, it isn't necessary. I'll send my clothed body. So I'll send this clothed body) (*WP* 11; *NSI* 17, trans. rev.).
  40. W. Kittler, "Schreibmaschinen, Sprechmaschinen," 83.
  41. Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, in *Standard Edition*, 7:201–2; *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, in *Studienausgabe*, 5:106–7.
  42. Freud writes: "A compulsive link of this kind between railway-travel and sexuality is clearly derived from the pleasurable character of the sensations of movement. In the event of repression, which turns so many childish preferences into their opposite, these same individuals, when they are adolescents or adults, will react to rocking or swinging with a feeling of nausea, will be terribly exhausted by a railway journey, or will be subject to attacks of anxiety on the journey and will protect themselves against a repetition of the painful experience by a dread of railway-travel [*Eisenbah-*

- angst]” (*Standard Edition*, 7:202; *Studienausgabe*, 5:107). For Abraham’s similar, 1922 definition of “*Eisenbahnangst*,” see his *Psychoanalytische Studien*, 2:102. For Freud’s personal “*Reiseangst*,” see note 14 above.
43. I employ here the most recent dating of the letters, by Jost Schillemeit (in the 1983 Born/Müller edition, this is the penultimate 1920 letter, not the ultimate one). See Schillemeit, “*Mitteilungen und Nicht-Mitteilbares: Zur Chronologie der Briefe an Milena und zu Kafkas ‘Schreiben’ im Jahr 1920,*” *Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts* (1988): 253–303.
  44. As Kafka notes in his *Letters to Felice*, desire intercepts fantasy when lovers attempt to write letters to one another in the other’s presence: “I [ . . . ] will suffer on those evenings from the disadvantage of not having the sense to allow you to finish writing your letters to me; instead, I shall come up to you, take the hand that is trying to write, hold it, and refuse to let it go” (*LF* 109; *BF* 188).
  45. Theweleit, *buch der könige*, 1:1026.
  46. Felix Weltsch, *Religion und Humor im Leben und Werk Franz Kafkas* (Berlin, 1957), 39.
  47. This citation and the ones preceding it in this paragraph are from Dora Diamant, “*Mein Leben mit Franz Kafka,*” in “*Als Kafka mir entgegenkam . . .*”: *Erinnerungen an Franz Kafka*, ed. Hans-Gerd Koch (Berlin, 1995), 177–78. I paraphrase the entire doll story from Diamant’s account. Cf. also the paraphrase of Diamant in Citati’s biography, *Kafka*, 297–98.
  48. Not only Kafka’s father is, according to Kafka, preventing him from attaining conjugal intimacy. In his *Letters to Milena*, there are two other obvious “thirds” that stand in the way: Kafka’s fiancée at the time he meets Milena, Julie Wohryzek, and Milena’s husband at the time, Ernst Pollak. In more conceptual terms, this third is constituted by the communications media themselves, the “ghosts” that always travel in the spaces between the lovers—like the mysterious “third” next to the lover in T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*. Since Eliot wrote the longest part of his poem in 1921, just after Kafka and Milena made their major break, and because *Letters to Milena* and *The Waste Land* seem to speak to one another, I cite the entire pertinent stanza from *The Waste Land*’s Section V (“*What the Thunder Said*”):

Who is the third who walks always beside you?  
 When I count, there are only you and I together  
 But when I look ahead up the white road  
 There is always another one walking beside you  
 Gliding wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded  
 I do not know whether a man or a woman  
 —But who is that on the other side of you?

Gerhard Neumann (borrowing terminology from Michel Serres) complicates the question of the “third” in Kafka’s writing: He argues that the “noise of the third” (or “*le bruit parasite*”) does more than just disturb com-

munication between two partners: it—like the noisy, vampiric media in *Letters to Milena*—is also precisely what renders this communication possible in the first place (Neumann, “Kafka’s ‘Schloß’-Roman,” 213; see also 214–21).

### Chapter Seven

1. Kafka never finished “Gracchus,” and the manuscript now exists only as a series of fragments. In order to provide for clearer citation, I follow Malcolm Pasley’s division of the text into four fragments (*GW* 47–55; see also *GW* xiv–xv)—even though Hartmut Binder is right to notice a very brief fifth fragment (*NSI* 311) (Binder, “Der Jäger Gracchus’: Zu Kafkas Schaffensweise und poetischer Topographie,” *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 15 (1971): 375–440). Kafka began this story in December 1916 and last worked on it in April 1917 (see *NSI* 88–89). His first tubercular hemorrhage was in August 1917.
2. Benjamin connects both Gracchus and Odradek’s “father of the family” with Josef K., through their common senses of guilt: “[Odradek] prefers the same places as the court of law which investigates guilt. Attics are the places of discarded, forgotten objects. Perhaps the necessity to appear before a court of justice gives rise to a feeling similar to that with which one approaches trunks in the attic which have been locked up for years” (Benjamin, “Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death,” 133; see also 131–32).
3. For an overview of the early criticism of “The Hunter Gracchus,” see Becken, *Franz Kafka*, 315–18.
4. Rainer Nägele, “Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Paradies: Versuch einer Interpretation zu Kafkas ‘Der Jäger Gracchus,’” *German Quarterly* 47 (1974): esp. 66–67.
5. See Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, esp. the chapter entitled “‘Der Jäger Gracchus’: Variationen einer modernen Phantasie” (17–37).
6. In I. A. Richards’ terminology, the “tenor” is the thing designated, and the “vehicle” is the metaphor itself: “My love [tenor] is a rose [vehicle].” See I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (New York, 1936), 96, and also Corngold, *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 55.
7. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 164.
8. Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht (Crowds and Power)* (Frankfurt a. M., 1996). Although *Masse und Macht* was first published in 1960, Canetti began it over three decades earlier. See esp. the section entitled “Die unsichtbaren Massen” (The Invisible Crowds), 46–53.
9. Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, 50.
10. Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, 49. Franz Rosenzweig’s depiction of the Chinese ancestor cult fits, in this regard, in the same constellation with Canetti and Kafka: “Without any scruples [the spirits’] fullness is crammed into the fullness of the world. . . . The crowd of spirits is swelled without concern . . . new ones are constantly added to the old ones” (quoted in

Benjamin, “Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death,” 132 [Benjamin’s ellipses].

11. Kafka owned a copy of Catullus’ poetry that had been translated by Max Brod. Compare, for example:

O was ist süßer als das Ende aller Pein,  
 Wenn ihre Last die Seele abwirft, endlich heim  
 Von ausländischer Arbeit abgemattet kommt  
 Und schön sich ausstreckt auf dem langersehnten Bett.

From G. Valerius Catullus, *Gedichte*, trans. Max Brod (Munich, 1914), 49 (cited in Binder, *Kafka-Kommentar zu sämtlichen Erzählungen*, 200–201).

12. Cf. Nägele, “Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Paradies,” 62.
13. Frank’s original is “*Ökonomie* der Heimkehr.” Frank’s italics are meant to emphasize “economy’s” connection to “home”—through the Greek *oikos* [house]. Gracchus is, as Frank puts it, the prototypically “homeless” person (Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 19).
14. K. refers to his “*Heimat*” and his “*Heimatstädtchen*” (his “little hometown”) in the first chapter of *The Castle* (S 17–8; C 8).
15. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 18.
16. Odradek’s positioning between life and death is also a positioning on a stairway: “Can it be, then, that he might one day still be rolling down the stairs, with ends of thread trailing after him, before the feet of my children and my children’s children? He obviously does no harm to anyone; but the idea that he might outlive me I find almost painful” (GW 177).
17. For Kafka’s apparent references to the river Styx, across which Charon brought the dead to Hades, see NSII 33–4, 229.
18. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 34.
19. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 20.
20. Cited in Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 75.
21. “Human inadequacy” is Beicken’s term (Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 318); Dietrich Krusche writes of “*Nichtbezogensein*” in “Die kommunikative Funktion der Deformation klassischer Motive: ‘Der Jäger Gracchus’: Zur Problematik der Kafka-Interpretation,” *Der Deutschunterricht* 25 (1973):140; Hartmut Binder mentions Gracchus’ lack of human relationship in “‘Der Jäger Gracchus’” (cited in Beicken’s summary of the critical debate surrounding Gracchus’ guilt [Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 318]).
22. Because Brod inserted one paragraph from the first-person second fragment (in which Gracchus becomes the first-person narrator of his autobiography) into the third-person first fragment, Beicken mistakenly (and understandably) sees an authorial intervention where there is none: immediately following Gracchus’ excessive denials (igniting the reader’s suspicion that Gracchus is protesting too much), Kafka seems to step in personally and put a stop to such misgivings (“Nobody will read what I write here”). Because this apparently deliberate “fictional break” (*Fiktions-*



- bruch*) appears right after we begin to get suspicious of Gracchus' denials, Beicken logically concludes that Kafka wanted to cut short our investigations into Gracchus' guilt and intentionally leave this a mystery (Beicken, *Franz Kafka*, 318). Brod's corrupted cut-and-paste version was collected in Kafka's *Erzählungen* and was not replaced until 1992, by the Fischer critical edition; Brod's version from *Erzählungen* still appears in a widely distributed English translation (*The Complete Stories*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer [New York, 1983], 226–30).
23. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 11, 24.
  24. Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 24.
  25. Compare this imaginative error with the brutal, historically traceable ones committed by the European sailors from the “firm of Hagenbeck” in “A Report to an Academy”: they capture Red Peter (who had been living happily on the “Gold Coast” of Africa) and bring him back to Europe in a cage (*MO* 188). Gracchus, conversely, never seems to harm anyone along the “coasts we happen to be passing” (*GW* 50).
  26. Hartmut Binder describes this encounter, in which Kafka presented the book to Klara Thein, in *Kafka in neuer Sicht*, 127.  
The German title of the *Little Green Book* is *Bei den Indianern am Schingu*, by Karl von den Steinen. This memoir tells the story of a last surviving Indian tribe that still lives as if it were in the “Stone Age” (5). Possible intertextual connections between Steinen's Indians and the “bushman” from “The Hunter Gracchus” are three-fold: both pose in front of the European in the position of launching a spear, without actually launching it; both demonstrate a preference for objects that are elaborately painted (“*bemal*[t]” is the word used in both cases); and both live in the “bush”—in the case of Steinen's Indians, in an “idyllic bush-region” (*GW* 51; *NSI* 312; Steinen, *Bei den Indianern am Schingu*, 62–3, 65, 71).
  27. *MO* 28; *DL* 29; *L* 46; *B* 60, trans. rev.; *LF* 416; *BF* 589; *MO* 13; *DL* 12; *MO* 31; *DL* 32.
  28. “*Pfand der Hoffnung*” is Walter Benjamin's phrase (Benjamin, “Franz Kafka: On the Tenth Anniversary of His Death,” 118; *Benjamin über Kafka*, 16).
  29. Comparing the exoticist to the fetishist, Chris Bongie writes: “The fetishist collects, to use Agamben's nice phrase, ‘a harem of objects’ that provide him with only a momentary satisfaction; to come to rest in any one of these would be to face up to the absence that inhabits it and that the fetishist is intent upon denying” (Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 77; for further connections between exoticism and fetishism, see *Exotic Memories*, 99–106). On colonialism and fetishism, see Homi Bhabha, “The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse,” *Screen* (1983): esp. 25–36.
  30. Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 76. Ali Behdad builds on Bongie and connects the fetishist's experience of absence to melancholia: the exotic traveler “undertakes a project that ‘cannot help coming after what it must come before.’ The belated traveler thus transforms his or her experience of loss into

- a representation of the Orient as a site for melancholia and even mourning” (Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 92).
31. Frank compares “The Hunter Gracchus” to *Bateau Ivre* in *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 30–37. Peter J. Brenner has insightfully argued that “In the Penal Colony” demonstrates how colonialism’s brutalities, in the end, destroy colonialism’s own fantasies (Brenner, “Schwierige Reisen,” 127–30).
  32. Cf. Brenner, “Schwierige Reisen,” 129–30.
  33. See the final section of chapter five for my reservations—based on the historical context of Austria-Hungary’s imperial swansong—concerning Deleuze/Guattari’s vision of Kafka as a radical deterritorializer.
  34. Frank’s concept of a “negative” religiosity applies here to “negative” nostalgia. Just as faithless subjects cannot finally shed their hope in the existence of a God, deterritorializing moderns cannot ultimately discard their belief in a territory that, in its perfection, would be both a place and a not-place (a u-topia) (Frank, *Die unendliche Fahrt*, 34).
  35. Kafka’s position is not so much deterritorialized as it is “extraterritorialized.” As Kafka writes to Brod in 1921, being extraterritorialized means being like a dead man—being spoken of *as if* one were dead: “When you speak to [Milena] about me, speak as you would of someone dead. I mean as far as my ‘externality’ is concerned, my ‘extraterritoriality’ [*Exterritorialität*]” (L 279; B 322). “Extraterritoriality” refers here to the concept delineated by Alfred Ehrenstein (one of the first writers outside of Prague to appreciate Kafka’s writing) in his essay “Ansichten eines Exterritorialen” (Perspectives of an Extraterritorial), *Die Fackel* 323 (May 18, 1911): 1–8. See Hannelore Rodlauer, “‘Ansichten eines Exterritorialen’: Albert Ehrenstein und Franz Kafka,” in *Expressionismus in Österreich*, ed. Klaus Amann and Armin A. Wallas (Vienna, 1994), 225–52, and Spector, *Prague Territories*, 231–32. For the importance of extraterritorialization in Kafka’s “The Judgment,” see note 34 in chapter five.
  36. For evocative readings of this passage, see Maurice Blanchot, “La mort contenue,” in *De Kafka à Kafka* (Paris, 1981), 132–39, and Charles Bernheimer, “On Death and Dying: Kafka’s Allegory of Reading,” in *Kafka and the Contemporary Critical Performance*, 87–90.
  37. Neither of these “deaths,” however, is as final as it may seem. See my discussion in the final section of chapter three regarding Josef K.’s, and other Kafka characters’, inability to actually die. See also Mark Anderson on the officer’s undead state at the end of “In the Penal Colony” (Anderson, *Kafka’s Clothes*, 188).
  38. “Eternal present” is Dorrit Cohn’s term (Cohn, “Kafka’s Eternal Present: Narrative Tense in ‘Ein Landarzt’ and Other First-Person Stories,” *PMLA* 83 [1968]: 144–150).
  39. The German term is “*äußerliche Exotik*.” See my first chapter as well as Brod’s *Prager Kreis*, 111.
  40. Corngold, “*The Metamorphosis: Metamorphosis of the Metaphor*,” in *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 47–89 (here, 50). Corngold is reacting to

- Günther Anders' *Kafka—Pro und Contra* (Munich, 1951) as well as to Walter Sokel's *The Writer in Extremis: Expressionism in Twentieth-Century Literature* (Stanford, 1959) and *Franz Kafka* (New York, 1966).
41. Corngold, *Franz Kafka: The Necessity of Form*, 57.
  42. See, in this regard, Homi Bhabha's claim that the fantasy colonial Other (like death in Kafka's scenario) is neither the same nor the not-same; it is, like the psychoanalytic fetish, "between what is always 'in place,' already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated" (Bhabha, "The Other Question," 18).
  43. Maurice Blanchot makes a similar point, albeit without introducing the rhetoric of exoticism: "literary immortality is the very movement by which the nausea of survival which is not a survival, death which does not end anything, insinuates itself into the world, a world sapped by crude existence" (Blanchot, "Literature and the Right to Death," in *The Gaze of Ophelus*, trans. Lydia Davis [Barrytown, NY, 1981], 58). See also Charles Bernheimer's elegant psycho-poetical revision of Blanchot (Bernheimer, "On Death and Dying").

### Epilogue

1. For more on this interconnection of letters and literature, see Anderson, "Kafka's Unsigned Letters to Milena Jesenská," 242–44.
2. Ludwig Dietz, *Franz Kafka* (Stuttgart, 1990), 104.
3. Jacques Derrida, "Le facteur de la vérité," in *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* (Chicago, 1987), 413–96 (here, 492–93).
4. See Ken MacMullen's film *Ghost Dance*, in which Derrida, when asked whether he believes in ghosts, mischievously replies, "That's a hard question because, you see, I *am* a ghost" (cited in Maud Ellmann, "The Ghosts of Ulysses," in *James Joyce: The Artist and the Labyrinth*, ed. Augustin Martin [London, 1990], 193).
5. Diamant, "Mein Leben mit Franz Kafka," 179.
6. See Blanchot, "Literature and the Right to Death."

- Pertinent here is also Maud Ellmann's notion that "vivocentrism" is our last accepted form of discrimination. We favor the living over the dead because we—unlike the ancient Greeks—deny their existence (Ellmann, "The Ghosts of Ulysses," 193). A contemporary example of such an uncritical vivocentrism is Peter Hamm's recent intervention in the controversy surrounding Ingeborg Bachmann's literary remains: In a digression from his discussion of Bachmann, Hamm sides with (living) "humanity" over (dead) Kafka—praising Brod for "valu[ing] the good of humanity, which would have lost Kafka's work without him, over the last testament of his friend" (Peter Hamm, "Ingeborg Bachmann," *Die Zeit* 41 [2000]).
7. For background information on the history of the *Scheintod* and the *Herzstich*, see Christoph Daxelmüller "Der Scheintote von Äbelholt: Zum Hintergrund kollektiver Ängste im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit" and

- Franziska Christiansen, “Scheintod und Scheintodängste,” both in *Tod und Gesellschaft—Tod im Wandel*, ed. Christoph Daxelmüller (Regensburg, 1996), 75–76 and 77–79.
8. See, among other Poe stories, “The Premature Burial” (1844), in which the narrator, while discussing “Life” and “Death,” asks, “Who shall say where the one ends and the other begins?” He continues: “We know that there are diseases in which occur total cessations of all apparent functions of vitality, and yet in which these cessations are merely suspensions” (*The Complete Illustrated Stories and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* [London, 1988], 354).
  9. Malte says curtly to the doctors, as they approach his dead father: “Sie sind wegen des Herzstichs da: bitte” (Rainer Maria Rilke, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge*, in *Sämtliche Werke* [Munich, 1966], 6:853; translation in *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*, trans. Stephen Mitchell [New York, 1990], 157). For a list of those requesting the *Herzstich*, see Beppo Beyerl, “Der Weg alles Irdischen: Einige Geschichten vom Sterben und Begrabenwerden,” *Wiener Zeitung*, November 3, 2000.
  10. But it is likely that not even this “*Herzstich*” saves K. from the torments of immortality. See the last section of my chapter three.
  11. Kafka wrote two versions of his testament: the first one probably from fall/winter 1921 and a second one dated November 29, 1922. The testaments can be found in *EFII*, 365 and 421–22. An English translation of both testaments (from which I cite here) is available in Max Brod’s afterword to Kafka’s *The Trial* (T 264–71). Because I cite more from the second testament in the main text, I will include here only the shorter, first version:

Everything I leave behind me (in my bookcase, linen-cupboard, and my desk both at home and the office, or anywhere else where anything may have got to and meets your eye), in the way of diaries, manuscripts, letters (my own and others’), sketches, and so on, to be burned entirely and unread; also all writings and sketches which you or others may possess; and ask those others for them in my name. Letters which they do not want to hand over to you, they should at least promise faithfully to burn themselves. (T 265–66; *EFII* 365)

12. The German reads: “sollten sie ganz verloren gehn, entspricht dieses meinem eigentlichen Wunsch” (T 266; *EFII* 421–22).
13. One might presuppose that Kafka, being Jewish, would never have even considered cremation. But secular Jews such as Kafka and even some reform Jews had been choosing cremation from its legal reinstatement in the late nineteenth century onward. Despite Orthodox Judaism’s (like Catholicism’s) strong resistance to the new cremation vogue, the Chief Rabbis of England and France (if not of Italy and Württemberg) allowed the ashes of cremated persons to be interred in Jewish cemeteries as early as the 1880s. Some reform rabbis even officiated at cremations (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. “cremation”). For Jews critical of organized, institutionalized Judaism—such as Kafka—cremation could

- well have been a marker of individuality. As Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht points out, choosing cremation in the 1920s likely signified, for Jews, the “ultimate logical conclusion of ‘emancipation’ from their cultural roots” (Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* [Cambridge, MA, 1997], 63–64).
14. By 1906 the number of crematoria in Germany had already ballooned to fourteen and the number of cremations to 2,507 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., s.v. “cremation”).
  15. For the arguments from the cremation societies regarding hygiene and land conservation, see Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York, 1978), 161–63, and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., s.v. “cremation.”
  16. Cited in Mitford, *The American Way of Death*, 163.
  17. See *L* 317; *B* 369; *D* 383; *Ta* 832; *T* 268–69; *EFII* 219.
  18. Blanchot turns this paradox luminously: “[The writer] has written because in the depths of language he heard the work of death as it prepared living beings for the truth of their name: he worked for this nothingness and he himself was a nothingness at work. But as one realizes the void, one creates a work, and the work, born of fidelity to death, is in the end no longer capable of dying; and all it brings to the person who was trying to prepare an unstoried death for himself is the mockery of immortality” (Blanchot, “Literature and the Right to Death,” 58).
  19. According to an 1859 decree from the Austrian Ministry of the Interior, transporting corpses for a period exceeding two hours required an official permit as well as adherence to specific sanitary measures—including the use of doubled coffins (one inside the other). During the summer months, additional regulations obtained: the body needed first to be painstakingly “preserved” (innards removed, cleansed, and replaced), then put inside an inner coffin, which was to be filled with sawdust and chaff and then finally sealed with a coating of tar. An 1874 ordinance from the same Ministry relaxed these stipulations somewhat, insisting only that bodies transported for a week or more be “preserved (embalmed)” (although summer transport called for an earlier embalming). But even for shorter trips and trips in the winter, the body needed to be kept in two coffins, and both coffins were to consist of either hardwood or metal. As before, the inner coffin was to be either sealed with hot tar or, in the case of metal coffins, soldered shut. (According to Brod, who also mentions Kafka’s transport to the mortuary, Kafka’s coffin was soldered shut [Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 209, 212].) For these and other Austrian corpse-transport policies, see Franz Knispel, “Zur Überführung Verstorbenen,” *Der Österreichische Bestatter* 38 (April 1996): esp. 46–47. For the similar turn-of-the-century German regulations on corpse transport, see “Eisenbahnwagen für Leichenbeförderung,” *Eisenbahntechnische Zeitschrift* 11 (1905): 225. Because eight days passed from Kafka’s death to his burial on June 11, it is likely that his body would have been embalmed (see Knispel, “Zur Überführung,” 47).

20. Knispel, “Zur Überführung,” 47; Hacker Müller, *Kafkas letzte Jahre 1917–1924*, 150; Heinz Riedel, telephone interview with Christine Koch, February 7, 2001. Mr. Riedel is resident expert at the Bestattungsmuseum (Funeral Museum) in Vienna. I thank both Mr. Riedel and Ms. Koch for this information, and I also thank Ms. Koch for collecting important data on the techniques of corpse transportation in the 1920s.
21. Riedel, telephone interview; “Eisenbahnwagen für Leichenbeförderung,” 223–27.
22. Riedel, telephone interview.
23. Riedel, “Eisenbahnwaggons für Totentransporte,” *Der Österreichische Bestatter* 33 (August 1991): 110.
24. The history of transporting corpses by train goes back to 1850 England. Transporting dead dignitaries in special “salon cars”—sometimes dressed up with garlands, fir sprigs, etc.—dates back at least to the deaths of U.S. President James Garfield in 1881 and German Field Marshall Graf Waldersee in 1904. In 1894, the Austrian government went so far as to commission a “Salon-Leichenwagen” (used exclusively for transporting the corpses of celebrities, most notably the murdered Empress Elisabeth in 1898). But only in 1905 did the German firm Uerdingen begin producing *Leichenwagen* for use by ordinary paying customers. See Wolfgang Bahr, *Tote auf Reisen: Ein makabrer Reisebegleiter* (Vienna, 2000), 153; Riedel, “Eisenbahnwaggons für Totentransporte,” 108–12; “Eisenbahnwagen für Leichenbeförderung,” 223–27.
25. “Eisenbahnwagen für Leichenbeförderung,” 225.
26. “Eisenbahnwagen für Leichenbeförderung,” 225–26.
27. Brod, *Über Franz Kafka* (Frankfurt a. M., 1966), 212 (not included in the English translation).
28. Brod, “Franz Kafkas Nachlaß,” *Die Weltbühne* 20 (July 17, 1924): 106–9.

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I list only the works cited in this book, with the exception of a few of the travel books owned by Kafka that I do not explicitly reference (for all of the books owned by Kafka, see Jürgen Born, *Kafkas Bibliothek*). For German- and French-language texts that are widely available in English translation, I generally list the facts of publication for the original but also place the standard translation titles in parentheses; full bibliographical information for most of these translations can be found at the pertinent points in the notes.

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