Nationalizing Meltzl: Thomas Frühm's Concept of Weltliteratur

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Abstract: Thomas Frühm, a Transylvanian Saxon scholar and student of Hugo Meltzl, inherited Meltzl's library and archives, which significantly influenced his work. Despite Meltzl's anti-nationalist vision for comparative literature, Frühm's work reflects a Germanocentric perspective, aligning Weltliteratur with German national identity and cultural superiority. This article examines Frühm's work, his methodological nationalism, and the broader context of Transylvanian Saxon scholarship, which gravitated towards German National Socialism in the 1930s. It also frames the complex legacy of Meltzl, whose ideals were overshadowed by the nationalist tendencies of his immediate followers. The study highlights the tension between cosmopolitanism and nationalism in the development of comparative literature in Eastern Europe, emphasizing the need for a critical evaluation of Meltzl's contributions and their local reception. The article sheds light on the instrumentalization of Weltliteratur for nationalist purposes and the enduring impact of early twentieth-century intellectual currents on contemporary literary studies.

Key words: Weltliteratur, World Literature, Hugo Metlzl, Thomas Frühm, nationalism.

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The current critical consensus on the earliest works dedicated to the Goethean concept of *Weltliteratur* (World Literature) places the work of Fritz Strich (1882–1963) at the forefront, with his 1946 publication *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*[1] being regarded as the first scholarly monograph on the subject.[2] The only other significant early contribution to World Literature is thought to be Victor Klemperer's 1929 essay "Weltliteratur und europäische Literatur,"[3] which underscored the presumably foundational status of Strich's study. Strich developed his work on World Literature following a debate with Julius Petersen (1878–1941), the latter having described World Literature as a verbal "deformity," "outdated in word and substance."[4] In turn, Strich argued for the necessity of a cosmopolitan, enlightened and humanistically oriented "science of World Literature" that would settle the struggle between the idea of the nation and the idea of humanity[5] He maintained his position throughout World War II and published *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* in 1946. His early recognition of the complexities and biases involved in defining World Literature, along with his emphasis on the ethical and cultural dimensions of literary exchange, remain relevant today, laying the groundwork for subsequent scholars to explore more nuanced dynamics of World Literature.

Strich's study is credited with reclaiming the concept of World Literature from its early-twentieth-century nationalist framework, which had regarded it as an epiphenomenon of German exceptionalism. Another reason for its importance lies in the institutional history of World Literature in Germany until that point, which had reached its nadir with the National Socialist literary journal *Weltliteratur: Romane, Erzählungen und Gedichte aller Zeiten und Völker* (1935–1944).[6]

1. Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern: Verlag A. Francke, 1946). His work was preceded by a lesser known essay, "Weltliteratur und Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte," in *Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Emil Ermatinger (Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1930), 422–441.

2. Anne Bohnenkamp, "Rezeption der Rezeption: Goethes Entwurf einer 'Weltliteratur' im Kontext seiner Zeitschrift 'Über Kunst und Altertum,'" in *Spuren, Signaturen, Spiegelungen: Zur Goethe-Rezeption in Europa*, ed. Bernhard Beutler and Anke Bosse (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 187–205; Theo D'haen, "Goethe's Weltliteratur and the Humanist Ideal," in *The Routledge Concise History of World Literature*, ed. Theo D'haen (London: Routledge, 2012), 27–46.

3. Victor Klemperer, *Vor 33 und nah 45. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Akademie, 1956), 27–70.

4. Julius Petersen, "Nationale oder vergleichende Literaturgeschichte?", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* für, *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 6, 1928, 40.

5. Strich, "Weltliteratur und Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte," 440.

6. See Peter Goßens, "Weltliteratur," in *Handbuch Komparatistik. Theorien, Arbeitsfelder, Wissenpraxis*, eds. Rüdiger Zymner, Achim Hölter (Stutgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2013), 141.

In this sense, Strich's monograph deserves recognition for partially remedying the methodological shortcomings of former endeavors. Despite these aspects, Strich's work was somewhat overlooked in World Literature scholarship until the re-emergence of World Literature Studies after the 2000s, due in part to the author's Eurocentric perspective and idealistic style, which had fallen out of fashion in the post-war era. As Elizabeth Powers puts it, "[i]n 1946, after two world wars, in which Germany's international stock had reached its nadir, Strich still held that the goal of Goethe's concept was to unite all humans into what he called 'einer übernationalen, allgemein menschlichen, humanen Kultur' (a transnational, universally human, humane culture). Not only was Strich expressing a passé optimism, but his interpretation of World Literature smacked of Eurocentrism in the postcolonial era by situating its origins in Europe."[7] In (West) German scholarship on the matter of comparative literature, the risks of instrumentalizing a transnational, cosmopolitan concept such as *Weltliteratur* became fully evident with the rise of anti-Semitism and nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century, culminating with the "civilizational rupture"[8] brought about by the Holocaust. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Strich's brand of "passé optimism," to borrow Power's phrase, could not survive in an age of post-colonial critiques of world literary dynamics. In the postwar competition of theoretical concepts, it was ultimately Erich Auerbach—a Jewish refugee from the war who nonetheless clung to an idea of European civilization—who found lasting resonance. In an ironic twist, his 1952 "Philologie der Weltliteratur"—which was published in a *Festschrift* dedicated to Strich—became a cornerstone for World Literature Studies, and is now regarded as "one of the great critical essays of the twentieth century."[9] It was not until the early 2000s, with the emergence of a depoliticized reading of Goethe's *Weltliteratur* (instituted first and foremost by David Damrosch[10]), that Strich's *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* regained a privileged position among the discipline's founding texts.

The purpose of this brief introductory detour on Strich's monograph is to highlight how early World Literature scholarship has been received and reinterpreted in light of efforts to uncover "alternative genealogies" for comparative literature—responding to Gayatri Spivak's call to "open up, from the inside, the colonialism of European national-language based Comparative Literature."[11] Meltzl is a central figure in this revisionist project, making the exploration of his regional legacy, particularly his influence on early twentieth-century Transylvanian Saxon scholarship, a crucial aspect of reevaluating and understanding his significance today.

A (Semi)peripheral Candidate

Sharing the same brand of Eurocentrism, an earlier monograph—almost completely unknown to today's scholars—was published in 1932 in Leipzig by Thomas Frühm (1884–1961), a Transylvanian Saxon professor based in Bistritz/ Beszterce/ Bistrița and one of Meltzl's students and disciples. The volume, entitled *Gedanken über Goethes Weltliteratur*,[12] is all the more important for its rather sensationalist genealogy: Frühm became the sole owner of Meltzl's library, including the complete archive of *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* and his correspondence, which he acquired from the family of the late comparatist. However, he lost the collection in 1944 during the German army's retreat from Transylvania, after the war was lost—a moment that saw significant displacement among the Transylvanian Saxon population. As Frühm's estate fell victim to the ensuing pillaging, the last remnants of Meltzl's legacy were reduced to a handful of letters published in the local press by Frühm, along with approximately 100 additional letters to and from Meltzl, which were acquired by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1954 under unknown circumstances.[13]

Thomas Frühm was born on March 6, 1884, to Thomas and Maria Frühm. His father was a community notary (Notär) in Iad/ Jád/ Jaad (after 1964: Livezile), Bistrița/ Beszterce/ Bistritz county. Noted to have been one of the most enterprising mayors in Nösnerland, the area designating the German Saxon communities established in Bistritz county since their migration in the twelfth century, his most fruitful and enduring initiative was the construction of a power plant in Jaad, making it the first fully electrified village in the county.[14] Despite having no formal education himself, he ensured his only son received full support for higher learning. Frühm (the son) was sent to the Evangelische Öbergymnazium in Bistritz, widely regarded as one of the best schools in Transylvania,[15] and later studied theology and philology at the universities

7. Elizabeth Powers, "Fritz Strich and the Dilemmas of World Literature Today," *Goethe Yearbook* 26, no. 1 (2019): 236.

8. Dan Diner, "Introduction," in *Zivilisationsbruch: Denken nach Auschwitz* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1988), 8.

9. Aamir Mufti, *Forget English! Orientalisms and World Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 206.

10. David Damrosch contends that, since Goethe did not live "in a proper nation at all," he could not have developed an imperial view and, therefore, his idea of World Literature could not amount to an "imperial self-projection" (David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?*, 8). This benign view of Goethe has since been challenged on numerous occasions; see Vladimir Biti, "Who Worlds the Literature? Goethe's Weltliteratur and Globalization," *Forum for World Literature Studies* 7, no. 3 (2015): 380–384.

11. Gayatri Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 10.

12. Thomas Frühm, *Gedanken* über *Goethes Weltliteratur* (Leipzig: Helingsche Verlagsanstalt, 1932).

13. See Horst Fassel, "Hugo Meltzl von Lomnitz (1846–1908): Der erste Ordinarius für Germanistik in Klausenburg und seine Beziehungen zu den Universitäten in Heidelberg und Leipzig," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica: Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 439.

14. Thomas Frühm, *Wetterleuchten* über *Siebenburgen: Erinnerungen eines siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulmannes* (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1958), 41.

15. See Nicolae Iorga, *Pagini alese din* însemnările *de călătorie prin Ardeal* și *Banat* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1977), 49.

of Leipzig, Tübingen, and Cluj/ Kolozsvár/ Klausenburg. In 1905, he returned to Bistritz and assumed a teaching position at the Evangelical Gymnasium. Inspired by the dialectal research of his former teacher and later colleague Gustav Kisch (1869–1938), Frühm wrote a doctoral thesis on the similarities between the Transylvanian Saxon and Moselle Franconian dialects,[16] which he defended in Tübingen in 1908. He remained a professor of German, Latin and philosophy at the Gymnasium until the outbreak of World War II. In 1935, he became the headmaster of the Evangelical Gymnasium—its final head before its dissolution in 1944, when the building was converted into a military hospital.[17]

During his studies in Cluj/ Kolozsvár/ Klausenburg (between 1903 and 1905), Frühm became one of Meltzl's most enthusiastic followers. While his early research, informed by the intellectual leadership of Kisch, was concerned with linguistics, a shift in Frühm's academic interests occurred in 1909. According to his memoir, this was the year he acquired Meltzl's entire library, alongside his collection of manuscripts, notes, and correspondence,[18] from his widowed wife and son, who found themselves in financial trouble after Meltzl's death. The sale would allegedly fund Meltzl's son Valamir's initiative to open a bar on the ground floor of their estate.[19] Meltzl's *Nachlass* (which included the entire collection of *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*, by that time already a bibliophile rarity) influenced most of Frühm's scholarly work after this moment. Chief among these influences was Meltzl's lifelong commitment to advancing Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur*[20] as comparative literature, which found its expression in Frühm's work.

The connection between Meltzl and Frühm appears to be unidirectional, confined to the material legacy that Frühm acquired through an entirely prosaic business transaction, which he then used to advance patently nationalist cultural politics that ran counter to Meltzl's own views. By all indications, Meltzl remained a consistently anti-nationalist, even cosmopolitan thinker, but in a very specific, and arguably antiquated sense (at least by post-1848 standards). It is true that Meltzl's cosmopolitanism cannot be gleaned from his programmatic texts. On the contrary, one can even find anti-cosmopolitan positions, such as in the case of his "Preliminary Tasks of Comparative Literature, Part II. The Principle of Polyglottism," where he criticizes "foggy, 'cosmopolitanizing' theories"[21] that hinder the cultivation of "the *purely national of all nations*."[22] However, Meltzl had a very narrow view of cosmopolitanism, a term he used as shorthand either to designate the cultural dominance of French and English in post-Enlightenment Europe—seen as a threat to cultural specificity[23]—or to refer to early Socialist Internationalism, with its ideas of ["universal fraternization or similar international *nephelokokkugia*."][24] His *praxis* (and outlook) is nonetheless manifestly cosmopolitan in the Kantian sense. As Robert Fine and Robin Cohen show, Kant's defense of cosmopolitanism followed four main threads: the reality of the modern, globalized age in which humanity had entered into a universal community; the influence of economic life in a gilded age of global commerce; the rising interests of nation-states in securing their autonomy; and the spread of republican governments that could potentially foster the development of cosmopolitan laws and institutions.[25] Historically, Kant's cosmopolitan ideals were perfectly compatible with the rise of capitalist imperialism; they paved the way for Goethe's triumphalist cosmopolitanism with imperial aspirations, which in turn grounded Meltzl's own intention to advance Hungarian literature within the European literary system. Meltzl's anti-nationalist discourse harboured the figure of a nation-state, even in its imperial (albeit multinational) guise, which

16. Thomas Frühm, *Vergleichende Flexionslehre der Jaader und moselfränkischen Mundart* (Dissertation, 1908).

17. See Günther Klein, "Directorii Gimnaziului Evanghelic C.A. din Bistrița în noua clădire gimnazială (1910–1944)," *Revista Bistriței* 25, 2011, 242–43.

18. "Das ganze Archiv der Redaktion mitsamt den Kopierbüchern und Originalbriefen der Mitarbeiter war in meinen Besitz übergeganngen [The entire editorial archive, including the copies of outgoing letters and original letters from the editorial staff, had become my property]." Frühm, *Wetterleuchten* über *Siebenbürgen*, 81. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

19. "Bedeutungsvoll war es für mich, daß mir der Vater zum Beweis seines Verständnisses für meine geistigen Bemühungen mit rührender Selbstverständlichkeit beträchtliche Bargeldmittel zum Ankauf der einige tausend Bände und Broschüren umfassenden Bibliothek des verstorbenen Germanisten der Universität Klausenburg Prof. Dr. Hugo von Meltzl, meines verehrten Lehrers, zur Verfügung stellte. Den Kaufvertrag schloß ich mit der Witwe Pros. Meltzls und dessen einzigem Sohn, Privatdozent Dr. jur. Valamir Meltzl, ab, der nach dem bald darauf erfolgten Tod seiner Mutter in den Parterreräumen seines Hauses eine Bar einrichtete [It was significant for me that my father, as a sign of appreciation for my intellectual efforts, bequeathed to me, with touching matter-of-factness, a considerable amount of money to purchase the library of the late Prof. Dr. Hugo von Meltzl, former Germanist at the University of Cluj and my revered teacher, which contained several thousand volumes and brochures. I concluded the purchase agreement with Prof. Meltzl's widow and his only son, private lecturer Dr. jur. Valamir Meltzl, who then set up a bar on the ground floor of his estate shortly after his mother's death]." Frühm, *Wetterleuchten* über *Siebenbürgen*, 79.

20. See, for a full account of Meltzl's articles and lectures on the Goethean concept of *Weltliteratur*, Angus Nicholls, "The 'Goethean' Discourses on Weltliteratur and the Origins of Comparative Literature: The Cases of Hugo Meltzl and Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 54 (2018): 178–179.

21. "kosmopolitistelnden Nebeltheorien." Hugo Meltzl, "Vorlaufige aufgaben der vergleichenden Litteratur. II. Das Prinzip des Polyglottismus," *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*, no. 9 (1877): 310. For the translations used here, see Hugo Meltzl, "Present Tasks of Comparative Literature. II. The Principle of Polyglottism," in *The Princeton Sourcebook of Comparative Literature*, eds. David Damrosch, Natalie Melas, Mbongiseni Buthelezi (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 45.

22. "das *Rein-Nationale jeder Nation*", Meltzl, "Das Prinzip des Polyglottismus," 310; Meltzl, "The Principle of Polyglottism", 45.

23. Hugo Meltzl, "La Réforme littéraire en Europe," *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* 31 (1878): 652–59.

24. "Menschenbruderschaftschwindel oder ähnlicher internationaler *nephelokokkugia*." Meltzl, "Das Prinzip des Polyglottismus," 310; Meltzl, "The Principle of Polyglottism," 45.

25. Robert Fine and Robin Cohen, "Four Cosmopolitan Moments," in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, eds. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 140–41.

appears to have governed his imagination.[26] One must only look at a late 1870s map of Europe while reading his 1878 article on *Dekaglottismus*[27] to see a near-perfect overlap between his list of ten modern literatures of allegedly world-literary rank and the existing nation-states and multinational empires of the time. This seemingly obvious alignment appears to escape Damrosch's praise of Meltzl's inclusion of Hungarian on his list as a way of protecting "the smaller literatures and less commonly spoken languages,"[28] failing to acknowledge that Hungarian was, at the time, one of the official languages of one the largest European empires. Much like Goethe's vision of *Weltliteratur*, Meltz's idea of worlding national literatures presumed their Europeanization, what César Domínguez called "an internal orientation toward the cosmopolitan Europe of difference, wherein new loyalties forge inclusive dualities."[29] For Dominguez, Meltzl's polyglottism implies the erasure of "minor" and "small" literatures from the European map by imposing a hierarchizing frame of comparison.[30] Taken in the context of Goethe's early legacy[31] within the nineteenth century, Meltzl's cosmopolitan outlook was very much a product of its time, even if not fully of its space.[32]

However, this is not to say that Metlzl's outlook left a mark on the development of Transylvanian Saxon comparatism. One might say that, for all the methodological nationalism employed by Frühm, there is an equal measure of what Ulrich Beck calls "methodological cosmopolitanism" in Meltzl's own approach, although resting on the very foundations on the very foundations of methodological nationalism.[33] In this essay, I argue that despite the lofty idealism of Meltzl's comparatism, as inscribed in the goals of his programmatic articles published in *Acta Comparationis*, his local posterity developed under the sign of Transylvanian Saxon German-centrism, marked by a highly localized nationalist orientation. As I go on to show, Meltzl represents, for the German Saxon minority in Transylvania, a kind of East-European, equally *weltbürgerlich* [cosmopolitan] Goethe. Despite his activity as an advocate for broader cultural connections that transcend national borders, the Transylvanian Saxon comparatists who followed in his footsteps rebranded him as an emblem of universal and universalizing Germanness and, consequently, as a linchpin for a national(ist) project in Eastern Europe during the first half of the twentieth century. Frühm is a striking case—one of the earliest, yet all the more representative for Meltzl's posterity—of the instrumentalization of the concept of *Weltliteratur* with a Eurocentric and, particularly, a Germanocentric character.

Before considering the particulars of Meltzl's legacy in the early twentieth-century Transylvanian scholarship, a few contextual details are in order. The majority of Transylvanian Saxon scholars who followed in his footsteps were more nationally oriented. This phenomenon is understandable in light of the complex relationship between German Saxons and Germany. As Irina Livezeanu points out, "Transylvanian Saxons maintained contacts with German high culture as it developed in Germany by sending their sons to study or be apprenticed in Germany. They appeared to have a highly organized communal life, financed from property owned by the 'Universitas Saxonum,' an institution representing the Saxon nation. Good management, an urban and artisanal tradition, sustained contact with Germany, and a strong civil society revolving around the Lutheran church lent Saxon communities an air of prosperity, civilization, and orderliness much envied by Romanians even in the interwar period."[34] At the same time these young German Saxons were being educated in Wilhelmine Germany, the prevailing national ideology of the country from which they returned as seasoned scholars was, as Fritz Fischer argues, already radical.[35] Thus, the nationalist mindset underpinning Transylvanian Saxon scholarship up until the end of World War II developed twice-fold: first, as an ideal internalized during their formal education, which ultimately led to the Saxons' gravitation towards German National Socialism in the 1930s, and second,

26. Recent contributions such as Anca Parvulescu and Manuela Boatcă's *Creolizing the Modern*, as well as Angus Nicholls' recent article, further develop this point. See Anca Parvulescu, Manuela Boatcă, *Creolizing the Modern. Transylvania across Empires* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2022), 98–104; Angus Nicholls, "Aesthetics and Anthropology in the Early Years of Comparative Literature: The *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*," *Comparative Literature* 76, no. 3 (2024): 295.

27. Hugo Meltzl, "Vorläufige Aufgaben der vergleichenden Literatur. III. Der Dekaglottismus," *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* 24 (1878): 498.

28. David Damrosch, "Rebirth of a Discipline: The Global Origins of Comparative Studies," *Comparative Critical Studies* 3, no. 1–2 (2006): 104.

29. César Domínguez, "What Does the Comparative Do for Cosmopolitanism?," *PMLA* 128, no. 3 (2013): 634.

30. Dominguez, "What Does the Comparative Do for Cosmopolitanism?," 633.

31. As Hendrik Birus notes, citing Michel Foucault's phrase, "[b]y his idea of *Weltliteratur*, Goethe plays the role of a 'fondateur de discursivité' for Comparative Literature," Hendrik Birus, "The Co-emergence of 'Weltliteratur' and 'littérature compare," in *Comparative Literature in an Age of Multiculturalism*, ed. Reingard Nethersole (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2005), 30.

32. See Christian Moraru, "Ansatzpunkt Transylvania: Worldbuilding Method and Method-Building World in Hugo Meltzl and the Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum Project," *Transilvania*, no. 4-5 (2025): 15-30

33. See Ulrich Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 17. I use Beck's term fully aware of the vulnerabilities of his theory, such as the fact that he relies, as Robert Fine shows, on the very foundations of methodological nationalism. See Robert Fine, *Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2007), 6–14.

34. Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building & Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 137. See also Marilyn McArthur, "The Saxon Germans: Political Fate of an Ethnic Identity," *Dialectical Anthropology* 1 (1976): 351–52.

35. See Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967); J.F.V. Keiger, "The Fischer Controversy, the War Origins Debate and France: A Non-History," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48, no. 2 (2013): 363–75.

as a secular phenomenon that helped protect their own self-interest as an ethnic minority.[36] Institutionally, this trend materialized in Transylvanian academia at the beginning of the twentieth century through the disciplinary shift away from comparative literature (*vergleichende Literatur*) toward Germanistik and Hungarologie respectively.[37]

It is worth noting Meltzl's position in the local academia towards the end of his career, as well as his subsequent posterity. According to Karl Kurt Klein's account, although Meltzl may have always exhibited eccentric tendencies, the force of his personality proved sufficiently compelling to exert a profound influence on his former students.[38] Meltzl's influence towards his death, as perceived by his admirers, was first and foremost that of a visionary precursor of modern religious history and cultural philosophy. Andreas Angyal, for instance, argues that, in an era dominated by superficial materialism, Meltzl distinguished himself by engaging in profound, metaphysically informed reflections on the history of religion and cultural philosophy. Angyal regards him as one of the nineteenth century's intellectual luminaries, whose exceptional position was grounded in his efforts to bridge Romanticism and idealism.[39] At the same time, a significant contingent of his students considered him an exceptionally intelligent yet peculiar, even eccentric, scholar.[40] Even though Angyal's study concerns only Meltzl's philosophical preoccupations, he does attempt to account for the cultural milieu that shaped his multiculturalist outlook:

> "Of course, to become such a forerunner, he had to come from the East, from Transylvania. [...] North-German, East-Hungarian, Slavic and Byzantine-Romanian culture and spirituality meet here. Alongside German Gothic townscapes with cathedrals, civic buildings and ramparts, there are Hungarian and Romanian villages in the country with rich folklore. Wooden buildings with high roofs stand on the forested slopes of the Carpathians, fantastic eastern market towns are framed by the high mountains, lonely eastern crosses stand watchful at the side of the road. Fortified Gothic churches appear, wooden spires rise into the sky, Byzantine domes arch. The white peaks of the snow-capped mountains greet you with noble purity on clear spring days, old ballads ring out from the lips of the Hungarians and Romanians, and tens of thousands of Szeklers flock to Mary of Csiksomlyö under waving church flags during Pentecost week. Not only peoples, but also religions meet. Catholics with Latin and Byzantine liturgy, Protestants and Orthodox live together here. Romance, Germanic, Finno-Ugric and Slavic languages can be heard. Truly a land that fosters spiritual and human depth and universality!"[41]

In light of this evocative portrayal, Meltzl's intellectual legacy can be understood as deeply intertwined with Transylvania's rich cultural and religious tapestry. His multiculturalist outlook was not merely an abstract philosophical stance, but a product of the diverse traditions that shaped his intellectual and personal identity. Hardly any critical Transylvanian Saxon account (or Hungarian, for that matter) discussing and evaluating Meltzl's methodological proposals for a comparative literature discipline can be found in early twentieth-century scholarship. His post-World War II fate is even more peculiar: in one of the earliest accounts on the history of comparatism in Romania, even though there is an ample account of the German Saxon contributions to comparative literature by Bernhard Capesius, the chapter dedicated to Meltzl can be found in a section on Hungarian comparatists, where his name is Magyarized (*Meltzl Hugó*).[42]

One of the few instances in which Meltzl is reclaimed as a comparatist is in Frühm's works. Frühm placed considerable trust in the intellectual guidance of his former teacher. Meltzl's enthusiasm for Schopenhauer left discernible traces in Frühm's

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36. "During the Nazi years [...], their identities as Saxons and as Germans merged," McArthur, "The Saxon Germans," 354.

37. For the Hungarian case, see Levente T. Szabó, "Negotiating the Borders of Hungarian National Literature: The Beginnings of the *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* and the Rise of Hungarian Studies (Hungarologie)," *Transylvanian Review* 22, suppl. no. 1 (2013): 47–61.

38. See Karl Kurt Klein, *Die "Nöser Germanistenschule": Ihre Entstehung, Wirksamkeit, Leistung* (Bistritz: Verlag der Buchhandlung Gustav Zikeli, 1943), 152–54.

39. Andreas Angyal, "Karl Hugo v. Meltzl—ein Vorläufer der neueren Religionsgeschichte und Kulturphilosophie," *Südost-Forschungen* 7 (1942): 54.

40. Sándor Kerekes, "Lomnitzi Meltzl Hugó: 1846–1908," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts der Budapester Peter-Pázmány Universität* 2 (1937): 254–58.

41. "Freilich, um zu einem solchen Vorläufer werden zu können, mußte er aus dem Osten kommen, aus Siebenbürgen. [...] Deutsch-nordische, madjarisch-östliche, slawische und byzantinisch-rumänische Kultur und Geistigkeit treffen sich hier. Neben deutschen gotischen Stadtbildern mit Domen, Bürgerbauten und Wällen liegen madjarische und rumänische Dörfer im Land mit reicher Volkskunst. Holzbauten stehen mit hohen Dächern auf den waldigen Hängen der Karpaten, phantastisch-östliche Marktstädte umrahmt das Hochgebirge, einsam wachen östliche Kreuze am Straßenrand. Gotische Kirchenburgen tauchen auf, hölzerne Spitztürme ragen in die Höhe, byzantinische Kuppeln wölben sich. Mit hehrer Reinheit grüßen die weißen Gipfeln der Schneeberge an klaren Frühlingstagen, alte Balladen ertönen von den Lippen der Madjaren und Rumänen, und unter wehenden Kirchenfahnen wallen Zehntausende von Szeklern in der Pfingstwoche zur Maria von Csiksomlyö. Nicht nur Völker, auch Religionen begegnen sich. Katholiken mit lateinischer und mit byzantinischer Liturgie, Protestanten und Orthodoxe leben hier zusammen. Romanische, germanische, ugrofinnische und slawische Sprachen erklingen. Wahrhaftig ein Land, das zur geistigen und menschlichen Tiefe und Universalität führen muß!", Angyal, "Karl Hugo v. Meltzl," 54.

42. See Engel Károly, "O contribuție la activarea mesajului cuprins în conceptul de 'Weltliteratur,'" in *Istoria și teoria comparatismului în România*, ed. Al. Dima (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1972), 141–145.

academic activity. Following Meltzl's preoccupations with Arthur Schopenhauer and Petőfi Sándor,[43] he published an account of Schopenhauer's influence on Mihai Eminescu,[44] as well as Meltz's unpublished correspondence with Julius Frauenstädt and Wilhelm Gwinner,[45] and later an edition of Schopenhauer's aphorisms.[46] His chief work, however, is the comprehensive monograph published in honor of the Goethe centenary in 1932, *Gedanken über Goethes Weltliteratur*. The main inspiration for his anniversary volume is Meltzl's 1882 short and rather aphoristic study based on a lecture delivered at a commemorative seminar held at the Royal Franz-Josef University in honor of the Goethe semi-centenary.[47] Frühm seems to have inherited even his mentor's inaccuracies. For instance, Meltzl's fifth thesis[48] contains a factual error, where he invokes an 1817 poem by Goethe that was posthumously titled *Weltliteratur* in a later edition as evidence to support the claim that the birth year of World Literature was 1817.[49] Frühm then adopts this error, using it as the motto for his own volume.[50]

The View from the East: World Literature as German Literature

One of the most salient features of Frühm's monograph dedicated to Goethean *Weltliteratur* is its national, even nationalist character, albeit in service of the Weimar Republic rather than the regime that followed.[51] The foreword speaks volumes about the brand of nationalist idealism professed throughout the book: "The purpose of the book is fulfilled if it contributes to deepening the consciousness of the German people and thereby creating the lasting foundations of a supranational world empire of the German spirit."[52] Aside from his more than occasional bouts of nationalism, however, the main thesis of Frühm's monograph is that world literary complexity is the result of long-term accumulation. Throughout his book, he traces this phenomenon using Goethe's own literature as a landmark. In a way, he seeks to demonstrate the worlding of a national literature through an individual—and privileged—example, a kind of Goethe-as-World Literature.

Frühm contends that Homer, the Bible, Hafez, Ossian, Shakespeare, Frederick the Great (surprisingly), Johann Georg Hamann, and Herder all belong to a shared world literary heritage and partake in a canon recognized across national borders. There is no doubt that Frühm sees *Weltliteratur* much as Goethe himself did—in imperialist terms.[53] But this is also true of Meltzl's Eurocentric view, which, not unlike Goethe's, did not propose to jettison the national out of literature, but merely to overcome its limitations while also preserving a hegemonic hierarchy based on the idea of a "true Classicism" (*wahrhaftigem Classicismus*).[54] In this sense, Frühm's assertion that "the greatest works of world

43. Meltzl's dissertation was dedicated to Schopenhauer's philosophical predecessors, while two permanent columns of *Acta Comparationis* were titled *Petőfiana* and *Schopenhaueriana.* See Péter Hajdu and József Pál, "Introduction: The Fifty-year History of *Neohelicon*, *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*, and beyond," *Neohelicon* 50 (2023): 413–22; David Damrosch, "Rebirth of a Discipline: The Global Origins of Comparative Studies," *Comparative Critical Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 99–112; Nicholls, "The 'Goethean' Discourses on Weltliteratur," 167–94.

44. Thomas Frühm, "Schopenhauers Einfluss auf Eminescu," *Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1936*, 269–80 (expanded version published at Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1936).

45. Thomas Frühm and Rudolf Borch, "Unbekanntes aus dem Schopenhauer-Kreise. Der Briefwechsel Hugo von Meltzls mit Julius Frauenstädt und Wilhelm Gwinner," *Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1930*, 189–270.

46. Arthur Schopenhauer, *Aphorismen Zur Lebensweisheit*, ed. Thomas Frühm (Vollst. Ausg. Detmold-Hiddesen: Maximilian-Verl, 1948).

47. See Hugo Meltzl, "Goethes Weltliteratur," *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* 105 (1882): 67–69.

48. "Einer systematischen Darstellung bedurfte es übrigens hier zunächst gar nicht, da es sich lediglich um eine ***Entdeckung*** handelte; dennoch ist der Nachwelt, als einziges unmittelbarstes erbe über in diesen Gegenstand ein Gedicht geblieben, geradezu betitelt 'Weltliteratur'; eine unbeachtete Reliquie,—nach unser Konjektur aus 1817. Demnach wäre 1817 das Geburtsjahr der WL [In the first instance, a systematic presentation was not at all required, because the matter at hand was only a ***discovery***; however, one poem has been left to posterity as the single and most immediate legacy of world literature, and is even entitled 'World Literature'; an unappreciated relic from the year 1817, according to our conjecture. On this basis, 1817 would be the birthyear of world literature]." Meltzl, "Goethes Weltliteratur," 68. Translation by Angus Nicholls.

49. *Goethes sämtliche Werke in Vierzig Bänden*, vol. I (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1840), see Angus Nicholls, "Three Translations from the Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum: 'Preliminary Tasks of Comparative Literature, Part III: Decaglottism'; 'Laws of Comparative Literary Research'; and 'Goethe's World Literature,'" *Comparative Literature* 76, no. 3 (2024): 285–93.

50. "Wie David königlich zur Harfe sang, / Der Winzerin Lied am Throne lieblich klang, / Des Persers Bulbul Rosenbusch umbangt, /Und Schlangenhaut als Wildengürtel prangt, / Von Pol zu Pol Gesänge sich ernenn—/ Ein Sphärentanz harmonisch im Getümmel—/ Laßt alle Völker unter gleichem Himmel / Sich gleicher Gabe wohlgemuth erfreun!." Goethe, *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, Band 6, Heft 1 (1827), p. 199.

51. While Frühm's explicit approval of Nationalist Socialism is confined to a single article published in the local press, his headmaster position at the Evangelical Gymnasium after 1940, when the most German Saxon confessional schools were controlled by the German Ethnic Group, indicates at least a tacit approval of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterparteiand and German Ehtnic Group politics. See Corneliu Pintilescu, "The Nazification of the Rural Transylvanian Saxon Press: Case Study—'Landwirtschaftliche Blätter' (1935–1941)," in *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda*, eds. Sorin Radu, Oliver Jens Schmitt (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 487–492.

52. "Der Zweck des Buches ist erfüllt, wenn es dazu beiträgt, das deutsche Volks Bewußtsein zu vertiefen und dadurch die dauernden Grundlagen eines überstaatlichen Weltreiches des deutschen Geistes zu schaffen." Frühm, *Gedanken*, 1.

53. Even before the emergence of more critical readings of Goethe's *Weltliteratur* in the Anglo-American comparatist discourse following David Damrosch's one-dimensional reading of World Literature as "free competition" of literary values, Anne Bohnenkamp noted that Goethe's idea of World Literature reflected his perception of his international reception (Bohnenkamp, "Rezeption der Rezeption," 187), which amounts to what Vladimir Biti called "an imperial 'system of self-securing' of his and the German shaken self" in which Goethe is the engineer of a concept whose collective beneficiaries are the Germans that capitalized the "reiterated mirroring" and "mutual illuminations" provided by its numerous adherents. Biti, "Who Worlds the Literature?," 391–92.Ţ

54. "Meltzl, "Der Dekaglottismus", 494.

literature are born from national spirit and clearly show national character"[55] rings familiar. In examining key works and periods in Goethe's life, Frühm emphasizes the transition during the Weimar era from a focus on national poetry to the emergence of World Literature. Frühm identifies the German people's role as central to fostering *ein Weltreich des Geistes* [a world empire of the spirit],[56] as symbolized by Goethe's legacy. Just as Goethe remained keenly aware of the national character inherent in all poetry, Frühm similarly envisions the spirit of humanity as being rooted in national foundations. In this endeavor, he assigns a distinct position and mission to German literature, which is tasked with safeguarding: "the great idea of national identity to demand the conscious, planned expansion of a world empire of the German spirit, whose all-pervading and fulfilling soul can only be Goethe and the German spirit of Weimar."[57]

For Frühm, Goethe's *Faust* is the epitome of this long-term accumulation of world literary value. Using Goethe's literary ascent as a concrete model, Frühm argues that every writer, through their unique and sublime effort, retraces the entire history of World Literature, establishing formative models and engaging in intensive relationships with each culture according to their temperament and subjective and historical necessity. At the end of this journey—which, in Goethe's case, culminates with the completion of the dramatic poem *Faust*[58]—one can discern in the individual creation both the world cultural landscape and a personal note, marked by a distinctive synthesis of elements of social and artistic education.[59] In the same vein, tradition serves as a general code of communication through which national literatures can be interconnected. The universalism of literary communication thus lies in the dialectical nature of the relationship between tradition and creation. Ultimately, World Literature, for Frühm, is nothing more than the intersection of different national literatures, linked through a universal humanism: "It is the spiritual bond that consolidates and deepens the common destiny of a people despite individual, political, religious and economic differences. Just as the wider world is only ever an 'extended fatherland,' world literature is also a national literature extended by the unification of the national literatures. It will therefore necessarily also show all the inner differences that each individual national literature possesses."[60] However, within this seemingly pacifying schema Frühm identifies a distinctly German point of origin for World Literature, imagining the "expanded fatherland" (Goethe's own idea) of national literatures rallied under the banner of a Goethe-people (*Goethe-Volk*).[61] Ultimately, Frühm's ideal of a German-born World Literature represents a bizarre mix of nationalist idealism and declarative cosmopolitanism:

> "Just as borders fell within Germany decades ago, so too must they disappear within Europe if Europe is not to perish. But not only the economic borders, but even more so the intellectual barriers must fall. The assumption that nations are prevented from understanding one another by their ethnic characteristics is wrong. Hatred between peoples and races is artificially and deliberately stoked. The great Pan-European unity movement will not find insurmountable obstacles in national cultures, but it will have to wage a serious struggle against national pride. The bridges of this future unity will be formed by individual literatures, provided that, despite all their particularity, a supranational spirit of 'moral-aesthetic agreement' asserts itself within them."[62]

Few of Meltzl's innovations concerning comparative literature survive in Frühm's monograph. However, he is acknowledged as one of the forerunners of *Polyglottismus*, a concept aimed at overcoming the inherent shortcomings of translation, perceived by Frühm as an inefficient means of preserving the authenticity of the original work[63].

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55. "[d]ie größten Werke der Weltliteratur sind aus nationalem Geiste geboren und zeigen deutlich nationales Gepräge," Frühm, *Gedanken*, 5.

56. Frühm, *Gedanken*, 258.

57. "der große Volkstumsgedanke zur Forderung des bewußten, planmäßigen Ausbaues eines Weltreiches des deutschen Geistes, dessen alles durchdringende und erfüllende Seele nur Goethe und der deutsche Geist Weimars sein kann." Frühm, *Gedanken*, 144–45.

58. Frühm, *Gedanken*, 207.

59. Frühm, *Gedanken*, 239.

60. "Sie ist das geistige Band, das trotz individueller, politischer, religiöser und wirtschaftlicher Gegensätze die Lebens- und Schicksalsgemeinschaft eines Volkes festigt und vertieft. Wie die weite Welt immer nur ein '*erweitertes Vaterland*' ist, ebenso ist die Weltliteratur eine durch Vereinigung der Volksliteraturen erweiterte Nationalliteratur. Sie wird daher auch notwendig alle die inneren Verschiedenheiten aufweisen, die jede einzelne Nationalliteratur besitzt." Frühm, *Gedanken*, 252.

61. "So ist der Dichter des Faust in seinem ganzen Schaffen und Sein, wenn auch Weltbürger, so doch Deutscher geblieben. Nur aus deutschem Boden, mitten aus dem deutschen Geist allein konnte der deutsche Goethe zum Goethe der Menschheit werden," Frühm, *Gedanken*, 39–40.

62. "Wie vor Jahrzehnten innerhalb Deutschlands die Zollschranken fielen, so müssen sie innerhalb Europas schwinden, wenn Europa nicht untergehen soll. Aber nicht nur die wirtschaftlichen Grenzwehren, mehr noch müssen die geistigen Schranken beseitigt werden. Die Annahme ist falsch, daß die Nationen durch ihre völkische Eigenart daran gehindert werden, einander zu verstehen. Völker- und Rassenhaß sind künstlich und bewußt geschürt. Die große paneuropäische Einheitsbewegung findet in den nationalen Kulturen keine unüberwindlichen Hindernisse, wohl aber wird sie einen ernsten Kamps zu führen haben gegen den nationalen Hochmut. Die Brücken dieser künftigen grasten Einheit werden die Einzelliteraturen bilden, wenn sich in ihnen bei aller Besonderheit ein übernationaler Geist der 'sittlich-ästhetischen Übereinstimmung' geltend gemacht haben wird." Frühm, *Gedanken*, 239.

63. See Frühm, *Gedanken*, 237.

Frühm credits Meltzl, alongside Sámuel Brassai (1797–1897), with the creation of *Acta Comparationis* as a more scientifically grounded response to Ottilie von Goethe's (1796–1872) short-lived Weimar-based magazine *Chaos* (1828–1832), a project that featured anonymous contributions in German, French, English, Italian, Latin, Spanish, and Greek, and which Goethe himself dismissed as a "dilettantischer Spaß [dilettante pastime]."[64] Particularly noteworthy is a letter sent to Meltzl from Julius Hart (1855–1930), praising *Acta Comparationis*:

> "I read your journal for comparative literature weekly with increasing enjoyment and learned to value it more and more as a paper that is called upon to achieve the highest ideals that the late Goethe dreamed of so longingly. This is certainly the very best means of breaking down the barriers of national narrow-mindedness and giving poets of all nations that world-free view that brings about a new high point in every respect, a period of rejuvenation provided by the immense amount of material that is brought to them in this way."[65]

Frühm regards Meltzl's polyglottism as the ultimate manifestation of Goethe's ideals of *Weltliteratur,* and as an important instrument for what he called "the Pan-European idea" (*die paneuropäische Idee*). Alongside Frühm's monograph, Meltzl's correspondence is of particular importance. Despite Meltzl's profound admiration for poets of diverse nations and his efforts to promote their recognition, his correspondence—published by Frühm in an article titled "World Political and World Literary Questions in the Mirror of Our Homeland"[66]—is far less anti-nationalist than his programmatic articles published in *Acta Comparationis* paint him, instead revealing him as a rather nationally-minded German thinker. While his reaction to the local authorities' intolerance[67] manifested through a declarative multiculturalism largely confined to his disciplinary pursuits, outside of the confines of his impressive networking activity developed through *Acta Comparationis*, Meltzl nevertheless showed no hesitations in brushing shoulders with anti-Semitic intellectuals such as Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891). Despite Frühm's efforts to portray Meltzl as an exemplar of Germanness, the samples provided in the letters show some "nationalist" *parti-pris*, not only toward German culture, but also toward Hungarian literature. As in the pages of *Acta Comparationis*, Meltzl appears as a passionate and active promoter of Petőfi Sándor's poetry. In his letters to Paul de Lagarde, for instance, he primarily seeks the Orientalist's expertise in drawing a comparison between the Hungarian national poet and Omar Khayyam (1048–1131), successfully sparking de Lagarde's interest in the Hungarian language.[68] In other exchanges of letters between Meltzl and his international collaborators, such as Iceland's Steingrímur Thorsteinsson (1831–1913), Tommaso Cannizzaro (1838–1921) and Giuseppe Cassone (1843–1910) from Italy, or Henry Phillips (1838–1895) from the United States, the common denominator linking their literary pursuits is Petőfi Sándor. Despite Meltzl's frequent conflicts with the Hungarian academia—many of which stemmed from its lack of support for his efforts to promote Petőfi abroad—and despite Frühm's and other Transylvanian Saxon scholars' attempts to emphasize his Germanness, the national orientation of his cultural and scholarly efforts skews more toward Hungarian literature. Frühm's claim—"Meltzl hat in fremden Lande im Kampfe gegen Muckertum und nationale Unduldsamkeit unter schwierigen Bedingungen manchen siegreichen Strauß ausgefochten [Meltzl has fought, in foreign lands and under difficult conditions, many battles in the fight against bigotry and national intolerance]"—falls particularly flat in this light.[69]

The failure of Meltzl's regional posterity can be attributed largely to the persistent methodological nationalisms that characterized the Transylvanian Saxon literary scholarship that followed him. Early twentieth-century attempts to nationalize his activity, coupled with his very late recovery in the 1970s, set the stage for a post-2000s reception often overlooked critical discussions about the complex inter-imperial milieu underpinning his comparatism. Idealizing Goethe's vague concept of *Weltliteratur* should not be mistaken for adopting a universal perspective. In fact, the German academic tradition has long expressed concern about the concept's potential for

64. Goethe to Eckermann, 5 April 1830, in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke* (e-artnow, 2015), 1288.

65. "Ihre Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literatur lese ich von Woche zu Woche mit steigendem Vergnügen und lerne sie mehr und mehr schätzen als ein Blatt, das berufen ist, noch das Höchste zu vollenden und jene Ideals wirklich zu erreichen, von denen der alte Goethe so sehnsüchtig geträumt hat. Sicher ist dieses Mittel das allerbeste, um die Schranken nationaler Beschränktheit niederzureißen und den Dichtern aller Völker jenen Weltfreien Blick zu verleihen, der auch für sie eine neue Blütenperiode in jeder Hinsicht bedeutet, Blütenperiode schon allein durch die immense Stoffülle, die ihnen auf diesem Wege zugsführt wird." Quoted in Frühm, 238.

66. Thomas Frühm, "Weltpolitische und weltliterarische Fragen im Spiegel unserer Heimat," *Jahresbericht des deutsch-evangelisches Knabenobergymnasium Bistritz 1940/41* (1941): 3–30.

67. Citing one of Meltz's letters to Paul de Lagarde, in which Meltzl deplores English and French biases when it comes to literary preferences in 1870s Transylvania ("Bei uns zulande wird namentlich die französisch und englisch geschriebene Wissenschaft, im allgemeinen, der deutsch geschriebenen vorgezogen. Es ist eine Art rudimentärer Erneuerung aus früheren Jahrhunderten, namentlich auch aus Bayles Zeitalter und dem der englischen Essayisten. Vergebens kämpfe ich gegen diesen blöden Anachronismus an. Demgemäß zeigen denn auch die Bibliotheken oft die klaffenden Lücken [In our country, French and English writings are generally preferred to German. It is a kind of rudimentary recovery of trends from earlier centuries, dating back to Bayle's era and that of the English essayists. I fight in vain against this stupid anachronism. Accordingly, libraries are often staggeringly deficient]," quoted in Frühm, "Weltpolitische und weltliterarische Fragen," 21), Frühm assesses that "[b]ei aller weltbürgerlichen Einstellung und Lebensanschauung hat Meltzl hier das deutsche Ansehen stets würdig vertreten und gewahrt [despite his cosmopolitan attitude and outlook on life, Meltzl always represented and upheld German reputation here with dignity]," (21).

68. See Frühm, "Weltpolitische und weltliterarische Fragen," 24.

69. When de Lagarde refuses to fill out a questionnaire sent to him, instead sending him a copy of his 1877 Symmicta, Meltzl reprimands him for calling Pécs a Slavic city, emphasizing its prominent Saxon legacy. See Frühm, "Weltpolitische und weltliterarische Fragen," 22.

instrumentalization.[70] Similarly, the recent revival of Meltzl's ideas must be approached with critical attention. This includes examining both the cultural context that shaped his thinking and the way his legacy has evolved locally after his death. A closer look at Meltzl's own intellectual framework—shaped by nineteenth-century Eurocentric exceptionalism—may help explain why later efforts emerged to "nationalize" the Transylvanian scholar.

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70. See Peter Goßens, "Weltliteratur," in *Handbuch Komparatistik. Theorien, Arbeitsfelder, Wissenpraxis*, eds. Rüdiger Zymner, Achim Hölter (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2013), 140–41.

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