

**Topology:**  
The “Turks Deliverance  
Celebration” in Vienna  
on May 14, 1933,  
imparted from  
multiple perspectives  
in three mediations by  
five mediators each.

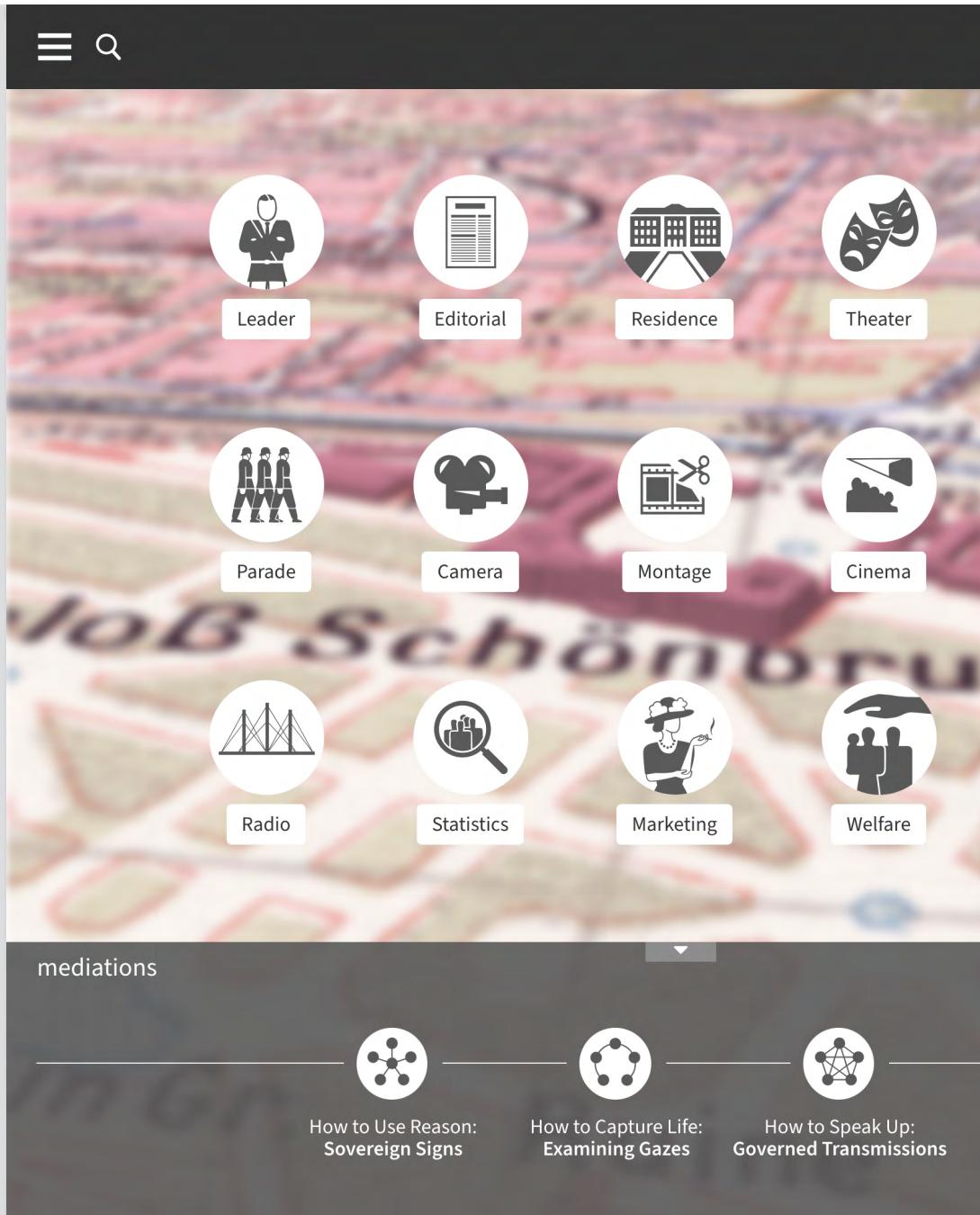


Fig. 35: Screenshot of the website campusmedius.net (desktop version 2.0/2021) showing the start page of the Topology module (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).



Reframing



Exposure



Cancellation

## Topology

The Topology of *Campus Medius* focuses on the main event of the exemplary time-space displayed in the Topography module with an interactive map and a timeline. This Austrofascist "Turks Deliverance Celebration" (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in Vienna on May 14, 1933, is imparted here in three mediations by five mediators each.

START

The QR code leads  
to the corresponding  
web page.



# How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs

SPACE	LIMITED
TIME	INFINITE
VALUE	CENTRALIZED
PERSPECTIVE	BIRD'S-EYE
NAVIGATION	ZOOMING

GOD  
1.0

In contrast to the other two mediations, which are implemented without an external perspective, this mediation requires an additional, transcendent mediator. In the website's database, its number is 0 and its name is "God" (see fig. 5, p. 34).

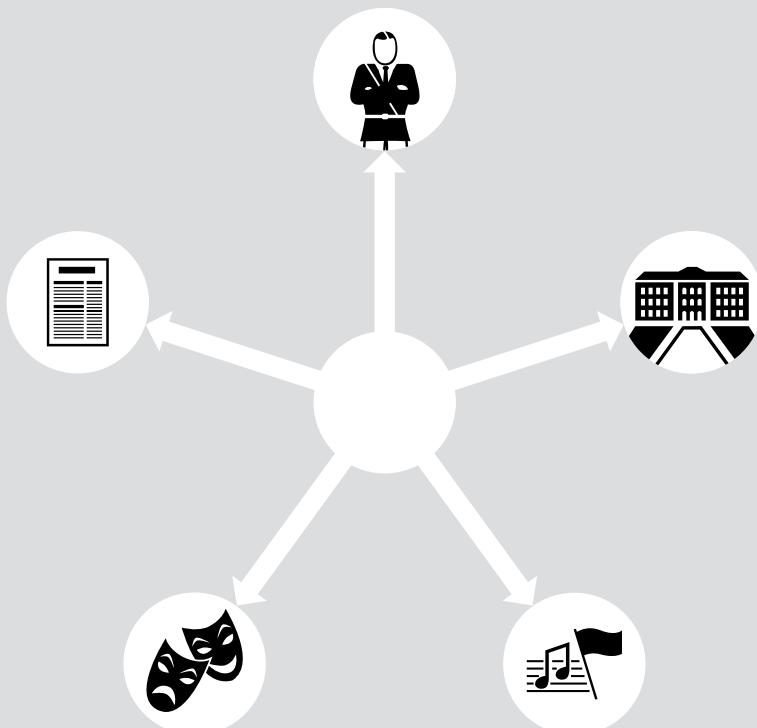
LEADER  
1.1

Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, who came from an old noble family, was the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection and initiator of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933. How did he conceive this idea?

EDITORIAL  
1.2

The announced visit of German Nazi politicians in Vienna was "undesirable," the Christian Social *Reichspost* concluded in its editorial from May 9, 1933. The "Turks Deliverance Celebration," held the following weekend, should not be disturbed.

Fig. 36: The centralized network of the mediation “How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs” in the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (version 2.0/2021), designed by Susanne Kiesenhofer and adapted for the book edition by Stefan Amann.



#### RESIDENCE

1.3

Why did the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” take place in the Baroque gardens of Schönbrunn? For a nationalistic rally of this type and scale, the Heldenplatz seems the more appropriate venue in Vienna, with its very name a military commemoration.

#### THEATER

1.4

In the evening before the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” the drama *Hundred Days*, cowritten by Benito Mussolini, was performed at Vienna’s Burgtheater. How are the political rally and the theatrical production connected?

#### REFRAMING

1.5

How did it come to pass that at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” one and the same melody—Joseph Haydn’s “Emperor’s Song”—was used for opposing aims, namely in support of the Austrian state’s preservation, as well as its annexation by the German Reich?

## 1.1 Leader: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg



place	Monument to Count Starhemberg
moment	Laying of a wreath
space	N 48.210411°   E 16.359453°
time	1932 a 133 d 8 h 0 min p. Chr.

“For me it was, I admit, perhaps the proudest and best day of my political campaign,” Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg wrote retrospectively of May 14, 1933.<sup>145</sup> As if the weather had anticipated the impending event and its impact, the sun burst through the clouds on this Sunday morning in Vienna and warmed the spring breeze until the afternoon, when heavy thunderstorms were accompanied by rain and hail.<sup>146</sup> Two years later Starhemberg remembered May 14, 1933, as the “eruption of the new era,” as the day “when 40,000 Homeland Protectors [*Heimatschützer*] saved the fatherland by marching in Schönbrunn.”<sup>147</sup> It was also the day, according to Starhemberg’s memoirs, that established his friendship with Engelbert Dollfuss, then federal chancellor of Austria.<sup>148</sup> However, when he dictated these memories to his secretary in the winter of 1938/39, Dollfuss was long dead and Starhemberg was in exile in France.

Before falling from grace, Starhemberg had risen to heady heights, and on the day in question he took a great leap up. In his eyes it was not only a turning point in his own life, but also in the history of Austria. For this reason he went into great detail about the preparations and the impact of May 14, 1933, in his memoirs, the first edition of which was published in

<sup>145</sup> Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, Vienna/Munich: Amalthea 1991, p. 152 [our trans.].

<sup>146</sup> See “Die amtliche Wettervorhersage,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 14, 1933 (morning edition), p. 14, and “Der Marsch durch Wien,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 3.

<sup>147</sup> Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Die Reden des Vizekanzlers E.R. Starhemberg*, Vienna: Österreichischer Bundespressoedienst 1935, pp. 75 and 84 [our trans.].

<sup>148</sup> See Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 152.

English in 1942.<sup>149</sup> According to this account, Starhemberg had a momentous conversation with Dollfuss in spring 1933.<sup>150</sup> The situation was extremely fraught because the National Socialists, having come to power in Germany at the beginning of the year, were also on the rise in Austria. Starhemberg allegedly advised Dollfuss that it was precisely at this point that one had to develop “an Austrian strength” that would give the people security and confidence.<sup>151</sup> Whereas the federal chancellor was planning on holding a Christian Social Party conference as a large patriotic event, Starhemberg advocated a rally of the **Austrian Homeland Protection** (*Heimatschutz*), the paramilitary organization that he had overseen as its federal leader since 1930.

To secure financing for this mass rally, Starhemberg traveled to Rome to **Benito Mussolini**, whom he knew personally. According to his memoirs, he described to the Italian prime minister the plan for “a systematic wave of propaganda for Austria and against National Socialism.”<sup>152</sup> Due to their shared language, “the Greater German feeling” was very pronounced in Austria, but precisely therein lay the critical issue: “We must finally muster the courage,” said Starhemberg, “to juxtapose the idea of a Greater Germany with an entirely unrelated idea of Austria.”<sup>153</sup> Allegedly, Mussolini emphatically welcomed this suggestion and named the concept of *italianità* in Fascist Italy as a model: “You must create something like that in Austria.”<sup>154</sup> Having already supplied weapons to the Austrian Home Guards (*Heimwehren*) at the beginning of the year, Mussolini now also provided the money for Starhemberg’s propagandist event.<sup>155</sup>

149 See Ernst Rudiger Starhemberg: *Between Hitler and Mussolini*, New York/London: Harper & Brothers 1942.

150 Lothar Höbelt dates this conversation to April 7, 1933: *Die Heimwehren und die österreichische Politik 1927–1936. Vom politischen “Kettenhund” zum “Austro-Fascismus”?*, Graz: Ares 2016, p. 272.

151 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, pp. 137–138 [our trans.].

152 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 139 [our trans.].

153 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, pp. 139–140 [our trans.].

154 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 140 [our trans.].

155 The so-called “Hirtenberg arms incident” (*Hirtenberger Waffenaffäre*) was uncovered in the article “Italienische Waffen für Ungarn gehen über Österreich!,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), January 8, 1933, p. 1. →

Fig. 43, p. 119

Although in the memoirs he wrote in exile, Starhemberg stresses that the rally was in opposition to National Socialism, he makes no secret of the fact that the event was also intended to seal the “abolition of degenerate democracy.”<sup>156</sup> In his view Austria was not mature enough for a democratic system of government in 1918, when the Habsburg Monarchy collapsed with the end of World War I. As stated by Starhemberg, hardly anyone had believed in the survival chances of the **small republic** that was left of the empire. The political parties had not been concerned about the country and its people, he continues, but rather about their own interests, which they had proclaimed at the top of their voices on the streets of Vienna and on the front pages of the newspapers: “The result was a parliamentarianism that became the stomping ground of rampant party demagoguery and wild battles for party-political gains at the cost of the population as a whole.”<sup>157</sup> When in March 1933 Dollfuss used a parliamentary crisis regarding the rules of procedure to start governing as a dictator using emergency decrees, he had simply “put an end to a circumstance that had become untenable.”<sup>158</sup>

III.3.4

According to Starhemberg, therefore, a twofold sign was required in spring 1933: *for* Austria as an independent state with an authoritarian government and *against* Austria’s enemies, whether that be National Socialism, which wanted to absorb the country in a Greater German Reich, or **Social Democracy**, which was committed to establishing an international “dictatorship

- Mussolini contributed 300,000 schillings to the rally in Schönbrunn on May 14, 1933, according to Höbelt: *Die Heimwehren und die österreichische Politik 1927–1936*, p. 272.

156 See Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, pp. 142–148 [our trans.].

157 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 146 [our trans.].

158 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 146 [our trans.]. In the session on March 4, 1933, all three presidents of the Austrian National Council had resigned in protest. The attempt to reconvene the interrupted session on March 15 was prevented by the police by order of the government. Federal Chancellor Dollfuss subsequently governed by means of emergency decrees on the basis of the Wartime Economy Enabling Act (*Kriegswirtschaftliches Ermächtigungsgesetz*) of 1917. See the conference proceedings edited by the Austrian Parliamentary Administration: *Staats- und Verfassungskrise 1933*, Vienna: Böhlau 2014.

of the proletariat.”<sup>159</sup> This sovereign sign would be made in the form of a mass rally by the Austrian Homeland Protection League (*Heimatschutzverband*), which Starhemberg staged as a “Turks Deliverance Celebration” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*). In 1933 Vienna’s liberation from the second Ottoman siege lay 250 years in the past. The state anniversary celebrations, however, only took place in late summer, in view of the fact that it was the famous Battle of Vienna on September 12, 1683, that had brought the roughly two-month siege to an end.<sup>160</sup> Why did Starhemberg call his event in May a “Turks Deliverance Celebration” contrary to historical fact? He does not explain his choice in his memoirs, but it can be assumed that his family history provides the reasons. Had the Habsburg Monarchy and with it the Austrian nobility survived World War I, then when his father Ernst Rüdiger died in 1927, the Starhemberg rank of prince would have gone to him, the Imperial Count von Starhemberg, who was born Ernst Rüdiger Camillo Maria on May 10, 1899, at Eferding Palace in Upper Austria.

The Starhemberg family was one of the oldest aristocratic dynasties in the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>161</sup> Its progenitor is believed to be a Gundacker from the twelfth century whose grandson of the same name built Starhemberg (Storichenberch) Castle on the Hausruck hills in Upper Austria from which the family later derived its surname. A crucial role in the family’s history was played by Erasmus I (1503–1560), who married Anna von

159 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, p. 144 [our trans.]. The political opponents tried to substantiate the assertion that Austria was threatened by a “dictatorship of the proletariat” with the Austrian Social Democratic program that was adopted in Linz in 1926, which clearly committed the party to the democratic system of government but in the event of a bourgeois “counterrevolution” did not exclude “breaking the bourgeoisie’s resistance with the means of a dictatorship.” Cit. after “Das ‘Linzer Programm’ der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei Österreichs, 1926,” in: Klaus Berchtold (ed.): *Österreichische Parteiprogramme 1868–1966*, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1967, pp. 247–264, here p. 253 [our trans.].

160 On the cultural memory of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, see Johannes Feichtinger and Johann Heiss (eds.): *Geschichtspolitik und “Türkenbelagerung”* and *Der erinnerte Feind*, both Vienna: Mandelbaum 2013.

161 The following remarks are based on Siebmacher’s *Wappenbuch*, vol. 27: *Die Wappen des Adels in Oberösterreich*, Neustadt an der Aisch: Bauer und Raspe 1984 [1904], pp. 391–396.

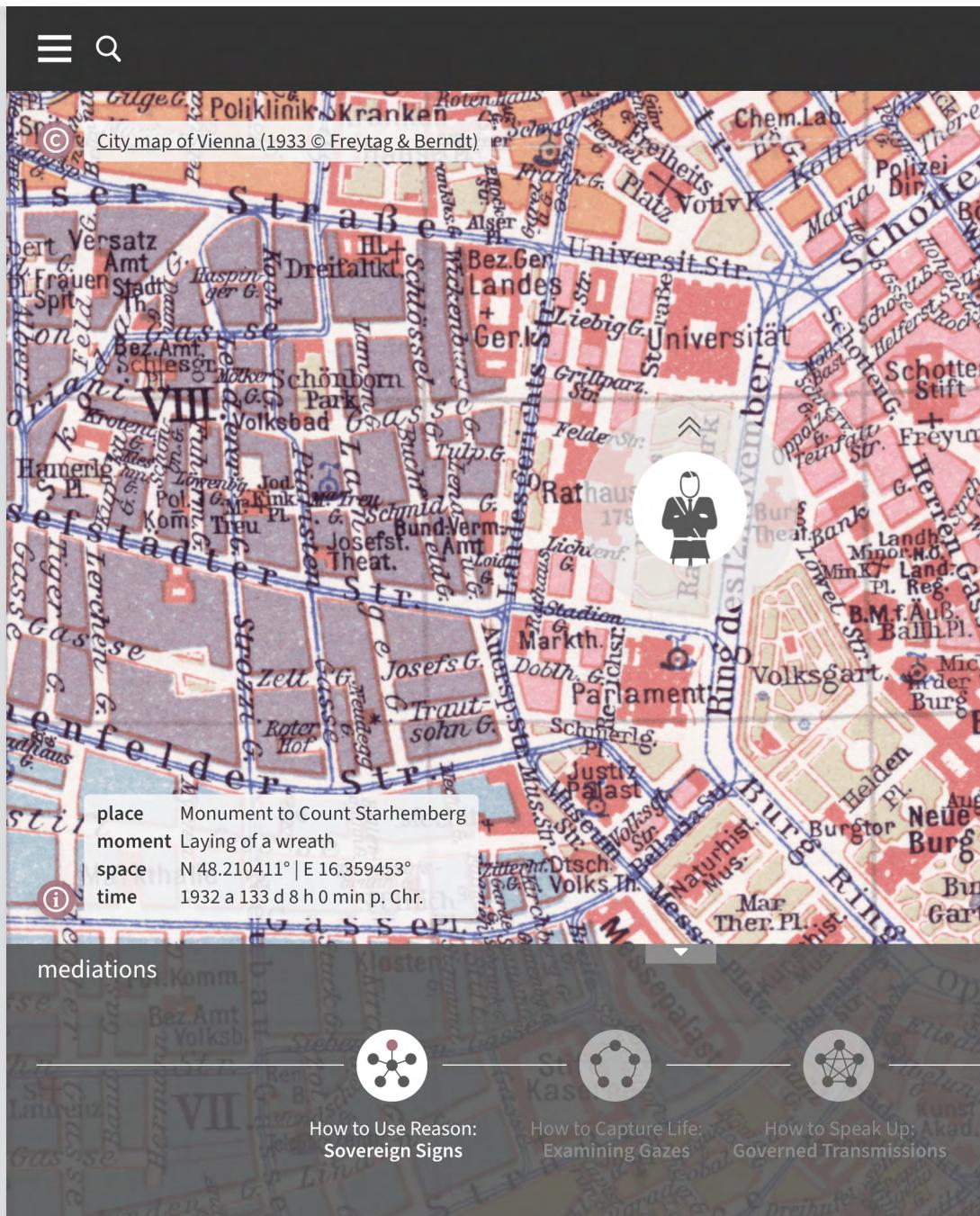


Fig. 37: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (desktop version 2.0/2021) showing the abstract of the mediator "Ernst"



How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs

LEADER

## Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg

Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, who came from an old noble family, was the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection and initiator of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933. How did he conceive this idea?

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"Rüdiger Starhemberg" in the mediation "How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs" (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

Schaunberg, meaning that the majority of the rich Schaunberg inheritance went to the House of Starhemberg. With his sons Rüdiger, Gundaker, and Heinrich, Erasmus founded the three main branches of the family, of which the Rüdiger lineage survives to the present day. Once the family, which had aligned itself with the Reformation, converted back to Catholicism, it was ennobled in 1643 to the rank of imperial count.

The family member most celebrated and honored as a national hero—not only in 1933—was called Count Heinrich Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg (1638–1701), who as military commander of Vienna had played a leading role in the city's defense against the Ottoman troops in 1683. The grandson of his stepbrother Franz Ottokar, Georg Adam (1724–1807), who was the imperial ambassador to the French court and a confidant of Maria Theresa, was ennobled to the rank of imperial prince in 1765 by Emperor Joseph II. His grandson of the same name was childless, meaning that his property and princedom passed to a distant cousin, namely Camillo Rüdiger von Starhemberg. Yet in 1927 his great-grandson Ernst Rüdiger, who fought on the Italian front in World War I and participated in the National Socialist putsch in Munich in 1923,<sup>162</sup> only inherited the extensive family property: the parliament of the newly founded Republic of German-Austria had passed a law abolishing the nobility in 1919.<sup>163</sup>

The so-called Law on the Abolition of the Nobility (*Adelsaufhebungsgesetz*), which still applies in Austria, prohibits the use of not only noble titles, but also noble coats of arms. That means that Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg was neither allowed to refer to himself as the Seventh Prince von Starhemberg, nor was he permitted to wear the **Starhemberg coat of arms**, which illustrates on a visual level why he wanted to hold his propaganda event of May 14, 1933, as a “Turks Deliverance Celebration.”<sup>164</sup> The family's original arms are considered to be the seal of the

Fig. 38, p. 107

162 See Gudula Walterskirchen: *Starhemberg oder Die Spuren der "30er Jahre,"* Vienna: Amalthea 2002, pp. 35–37.

163 See *Staatsgesetzbllatt für den Staat Deutschösterreich* (StGBL.), 71/211 (April 10, 1919), pp. 514–515.

164 On the following, see *Siebmacher's Wappenbuch*, vol. 27, pp. 390–391 and plates 100–101, as well as Johann Schwerding: *Geschichte des Hauses Starhemberg*, Linz: Feichtinger 1830, pp. 33–37.

aforementioned Gundacker III, who built Starhemberg Castle in the thirteenth century. It is divided horizontally; in the top half there is a panther, which was initially green and later blue, on a silver or white background. This is the heraldic animal of the Styrian dukes whom Gundacker I, the Starhemberg progenitor, served as a knight. However, the heraldic panther, which remains a feature of the Styrian provincial coat of arms to this day, does not depict a black leopard, but rather a fire-breathing chimera formed from parts of various animals. The family arms were altered considerably in the mid-sixteenth century, when the Schaunberger arms were made over to the House of Starhemberg along with the inheritance.

After Vienna's liberation from the second Ottoman siege in 1683, Emperor **Leopold I** expressed his gratitude to the city's military commander, Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, by conferring on him a further enhancement of his noble coat of arms: instead of three jousting helmets, the spire of Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral with its new double cross featuring a sunburst and crescent moon tumbling from its apex formed the crest of the now four-part coat of arms.<sup>165</sup>

Fig. 78, p. 196

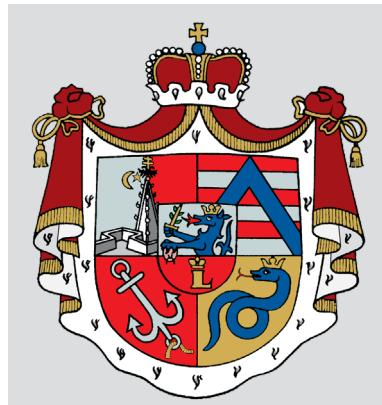


Fig. 38: The Starhemberg family's noble coat of arms from 1765.  
Source: Fürst Starhemberg'sche Familienstiftung (Eferding in Upper Austria).

165 The so-called "moonlight" (*Mondschein*) was added to the spire of Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral in 1519 (for unknown reasons) and replaced with a Patriarchal cross first in 1686 and again the following year, this time over a double-headed eagle. On the sword in the clutches of the eagle stood the inscription: "Defendit Civitatem hanc contra Turcas Anno MDCLXXXIII Excellentissimus Dominus Ernestus Rudiger Comes à Starenberg, Generalis Campi Marschallus, et Commandans Viennae, ex benigno mandato Caesareo, et Cura Eminentissimi Domini S.R.E. Cardinalis Leopoldi à Kolloniz Episcopi Jaurinensis, qui obsidioni interfuit, Turri huic Aquila cum Cruce imposita est." (Defend this city against the Turks in →



Fig. 39: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (ninth from the right) and Emil Fey (on his right) on the Rathausplatz in front of Vienna's City Hall at around 8 a.m. on May 14, 1933, before laying a wreath at the monument to Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg. Source: Austrian National Library, 66.253B.

On the two-part inescutcheon, the panther was given a sword wrapped in laurel in its left paw and a severed Turkish head (*Türkenschädel*) in its right; a gold, crowned L (for Emperor Leopold I) was added to the red lower half. The last alteration to the coat of arms was made in 1765 to commemorate the conferral of the princeship to Georg Adam von Starhemberg. On this occasion, the panther, which now holds the Turkish head in its left and the sword in its right paw, is turned to face the opposite direction on the inescutcheon. In addition, the spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral no longer towers over the entire coat of arms but rather is located in the left (heraldic right) upper field behind a depiction of the bastion of Vienna, i.e., the city's fortifications constructed since the sixteenth century. This **final version** of the Starhemberg arms is topped by a princely crown and draped in a cloak lined with ermine.

Fig. 38, p. 107

Yet *de jure* is not the same as *de facto*—in other words, while the nobility had been abolished in Austria since 1919, the Home Guard members persistently addressed Starhemberg as Prince. Whether the Starhemberg arms were in fact displayed

- the year 1683 did His Excellency Ernst Rüdiger, Count von Starhemberg, field marshal general and commander of Vienna, by gracious order of the emperor, and under the custody of His Eminence, His Reverence the Cardinal Leopold von Kollonitz, bishop of Györ, who was present during the siege, the eagle with cross was mounted on this spire.) Cit. after Simon Hadler: "Stephansdom, Mondschein" [our trans.], in: Johannes Feichtinger and Johann Heiss (eds.): *Türkengedächtnis* (2010), URL: [www.oewa.ac.at/tuerkengedaechtnis/home/denkmaeler/ort/stephansdom-mondschein](http://www.oewa.ac.at/tuerkengedaechtnis/home/denkmaeler/ort/stephansdom-mondschein).

II.10 &  
Fig. 74, p. 186

on one of the many flags waved at the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” in Vienna on May 14, 1933, is hard to confirm or indeed rule out. In any case, the following day the Austrian Homeland Protection’s press declared a great victory for their federal leader, “Prince Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg.” Thus the *Wiener Mittagsblatt* from May 15, 1933, twisted the historical facts when it stated:

*Over 40,000 men showed yesterday, on the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the deliverance of Vienna from the Turks, that they know: a quarter of a century [sic] after the great victory of the deliverers from the Turks, Austria’s fate is once again at stake. Vienna is once again besieged. But once again a Starhemberg is in the vanguard of the Austrian battalions. And once again the Austrian battalions prevail under a Starhemberg banner.<sup>166</sup>*

Fig. 39, p. 108

The celebrations began early in the morning, at 7:30 a.m., at the Liebenberg memorial opposite the University of Vienna, a victory monument erected in the 1880s in honor of Johann Andreas von Liebenberg, the Viennese mayor in 1683. Starhemberg first laid a wreath here, at the foot of the obelisk, and then marched with his assault company down the Ringstrasse to the **Rathausplatz** in front of City Hall, coming to a halt before another monument, namely that of Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, where a further wreath was laid. Security Minister Emil Fey, who was also provincial leader (*Landesführer*) of the Viennese Homeland Protection, related Count Starhemberg’s campaign during the deliverance of Vienna in 1683 and described the critical role now being played by his descendant of the same name in the defense of Austria.<sup>167</sup>

III.1.3 Around 10 a.m. Starhemberg arrived at Schönbrunn Palace, in whose **gardens** the actual “Turks Deliverance Celebration” opened with a Catholic Mass. Afterward Emil Fey had the floor, delivering the first speech in front of the legion Home Guard members who had arrived overnight from all over Austria

166 “Riesentriumph des Heimatschutzes!,” in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 2 [our trans.].

167 See “An Grossartigkeit alles übertroffen,” in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 3, and a report by the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna from May 15, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, BKA-I, 148.459/33).

by chartered trains. Fey, whom Dollfuss had included in his cabinet as his security minister at Starhemberg's recommendation, reminded the audience how in 1683 Count Starhemberg had understood how "to fill his soldiers and the citizens of Vienna with enthusiasm and his own heroic courage so that the well-nigh incredible actually came to pass, so that this then weak city could hold its ground against the vast Turkish army, could hold back this vast army." And 250 years later it was again an Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg "who has assumed the leadership of many thousands of men who are loyal to their homeland and thirsty for battle, who have congregated in voluntary discipline and patriotism to protect the people and homeland."<sup>168</sup>

Fig. 40, p. 111

II.13 & III.3.1

II.2

After this introduction Starhemberg himself began to speak. He wore the green uniform of the Homeland Protection, his medals pinned above his left breast pocket, under them the Silver Medal for Bravery First Class, which he had been awarded in World War I. Surrounded by his adjutants, invited guests, photographers, cameramen, and radio technicians, Starhemberg stepped onto the **speaker's podium** on the garden-side balcony of the palace in tall black leather boots and raised his right arm. The thousands of Home Guard members standing in formation in the Baroque gardens returned the greeting with cheers of "Heil." Once they had lowered their arms and the cheers had subsided, Starhemberg started his speech, which was broadcast live on **Radio Wien** and transmitted into the palace gardens by loudspeaker.

He reminded his supporters how often in the past the "Eastern March Germans" (*Ostmarkdeutschen*) had defended themselves "against a world of enemies," and highlighted three events that in his eyes were significant in world history: 1683, when "the Christian cross prevailed over the crescent moon"; the victory of "Austria's Germans" over the Napoleonic army at **Aspern** in 1809; and the "heroic deeds" of Austrian soldiers in the World War. Considering this valiant history, it was the duty of the Homeland Protection "to preserve the liberty and independence of our beautiful Austria, hallowed

168 Cit. after "Des Feindes Wogen gebrochen an Starhemberg," in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 3–4 [our trans.].

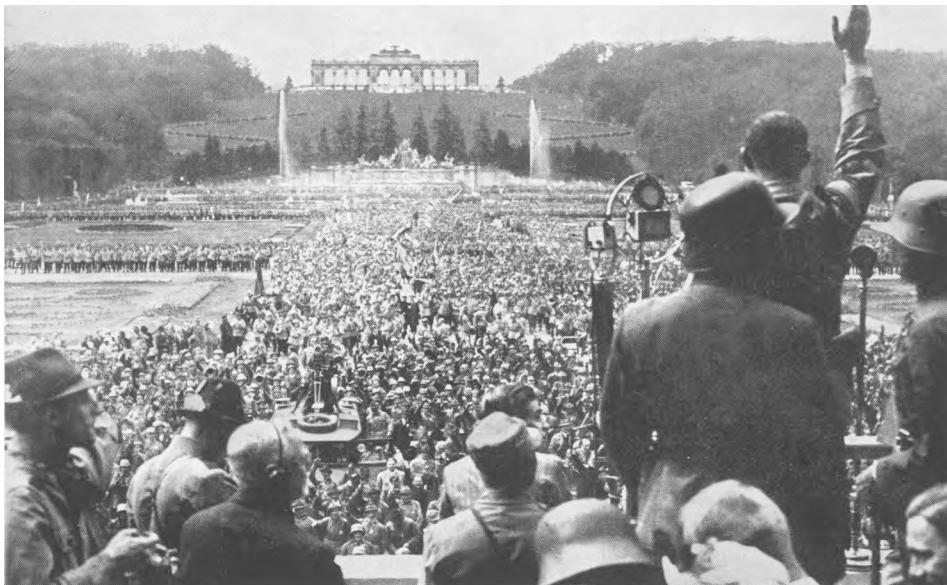


Fig. 40: The “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on May 14, 1933: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg in front of the microphones; on his left a sound technician with headphones and a photographer with a Tyrolean hat; among the Home Guard men in the Great Parterre is the newsreel car of the Selenophon Licht- und Tonbild GmbH; in the background the Neptune Fountain and the Gloriette. Source: Austrian National Library, Pf 15.104 C9.

as it is by the death of thousands.” Since 1918, however, “party politics” and “class warfare” had demoralized the Austrian people, who needed a savior, demanded a savior. “Be that savior,” said Starhemberg to Federal Chancellor Dollfuss, “and be confident that everything supports you and everything is with you when you set about saving Austria.”<sup>169</sup>

In his subsequent speech, Dollfuss also commemorated the historical events of 1683, yet he emphasized not only Count von Starhemberg but also the then barely twenty-year-old Prince Eugene of Savoy, who fought bravely in the Battle of Vienna and subsequently “warded off the danger of the Asian incursion into Western Christian civilization for all time.” However, after the World War, in which Dollfuss had himself performed his duty as a soldier at the front, the enemy had infiltrated the

169 Cit. after “Wir sind unbesiegbar!,” in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 4 [our trans.].

Austrian people via “foreign ideas.” He wanted to fight these socialist ideologies and build a “Christian German state under the rule of law” whose population would be grouped according to profession. Finally, the federal chancellor pledged **“allegiance upon allegiance”** to “Prince Starhemberg,” the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection, and ended his speech with the proclamation: **“Austria above everything, if she only will!”**<sup>170</sup>

Fig. 41, p. 112

Starhemberg wrote in his memoirs that Dollfuss had repeated this oath of allegiance again in a tête-à-tête that evening. The federal chancellor was—as was he—deeply impressed by the rally in Schönbrunn and the **parade** that followed, during which “the hobnailed boots of our Alpine formations [marched] down Mariahilferstrasse into the city.”<sup>171</sup> Starhemberg strode ahead of his Home Guard men before standing next to Dollfuss on **Schwarzenbergplatz** to review the parading troops who followed him.

III.2.1 &  
Fig. 80, p. 197II.15 &  
Fig. 34, p. 93

Fig. 71, p. 174

The **“Fatherland Front”** (*Vaterländische Front*), which the federal chancellor had heralded during his speech in Schönbrunn, was founded just a week later as the Austrian state



Fig. 41: Propaganda poster (1934) by the Austrian Homeland Protection with a photograph of Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (left) and Engelbert Dollfuss, which was taken at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on the garden terrace of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on May 14, 1933. The text reads: “Build on the new Austria / Getting to work with Dollfuss / Starhemberg.” Source: Austrian National Library, PLA16307046.

170 Cit. after “Unser Weg ist der einzige richtige!,” in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 4–5 [our trans., emphasis added].

171 Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, pp. 151–152 [our trans.].

party. While Dollfuss referred to the authoritarian regime that was now established in Austria as a “corporative state” (*Ständestaat*), Starhemberg expressly spoke of “Austrofascism.” In a speech entitled “Austria’s Path” (*Österreichs Weg*) that he held in March 1934 and subsequently had published, Starhemberg praised the ruthless course of action taken against the Republican Protection League (*Republikanischer Schutzbund*), the paramilitary organization of the Austrian Social Democratic Workers’ Party, which had been banned by Dollfuss and whose armed insurgency had just been violently countered by the Austrian Armed Forces, the police, and the Home Guards. He claimed that the Homeland Protection had bravely defended its fatherland in these critical February days of 1934 against “Austro-Bolshevism,” against this regional variant of Marxist false doctrines. Not only in Austria but around the world the “age of parliamentarianism” and of “democratic liberalism,” as well as of “individualist capitalism,” was drawing to an end.<sup>172</sup>

*For this wave of renewal we know of no better umbrella term than Fascism. The basic principles that universally support this wave of renewal first took state form in Fascist Italy and found their expression in legislation. Consequently, when we say that we are supporters of Fascist ideas, it means that we want to achieve here in Austria that healthy, modern vision for the future that underlies Italy’s Fascist system of government.*<sup>173</sup>

In Starhemberg’s opinion there were two reasons why the expression “corporative state” was an inadequate name for these radical political changes: First, because the new state had to prioritize the interests of the public over those of the individual professions; and second, because this public interest could only be enforced with corresponding authority in the state leadership. Incidentally, he continues, “Austrofascism” expressly adhered to the “Greater German idea,” though merely in the form of a friendly cooperation between independent and autonomous

172 Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Österreichs Weg*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutz 1934, pp. 4–6 [our trans.].

173 Starhemberg: *Österreichs Weg*, p. 6 [our trans.].

states. The undeniable commonalities with National Socialism ended where Austria's sovereignty was called into question.<sup>174</sup>

Then, on May 1, 1934, not only did the constitution of the Christian German "corporative state" heralded by Dollfuss during his speech in Schönbrunn come into force, but Starhemberg was also appointed its vice chancellor. Shortly afterward, on July 25, while the Home Guard leader was visiting Mussolini in Venice, Dollfuss was assassinated in the Federal Chancellery in Vienna by National Socialists during an attempted coup d'état.<sup>175</sup> Instead of ascending to the role of federal chancellor, Starhemberg voluntarily remained vice chancellor under former Justice and Education Minister Kurt Schuschnigg, though he was also appointed federal leader of the Fatherland Front.<sup>176</sup> On May 14, 1936, after he had congratulated Mussolini on the "victory of the Fascist spirit over democratic dishonesty and hypocrisy" during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, which violated international law,<sup>177</sup> Schuschnigg removed him from office "due to a material difference of opinion"—three years to the day after the "Turks Deliverance Celebration."<sup>178</sup> Both the Austrian federal chancellor and the Italian prime minister subsequently made a pact with Adolf Hitler, the chancellor of the German Reich. Starhemberg, by contrast, withdrew from politics to live a private life.

In December 1937 he traveled with his second wife, the then famous Burgtheater actress Nora Gregor, and their son Heinrich to the Swiss mountains for a skiing holiday. In late March 1938, roughly a fortnight after the German army had marched into Austria, Starhemberg sent a letter from Davos to Hitler, whom he had known personally since the 1920s. Contrary to his statements in his memoirs, in the letter he emphasized that it had always been the aim of the Homeland

174 Starhemberg: *Österreichs Weg*, pp. 9–11 [our trans.].

175 On the July Putsch, see Kurt Bauer: *Hitlers zweiter Putsch. Dollfuss, die Nazis und der 25. Juli 1934*, St. Pölten: Residenz 2014.

176 On Starhemberg's reluctant attitude after Dollfuss's death, see Walter Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr. Eine un widerstehliche Volksbewegung?*, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1985, p. 204.

177 Cit. after "Starhemberg beglückwünscht siegreichen Faschismus," in: *Der Heimatschützer* (Vienna), 4/20 (May 16, 1936), p. 3 [our trans.].

178 See Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, p. 94 [our trans.].

Protection “to unite Austria with the German Reich as a single state entity.” Even though he was primarily asking for mercy for his comrades, Starhemberg stressed that he “was one of your fiercest supporters [as early as] in 1923” and now considered it his duty “to place myself at the disposal of you, my Führer, for the people and the fatherland.”<sup>179</sup> The offer went unanswered, but when Starhemberg started fighting against Germany from France in 1939, the National Socialists seized his property in Austria.<sup>180</sup>

Exile took him and his family to South America, initially to Argentina, where he worked as a gaucho, then to Chile, where he lived with his son after the death of his wife. In the mid-1950s, when his assets were restituted to him despite vehement left-wing protests, Starhemberg returned home to Austria.<sup>181</sup> He died of a heart attack only a few months later, on March 15, 1956, while staying at a health spa in Schruns in Vorarlberg, after a communist journalist had taken a photograph of him without his permission while he was out walking.<sup>182</sup> A plaque was put up in his memory on the Litz chapel in Schruns where Starhemberg collapsed. In defiance of the law abolishing the nobility that has been in force since 1919, under the Starhemberg arms the copper plaque reads:

*Ernst Rüdiger  
Prince Starhemberg  
Vice Chancellor and Federal Leader  
of the Austrian Homeland Protection*<sup>183</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Cit. after Ludwig Jedlicka: “Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg und die politische Entwicklung in Österreich im Frühjahr 1938,” in: *Vom alten zum neuen Österreich. Fallstudien zur österreichischen Zeitgeschichte 1900–1975*, St. Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus 1977, pp. 289–310, here pp. 305–308 [our trans.]. On Starhemberg’s Greater German or rather Greater Austrian position, see Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, pp. 210–212.

<sup>180</sup> See Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, pp. 207–208.

<sup>181</sup> See Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, pp. 208–209.

<sup>182</sup> See “Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg einem Herzschlag erlegen,” in: *Vorarlberger Nachrichten* (Bregenz), March 16, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>183</sup> “Ernst Rüdiger / Fürst Starhemberg / Vizekanzler und Bundesführer / des Österreichischen Heimatschutzes.” A photograph of the plaque is available online at URL: [phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:1079391](http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:1079391).

## 1.2 Editorial: “Undesirable Visit”



place	<i>Reichspost</i> publishing building
moment	Publication of “Undesirable Visit”
space	N 48.207051°   E 16.349469°
time	1932 a 128 d 6 h 0 min p. Chr.

Fig. 42, p. 117 On May 9, 1933, the Viennese *Reichspost* published an **editorial** entitled “Undesirable Visit” (*Unerwünschter Besuch*). It extends over the entire right column of the front page and continues in the upper third of the left and central column on page two of the daily newspaper. The article’s eight paragraphs are preceded by a location and date, namely “Vienna, on May 8,” but neither the author’s name nor their initials accompany the text.

The first paragraph refers to a notice by the “press office of the National Socialist Party for the gau of Vienna,” which had announced the “visit of several ministers of the German Reich,” including Bavarian Minister of Justice Hans Frank, in Vienna on May 13, 1933. This news is followed in the second paragraph by the argumentation that this was neither a declared ministerial visit nor an informal private visit. Rather, members of German federal state governments were coming to Austria without diplomatic agreement “to visit a party here and be celebrated by a party that opposes the constitutional government and state authority in an open battle not infrequently conducted with illegal means.” The third paragraph concludes that the party-political visit is not only “undesirable and unwelcome,” but must be considered a “hostile act” and treated accordingly.<sup>184</sup>

In paragraphs four to eight the article then outlines its interpretation of the facts. The main speculation is that with this move an attempt was being made to circumvent the ban on public assemblies and marches and “to seriously disrupt

184 “Unerwünschter Besuch,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 9, 1933, pp. 1–2, here p. 1 [our trans.].



the large Home Guard [Heimwehr] celebration this Sunday.”

II.10 The event mentioned was the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) by the Austrian Homeland Protection League (*Heimatschutzverband*), which took place on May 14,

III.1.3 1933, in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace. As Hans Frank had “deeply insulted the Austrian government and given notice of a violent intervention by Bavaria against Austria in a speech on the radio,” the authorities would need to clarify “whether he can even be permitted to stay on Austrian soil as a private citizen.” According to the article, it was beyond question

that the announced party politicians had to strictly abide by Austrian laws in the event of their arrival. The text closes by asking whether German Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler, who had demonstrated “a high degree of discretion and moderation” in international politics, agreed with this “journey of party-political agitation by high-ranking state officials.” In any event, the necessary measures would in no way be targeted at the government of the German Reich, “but exclusively at the attempt by foreign guests to give new stimulus to subversive and antigovernmental agitation within our own borders.”<sup>185</sup>

Fig. 43, p. 119

III.3.4

III.2.1

Fig. 41, p. 112

In clear and strict terms, the leading article opposed a violation of Austrian state sovereignty. Since the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919, **Austria** was no longer a multiethnic monarchy with a population of over fifty million, but a democratic republic whose approximately six and a half million, predominantly German-speaking residents lived on an eighth of the former state territory.<sup>186</sup> The independence of this comparatively small country was called into question across the political spectrum, on both the left and the right. While the **Social Democratic Workers’ Party** believed Austria should join the Weimar Republic, the NSDAP pushed for an authoritarian Greater German Reich. As such, it was primarily the Christian Social Party and the **Autofascist Homeland Protection League** that wanted to preserve Austria as an independent state. The “Turks Deliverance Celebration” planned for May 14, 1933, in the Schönbrunn Palace gardens was intended to make a stand for a sovereign Austria under the leadership of the Christian Social Federal Chancellor **Engelbert Dollfuss**, who had been governing by emergency decree since March of that year.

But now the NSDAP’s Viennese press office had declared that National Socialist politicians from Germany—where Hitler had been Reich chancellor since late January 1933—would

185 “Unerwünschter Besuch,” pp. 1–2 [our trans.].

186 On the population numbers, see the results of the census in Austria-Hungary in 1910, as documented in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AVAFHKA, MdI, Allg. Reihe, Zl. 42837/1910), and the *Statistisches Jahrbuch Österreichs 2018*, Vienna: Verlag Österreich 2018, p. 40. The Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye from September 10, 1919, was published in the *Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* (StGBI.), 90/303 (July 21, 1920), pp. 995–1245.

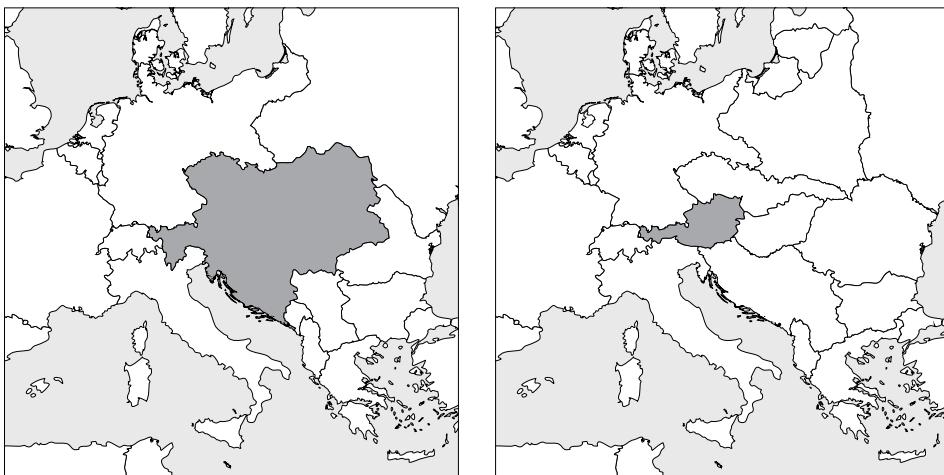


Fig. 43: The state territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1914 (left) and the Republic of Austria in 1919 (right), represented by Stefan Amann based on open data from Wikipedia.

visit that same weekend. The arrival of a number of members of German federal state governments had been announced, yet the visit had not been diplomatically arranged. As the leading article emphasizes, it was therefore not an official state visit. However, it was also not accurate to describe their stay in Austria as private, especially given the existence of this official party communiqué. Consequently, the visit had to be viewed as “a hostile act,” meaning a deed that, though not against international law, did fly in the face of international diplomacy, of comity.

According to the *Reichspost*, the impression of a breach of international convention was reinforced by the announcement that Hans Frank would be among the guests. Frank, who had carved out his career in the NSDAP as Hitler’s lawyer and would advance to governor-general of occupied Poland in World War II, was appointed Bavarian justice minister in March 1933 and in his new role gave a provocative speech on the radio against the Austrian government. Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, the official German news agency, quoted the respective part of the speech, which was broadcast on March 18, 1933, by the Munich radio station, as follows:

*Finally Dr. Frank gave his regards to his suppressed party comrades in Austria, who were obliged to endure the ultimate terror and the ultimate suppression under their government, whose irrationality was beyond his comprehension. Austria was now the last part of Germany in which one could still dare to suppress the will for a German nation. Amicably and with brotherly affection, he wanted to warn the Austrian government against, for example, giving the National Socialists occasion to protect the freedom of their fellow Germans in Austria.*<sup>187</sup>

From the perspective of international law, the Bavarian justice minister had negated all the constitutive elements of the Austrian state in this speech.<sup>188</sup> Not only did he refer to the majority of the population as “fellow Germans” and the territory as “part of Germany,” but he also threatened to seize power. That Frank, who despite diplomatic protests had not apologized for this assault, now intended to come to Vienna, was an “insupportable test of the Austrian’s patience and good nature” according to the leading article in the *Reichspost*.<sup>189</sup>

II.9 The bourgeois *Neue Freie Presse* reported right away, in its edition that evening, on the editorial about the “undesirable visit” in the “Viennese main organ of the Christian Social Party, whose statements in this case certainly cannot be viewed as a private opinion.”<sup>190</sup> The following day the Social Democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung* addressed the “unusually vehement leading article” that had been published in the “government organ.”<sup>191</sup> In subsequent editions the *Reichspost* quoted some of the aggressive reactions that their article had triggered in the Nazi press, such as the *Völkischer Beobachter* and the Berlin-based

<sup>187</sup> Cit. after a memorandum of March 22, 1933, in the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin (Office of the Reich Minister, reference 16: Austria, R 28392) [our trans.].

<sup>188</sup> On the three elements concept of the state as people, territory, and authority, see Georg Jellinek: *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Berlin: Häring 1914 [1900], pp. 182–183.

<sup>189</sup> “Unerwünschter Besuch,” p. 1 [our trans.].

<sup>190</sup> “Der Streit Deutschland-Österreich geht weiter,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 9, 1933 (evening edition), p. 2 [our trans.].

<sup>191</sup> “Unerwünschter Besuch,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 10, 1933, p. 3 [our trans.].

*Angriff*, again clarifying that the expressed protest was not aimed at the government of the German Reich but against the party politics of the NSDAP in Austria.<sup>192</sup>

The argumentation of the leading article, according to which the announced visit was “undesirable” for the reasons outlined above, led to consequences when the German politicians actually did arrive. At shortly after 2 p.m. on Saturday, May 13, 1933, Frank landed in a Lufthansa plane on **Aspern airfield** in Vienna along with Prussian Justice Minister Hanns Kerrl and the head of his ministry Roland Freisler, the future president of the German People’s Court of Justice. They were greeted not only by Nazi functionaries and roughly 1,500 onlookers, but also by Michael Skubl, the vice president of the Vienna police department, who according to the *Reichspost* officially informed Frank “that, in view of the still pending matters, the arrival of the minister of the federal government was ‘not especially welcome.’”<sup>193</sup> The visitors then drove in a convoy of dozens of cars and motorbikes, some adorned with swastika

II.1 &  
Fig. 19, p. 57

flags, to the **Adolf Hitler House**, the Vienna headquarters of the NSDAP. On their way they stopped at the **Lion of Aspern** to lay wreaths in front of the war memorial. Closer to the inner city, insults were hurled at the convoy, most loudly in the Leopoldstadt district near the **Lassalle Hof**, but it was also greeted with cheers, especially around the Adolf Hitler House in the **Mariahilf district**, where the vehicles arrived at around 4 p.m.<sup>194</sup>

II.4  
II.2 &  
Fig. 20, p. 58

That same evening the visitors from Germany went on stage as speakers at a mass gathering in Vienna’s **Engelmann Arena**. From 8:30 to 10 p.m., just a few hours before the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” by the Austrian Homeland Protection in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, the National Socialists held their own rally to commemorate Vienna’s liberation from the

II.3 &  
Fig. 21, p. 60  
Fig. 22, p. 61

II.7 &  
Fig. 25, p. 69

192 “Klarstellungen zum deutschen Ministerbesuch,”  
in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 11, 1933, p. 3.

193 “Die nationalsozialistischen Fluggäste aus Deutschland,”  
in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 8 [our trans.].

194 See the reports in the Viennese newspapers *Reichspost* (May 14, 1933, p. 8), *Das Kleine Volksblatt* (May 14, 1933, p. 4), *Deutschösterreichische Tages-Zeitung* (May 14, 1933, pp. 1 and 3), *Die Rote Fahne* (May 14, 1933, p. 2), *Wiener Zeitung* (May 14, 1933, p. 6), and *Neue Freie Presse* (May 14, 1933, morning edition, p. 7).

Ottoman siege in 1683.<sup>195</sup> At both events facts were irrelevant: although the city had indeed been successfully defended from the Ottoman troops 250 years previously, that did not happen in May but from mid-July to mid-September 1683. Besides, the historical events served merely as a backdrop for contemporary political conflicts, as Hans Frank expressly stressed:

*Though I was not involved in Vienna's deliverance from the Turks, I have learned from the press that my task today is allegedly to speak about Vienna's deliverance from the Turks. I had a similar topic in mind, but I would not have chosen the Turks. I can imagine that a city's liberation is abundant cause for a celebration and I am already looking forward to taking part in a good celebration of Vienna at some point.*<sup>196</sup>

II.14 &  
Fig. 33, p. 91

Frank also pleaded the case for Austria and its capital city belonging to the German Reich in a press conference held at noon the following day, May 14, 1933, at the **German embassy** in Vienna. That afternoon he drove to Graz where he gave a speech on the Schlossberg opposing the Austrian federal government. However, instead of making a public appearance in Salzburg on Monday, May 15, 1933, as planned, a police injunction obliged Frank to leave the country and return to Germany.<sup>197</sup>

Fig. 43, p. 119

At first glance it is astounding that a newspaper called *Reichspost* advocated the sovereignty of the **Austrian Republic** in 1933. Even its subtitle, namely “Independent Daily Paper for the Christian People” (*Unabhängiges Tagblatt für das christliche Volk*) does not help explain this defensive role, instead raising the additional question of why the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* referred in their commentaries on the leading article to the “main organ of the Christian Social Party” and the “government organ.” However, both matters are explained by

195 See “Überwältigende Feier in der Engelmann-Arena,” in: *Deutsch-österreichische Tages-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 2, and a report by the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna from May 14, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, BKA-I, 148.459/33).

196 Cit. after “Überwältigende Feier in der Engelmann-Arena,” p. 2 [our trans.].

197 See “Abreise der deutschen Funktionäre,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 15, 1933 (evening edition), p. 4; “Ersuchen um Rückberufung Dr. Franks,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 1; “Die Heimreise Dr. Franks,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 16, 1933 (evening edition), p. 2.

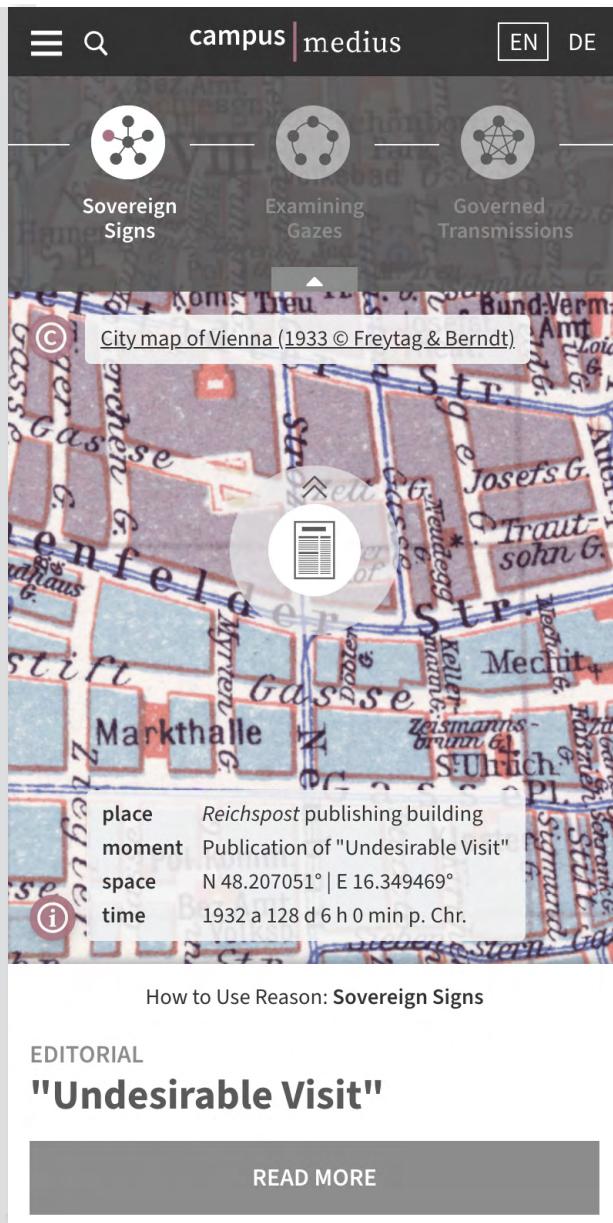


Fig. 44: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (mobile version 2.0/2021) showing the mediator “Undesirable Visit” in the mediation “How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs” (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

the history of the newspaper, whose founding dated back to a resolution by the Linz Catholic Convention of 1892 to publish a modern Christian newspaper for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>198</sup> After some trial issues and flyers in the course of 1893, the *Reichspost* was published daily from January 1, 1894. **Friedrich Funder**, the editor in chief and editor of the newspaper for many years, explained in his memoirs how its programmatic title should be interpreted:

*The paper saw its responsibility as extending to the empire and all its nations. Its slogan was intended to be a powerful affirmation of the Habsburg Empire's notion of the state in opposition to all separatists and nationalistic mavericks.*<sup>199</sup>

Hence, the *Reichspost* was aimed at the entire population of the monarchy but claimed the German Austrians' leadership over citizens with other mother tongues. The “Reich” of the newspaper's title was not a nation, not a homogeneous people, but rather an **expansive territory in Central Europe** whose heterogeneous components were kept together by the emperor, the sovereign. The reference in the subtitle that it was a “Daily Paper for the Christian People” meant that the *Reichspost* was in opposition to the liberal, in its opinion “Jewish,” press on the one hand and to the Social Democratic newspapers on the other. In contrast to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the main organ of Austrian Social Democracy since 1889, the *Reichspost* claimed to be independent. In point of fact, however, it had always functioned as a mouthpiece for the Christian Social movement, which had been constituted as a political party in 1893 under future Mayor of Vienna Karl Lueger.<sup>200</sup>

Above all it was Funder's personal connections that linked the paper ever closer to the Christian Social Party. Born in Graz in 1872, he arrived at the *Reichspost* as a law student in 1896, soon carved out a career for himself in its small editorial team in Vienna, and was appointed editor in chief in 1902 and

Fig. 45, p. 127

Fig. 43, p. 119

198 See Friedrich Funder: *Vom Gestern ins Heute. Aus dem Kaiserreich in die Republik*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Vienna/Munich: Herold 1971 [1952], p. 44.

199 Funder: *Vom Gestern ins Heute*, p. 124 [our trans.].

200 See Hedwig Pfarrhofer: *Friedrich Funder. Ein Mann zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Graz: Styria 1978, pp. 44 and 132–138.

two years later its editor, too. Following Lueger, Funder openly advocated a “Christian antisemitism” in numerous leading articles denouncing cultural and economic influences from Judaism, but expressly dissociating the paper from the racial antisemitism of the “Pan-Germanists” (and later of the National Socialists).<sup>201</sup> As Funder was one of Franz Ferdinand’s advisers and supported his Greater Austrian reform plans, the *Reichspost* reacted vehemently to the murder of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne in 1914 and its journalism fueled the outbreak of World War I.<sup>202</sup> In the 1920s, the newspaper evolved into a kind of organ of the government because all the federal chancellors of the newly created Republic of Austria, with the exception of Karl Renner and Johann Schober, came from the Christian Social Party.

The politics of Ignaz Seipel in particular met with Funder’s unreserved support. Seipel was not only a moral theologian and chairman of the Christian Social Party, as well as federal chancellor and federal minister twice, but since 1917 he had also been on the board of the Catholic publishing house Herold, which issued the *Reichspost*.<sup>203</sup> The newspaper welcomed Seipel’s anti-Marxist policy and his advocacy of the Austrian Home Guards, which he encouraged as a “bulwark against Bolshevism.” Hence it is unsurprising that the *Reichspost* supported Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss from the outset, another friend of Funder’s.<sup>204</sup> As the semiofficial mouthpiece of the Dollfuss cabinet, from March 1933 the newspaper championed the establishment of an “authoritarian democracy,” which should be organized as a “corporative state” (*Ständestaat*).<sup>205</sup> With this pro-government editorial policy, the *Reichspost* attempted to dissociate itself from the emerging Nazi dictatorship in Germany on the one hand and from the political opponents in Austria on the other, who would

201 On this notion of “Christian antisemitism,” see the programmatic editorial “Christlicher und Rassen-Antisemitismus,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), July 8, 1897, pp. 1–2.

202 See Pfarrhofer: *Friedrich Funder*, pp. 51–85.

203 See Funder: *Vom Gestern ins Heute*, pp. 256–257.

204 See Pfarrhofer: *Friedrich Funder*, pp. 176–181.

205 See, for example, the editorial “Aufbruch!,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), March 3, 1933, p. 1.

allegedly abuse parliamentarianism and freedom of opinion for strategical party-political purposes.

In his memoirs, in which he discusses the *Reichspost* a great deal, Funder compares a newspaper to a state: “under a unified leadership its administration is divided into specialized fields that have their respective experts and comprise all areas of human activity.”<sup>206</sup> The comparison is apparently not based on

Fig. 45, p. 127

a democratic form of government but on a “**corporative state**” as envisaged by Dollfuss. While authoritarian leadership is the responsibility of the federal chancellor or editor in chief, human activities are uniformly represented by professions or departments. This representative administration was also expressed in the infrastructure of the *Reichspost*, which in 1913 moved within Josefstadt, Vienna’s eighth district, from **Strozzigasse 41**, a small suburban building, to **Strozzigasse 8**, where the new Herold publishing house was constructed on lot of around one thousand square meters. The building’s communication center, designed as a “representative space,” comprised the office of the editor in chief, who had at his command the “master station” of the American telephone system and was able to send manuscripts straight to the composing room by pneumatic dispatch.<sup>207</sup>

In Funder’s opinion a print newspaper should be headed by a leading article in the same way that the state required a leader and the editorial team an editor in chief. For this reason, the editorial was always printed on the front page in the *Reichspost*, followed by the day’s political, local, ecclesiastical, cultural, and financial news and opinion pieces, as well as by the classified section at the back. Although this genre of journalistic text, which critically comments on an aspect of current affairs in the name of the newspaper or periodical, can be traced back to the early eighteenth century, the term “leading article” or “editorial” only emerged in the early nineteenth century.<sup>208</sup> The reason is the formally leading role of

206 Funder: *Vom Gestern ins Heute*, p. 125 [our trans.].

207 See “Das neue Heim der ‘Reichspost,’” in:

*Reichspost* (Vienna), December 7, 1913, pp. 4–7.

208 See Carin Gentner: “Zur Geschichte des Leitartikels,” in:

Winfried B. Lerg, Michael Schmolke, Gerhard E. Stoll (eds.):  
*Publizistik im Dialog*, Assen: van Gorcum 1965, pp. 60–68.



Fig. 45: Friedrich Funder giving a speech in front of representatives of the Austrian “corporative state,” among them Kurt Schuschnigg (with glasses) and Theodor Innitzer (with skullcap) in the middle of the front row, photographed in 1935 in the publishing building of the *Reichspost* at Strozzigasse 8 in Vienna. Source: APA Picturedesk, 19350101\_PD10677.

the article, which only became possible when newspapers no longer printed a series of news items, but different departments and then front pages with the day's headlines emerged.

Typically, therefore, the leading article can be found on the front page and comments on the item in the newspaper that the editorial team considers most important. In its leading position it is intended to guide both the subsequent articles and the reading process. As is shown by “Undesirable Visit,” the editorial does not perform this leadership task in terms of content alone. More than just telling the readers *what* they should think, the leading article demonstrates *how* to think. It starts with a particular occasion or event, a current news item, approaches it from different angles, and ultimately takes up a specific position. Every day this process—from facts to argumentation to interpretation—demonstrates how a judgment is formed. Whereas the essays of the London-based magazines in the early eighteenth century—such as in Daniel Defoe's *Review* or Jonathan Swift's *Examiner*—were mostly attempts to approach a matter subjectively,<sup>209</sup> the strict format of the editorial prescribes a general thought pattern. As a rule it is not an individual, not an author, but the collective imagination of a newspaper that represents a part of reality in the leading article.

209 See J.A. Downie and Thomas N. Corns (eds.): “Telling People What to Think. Early Eighteenth-Century Periodicals from *The Review* to *The Rambler*,” in: *Prose Studies*, 16/1 (1993).



Fig. 46: The old editorial office and publishing building of the newspaper *Reichspost* at Strozzigasse 41 in Vienna around 1900. Source: Archive of the Herold Druck und Verlag GmbH (Vienna).



Fig. 47: The new editorial office and publishing building of the newspaper *Reichspost* at Strozzigasse 8 in Vienna in 1927. Source: Archive of the Herold Druck und Verlag GmbH (Vienna).

There may have been technical reasons behind Funder's demand for sovereign leadership and representative order, whether of the state or of the newspaper, as the printing process showed him every day an imminent confusion of characters. His memoirs include this vivid passage about the work of the *Reichspost* in the old editorial building at Strozzigasse 41 in Vienna:

*Even here on Strozzigasse the newspaper was not produced with composing machines but manually typeset from the type case. If the typesetter became nervous while assembling the composition and pulled hastily on the cords that held together the manually typeset form of fifteen to twenty lines, then corners or entire lines of loose sorts fell out: the result was time losses, mutilated words when the damaged part of the form was hurriedly repaired, and even greater nervousness among those involved. A hand-operated*



Fig. 48: Composing room of the newspaper *Reichspost* with typesetting machines in the background, photographed in the new publishing building at Strozzigasse 8 in Vienna after 1913. Source: Archive of the Herold Druck und Verlag GmbH (Vienna).

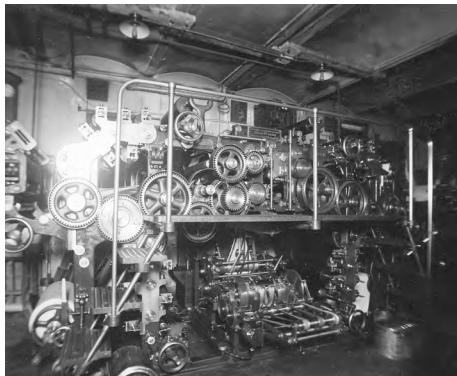


Fig. 49: Rotary printing press of the newspaper *Reichspost*, produced by the Schnellpressenfabrik Frankenthal, Albert & Co. AG, photographed in the old publishing building at Strozzigasse 41 in Vienna before 1913. Source: Archive of the Herold Druck und Verlag GmbH (Vienna).

*winch lowered the form down to the lead foundry on the ground floor, a gigantic cave that adjoined the machine room. This housed the pride of the building, the rotary printing press, a neat Augsburg product, as shiny as silver.*<sup>210</sup>

At the Vienna *Reichspost* around 1900, the movable sorts were taken from the **type case**, set back to front into the composing stick, and spaces added to create a multiline piece of justified text in much the same way as Johannes Gutenberg had developed his printing process in the mid-fifteenth century. The finished manually typeset form made of lead had to be tied together tightly by the typesetter in order to be winched down to the stereotyping department, where the masters and the flongs for the **rotary press** were cast. If the typesetter was clumsy or nervous, the sorts either fell apart entirely or at least became disarranged, resulting in nonsense on the printed page. In accordance with Funder's typographic experience, it was therefore necessary to keep these arbitrary signs together, literally to form them. Otherwise the rational representation—as exemplarily embodied in the editorial—dissolved into utter chaos.

Fig. 49, p. 129

210 Funder: *Vom Gestern ins Heute*, pp. 133–134 [our trans.].

## 1.3 Residence: Schönbrunn



place	Schönbrunn Palace gardens
moment	Deployment of Home Guard troops
space	N 48.183006°   E 16.311253°
time	1932 a 133 d 9 h 0 min p. Chr.

II.10 Why did the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) by the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) on May 14, 1933, take place in Schönbrunn? For a nationalistic rally of this type and scale, the Heldenplatz seems the more appropriate venue in Vienna, with its very name (literally “Heroes’ Square”) a military commemoration. After all, the speeches that were given expressly emphasized the merits of Prince Eugene of Savoy in the campaigns against the Ottomans and the Battle of **Aspern** in 1809, when, under Archduke Charles, Austrian troops defeated Napoleon’s army for the first time.<sup>211</sup> **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**, the federal leader of the Homeland Protection, and Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss were thus praising those two historic “heroes” who had been eternalized as equestrian statues on the square in front of the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. So why choose the Baroque palace with its French garden and not the heroic memorial site in the city center?

III.1.1 II.2

The Austrian State Archives seem to offer an answer. A letter has been preserved there with which the federal leadership of the **Homeland Protection League** (*Heimatschutzverband*) applied to the Palace Captainship (*Schlosshauptmannschaft*) for permission to hold the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” which was planned for May 14, 1933, in Schönbrunn. “As it has transpired that the Heldenplatz is too small for the masses of expected participants,” the letter from April 13, 1933, states, “the federal leadership requests the use of the parterre in front of Schönbrunn Palace (garden side) in order to provide this

211 See *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 4–5.

patriotic event with an appropriate, worthy setting.”<sup>212</sup> It was anticipated that 20,000 to 25,000 Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) members would attend. The Palace Captainship subsequently recommended that the Ministry of Trade and Transport grant the application “by way of exception” under the condition that all costs be borne by the event organizer and the gardens be reliably protected from any damage. The federal leadership of the Homeland Protection duly received the corresponding authorization from the ministry in late April.<sup>213</sup>

In principle, Schönbrunn had been closed to events since 1924. This explains why the Homeland Protection League had to apply to the Palace Captainship and the Ministry of Trade and Transport for this special permit. For example, the previous year, the Vienna gau administration (*Gauleitung*) of the NSDAP had wanted to hold a political rally in Schönbrunn but was ordered instead to use the Heldenplatz.<sup>214</sup> In the case of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” of May 14, 1933, the approval presumably came from the top, because Starhemberg mentions in his memoirs that he obtained it from Dollfuss directly.<sup>215</sup> However, he does not explain why the rally was supposed to take place in Schönbrunn. Was it really because Heldenplatz was not big enough? This argument is not very cogent, considering that events were indeed held there in the interwar period with well over 25,000 participants. During the state funeral for Dollfuss on August 8, 1934, some 200,000 people were said to have gathered on Heldenplatz and the nearby Ringstrasse,<sup>216</sup> and when on March 15, 1938, Hitler declared from the balcony

<sup>212</sup> Letter from the Austrian Homeland Protection to the Palace Captainship Schönbrunn, dated April 13, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, BM.f.H.u.V., GZ 53, Z 61.738-1933) [our trans.].

<sup>213</sup> See the letters from the Palace Captainship Schönbrunn to the Federal Ministry of Trade and Transport, dated April 15, 1933, and to the Austrian Homeland Protection League, dated April 28, 1933, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, SHS 820/1933, Kt. 86) [our translation].

<sup>214</sup> See Judith Brocza and Christian Stadelmann: *Die Leute von Schönbrunn. Über die Nutzung des Schlosses im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna: Schloss Schönbrunn 2000, p. 62.

<sup>215</sup> See Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, Vienna/Munich: Amalthea 1991, p. 151.

<sup>216</sup> See “Überwältigende Trauerkundgebung auf dem Heldenplatz,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), August 9, 1934, p. 1.

of the Neue Burg section of the Hofburg Palace that Austria now belonged to the German Reich, it is estimated that up to 300,000 people had congregated to listen to him.<sup>217</sup>

Due to this relative lack of evidence, we can only speculate as to the real reasons for holding the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in Schönbrunn. Several motives are conceivable, however, and two of them will be discussed in detail below: the historical connection between the “deliverance from the Turks” and the construction of the palace, and the centralized arrangement of leaders and troops in the geometric garden.<sup>218</sup>

As early as the Middle Ages, mills had been built in what are now the palace grounds, which lie along the river Wien between the former villages and now city districts of Hietzing to the west and Meidling to the east.<sup>219</sup> The plot of land known as Katterburg belonged to the estate of Klosterneuburg Monastery, which sold it to Emperor Maximilian II in 1569. He then set up a hunting reserve on the premises where, according to legend, one of his sons, the future Emperor Matthias, found the “beautiful spring” (*schöner Brunnen*) that gave the Habsburgs’ stately home its name. After the death of Ferdinand II, his widow, Eleonora Gonzaga, had the manor house at the foot of the hunting grounds converted into a palace, which G.M. Vischer depicted as the “Imperial Pleasure Garden and Hunting Grounds of Schenbrunn” (*Khaiserlicher Lust- und Thiergarten Schenbrunn*). Published in 1672, this **copperplate engraving** shows the Katterburg on the river Wien, which was extended to the right with the Gonzaga wing between 1640 and 1645. Behind it the hunting grounds stretched over the Schönbrunn hill; in the mid-1660s, the stations of the cross were incorporated in its northern wall, which is visible by the river in the lower section of Vischer’s engraving.

Fig. 50, p. 133

217 See Peter Stachel: *Mythos Heldenplatz. Hauptplatz und Schauplatz der Republik*, Vienna: Molden 2018, p. 45.

218 Another probable reason was the possibility to march from the former summer residence of the Habsburgs into the center of “Red Vienna,” which was governed by the Social Democrats (see chap. III.2.1).

219 On the building history of Schönbrunn, see the overview in Herbert Karner: “Vom Jagdschloss zur Sommerresidenz. Die Baugeschichte des Schlosses von seinen Anfängen bis 1918,” in: Franz Sattlecker (ed.): *Schönbrunn*, Baden: Edition Lammerhuber 2017, pp. 136–163.



Fig. 50: Copperplate engraving of the imperial gardens of Schönbrunn by Georg Matthäus Vischer, printed in his *Topographia Archiducatus Austriae Inferioris Modernae*, vol. 1: *Das Viertl unter Wienerwaldt*, Vienna 1672, fig. 91. Source: Vienna University Library, II-177773/1.

In summer 1683, during the siege of Vienna by the Ottoman troops, the palace and garden of Schönbrunn were laid waste.<sup>220</sup> No notable improvements were made to this condition in the years after the successful defense of the city, as the reconstruction of the Hofburg Palace and other imperial residences took precedence. However, in 1688 the sculptor Johann Bernhard Fischer from Graz, who had trained as an architect in Rome, presented a design for an imperial palace to **Leopold I** that was to be constructed in Schönbrunn. It can be presumed that Fischer hoped to achieve two things with this oversized project, namely on the one hand to demonstrate his architectural skill and on the other to design a residence that would befit the House of Habsburg. In the **engraving of the design**, which was produced by Johann Adam Delsenbach and published by Fischer in 1721, several terraces lead from the river Wien up to the palace, which is positioned on the crest of the Schönbrunn hill like an otherworldly object.

Fig. 78, p. 196

Fig. 51, p. 134

220 See Elisabeth Hassmann: *Von Katterburg zu Schönbrunn. Die Geschichte Schönbrunns bis Kaiser Leopold I.*, Vienna: Böhlau 2004, pp. 372–378.

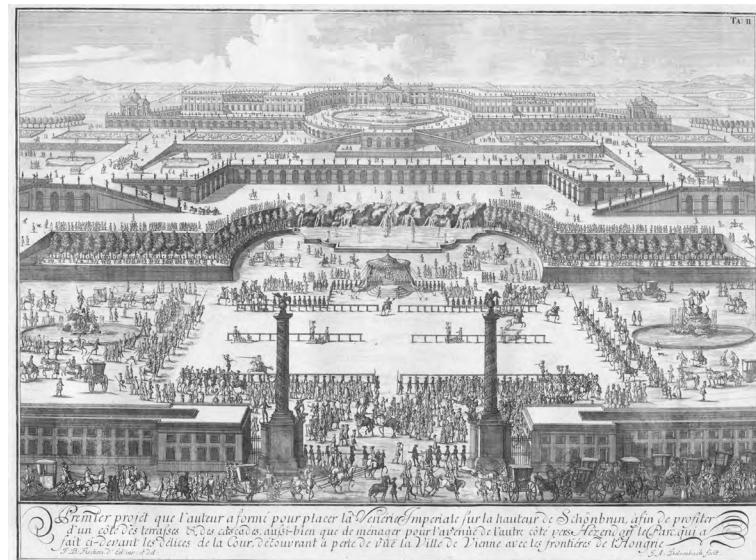


Fig. 51: Engraving of the first, not realized Schönbrunn project (1688) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, printed in his *Entwurff einer historischen Architectur*, Vienna 1721, book IV, plate II. Source: ETH Library (Zurich), Rar 758.

The literature often compares Fischer's Schönbrunn project from 1688 with the Palace of Versailles, which Louis XIV had converted into a residence from the 1660s.<sup>221</sup> In competition with the French king, who famously styled himself as the *Roi Soleil*, references to the architecture of antiquity and the sun god Apollo were intended to stress that the Habsburgs were in fact the legitimate heirs of the Roman emperors.

Although this *premier projet* for Schönbrunn was never realized, Fischer was appointed the architecture teacher of the heir to the throne the following year, 1689.<sup>222</sup> For him, the future Emperor Joseph I, he now planned a feasible hunting retreat (*Jagdschloss*), which was constructed from the mid-1690s on the site of the Katterburg and integrated elements of the original building. According to an engraving published

Fig. 52, p. 135

<sup>221</sup> See, for example, Hans Sedlmayr: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, Stuttgart: DVA 1997 [1976], pp. 74–77.

<sup>222</sup> See Hellmut Lorenz: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, Zurich: Verlag für Architektur 1992, p. 172.

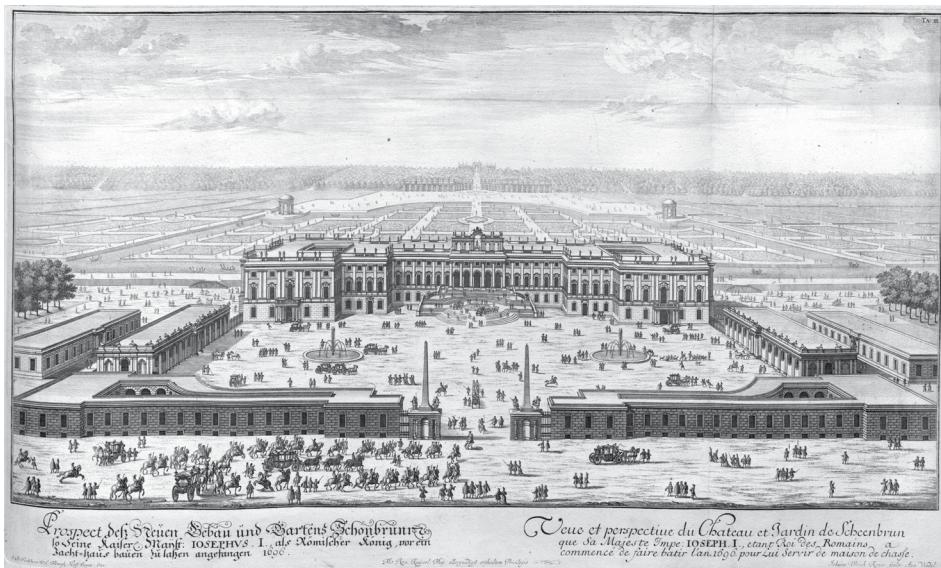


Fig. 52: Engraving of the second, mostly realized Schönbrunn project (1696) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, printed in his *Entwurff einer historischen Architectur*, Vienna 1721, book IV, plate III. Source: ETH Library (Zurich), Rar 758.

by Fischer, the path to the retreat led through a gate with two obelisks, across a spacious cour d'honneur, to a rounded ramp from which guests could access—via a perron—first a columned hall and then the ballroom of the bel étage, which on the opposite side offered a prospect of the garden. In Fischer's floor plan, the state and private apartments are arranged in an enfilade, meaning threaded (French *enfiler*) along an axis, in the right, west wing. In fact, the initial plan only envisaged the construction of the central wing, the corps de logis with its seventeen axes, which was opened amid festivities in spring 1700. However, two wings were subsequently added to the retreat at the suggestion of Leopold I in order to accommodate the entire court. In other words, around 1700 Schönbrunn had been upgraded from a mere hunting retreat or pleasure-house (*Lustschloss*) to an imperial residence.<sup>223</sup>

Yet the premature death of Joseph I in 1711 meant that this construction work remained unfinished. Only in 1743 did Maria Theresa decide not only to have Schönbrunn restored

223 See Karner: "Vom Jagdschloss zur Sommerresidenz," pp. 146–150.

but to finally have it converted into a summer residence.<sup>224</sup> Consequently, under the direction of the architect Nikolaus Pacassi, the ballrooms in the corps de logis were restructured, for example, and the imperial apartments relocated to the east wing. Instead of the access ramp designed by Fischer, two curved perrons were constructed on each side, which made it possible for carriages to travel unhindered across the cour d'honneur, through the palace, and straight into the garden. Imperial Garden Engineer (*Garteningenieur*) Jean Trehet had already started laying out the palace gardens in 1695.<sup>225</sup> He took Fischer's schematic **garden design**, which was still in the tradition of the Renaissance with its beds arranged in a square grid, merely as a guide. Instead, the Parisian Trehet realized a French Baroque garden, which combined parterres and bosquets, i.e., level flower beds and formal hedges. While Maria Theresa devoted herself to the alteration of the palace building in the mid-eighteenth century, her husband Francis I Stephen, supported by experts from his homeland of Lorraine, turned his attention to the redesign of the palace gardens.<sup>226</sup> Among other things, he had the **Great Parterre** elongated to the foot of the Schönbrunn hill and added to the right-angled network of avenues two large diagonal axes, which radiate from the palace into the garden as a *patte d'oie*, meaning in the shape of a goose's foot. In 1779, a year before Maria Theresa's death, the majority of Schönbrunn's gardens were opened to the public.

Fig. 52, p. 135

Fig. 53, p. 137

Fig. 79, p. 196

The status of the palace grounds subsequently became dependent on both the political climate and the personal preferences of the respective ruler. Generally speaking, however, Schönbrunn served as a regular summer residence for the Habsburg emperors in the nineteenth century.<sup>227</sup> **Francis Joseph I** was born in the palace in 1830 and spent much time in the gardens in his childhood and youth. During his reign,

<sup>224</sup> See Karner: "Vom Jagdschloss zur Sommerresidenz," p. 155.

<sup>225</sup> See Beatrix Hajós: *Die Schönbrunner Schlossgärten. Eine topographische Kulturgeschichte*, Vienna: Böhlau 1995, pp. 23–24.

<sup>226</sup> See Hajós: *Die Schönbrunner Schlossgärten*, pp. 27–29.

<sup>227</sup> See Karl Vocelka: "Die Herrschaft der Habsburger. Wie ein Schloss zum Symbol der Dynastie wurde," in: Franz Sattlecker (ed.): *Schönbrunn*, Baden: Edition Lammerhuber 2017, pp. 98–129, here pp. 119–128.



Fig. 53: Bernardo Bellotto (called Canaletto): *The Imperial Pleasure-House Schönbrunn, Garden Side* (1759/60). Source: Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), GG 1667.

the residential and working areas were located in the west wing of the building; a private apartment for his wife Elisabeth was set up on the ground floor. After Francis Joseph's death in Schönbrunn in 1916, his successor, Charles I, planned alterations to the palace, which would never come to pass. Instead, the last Habsburg emperor abdicated in the fall of 1918, shortly before World War I officially came to an end, handing power to the representatives of the newly founded Republic of German-Austria, and emigrated to Switzerland with his family the following spring.

By law, all royal estates, including Schönbrunn, became the property of the state in 1919. The Palace Captainship that had existed since 1700 was transformed in 1921 into a bureau of the Federal Ministry of Trade and Transport. Regardless of the fact that the emperor had left Schönbrunn, some annexes continued to be inhabited by the former palace staff. However, the way the use of other parts of the former residence was managed was very controversial. Over the course of the 1920s, a motley range of individuals, societies, and organizations moved into and out of Schönbrunn, e.g., the war-wounded, the Social Democratic association Friends of Children (*Kindertfunde*), a bourgeois private school, the Boy Scouts, and a

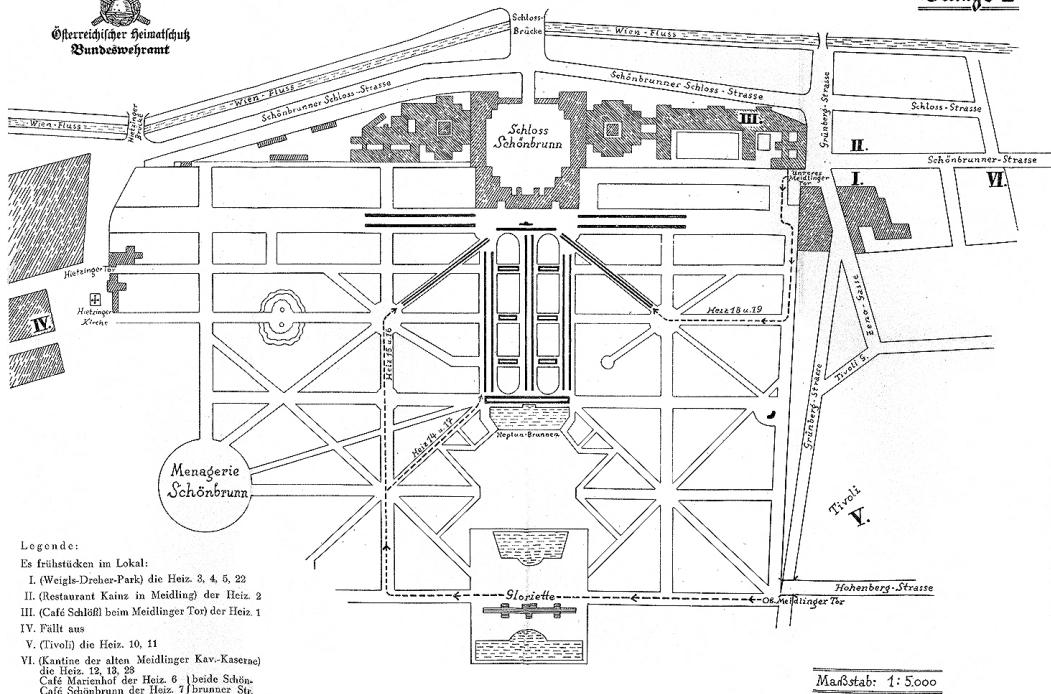


Fig. 54: Map showing the marching routes to the assembly area of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” by the Austrian Homeland Protection in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on May 14, 1933, printed in *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutzverband 1933, appendix 2.  
Source: Vienna University Library, I-514990.

youth hostel. In addition, not long after the war had ended, the Habsburgs' private and state apartments were converted into a museum. However, the number of visitors to the palace was much lower than to the menagerie in the gardens, which dates from 1751 and was renamed Schönbrunn Zoo (*Schönbrunner Tiergarten*) in 1926.<sup>228</sup>

The “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933, thus took place on a plot of land that had belonged to the House of Habsburg for 350 years, from 1569 to 1919, and had since been used by the public for diverse purposes. The imperial residence, originally planned by the important Baroque architect Fischer von Erlach, had been created shortly after and in living memory of that same “deliverance from the Turks” in September 1683 whose 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary was now to be celebrated (a couple of months early) by the Austrian

Homeland Protection. Yet the palace building only played a role in the event to the extent that it provided the backdrop for the rally being held in its garden, for which Home Guard members had traveled from all over Austria in special “Homeland Protection chartered trains” (*Heimatschutz-Sonderzüge*). The logistics for the celebration were regulated by instructions, which had been published shortly beforehand by the federal leadership of the Homeland Protection League.<sup>229</sup> In addition to the train timetables, the brochure contained directions about the dress code (green Home Guard jacket), hygiene (tallow feet), provisions (cocoa and bread), and some rules of conduct (such as the advice that smoking was prohibited during the field Mass). A vital part of these instructions was the plans and information about the “march to the assembly area,” which explained in detail how the occupants of the twenty-three chartered trains should march to the palace gardens and then to the Great Parterre, i.e., the area between the palace and the Schönbrunn hill.

Fig. 54, p. 138

## III.1.1

Fig. 40, p. 111

These maps demonstrate the **marching routes** from the east through the Meidling gates into the gardens and the arrangement of the troops on the area in front of the palace. All routes led to the palace’s south terrace, where the altar for the field Mass and the speaker’s podium would be set up. This centralized arrangement is no accident but rather precisely mimics the architecture of the palace gardens, which from every angle direct one’s gaze to the center, the imperial residence. Conversely, the emperor or empress could go out onto the terrace from the ballroom and enjoy the prospect of the garden kingdom that they had created from a central position. What then could **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**, who took up this sovereign position on May 14, 1933, see from there? There is a **photograph** of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” that was taken during Starhemberg’s speech. The federal leader of the Homeland Protection and initiator of the rally stands on the podium with his arm raised in greeting; the photographer must have been standing behind him on

<sup>229</sup> See Arthur Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutzverband 1933.

his left, aiming his lens above the audience so that not only is the speaker in front of the microphones visible, but also the mass of listeners.

The central perspective of this picture shows thousands of Home Guard men positioned according to plan in the main axis of the garden. In the Great Parterre—the gardens' ballroom, as it were, that guaranteed an unobstructed view of the residence and in this specific case of the leader on the balcony—only the planted areas were unoccupied, in compliance with the Palace Captainship's stipulation that the flower beds remain unharmed. The level assembly area is fenced off to the sides by tall walls of hedges and to the back by the **Neptune Fountain**, which was completed in 1780 and whose form—ascending on both sides to the tallest point in the center—is emphasized by a row of trees. It is not clear in the photo that the god of the sea, leaning on his trident, is frozen in a similar pose to that of Starhemberg in the picture. With his raised arm, he stands over his followers, the Tritons controlling the seahorses, and has the power to churn up or calm the waves.

Behind the fountain the Schönbrunn hill towers with its zigzag paths, where civilians could witness the rally.<sup>230</sup> The composition culminates in the **Gloriette** on the crest of the hill, which had already been conceived as a belvedere in Fischer's **design from 1696** but was only constructed under Maria Theresa in 1775. On the one hand, this backdrop is an impactful conclusion to the view of the garden as seen from the palace, and on the other it is an observation platform that makes it possible to overlook not only the (former) summer residence but also the city (and former imperial seat). On the central section of the arcade, an eagle sits atop a globe, holding a laurel wreath as a symbol of victory in its beak. That the Gloriette is interpreted in the literature as a monument to the "just war,"<sup>231</sup> is thematically quite fitting for the "Turks Deliverance Celebration," which according to Starhemberg was intended to commemorate the "world-historical fact that Christianity, German customs and culture, and thus also the

Fig. 55, p. 141

Fig. 55, p. 141

Fig. 52, p. 135

230 See Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, p. 13.

231 See, for example, Hajós: *Die Schönbrunner Schlossgärten*, p. 97.



Fig. 55: Ludwig Rohbock and Carl Rohrich: *The Neptune Basin in the Imperial Palace Gardens of Schönbrunn in Vienna* (1873), in the background the Gloriette. Source: Schloss Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., SKB 000168.

then German Reich were rescued from Eastern barbarism 250 years ago on Austrian soil.”<sup>232</sup>

The photographic images of the rally make clear the distinctive position of Schönbrunn’s garden between the palace and the hill, which does not provide a seemingly infinite view, as conceived by André Le Nôtre, the famous landscape architect of Louis XIV, in the parterre of Versailles, but rather creates and shapes a limited space.<sup>233</sup> In another regard, however, Schönbrunn implements the principles of the French Baroque garden systematically, namely in the complex of avenues, which was intended to function like an urban transport network.<sup>234</sup> At the center of this miniature city, as mentioned above, is the garden-side terrace of the palace, from which five monumental “streets” radiate out. During the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” they were all occupied by Home Guard troops. In the **photo** taken during Starhemberg’s speech, only the north-south “main road” is visible, the Great Parterre; however, select units and honorary guests were also placed in the so-called

Fig. 40, p. 111

232 Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: “Schlusswort,” in: Arthur Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutzverband 1933, pp. 14–15, here p. 14 [our trans.].

233 See Richard Kurdiovsky: *Die Gärten von Schönbrunn. Ein Spaziergang durch einen der bedeutendsten Barockgärten Europas*, St. Pölten: Residenz 2005, pp. 24–28.

234 See [Antoine Joseph Dézallier D’Argenville:] *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, Paris: Jean Mariette 1709, pp. 39–46.

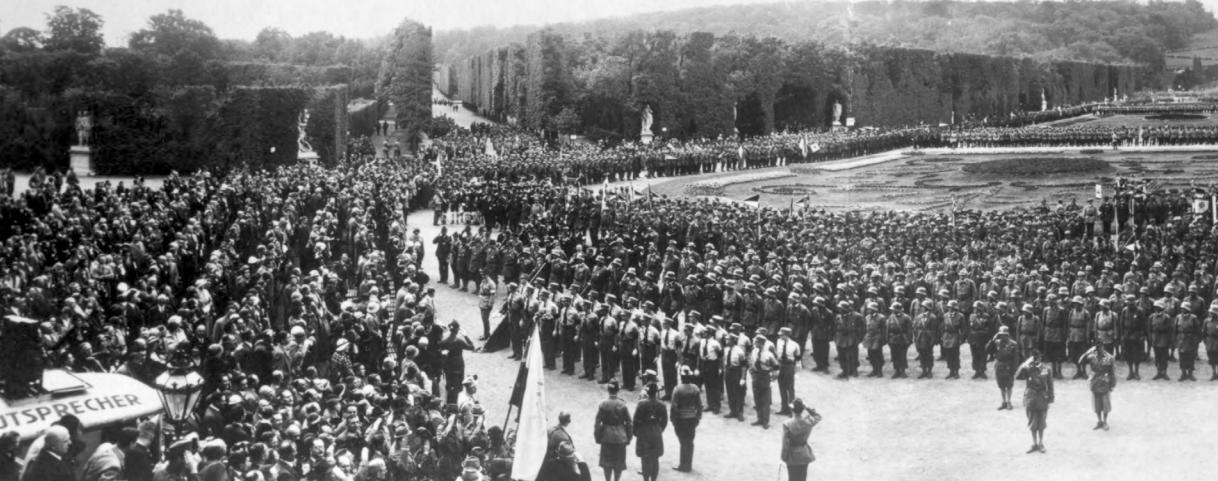


Fig. 56, p. 143

**Light Avenue** (*Lichte Allee*), which runs laterally to the east and west immediately in front of the palace. Furthermore, the occupants of the chartered trains numbers fifteen and sixteen, as well as eighteen and nineteen, stood in a column along the two large diagonal avenues.<sup>235</sup> If the camera, positioned behind Starhemberg, were to pan left and right, one would see the Obelisk Fountain at the end of the southeast avenue and the pavilion of the menagerie at the end of the southwest avenue.

These structures are worth mentioning because they add meaning to the functions of Schönbrunn's gardens as described above. Constructed in 1777, the obelisk serves as a *point de vue* in the eponymous **diagonal avenue**, which extends from the castle terrace to the garden's easternmost limits. Brought to Europe from Egypt by the Romans, the rectangular, tapered column had symbolized the life-giving power of the sun since antiquity, but in the Baroque it also came to represent the constancy of a leader, which in the case of the Schönbrunn obelisk is emphasized by the four turtles that carry it. The top is crowned with a golden eagle, which mediates between heaven and earth like the sovereign. The **Obelisk Fountain** is connected thematically to the neighboring Roman Ruin, which was completed one year later. Likewise constructed as the focal point of an avenue, this garden structure shows

Fig. 56, p. 143

Fig. 57, p. 144

235 See Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, p. 9.

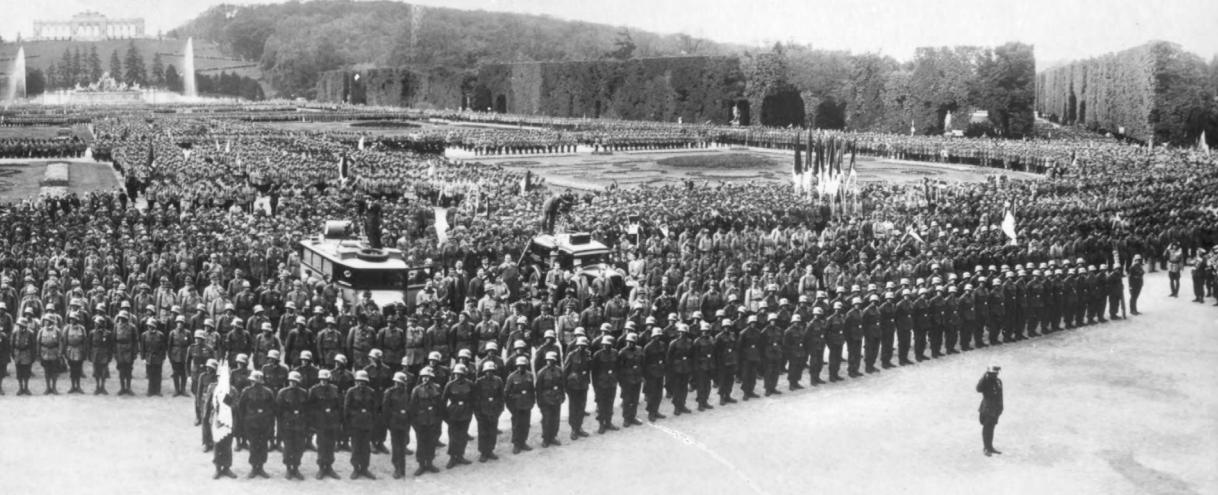


Fig. 56: Panoramic photograph of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” by the Austrian Homeland Protection in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on May 14, 1933: in the lower part the Light Avenue and in the center the Great Parterre with the Neptune Fountain and the Gloriette in the background; diagonally left the Obelisk Avenue and diagonally right the Zoo Avenue; on the very left a podium or truck marked “[Laut]sprecher” (“[loud]speaker”); between the Home Guard men the recording vans of the Selenophon Licht- und Tonbild GmbH (on the left) and of Fox Movietone News (or of a freelance cameraman). Source: Austrian National Library, Pk 2839.

an ancient building, which is half sunken in the ground and which, according to its original name, was intended to represent Carthage, the North African city destroyed by the Romans in the Punic Wars. Therefore, the Schönbrunn ruin alludes to the vanquished enemies of the House of Habsburg, whose claim to eternal reign, dating back to the Roman Empire, is not only embodied in the obelisk and the Gloriette but is also the conceptual foundation of the statues around the Great Parterre.<sup>236</sup>

The western counterpart to the obelisk is the pavilion in the zoo at the end of the **diagonal avenue** on the Hietzing side, which can also be seen from the palace terrace. Game animals had been kept in this area since Emperor Maximilian II had acquired the land. The **menagerie** was created in the mid-eighteenth century on the initiative of Francis I Stephen.

Fig. 56, p. 143

Fig. 58, p. 144

236 On the Obelisk Fountain and the Roman Ruin in Schönbrunn, see Hajós: *Die Schönbrunner Schlossgärten*, pp. 33–36 and 163–170, and Kurdiovsky: *Die Gärten von Schönbrunn*, pp. 34–35 and 103–109.

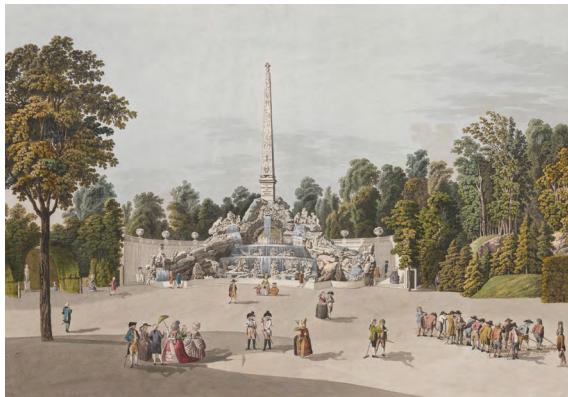


Fig. 57: Laurenz Janscha and Johann Ziegler: *The Waterfall with the Obelisk in the Imperial-Royal Gardens of Schönbrunn* (1785). Source: Austrian National Library, Z85041107.

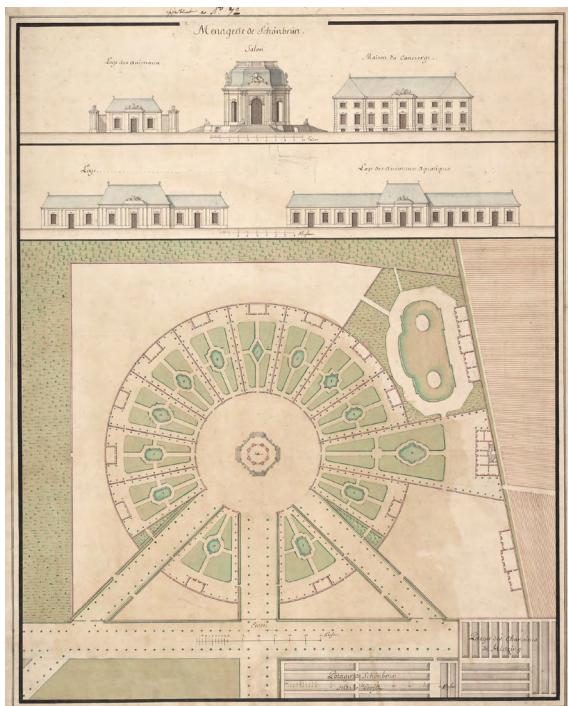


Fig. 58: Layout of the menagerie in Schönbrunn by Jean-Nicolas Jadot (1755). Source: Albertina (Vienna), AZ5497.

His architect from Lorraine, Jean-Nicolas Jadot, designed an octagonal pavilion on a round square from which sixteen axes radiated out: three avenues, an administration building, and twelve animal enclosures, which were designed as small Baroque gardens. It was only possible to look into them from the center, where the imperial couple would breakfast in the pavilion and observe the animals in the panorama, which had been brought to the imperial residence from all over the

world. Moreover, below the menagerie, on the west edge of the palace garden, Francis Stephen had a botanical garden laid out, which was named after the homeland of its gardeners. Partly procured during expeditions, the plant populations of the Dutch Garden were arranged in square sections according to the taxonomy of the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné, the so-called Linnaean system. In the Baroque palace grounds of Schönbrunn, whether in the parterres and avenues or in the menagerie and the botanical garden, nature was controlled rationally, which meant first and foremost geometrically.<sup>237</sup>

237 On the menagerie and the Dutch Garden in Schönbrunn, see Hajós: *Die Schönbrunner Schlossgärten*, pp. 183–185 and 202–204, and Kurdiovsky: *Die Gärten von Schönbrunn*, pp. 116–117 and 126–130.

## 1.4 Theater: Fascism as Tragedy



place Burgtheater  
 moment Staging of *Hundred Days*  
 space N 48.210275° | E 16.361378°  
 time 1932 a 132 d 19 h 30 min p. Chr.

II.10 In the evening before the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*), which took place on Sunday, May 14, 1933, in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace**, the drama *Hundert Tage* (*Hundred Days*) was performed at Vienna’s Burgtheater.<sup>238</sup> At a cursory glance, there seems to be no relation between the political rally and the theatrical production. A closer examination of the two events, however, reveals a dense web of personal and thematic connections, mainly linked by **Benito Mussolini**, the founder of Fascism who had been Italy’s prime minister since 1922. Mussolini was not only the financial backer of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” and a patron of its initiator, **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg**,<sup>239</sup> but also the coauthor of the play, which had premiered in Rome in 1930 under the title *Campo di maggio* and covers Napoleon’s rule during the Hundred Days between his exile on the islands of first Elba and then Saint Helena.<sup>240</sup>

Fig. 65, p. 161

The German author Emil Ludwig, who achieved international fame in the 1920s with historical biographies, was told by Mussolini that his book on Napoleon had inspired him to

238 See “Theater,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 13, 1933 (morning edition), p. 16.

239 See Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, Vienna/Munich: Amalthea 1991, p. 142, and Lothar Höbelt: *Die Heimwehren und die österreichische Politik 1927–1936. Vom politischen “Kettenhund” zum “Austro-Fascismus”?*, Graz: Ares 2016, pp. 271–272.

240 The expression “Hundred Days” originally meant the (in fact 110-day) absence of King Louis XVIII from Paris, but today it usually refers to the period between Napoleon’s return from Elba and his banishment to Saint Helena. See Volker Hunecke: *Napoleons Rückkehr. Die letzten Hundert Tage – Elba, Waterloo, St. Helena*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 2015, p. 9.

sketch out a drama, which he then had Giovacchino Forzano finalize.<sup>241</sup> Forzano, an established dramatist and librettist in Italy at the time, corroborated this portrayal of events and later published the following letter:

*Dear Forzano,*

*I am sending you the paper, crumpled as it is from lying on my desk for so long, which contains the title and the four acts inspired by reading Ludwig's Napoleon, which I told you about. I have contemplated it, but only you could write it, since only you possess the eminent genius required by the theater: that which makes the characters move, makes them speak, which makes things happen. Read the book from the pages that I have marked for you, and you will see that it is possible to create a play full of color, full of life, full of events and protagonists. Give me word occasionally. Congratulations on Carro di Tespi and warm regards.*

*Mussolini*

*Rome, July 7, 1929—Anno VII*<sup>242</sup>

According to the actor Werner Krauss, who played the lead in the Vienna production, the “paper” to which Mussolini refers in his letter to Forzano was in fact “twelve or fourteen letters written in large handwriting, merely declarations by a statesman on what it is actually about.”<sup>243</sup> Forzano transformed these drafts into a tragedy about the fall of Napoleon, though it does not contain the “four acts” outlined by Mussolini, but merely three acts with nine scenes, or rather “pictures.”<sup>244</sup>

241 See Emil Ludwig: *Mussolinis Gespräche mit Emil Ludwig*, Berlin: Zsolnay 1932, p. 212. Mussolini means Emil Ludwig's biography *Napoleon* (Berlin: Rowohlt 1925), not his drama of the same name (Berlin: Cassirer 1906), which was rather unsuccessful.

242 Cit. after Giovacchino Forzano: “La mia collaborazione teatrale con Benito Mussolini,” in: *Mussolini autore drammatico*, Florence: Barbèra 1954, pp. V–XLIII, here p. XXIII [our trans., emphasis in original].

243 Werner Krauss: *Das Schauspiel meines Lebens*, Stuttgart: Henry Goverts 1958, p. 157 [our trans.].

244 According to Forzano, Mussolini himself had queried the fourth act on Napoleon's departure to Saint Helena, see Géza Herczeg: “Mussolini als Bühnendichter,” in: *Burgtheater Offizielles Programm* [of the play *Hundert Tage*], Vienna: Weiner [1933], pp. 7–16, here p. 11, source: Theatermuseum (Vienna), program archive. →

In Italy, Mussolini was cited as coauthor neither at the play's premiere nor in its print edition.<sup>245</sup> He only allowed his name to be used for the performances abroad: in Budapest and Paris in 1931, in Weimar and London in 1932, in Vienna in 1933, and in Berlin in 1934.<sup>246</sup> On the cover of the German translation by Géza Herczeg, Mussolini is even named first as the lead author, going against alphabetical order.<sup>247</sup>

Whereas in Italy Mussolini presumably wanted to wait and see whether the play would prove popular, abroad—above all in Germany and Austria—his name was vital to its enormous box-office success. After the German premiere on January 30, 1932, at the Nationaltheater in Weimar, attended by Adolf Hitler,<sup>248</sup> *Hundred Days* was performed at the Burgtheater in Vienna in spring 1933. The **Vienna premiere** on April 22, 1933, developed into a major diplomatic event, at which Education Minister Anton Rintelen, Italian Ambassador Gabriele Preziosi, and Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, among others, were

Fig. 24, p. 65

- On the cooperation between Mussolini and Forzano, yielding apart from *Campo di maggio* the dramas *Villafranca* (1932) and *Cesare* (1939), see Stanley V. Longman: "Mussolini and the Theatre," in: *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 60/2 (1974), pp. 212–224, here pp. 221–224, and Toni Bernhart: "Benito Mussolini als Schriftsteller und seine Übersetzungen ins Deutsche," in: Andrea Albrecht, Lutz Danneberg, Simone De Angelis (eds.): *Die akademische "Achse Rom-Berlin"? Der wissenschaftlich-kulturelle Austausch zwischen Italien und Deutschland 1920 bis 1945*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2017, pp. 345–399, here pp. 348–351.

245 See Giovacchino Forzano: *Campo di maggio*.

*Dramma in tre atti*, Florence: Barbèra 1931.

246 See Forzano: "La mia collaborazione teatrale con Benito Mussolini," p. XXIX, and Herczeg: "Mussolini als Bühnendichter," p. 7. For the foreign productions, the title was altered to *Hundred Days*: *Száz nap* (National Theater, Budapest, June 4, 1931), *Les cents jours* (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, November 9, 1931), *Hundred Days* (New Theatre, London, April 14, 1932).

247 See Benito Mussolini and Giovacchino Forzano: *Hundert Tage (Campo di maggio). Drei Akte (acht Bilder). Für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet von Géza Herczeg*, Berlin: Marton 1932 [Italian 1931]; Benito Mussolini and Giovacchino Forzano: *Hundert Tage (Camp di maggio). Drei Akte in neun Bildern. Autorisierte Übersetzung von Géza Herczeg*, Vienna: Zsolnay 1933 [Italian 1931]. The following short references to *Hundert Tage* in this chapter relate to the German edition from 1933.

248 See Kerstin Decker: *Die Schwester. Das Leben der Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche*, Berlin: Berlin Verlag 2016, pp. 591–595.

present.<sup>249</sup> After the second act, Rintelen sent a congratulatory telegram to Mussolini, and the third act was broadcast internationally on the radio.<sup>250</sup> The launch party, to which not only the actors and politicians but also the translator Géza Herczeg were invited, was hosted by the Italian embassy in Vienna.<sup>251</sup> The play was performed at the Burgtheater a further thirty-five times before late June 1933, including nineteen times in May, and seen by some 54,000 theatergoers.<sup>252</sup> In Vienna *Hundred Days* remained in the repertoire until 1937; in Berlin the drama was performed at the Staatstheater in 1934, likewise with Werner Krauss as Napoleon, who also played the lead in the German screen adaptation in 1935.<sup>253</sup>

The play's success arrived at a very opportune moment at the Burgtheater, though this was no accident. Founded in the eighteenth century, the traditional Viennese stage had run into serious financial trouble, to the extent that in the early 1930s there was talk of a "Burgtheater crisis" and even the threat of its closure. In order to gain control of the situation, the Ministry of Education, which was responsible for the federal theaters, searched for a new manager for the Burgtheater who would have not only artistic skill but also financial experience. The man they chose was Hermann Röbbeling, who had successfully run the Schauspielhaus and the Thalia Theater in Hamburg as private companies. Röbbeling assumed the management of the Burgtheater in December 1931 and soon lived up to his reputation for restoring theaters to profitability: he invited

249 See "Galaabend im Burgtheater," in: *Neues Wiener Journal* (Vienna), April 23, 1933, p. 7.

250 See "Telegramm des Unterrichtsministers Dr. Rintelen an den Duce," in: *Neues Wiener Journal* (Vienna), April 23, 1933, p. 7; "Radio-Wochenprogramm vom 22. bis 30. April," in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), April 22, 1933 (evening edition), p. 4.

251 See "Empfangsabend auf der italienischen Gesandtschaft," in: *Neues Wiener Journal* (Vienna), April 23, 1933, p. 7.

252 See Margret Dietrich: "Burgtheaterpublikum und Öffentlichkeit in der Ersten Republik," in: Margret Dietrich (ed.): *Das Burgtheater und sein Publikum*, vol. 1, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1976, pp. 479–707, here pp. 684 and 692.

253 In 1935, a German and an Italian screen adaptation of the play was released, entitled *Hundred Days* (direction: Franz Wenzler, Napoleon: Werner Krauss) and *Campo di maggio* (direction: Giovacchino Forzano, Napoleon: Corrado Racca).

the press to dress rehearsals, had performances broadcast live on the radio, negotiated reduced federal rail tickets for theatergoers, expanded the season ticket system, and introduced weekly performances for school students. However, this financial success was accompanied by vehement criticism of the alleged commercialization of the Burgtheater. Ideologically, Röbbeling was guided primarily by the conservative and increasingly authoritarian notions of his most important financier, the Austrian federal government.<sup>254</sup>

A good example of the artistic and economic orientation of the Burgtheater under Hermann Röbbeling is the festival cycle “Voices of the Peoples in Drama” (*Stimmen der Völker im Drama*), which he retrospectively declared his “greatest success.”<sup>255</sup> At the very beginning of his tenure, in February 1932, he had given a talk at the Österreichische Völkerbundliga (Austrian Alliance of the League of Nations) emphasizing that theater furthered the association of nations: he argued that plays from antiquity to the present day made one aware that though people may have cultural differences, at heart they are all connected.<sup>256</sup> In the *Almanach der österreichischen Bundestheater* for the 1932/33 season, Röbbeling then explained the meaning of this particular series of works at the Burgtheater: “a representative piece of literature is intended to bring to the stage a *specific national character* and create understanding for another type of people and a peculiar artistic expression.”<sup>257</sup> Having launched in October 1932 with Franz Grillparzer’s

254 See Sophia Totzeva: “Der Festspielzyklus ‘Stimmen der Völker im Drama’ (1932–1938). Übersetzungs- und Theaterpraxis im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Ideologie,” in: *Maske und Kothurn*, 42/2–4 (1996), pp. 77–103, here pp. 77–81, and Johann Hüttner: “Die Staatstheater in den dreissiger Jahren. Kunst als Politik – Politik in der Kunst,” in: Hilde Haider-Pregler and Beate Reiterer (eds.): *Verspielte Zeit. Österreichisches Theater der dreissiger Jahre*, Vienna: Picus 1997, pp. 60–76, here pp. 63–64.

255 Cit. after an interview in Tekla Kulczicky de Wolczko: *Hermann Röbbeling und das Burgtheater*, University of Vienna: PhD diss. 1950, p. 130 [our trans.].

256 See Hermann Röbbeling: *Das Theater als völkerverbindender Faktor*, Vienna: Weiner 1932.

257 Cit. after “Der Spielplan des Burgtheaters,” in: *Almanach der österreichischen Bundestheater für das Spieljahr 1932/33*, Vienna: Wirtschafts-Zeitung-Verlags-Ges.m.b.H. 1933, pp. 17–22, here p. 19 [our trans., emphasis in original].

“Austrian tragedy” *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg (Fraternal Strife among the Habsburgs)*, the cycle was intended to continue with a series of fifteen foreign works,<sup>258</sup> but by 1938 only twelve productions had been realized. The play that was originally planned for Italy was *La Gioconda* by Gabriele D’Annunzio, but the Italian “national character” was ultimately represented by two other dramas, which were not initially conceived as part of the cycle but were retrospectively ascribed to it, namely *Campo di maggio* by Forzano and Mussolini and Carlo Goldoni’s comedy *Il bugiardo*.<sup>259</sup>

Röbbeling’s management and his cycle “Voices of the Peoples in Drama” unfolded against a backdrop of a public debate about the Austrian “national theater,” which dated back to the eighteenth century and underwent a marked resurgence in the First Republic. The question when exactly the Burgtheater itself was founded cannot be answered with just one year.<sup>260</sup>

Fig. 78, p. 196

Emperor **Leopold I** had already opened a large court theater in Vienna’s Hofburg Palace around 1700, where later the Redoutensäle ballrooms were constructed. Subsequently, Maria

Fig. 61, p. 153

Theresa had the vacant **Hofballhaus**, where court tennis had been played, on (what is now) Michaelerplatz converted into the Theater nächst der Burg (Theater by the Palace) from the 1740s and run by leaseholders. Predominantly French dramas and Italian operas were performed there, in accordance with the language customs of the nobility, while in the popular Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor comedies were improvised in German or Viennese dialect, plays in which the character of the Hanswurst buffoon always made an appearance.

258 See Hermann Röbbeling: “Stimmen der Völker im Drama,” in: *Almanach der österreichischen Bundestheater für das Spieljahr 1932/33*, Vienna: Wirtschafts-Zeitung-Verlags-Ges.m.b.H. 1933, pp. 22–24, here p. 24.

259 See Totzeva: “Der Festspielzyklus ‘Stimmen der Völker im Drama’ (1932–1938),” pp. 82–84.

260 On the following historical remarks, see Franz Hadamowsky: “Die Schauspielfreiheit, die ‘Erhebung des Burgtheaters zum Hoftheater’ und seine ‘Begründung als Nationaltheater’ im Jahr 1776,” in: *Maske und Kothurn*, 22/1–2 (1976), pp. 5–19, and Andrea Sommer-Mathis: “Theater und Fest,” in: Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky (eds.): *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835. Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2016, pp. 457–486.



Fig. 59: The new building of the Burgtheater in Vienna, which opened on the Ringstrasse in 1888, photographed around 1930. Source: Austrian National Library, 140.791 B.



Fig. 60: Stage and auditorium of the Burgtheater in Vienna, photographed around 1930. Source: Austrian National Library, L 5.871D.

Under the aegis of Joseph von Sonnenfels, the views of literary figures who advocated a German “national theater” like Johann Christoph Gottsched and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing spread through the Viennese bourgeoisie from the 1760s. However, this expression certainly did not imply popularity (*Volkstümlichkeit*) in the sense of the Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor, but rather a “regular” stage with unvarying, High German, moralizing texts. Maria Theresa’s son, Emperor Joseph II, who was not averse to the ideas of the Enlightenment, ultimately decreed in a letter from March 23, 1776, that the Theater nächst der Burg, which his mother had had constructed, be run in future as “the German National Theater.”<sup>261</sup> Nevertheless, the purely German-language repertoire barely lasted two months, and even the title National Theater was soon changed to Die Kaiserlich-

261 Letter by Joseph II to Prince Khevenhüller from March 23, 1776, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/HHStA, KA Handbillette, Akten 1) [our trans.].



Fig. 61: Colorized drawing of the return from the so-called “ladies’ carousel” (*Damenkarussell*) on January 2, 1743, a courtly tournament in which equestriennes, among them queen Maria Theresa, tried to spear wooden heads of Moors and Turks. To the right of the Winter Riding School, in front of the unfinished Michaelertrakt of the Vienna Hofburg, the Hofballhaus is located, a ballroom building that was rebuilt into the Theater nächst der Burg from the 1740s onward. Source: Wien Museum, 31669.

Fig. 62, p. 154

Fig. 59 &  
Fig. 60, p. 152

Königlichen National-Hofschauspieler (The Imperial-Royal National Court Players), until in the nineteenth century the name **K.K. Hofburgtheater** (Imperial-Royal Hofburg Palace Theater) became established, which was also adopted for the **new building** on Vienna’s Ringstrasse when it was opened in 1888.

In 1934 Rudolph Lothar published an updated and augmented edition of his Burgtheater history from 1899. Following a foreword by the then Education Minister Kurt Schuschnigg, who played a major role in the establishment of the authoritarian “corporative state” (*Ständestaat*), the journalist and dramatist analyzed the question of the national theater in his introduction and emphasized that in artistic matters Austria actually meant Vienna. The Vienna court—unlike that in Paris, for example—had, however, never been “national,” he continued, but rather a colorful medley of European noble families. “The truly national art of Vienna and thus Austria lay somewhere else entirely,” Lothar explained, “it could be found on the



Fig. 62: The Michaelerplatz in Vienna with the Old Burgtheater (on the right), photographed in 1885. Source: Austrian National Library, Kor 73/1.

squares of the inner city and the suburbs, in shacks and sports halls and sprouted its funny flowers in the improvised farce and in the extemporized burlesque.” The Hofburgtheater had emerged as a “protest against this elemental art”; it had wanted to “dethrone and kill the national Hanswurst.”<sup>262</sup> The most important task of Hermann Röbbeling, the new manager, was to run the Burgtheater as the truly “national theater of Austria,” it says at the end of the book, and to cultivate Austrian drama as the “strongest expression of down-to-earth patriotism.”<sup>263</sup>

Five years later, when the “corporative state” was already history and the “Eastern March” (*Ostmark*) had become part of the Greater German Reich, another book on the Burgtheater was published, this time by the German philologist Heinz Kindermann, who was promoted to head of the newly founded Department of Theater Studies at the University of Vienna in 1943. While Lothar had wanted to derive Austrian national theater from the folk art of Vienna, Kindermann immediately stressed in his foreword that his subtitle “Legacy and Mission of a National Theater” (*Erbe und Sendung eines Nationaltheaters*) did not imply a “merely Viennese or merely German-Austrian affair,” but rather a Greater German cultural institution.<sup>264</sup> He elaborated that the Burgtheater’s selection of works first and

262 Rudolph Lothar: *Das Wiener Burgtheater. Ein Wahrzeichen österreichischer Kunst und Kultur*, Vienna: Augartenverlag 1934, pp. 11–12 [our trans.].

263 Lothar: *Das Wiener Burgtheater*, pp. 521–522 [our trans.].

264 Heinz Kindermann: *Das Burgtheater. Erbe und Sendung eines Nationaltheaters*, Vienna: Adolf Luser 1939, p. 5 [our trans.].

foremost had to revolve around the “bountiful dramatic legacy of the Germans,” while also incorporating the most important pieces from foreign nations in the interests of a “fruitful encounter with their otherness,” though “Shakespeare, whom we perceive to be almost German,” was excluded from this strict selection. “As today we think in racially definable national units,” Kindermann wrote, “our choice of the drama representing the individual peoples of world literature (in Goethe’s sense) will surely look different from that offered by the liberal viewpoint, that is, also different from how Röbbeling’s ‘Voices of the Peoples in Drama’ presented these nations.”<sup>265</sup>

Röbbeling’s declarations that the cycle was aimed at bringing peoples together may at times have been at odds with the plays that were actually performed, as can be demonstrated by the example of *Hundred Days*. However, the selection of works, in which Grillparzer’s *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg* was followed in February 1933 by the drama *Florian Geyer* by Gerhart Hauptmann, shows that nations were understood to mean internationally recognized states, in this case Austria and Germany, and not “racially definable national units”<sup>266</sup> in the National Socialist sense.<sup>267</sup> In his conversations with Emil Ludwig, Mussolini went even further and said that nations were the result of neither systems of government nor biological or linguistic communities. “Race” was “not a reality” but “an illusion of the spirit, a feeling,” which one could choose and develop.<sup>268</sup> On this question of what constitutes a nation, there is a similar answer in Mussolini’s essay *La dottrina del fascismo* from 1932, which was translated into German and English, among other languages, in the years that followed:

265 Kindermann: *Das Burgtheater*, pp. 211 and 214 [our trans.].

266 Kindermann: *Das Burgtheater*, p. 214 [our trans.].

267 See Totzeva: “Der Festspielzyklus ‘Stimmen der Völker im Drama’ (1932–1938),” pp. 83, 91, 95.

268 Ludwig: *Mussolinis Gespräche mit Emil Ludwig*, pp. 74–77 and 228 [our trans.]. See, however, the historical studies by Wolfgang Schieder, who identifies these conversations as the “political art of disguise” and points to Mussolini’s increasingly racist and antisemitic policy, in: *Faschistische Diktaturen. Studien zu Italien und Deutschland*, Göttingen: Wallstein 2008, pp. 46–48 [our trans.].

*Not a race, nor a geographically defined region, but a people, historically perpetuating itself; a multitude unified by an idea and imbued with the will to live, the will to power, self-consciousness, personality.*<sup>269</sup>

Fig. 63, p. 157

Consequently, for Mussolini, a nation is neither a biologically definable people nor a group of individuals who merely speak the same language or live on a delimited territory. Rather, the citizens of the Fascist state are united in the “conscious membership of a spiritual society,”<sup>270</sup> which has genuine “personality,” namely in the form of the *Duce*, who personally embodies and exemplifies Fascism. This superhuman leader adopts a literally *sovereign* position: he overarches the nation like Thomas Hobbes’s **Leviathan** and represents the collective will of his subordinate people. However, in contrast to the monarchical, the Fascist sovereign possesses no dynastic legitimacy. That means that he is not respected because of his noble birth but has to create his own heroic genealogy. Coming from a lower-middle-class family, Mussolini therefore attempted to portray himself as the spiritual descendent of the Roman emperors, while also gladly referring to the Corsican social climber who had crowned himself the “Emperor of the French” in the early nineteenth century.

Napoleon is certainly described as an exemplary self-made man in Emil Ludwig’s historical biography<sup>271</sup> that inspired the drama *Campo di maggio*. Yet entirely contrary to this account of a democratic hero, Mussolini blames democracy itself for his idol’s downfall, or more precisely, “the course of events on the Champ de Mars in spring 1815.”<sup>272</sup> Here he is referring to the so-called Champ de Mai, which Napoleon announced on the march to Paris after having fled his exile on Elba in late February 1815. Reminiscent of the Frankish-Carolingian “Mayfield”

269 Benito Mussolini: “The Doctrine of Fascism” [Italian 1932], in: *Fascism. Doctrine and Institutions*, Rome: Ardita 1935, pp. 5–31, here p. 12. In fact, however, parts of the text were written by the Fascist philosopher Giovanni Gentile, see Schieder: *Faschistische Diktaturen*, p. 42.

270 Mussolini: “The Doctrine of Fascism,” p. 9.

271 See Barbara Besslich: *Der deutsche Napoleon-Mythos. Literatur und Erinnerung 1800–1945*, Darmstadt: WBG 2007, pp. 390–394.

272 Cit. after Ludwig: *Mussolinis Gespräche mit Emil Ludwig*, p. 212 [our trans.].



Fig. 63: Abraham Bosse's frontispiece for the book *Leviathan* (London: Andrew Crooke 1651) by Thomas Hobbes. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 68, p. 168

Fig. 64, p. 158

(Italian *campo di maggio*), the event was intended to serve on the one hand as a constituent assembly and on the other as a coronation ceremony for the empress. However, as Marie Louise remained in Vienna with their son, Napoleon Francis Bonaparte, and her father, the Austrian Emperor **Francis I**, and as the constitution drafted initially by a commission, then by Benjamin Constant, had already been published in April, the planned National Constituent Assembly dwindled to a mere **ceremonial act**, which was held somewhat belatedly on June 1, 1815, on the Champ de Mars, the Parisian field where the Fête de la Fédération had taken place in 1790.<sup>273</sup>

The first act of the play by Forzano and Mussolini is set in the evening and night before the Champ de Mai. In two scenes, the protagonists of the tragedy are introduced: **Joseph Fouché**

273 See Hunecke: *Napoleons Rückkehr*, pp. 101–102.

Fig. 24, p. 65

**and Napoleon Bonaparte.** Minister of Police Fouché assures the freshly elected representatives that Napoleon now wanted to rule constitutionally, cajoles first a Count of Orléans, whose duke is talked about as the future monarch, then a lady-in-waiting under Louis XVIII, the now exiled king, and finally bribes the publisher of an opposition newspaper. That night, Napoleon is less concerned by Fouché's intrigues and the impending war than by his son's return. When the emissary finally arrives from Vienna, the emperor believes he can also hear his beloved child in the ante-room but is soon bitterly disappointed. Napoleon had planned to ride on the Champ de Mars in the "Austerlitz uniform" alongside his son in the carriage. Now, as his wife has forsaken him, he appears "dressed up" in the coronation robes before the assembled representatives and soldiers in order to hold an "empty ceremony."<sup>274</sup>

The second act begins three weeks later: Napoleon's army suffered a catastrophic defeat at Waterloo at the hands of the British and Prussian troops under the command of Field Marshals Wellington and Blücher. After Fouché has induced the ministers and representatives to decide that the emperor has to abdicate, Napoleon arrives in Paris thoroughly exhausted. In his view, he had been betrayed on the battlefield and to "save the fatherland" needed a political mandate from the cabinet and parliament, namely the power to rule temporarily as a military



Fig. 64: Contemporary engraving of Napoleon's oath to the constitution at the Champ de Mai held on the Champ de Mars in Paris on June 1, 1815. Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection De Vinck 9540.

274 See Mussolini and Forzano: *Hundert Tage*, pp. 11–60, quotes pp. 40 and 43 [our trans.].

dictator. Yet in the name of the representatives, General Lafayette insists on Napoleon's resignation, who had himself become the greatest barrier to peace. Reluctantly, but to prevent a civil war, the emperor abdicates in favor of his son. The representatives' expectations that they would be able to negotiate a ceasefire with the victorious powers are revealed in the third act to be a naïve illusion. Instead, the enemy generals dictate humiliating peace terms to the conquered French: Louis XVIII will be brought back as king, Fouché appointed his prime minister, France subjected to military occupation, and Napoleon exiled to a distant island, probably Saint Helena. The drama ends in Château de Malmaison, where Napoleon bids farewell to his family.<sup>275</sup>

The plot of the drama makes plain why the original title was *Campo di maggio*. According to Forzano and Mussolini's portrayal, Napoleon, the great hero of this historical tragedy, is unsuccessful not because of the superiority of his military opponents or because of his personal failures, but because of democracy in the form of parliamentarianism: In a state of emergency, when France is surrounded by enemies, the very same liberal constitution that was declared on the Mayfield prevents the emperor from defending his country. Instead of coming together patriotically behind Napoleon, the elected representatives of the people allow themselves to be blinded by Fouché, a conniving, lying, extorting, cajoling career politician who is concerned only for his own self-interest. In contrast, Napoleon appears in the play as a brave soldier and loving family man, as a man of the people and charismatic genius who makes but a single—though grave—mistake in his hundred-day reign, namely not wanting to rule as a military dictator but as a constitutional monarch.<sup>276</sup>

This fundamental conflict—Napoleon/people vs. Fouché/parliament—is the clear leitmotif of *Campo di maggio* and the

275 See Mussolini and Forzano: *Hundert Tage*, pp. 61–140, quote p. 81 [our trans.].

276 According to Volker Hunecke, this decision was based on Napoleon's unconditional demand to remain emperor: *Napoleons Rückkehr*, pp. 89 and 96. Munro Price emphasizes that Napoleon indeed had the opportunity to abdicate in favor of his son with Marie Louise as regent *before* Waterloo, but he chose to wage war and hence destroyed his dynasty and inflicted great damage on France: *Napoleon. The End of Glory*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014, p. 257.

German translation *Hundert Tage*, but the Burgtheater production intensifies this even further.<sup>277</sup> The text of the performance as documented in the promptbook was written by the dramatist and journalist Hanns Sässmann, whom Lothar calls an “arch Austrian” in his history of the Burgtheater from 1934,<sup>278</sup> in collaboration with Manager Röbbeling, who also directed the play. Their reworking cuts out the second scene of the third act, where an envoy of Fouché encounters Wellington, changes some of the speaking roles, and makes revisions throughout the text. Sässmann and Röbbeling’s most consequential changes are made to Fouché, who in the promptbook’s parliament scene says:

*If a politician wants to win a majority, he must never attempt to prove his claims. The more reasonable arguments he puts forward, the less he is believed. Because, wherever even a hundred people converge en masse, they immediately take leave of their senses and are guided exclusively by their emotions, by their passion.*<sup>279</sup>

Although the minister of police expresses this remark as a complaint in front of the representatives, in fact he is skillfully capitalizing on the irrationality of the masses: in the play he possesses a masterful ability to direct their emotions and passions. Napoleon, by contrast, is the embodiment of the reason that the emotional parliamentarians lack. Far from despotically exploiting his imperial power, he always appears composed and under control; and when he does lose his poise, he regains his composure immediately. Despite his sovereign detachment, Napoleon represents the will of the common people, the artisans and farmers, the laborers and soldiers,

277 See Dietrich: “Burgtheaterpublikum und Öffentlichkeit in der Ersten Republik,” pp. 687–688, and the review of the premiere at the Burgtheater by David Josef Bach: “Das Ende einer Diktatur,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), April 23, 1933, p. 7.

278 Lothar: *Das Wiener Burgtheater*, p. 13 [our trans.]. In the interwar period, Hanns Sässmann became known as the author of the “Austrian trilogy” staged at the Burgtheater: *Metternich* (October 1929), *Haus Rothschild* (January 1931), *1848* (December 1932). See Hüttner: “Die Staatstheater in den dreissiger Jahren,” pp. 70–72.

279 Promptbook *Hundert Tage*, Vienna: Georg Marton 1933, p. 63 [our trans.], source: Archive of the Burgtheater in Vienna, 609 R. This passage is contained in neither the Italian original nor in Herczeg’s German translation.



Fig. 65: Engelbert Dollfuss (front left) and Benito Mussolini (in bathing trunks), photographed in Riccione (Italy) on August 19, 1933. Source: Austrian National Library, H 2163.

who are betrayed by the advocates in parliament. “The house should not stand between me and the people,” Napoleon warns his cabinet: “Let the French people come to me again, I will know how to lead them.”<sup>280</sup>

These scenes depicting a reasonable leader, whose truthful representation of the people is thwarted by their elected representatives, unfolded at the Burgtheater while the Austrian parliament on the other side of Vienna’s Ringstrasse had been neutralized. Federal Chancellor **Engelbert Dollfuss**, who had been ruling by emergency decree since March 1933, said at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933: “This form of parliament and parliamentarianism, which has died, will not return.”<sup>281</sup> What his government was now attempting to establish in Austria as a “corporative state” was not only politically and financially supported by the coauthor of *Hundred Days*, but was also ideologically based on Mussolini’s Fascism as an “organised, centralised, authoritarian democracy,”<sup>282</sup> which was supposed to bundle the will of the people in a sovereign leader.

Fig. 65, p. 161

280 Promptbook *Hundert Tage*, pp. 56–57 [our trans]. In Herczeg’s translation, this passage reads: “The house should not stand against me and the French people... Let the French people come to me again, I will know how to lead them...” See Mussolini and Forzano: *Hundert Tage*, p. 96 [our trans.].

281 Cit. after “Unser Weg ist der einzige richtige!”, in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 4–5, here p. 4 [our trans.].

282 Mussolini: “The Doctrine of Fascism,” p. 23.

# 1.5 Reframing: “Anthem Chaos”



place Corner of Mariahilfer and Linzer Strasse  
 moment Singing the *Deutschlandlied*  
 space N 48.190367° | E 16.322840°  
 time 1932 a 133 d 11 h 30 min p. Chr.

II.10 The “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in  
 III.2.2 Vienna on May 14, 1933, was **filmed** for the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau*, the German edition of *Fox Movietone News*. At the end of  
 III.1.3 the rally in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace**, the surviving  
 recordings, with both audio and video intact,<sup>283</sup> show airplanes  
 of the Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) flying from the  
 Gloriette over the parterre to the palace building. The assem-  
 bled Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) members cheer and wave while  
 a military band plays the Austrian national anthem.<sup>284</sup> In the  
 III.2.1 &  
 Fig. 74, p. 186 next scenes of the newsreel, the ensuing **Home Guard parade**  
 along the Mariahilfer Strasse can be seen near the Technical  
 Museum, where National Socialists raise their arms in a Hitler  
 salute and sing the *Deutschlandlied*, evidently in protest against  
 the marching Homeland Protectors. The melody sounds the  
 same in both cases, but in Schönbrunn it is only instrumental,  
 whereas during the protests the following lyrics can be heard:  
 “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt!”  
 (literally, “Germany, Germany above all, above all else in the  
 world!”). How did it come to pass that at the “Turks Deliverance  
 Celebration” in Vienna on May 14, 1933, one and the same melody  
 was used for opposing aims, namely in support of the Austrian  
 state’s preservation and its annexation by the German Reich?

<sup>283</sup> See “Die Türkenbefreiungsfeier des österreichischen Heimatschutzes in Wien,” in: *Jahresschau 1933 der Bundespolizeidirektion in Wien. Eine Chronik im Laufbild*, 35 mm film, source: Filmarchiv Austria, JS 1933/8.

<sup>284</sup> As the planes cannot be heard, it is possible that the soundtrack was added later. However, a report by the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna from May 15, 1933, confirms that the national anthem was played at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” see Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, BKA-I, 148.459/33).

The immediate cause of this “anthem chaos” lay in political decisions made in Austria in late 1929, early 1930.<sup>285</sup> In truth, however, this question dates back to late-eighteenth-century Vienna, when Joseph Haydn was commissioned to compose a song of praise for the then emperor, Francis II. His piece, *Gott, erhalte den Kaiser* (“God Preserve the Emperor”), evolved with alternate lyrics into the Austrian imperial anthem, but also served in 1841 as the musical foundation for the *Lied der Deutschen* (“Song of the Germans”) by the German philologist and poet August Heinrich Hoffmann, who came from the north German village of Fallersleben, a song that would go on to be declared the national anthem of the Weimar Republic in 1922. In contrast, the Austrian chancellor, the Social Democrat Karl Renner, felt that the melody’s monarchical history made it an unsuitable symbol for a republican state, which is why he himself wrote an anthem for *Deutschösterreich* (“German-Austria”) in 1920 and had his friend Wilhelm Kienzl set it to music. Scarcely ten years later, the ruling Christian Social Party used a constitutional reform as an opportunity to officially introduce the former “Emperor’s Song” (*Kaiserslied*), now with new lyrics by the priest and poet Ottokar Kernstock, as the Austrian national anthem. Consequently, when Haydn’s traditional melody was played in Vienna in the early 1930s, it could have been praising three different political sovereigns: the Habsburg emperor, the German people, or the Austrian state.

“God Preserve the Emperor” was created at a time when the monarch certainly could have benefited from some divine assistance.<sup>286</sup> Even before Francis, the heir to the Habsburg throne, was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in July 1792, revolutionary France had declared war on him in April. The military conflicts dragged on for years, with victories and defeats on both sides, until the French army under **Napoleon Bonaparte** resoundingly prevailed over Austrian troops in northern Italy. These

III.1.4  
285 See “Hymnenchaos,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), February 14, 1930 (morning edition), pp. 1–2.

286 On the following, see Franz Grasberger: *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider 1968, pp. 11–12.

decisive battles were fought in 1796, the year when Count Franz Josef von Saurau, then the provincial president of Lower Austria, commissioned the “meritorious poet” Lorenz Leopold Haschka to write “a national song just like that of the English,” which would proclaim “to the whole world the people’s loyal allegiance to their good and righteous sovereign.”<sup>287</sup> While the song *God Save the King*, which had been sung in honor of British kings since the mid-eighteenth century, served as the model, the commissioned piece was probably also directed against the militant *Marseillaise*, which had originated with the declaration of war against Austria and had been the French national anthem since 1795.

Thematically, Haschka closely aligned his words with the English model, likewise calling on god to protect the monarch. Metrically, however, he did not abide by the three-quarter time of *God Save the King* with its mostly dactylic feet of one stressed and two unstressed syllables: “Send him victorious, / Happy and glorious,” etc.<sup>288</sup> Instead, for his lyrics, Haschka opted for the (double) ballad stanza then very common in German poetry, choosing the title *Gott, erhalte den Kaiser* (“God Preserve the Emperor”).<sup>289</sup>

*Gott! erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!  
Lange lebe Franz der Kaiser  
In des Glückes hellstem Glanz!  
Ihm erblühen Lorber-Reiser,  
Wo Er geht, zum Ehren-Kranz!  
Gott! erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!*

*God preserve our Emp'r'or Francis,  
Sov'reign ever good and great!  
Save, O save him from mischances  
In felicity and state!  
May his days be crown'd with glory,  
Laurel wreathes his pate may braid!  
God preserve our Emp'r'or Francis,  
Sov'reign ever good and great!*

287 Count Franz Josef von Saurau to the Count of Court Music (*Hofmusikgraf*) Moritz Dietrichstein in a letter from February 28, 1820, cit. after Grasberger: *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, p. 13 [our trans.].

288 Cit. after *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London), 15 (1745), p. 552.

289 On the form and prevalence of the German ballad stanza, see Horst Joachim Frank: *Handbuch der deutschen Strophenformen*, Tübingen: Francke 1993, pp. 180–187 and 621–626.

*Lass von Seiner Fahnen Spitzen  
Strahlen Sieg und Furchtbarkeit!  
Lass in Seinem Rathe sitzen  
Weisheit, Klugheit, Redlichkeit;  
Und mit Seiner Hoheit Blitzen  
Schalten nur Gerechtigkeit!  
Gott! erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!*

*Ströme deiner Gaben Fülle  
Über Ihn, Sein Haus und Reich!  
Brich der Bosheit Macht; enthülle  
Jeden Schelm- und Buben-Streich!  
Dein Gesetz sey stets Sein Wille;  
Dieser uns Gesetzen gleich!  
Gott! erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!*

*Froh erleb' Er Seiner Lande,  
Seiner Völker höchsten Flor!  
Seh' sie, Eins durch Bruder-Bande,  
Ragen allen Andern vor;  
Und vernehme noch am Rande  
Später Gruft der Enkel Chor:  
Gott! erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!<sup>290</sup>*

*From his glorious banners streaming,  
May success and plenty grow!  
In his councils brightly beaming,  
O may wisdom, prudence flow;  
Fill the hearts of his advisers  
With integrity and grace!  
God preserve our Emp'ror Francis,  
Sov'reign ever good and great!*

*All thy bounties good and gracious  
Pour on him, his house, and realm!  
And in mercy, plots audacious  
With confusion overwhelm!  
By thy law may he be guided,  
Our laws his will creates!  
God preserve our Emp'ror Francis,  
Sov'reign ever good and great!*

*May he see his countries flourish  
And his peoples crown'd with joy!  
Love fraternal may they nourish  
And all seeds of hate destroy!  
May he hear his offspring crying  
When on brink of distant grave:  
God preserve our Emp'ror Francis,  
Sov'reign ever good and great!<sup>291</sup>*

From a formal perspective, every stanza of the German original comprises eight so-called trochaic tetrameters, with an abab rhyme scheme and alternately stressed and unstressed line endings. That means that in the uneven verses there are

290 Cit. after the first print *Gott, erhalte den Kaiser!* Verfasset von Lorenz Leopold Haschka, In *Musik gesetzet von Joseph Haydn, Zum ersten Mahle abgesungen den 12. Februar, 1797*, source: Austrian National Library, Mus.Hs.16501.

291 Cit. after *Hymn for the Emperor Francis. Composed by Dr. Haydn & Sung at the public Theatres at Vienna in the manner of God Save Great George Our King in England. Set as a Duet & Chorus with a Piano Forte. Accompaniment by I.B. Cimador*, London: Monzani & Cimador [ca. 1800, trans. reworked], source: The British Library, Digital Store Tyson P.M.15.(13.).

four stressed and four unstressed syllables after one another, and in the even verses the last unstressed syllable is missing. In the refrain, the song's chorus, the words "Gott/God" and "Franz/Francis" are thus not only repeated, but also emphasized. This regular emphasis corresponds to the prayer-like nature of the lyrics, which ask god to protect Francis as the victorious, well-advised, and legitimate emperor. Although Count Saurau, the initiator, speaks of a "national song," it is not in fact about a nation living together according to its own laws. Rather, several "countries" and "peoples" are united under the monarchical sovereign, whose divinely inspired will is the law for his subjects: "By thy law may he be guided, / Our laws his will creates!" ("Dein Gesetz sey stets Sein Wille; / Dieser uns Gesetzen gleich!").

Fig. 66, p. 167

III.1.4 &  
Fig. 62, p. 154

Therefore, Haschka delivered what had been expected of him, namely a hymn to the emperor, realized in a lyrically familiar form that had been used, for example, by Friedrich Schiller in his *Ode to Joy*, published in 1786.<sup>292</sup> Between October 1796 and January 1797, Haschka's text was set to music by Joseph Haydn, who had heard *God Save the King* in England and had himself suggested the creation of a similar national song in Austria.<sup>293</sup> He was very fond of the result, his "**Emperor's Song**" (*Kaiserlied*), and not only did he vary the melody immediately in the "Kaiserquartett" ("Emperor's Quartet," op. 76, no. 3), but toward the end of his life he supposedly played it daily on the piano.<sup>294</sup> "God Preserve the Emperor" was first performed on the occasion of the twenty-ninth birthday of Francis II on February 12, 1797, at the **Hofburgtheater** in Vienna. The lyrics were distributed among the audience on handbills and sung to Haydn's score in the first interval of the opera performance. As the ministerial *Wiener Zeitung* reported ten days later, the "national song" had been written by the "most famous composer

292 Friedrich Schiller: "An die Freude," in: *Thalia* (Leipzig), 1/2 (1786), pp. 1–5. In 1985, the ode in Beethoven's setting was declared the anthem of the European Union.

293 See Thomas Leibnitz: "'Gott! erhalte...' Joseph Haydns Kaiserlied und die Hymnen Österreichs," in: Thomas Leibnitz (ed.): *Joseph Haydn. Gott erhalte. Schicksal einer Hymne*, Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2008, pp. 8–69, here pp. 17–21.

294 See Leibnitz: "'Gott! erhalte...,'" pp. 27–33.

*Langsam.*

Gott! er halte Franz den Kai-ser, Unsern guten Kai-ser Franz! Lange lebe Franz der Kai-ser In des Glücks hellstem Glanz! Ihm er blühnen Lorber = Rei-ser, wo Er geht, zum Ehren-Kranz! Gott! er halte Franz den Kai-ser, Unsern gu-ten Kai-ser Franz!

Fig. 66: First print of *Gott, erhalte den Kaiser* (“God Preserve the Emperor,” piano arrangement), lyrics by Lorenz Leopold Haschka, music by Joseph Haydn, premiered at the Hofburgtheater in Vienna on February 12, 1797. Source: Austrian National Library, Mus.Hs.16501.

of our age” and was received with enthusiasm by both the “dear sovereign” and his “loyal subjects.”<sup>295</sup>

*Gott erhalte* was created as an ode to the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. However, the song only became the official imperial anthem after **Francis II** had proclaimed the Austrian Empire in 1804, in light of Napoleon’s designation as Emperor of the French, and had abdicated as German emperor in 1806, in light of the founding of the Confederation of the Rhine by Napoleon. He dissolved the Holy Roman Empire and now reigned as **Francis I**, Emperor of Austria, the Habsburg crown lands. It was predominantly in 1809 that the *Gott erhalte* anthem was used officially, when the Austrian army under Archduke Charles, the emperor’s brother, first conquered the Napoleonic troops,

Fig. 67, p. 168

Fig. 68, p. 168

II.2

295

“Inländische Begebenheiten,” in: *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), February 22, 1797, pp. 537–541, here pp. 537–538 [our trans.].



Fig. 67: Francis II as Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation (1797).  
Source: Austrian National Library, PORT\_00048214\_01.



Fig. 68: Francis I as Emperor of Austria (ca. 1805). Source: Austrian National Library, PORT\_00048185\_02.

and then in 1814/15 at numerous events in the context of the Congress of Vienna, where Europe's national borders were redrawn after the abdication of Napoleon.<sup>296</sup> That the hymn was only adopted by the army in 1826, three decades after its creation, might be related to Haydn's solemn melody, which was not well suited as a battle cry. However, another reason is the lacking nationality of this multilingual army, which was "Austrian" in name only.<sup>297</sup>

After Francis I died in 1835, two new sets of lyrics were written for his son Ferdinand, but they both remained unpopular.<sup>298</sup> Then, under Emperor **Francis Joseph I**, the demand made by the writer Adalbert Stifter and others for the

296 See Grasberger: *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, pp. 58–60.

297 See Leibnitz: "Gott! erhalte...," pp. 36–37.

298 On this and the following, see Leibnitz: "Gott! erhalte...," pp. 41–49.

creation of generally applicable, permanent lyrics was finally met. The poet suggested by Stifter, namely Franz Grillparzer, reluctantly attempted the task, but even he was dissatisfied with the result. Ultimately, a draft by Johann Gabriel Seidl was chosen, at the time the curator of the imperial royal coin and antiquities collection, whose new “People’s Hymn” (*Volks-hymne*) was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on April 9, 1854. Aside from a variable additional stanza, Seidl’s text no longer honors the individual ruler but begins with the lines: “Gott erhalte, Gott beschütze / Unsern Kaiser, unser Land!” (literally, “God preserve, God protect / Our emperor, our country!”). At the end of the first stanza, the name of this country is uttered, though “Austria’s destiny” (“Österreichs Geschick”) remains closely tied to “the Habsburg throne” (“Habsburgs Throne”). The “Emperor’s Song” had thus evolved into a kind of family hymn, which quotes two Habsburg mottoes in the fourth stanza:

<i>Lasst uns fest zusammenhalten:</i>	<i>Let us stand together firmly:</i>
<i>In der Eintracht liegt die Macht;</i>	<i>Concord is so powerful;</i>
<i>Mit vereinter Kräfte Walten</i>	<i>Ruling with united forces</i>
<i>Wird das Schwerste leicht vollbracht.</i>	<i>Deeds are done just masterful.</i>
<i>Lasst uns Eins durch Brüderbande</i>	<i>Let us join fraternally and</i>
<i>Gleicher Ziel entgegengeh’n;</i>	<i>March together to one score;</i>
<i>Heil dem Kaiser; Heil dem Lande:</i>	<i>Hail the Emp’ror, hail the country;</i>
<i>Österreich wird ewig steh’n!</i>	<i>Austria forevermore!</i> <sup>299</sup>

Despite the title “People’s Hymn,” once again the emperor is at the center of both the lyrics and the country over which he rules by the grace of god. In keeping with Francis Joseph’s motto, *Viribus unitis*, Austria’s heterogeneous forces should be united in the sovereign monarch. “Austria,” though, is the name of a territory whose borders changed from century to century. Yet the House of Habsburg would last “forevermore,” at least in the common interpretation of the symbolic device AEIOU as *Austria erit in orbe ultima*, which Frederick III had inscribed on his property in the fifteenth century. Seidl’s hymn

299 Cit. after “Volkshymne,” in: *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), April 9, 1854, p. 2 [our trans.].

text proved as enduring as Habsburg rule: it remained the official lyrics until the end of the monarchy in the fall of 1918.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, yet another text was sung to Haydn's melody, though this version pertained less to a "father of the land" (*Landesvater*) and more to the German "fatherland" (*Vaterland*). These lyrics had originated on the then British island of Helgoland in the North Sea in 1841, where the German philologist and poet August Heinrich Hoffmann was spending his summer vacation. Hoffmann, who called himself "von Fallersleben" after the village where he was born, had been a professor of German language and literature at the University of Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland) since 1830 and had just published his *Unpolitische Lieder* ("Unpolitical Songs"). In the first volume, published in 1840, there is a poem called "The German Customs Union" (*Der deutsche Zollverein*), which begins with a list of duty-free wares:

<i>Schwefelhölzer, Fenchel, Bricken,</i>	<i>Wooden plates, old rags, and matches,</i>
<i>Kühe, Käse, Krapp, Papier,</i>	<i>Pigment, paper, salt, and steers,</i>
<i>Schinken, Scheeren, Stiefel, Wicken,</i>	<i>Ham and scissors, boots and vetches,</i>
<i>Wolle, Seife, Garn und Bier;</i>	<i>Woolens, cheeses, soaps, and beers;</i>
<i>Pfefferkuchen, Lumpen, Trichter,</i>	<i>Fennel, funnels, gingerbread, and</i>
<i>Nüsse, Tabak, Gläser, Flachs,</i>	<i>Nuts, tobacco, glasses, flax,</i>
<i>Leder, Salz, Schmalz, Puppen, Lichter,</i>	<i>Leather, lights, lard, puppets, thread, and</i>
<i>Rettig, Rips, Raps, Schnaps, Lachs, Wachs!</i>	<i>Radish, rep, rape, schnapps, and wax!</i> <sup>300</sup>

Fig. 72, p. 176

The second stanza thanks the listed merchandise for tying a stronger bond around the "German fatherland" than the sovereign princes of the **German Confederation**. The poem mocks this association of states forged in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna, but does so not merely thematically, but also through its metric structure, which corresponds to that of the hymn for the Austrian emperor, who held the nominal presiding power (*Präsidialmacht*) of the German Confederation. Although Hoffmann von Fallersleben lost his professorship due to his *Unpolitische Lieder*, he soon gained fame as a poet

300 Hoffmann von Fallersleben: "Der deutsche Zollverein," in: *Unpolitische Lieder*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe 1840, p. 46 [our trans.].

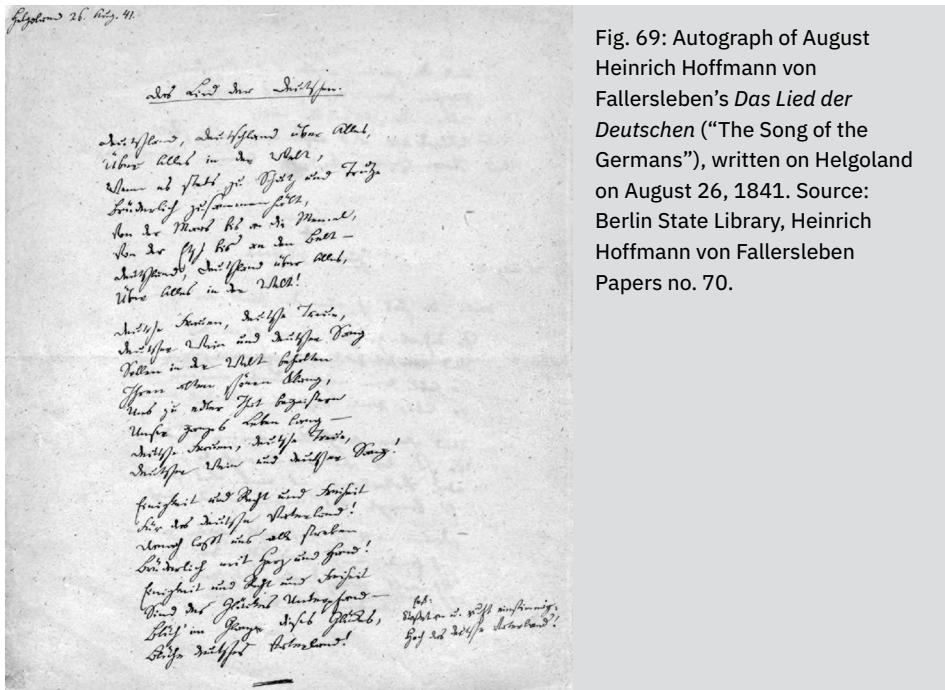


Fig. 69, p. 171

and singer.<sup>301</sup> Another commercial success was *Das Lied der Deutschen* (“The Song of the Germans”), written in late August 1841 on Helgoland, which he immediately published with Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg.<sup>302</sup> The title page of this first edition expressly notes (originally in German, here translated): “Melody after Joseph Haydn’s: ‘God preserve our Emp’ror Francis, / Sov’reign ever good and great!’” Austria, where Ferdinand I had reigned since 1835, does not exist in the *Deutschlandlied* (“Song of Germany”), which reworks the hymn of the last Roman-German emperor into an anthem for a future German nation.

301 See Bernt Ture von zur Mühlen: *Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Biographie*. Göttingen: Wallstein 2010, pp. 191–234.

302 See Hoffmann von Fallersleben: *Mein Leben. Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen. Dritter Band.* Hannover: Carl Rümpler 1868, pp. 211–212.

*Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,  
Über Alles in der Welt,  
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze  
Brüderlich zusammenhält,  
Von der Maas bis an die Memel,  
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt –  
Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,  
Über Alles in der Welt!*

*Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,  
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang  
Sollen in der Welt behalten  
Ihren alten schönen Klang,  
Uns zu edler That begeistern  
Unser ganzes Leben lang –  
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,  
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang!*

*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit  
Für das deutsche Vaterland!  
Danach lasst uns alle streben  
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!  
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit  
Sind des Glückes Unterpfand –  
Blüh' im Glanze dieses Glückes,  
Blühe, deutsches Vaterland!*

*Germany 'bove ev'rything, yes,  
Ev'rything within the world,  
If she always stands together  
For protection unreserved,  
From the Maas right to the Memel,  
Adige up to the Belt –  
Germany 'bove ev'rything, yes,  
Ev'rything within the world!*

*German women, German loy'ly,  
German wine and German song,  
All around the world they shall be  
Heard with voices loud and strong,  
And inspire noble actions  
From the youth and ev'ryone –  
German women, German loy'ly,  
German wine and German song!*

*Unity and right and freedom  
For the German fatherland!  
For this goal let's strive together  
Brotherly with heart and hand!  
Unity and right and freedom  
Shall be our fortune's stand –  
Flourish, thrive right in this fortune,  
Flourish, German fatherland!<sup>303</sup>*

From a rhetorical perspective, Hoffmann's text begins with an ellipsis and hyperbole. In other words, the formulation of the first two lines is incomplete and exaggerated. It is not clear whether Germany is *loved* or *placed* above everything. Are these lines intended to express longing for a German nation state or claim its supremacy? The following lines do not provide any more clarity, because both patriotism and national superiority can depend on the people uniting fraternally to defend their country. Regarding the exaggeration, the word

303 Cit. after Hoffmann von Fallersleben: *Das Lied der Deutschen. Arrangirt für die Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte oder der Guitarre*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, September 1, 1841 [reprint from 1923, our trans.], source: Austrian National Library, MS9451-4°.

“everything” denotes either that which is important to a person or, quite differently, the other nations of the world. According to how the two lines are interpreted, they introduce either a patriotic or a nationalistic poem.

The biography of the liberally minded author rather substantiates the patriotic reading. However, that the opening lines presumably allude to the following dictum, speaks for the nationalist interpretation: “Austria above everything, if she only will!” (“Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will!”). It dates back to a **book** by the cameralist Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk that was published in 1684 with the full title: “Austria Above Everything, If She Only Will. That Is: Well-Meaning Suggestion How, with the Aid of a Thriving National Econ-

omy, the Imperial Hereditary Land Might before Long Rise above All Other States in Europe / and More Than Some / Become Independent of Them.”<sup>304</sup> In the year after Vienna’s liberation from the Ottoman siege, the text recommends that **Leopold I**, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, make his hereditary lands economically independent. The aim of this autarky was Austria’s political assertion over

Fig. 70, p. 173



Fig. 70: Title page of the book *Austria Above Everything If She Only Will* (1684) by Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk. Source: Austrian National Library, 35.Z.59.

Fig. 78, p. 196

304 Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk: *Oesterreich Über alles wann es nur will. Das ist: wohlmeinender Fürschlag Wie mittelst einer wolbestellten Lands-Oeconomie die Kayserl. Erbland in kurzem über alle andere Staat von Europa zu erheben / und mehr als einiger derselben / von denen andern Independent zu machen*, [without place and publisher] 1684.



Fig. 71: Propaganda poster for the Fatherland Front (*Vaterländische Front*), founded as the Austrian state party in May 1933, from summer 1933. The text reads: “Austria above everything! Our Federal Chancellor Dr. Dollfuss calls: Those who love and want to protect Austria join the Fatherland Front! Registration at Vienna I, Bäckerstrasse 13.” Source: Austrian National Library, PLA16304627.

Fig. 71, p. 174

absolutist France under Louis XIV. For Heinrich Gerstenberg, who edited Hoffmann's works and in 1933 published a study on the *Deutschlandlied*, Hörnigk's book comprised the “cradle of our German national anthem.”<sup>305</sup> However, the book's title was also claimed by Austrian Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, who at the end of his speech at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933, quoted “a simple, old German word”: “Austria above everything, if she only will!”<sup>306</sup> The line became the catchphrase of the **Fatherland Front**—the

305 Heinrich Gerstenberg: *Deutschland über alles! Vom Sinn und Werden der deutschen Volkshymne*, Munich: Ernst Reinhardt 1933, pp. 11–18 [our trans.]. In the foreword, the author expresses “the pleasing gratification to see this ‘Song of the Germans’ snowball into the great German national movement of the present and to be able to steer its history to this awakening of the nation” (before p. 1 [our trans.]); he is referring here to the National Socialist “seizure of power.”

306 Cit. after “Unser Weg ist der einzige richtige!”, in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 4–5, here p. 5 [our trans.].

Austrian state party under Dollfuss' authoritarian leadership, the foundation of which was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* one week after the mass rally in Schönbrunn.<sup>307</sup>

So Hoffmann's text loves or places Germany—instead of Austria—“above everything.” But what is meant by “Germany”? The territory of the yearned-for nation state is defined in the first stanza with reference to four rivers or waters: “From the Maas right to the Memel, / Adige up to the Belt” (“Von der Maas bis an die Memel, / Von der Etsch bis an den Belt”). According to the anthem, therefore, this “Germany” ranged roughly from the Prussian-Netherlandish (Maas) to the Prussian-Lithuanian (Memel) border and from the Baltic Sea (Belt) to South Tirol (Adige). Especially in the east, the territory of the *Deutschlandlied* extends far beyond that of the **German Confederation** in 1841. What Hoffmann had in mind was clearly not the existing political boundaries, but rather the border regions of the German language.<sup>308</sup> Influenced by Romantic literature and the work of the Brothers Grimm, his philological studies were supposed to help document Germanity.<sup>309</sup> Hoffmann's research into German folksong had a formative influence on his poems. From this German philological perspective, Austria, whose German-speaking territories were included in the “Song of the Germans,” was not able to form its own nation state.

The National Socialists, who protested against the Home Guard parade in Vienna on May 14, 1933, sang the first stanza of the *Deutschlandlied* quite in the sense of a Greater German nation, which had been called for as long ago as the Revolution of 1848. However, whereas national liberalism had

307 See “Hinein in die vaterländische Front!,” in: *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), May 21, 1933, p. 3.

308 See Herbert Blume: “Maas, Memel, Etsch und Belt. Die Gewässer in Hoffmanns *Lied der Deutschen* und die Grenzen des ‘Vaterlands,’” in: Marek Hatub and Kurt Schuster (eds.): *Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Internationales Symposium Wrocław/Breslau 2003*, Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte 2005, pp. 247–265.

309 See Gabriele Henkel: “Wie freu ich mich der hellen Tage!” Ergänzende Anmerkungen zum Thema ‘Hoffmann und die Romantik,’ in: Bettina Greffrath, Gabriele Henkel, Christin Langermann (eds.): *Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Dichter, Germanist und singender Freiheitskämpfer*, Hildesheim: Olms 2015, pp. 36–43.

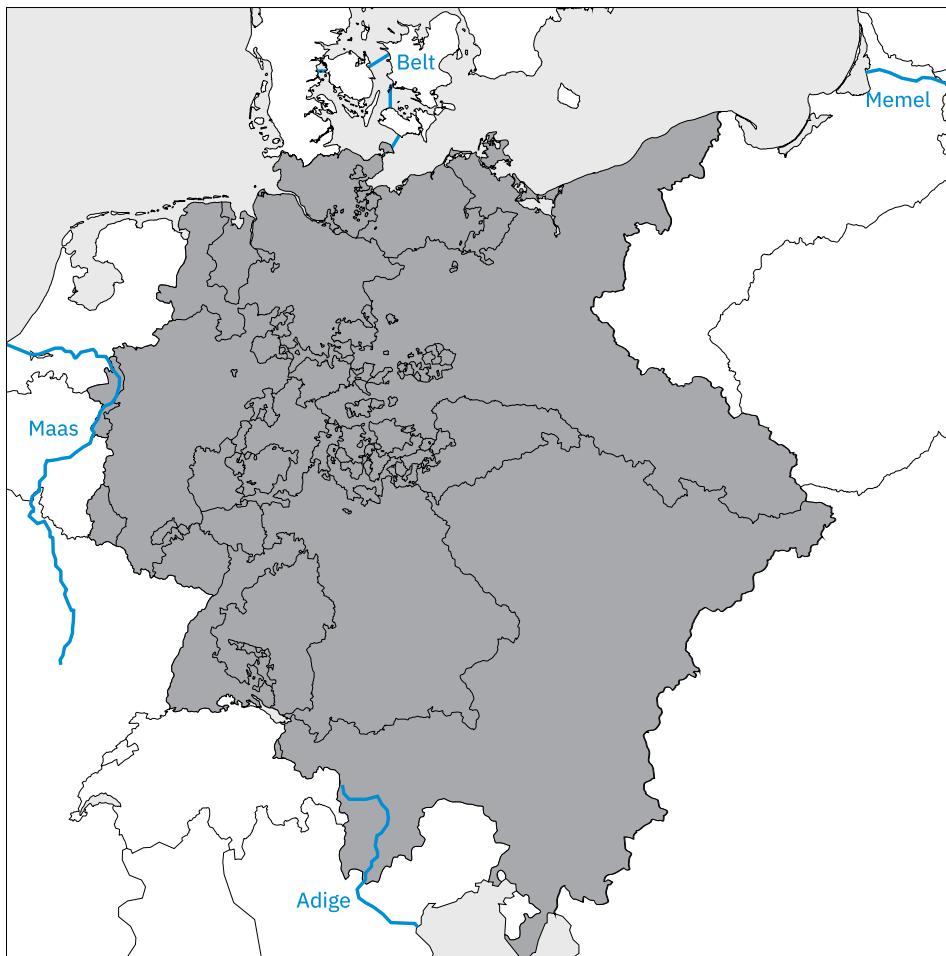


Fig. 72: The territory of the German Confederation in 1841 with the rivers or waters named as the border regions of Germany in Hoffmann von Fallersleben's *Lied der Deutschen*, represented by Stefan Amann based on open data from Wikipedia.

been advocating “unity and right and freedom,” as it says in Hoffmann’s text, the supporters of the Nazi regime could hardly appeal to the rule of law and civil liberties. When in 1922 the president of the German Reich, the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, declared the “Song of the Germans” the national anthem of the Weimar Republic, he referred explicitly to the third stanza, which has also been sung as the national

anthem of the Federal Republic of Germany since 1952.<sup>310</sup> In contrast, the Nazi regime combined the first stanzas of the *Deutschlandlied* and the *Horst-Wessel-Lied*, the NSDAP's martial party anthem. It was in this order that the songs were sung at the National Socialist "Turks Deliverance Celebration" on

II.7 May 13, 1933, at Vienna's **Engelmann Arena**, an event that was directed against the rally held by the Austrian Homeland Protection the following day.<sup>311</sup>

At the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, the band also played Haydn's melody. Which lyrics the assembled Home Guard members sang to it, however, is unclear. Whether by force of habit or out of conviction, many Homeland Protectors might still have sung Seidl's verses from 1854, which had honored the Habsburg emperor until the end of World War I. It is quite probable that only a minority would have known by heart the new lyrics by Ottokar Kernstock, which were declared the national anthem in 1929. Besides, it was not the words that were important, but the fact that it was Haydn's song that was now able to ring out again, rather than the unofficial anthem *Deutschösterreich* ("German-Austria") from 1920, which had been composed by Wilhelm Kienzl. This almost ten-year interlude harked back to Karl Renner's decision not to use the melody of the "Emperor's Song" for the newly founded republic.<sup>312</sup> However, as the federal army needed an anthem to swear in the troops, the Social Democratic state chancellor himself wrote a text, which extolled "German-Austria" as a "glorious country" and "hardworking people."<sup>313</sup> Kienzl set his friend's not especially poetic verses to music, though by his own account he did so unwillingly because his composition had to replace "Haydn's immortal melody."<sup>314</sup>

310 See Kathrin Schellenberg: "Das Lied der Deutschen – Geschichte und Rezeption," in: Bettina Greffrath, Gabriele Henkel, Christin Langermann (eds.): *Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Dichter, Germanist und singender Freiheitskämpfer*, Hildesheim: Olms 2015, pp. 215–233, here pp. 221 and 227–229.

311 See "Überwältigende Feier in der Engelmann-Arena," in: *Deutsch-österreichische Tages-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 2.

312 See Leibnitz: "Gott! erhalte...," pp. 59–61.

313 Cit. after "Die neue deutschösterreichische Hymne," in: *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung* (Vienna), June 28, 1920, p. 2 [our trans.].

314 Wilhelm Kienzl cit. after Grasberger: *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, p. 99 [our trans.].

His doubts were justified, since Renner and Kienzl's anthem proved neither generally known nor popular.

As a result of the discussion of state symbols in the context of the constitutional reform of 1929, in mid-December the cabinet approved a motion by the Christian Social Party to adopt Haydn's melody with lyrics by Ottokar Kernstock as the Austrian national anthem.<sup>315</sup> Renner's song had never officially been decreed, which is why the ministers responsible could simply give according instructions to their departments. Nonetheless, the corresponding decree by the Ministry of Education from January 31, 1930, was thwarted by the president of Vienna's education authority, the Social Democrat Otto Glöckel, with his directive to the schools of Vienna to sing the first and third stanzas of the *Deutschlandlied*. Glöckel's attempt "to promote the national and republican education of the young"<sup>316</sup> in this way was in conformity with the **Social Democratic party line** since the fall of 1918, according to which "German-Austria" should join the Weimar Republic. Another decree by the minister of education then specified that while there were generally no objections to be made to the *Deutschlandlied*, at official events exclusively Kernstock's lyrics were to be used.<sup>317</sup>

The new verses for the old hymn had been created immediately after the end of World War I. Inspired by "patriotic fellow countrymen,"<sup>318</sup> the German Nationalist poet Ottokar Kernstock, who lived as a Catholic priest in Styria, wrote a poem to the tune of Haydn's "Emperor's Song," which was distributed on a handbill in Graz in 1919. In the original version, each of the stanzas ends in the line: "God with thee, German-Austria!" ("Gott mit dir, Deutschösterreich!").<sup>319</sup> For the version printed in his last volume of poetry *Der redende Born* in 1922, Kernstock changed not only "German-Austria"

315 See Johannes Steinbauer: *Land der Hymnen. Eine Geschichte der Bundeshymnen Österreichs*, Vienna: Sonderzahl 1997, pp. 75–78.

316 Decree of Vienna's education authority from February 12, 1930, cit. after "Die Haydn-Melodie in den Schulen," in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), February 13, 1930 (morning edition), p. 7 [our trans.].

317 See Steinbauer: *Land der Hymnen*, p. 98.

318 Ottokar Kernstock in a letter from August 26, 1927, cit. after Grasberger: *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, p. 121 [our trans.].

319 Cit. after Steinbauer: *Land der Hymnen*, p. 58 [our trans.].

to “my Austria” in keeping with the political circumstances, but also cut the third stanza, which started with the lines: “Eastern land you have been called and / From the East there comes the light” (“Osterland bis du geheissen, / Und vom Osten kommt das Licht”).<sup>320</sup> As the conservative government did not want to associate the Austrian state with the “Bolshevist” East, the cabinet expressly declared only the “first, second, and fourth stanzas” the lyrics of the national anthem.<sup>321</sup>

*Sei gesegnet ohne Ende,  
Heimaterde wunderhold!  
Freundlich schmücken dein Gelände  
Tannengrün und Ährengold.  
Deutsche Arbeit, ernst und ehrlich,  
Deutsche Liebe, zart und weich –  
Vaterland, wie bist du herrlich,  
Gott mit dir, mein Österreich!*

*Keine Willkür, keine Knechte!  
Off'ne Bahn für jede Kraft!  
Gleiche Pflichten, gleiche Rechte!  
Frei die Kunst und Wissenschaft!  
Starken Mutes, festen Blickes,  
Trotzend jedem Schicksalsstreich,  
Steig' empor den Pfad des Glückes,  
Gott mit dir, mein Österreich!*

*Lasst, durch keinen Zwist geschieden,  
Uns nach einem Ziele schau'n!  
Lasst in Eintracht und in Frieden  
Uns am Heil der Zukunft bau'n!  
Uns'res Volkes Jugend werde  
Ihren starken Ahnen gleich!  
Sei gesegnet Heimaterde!  
Gott mit dir, mein Österreich!*

*Bless'd be everlasting, you  
Wonderful and dear homeland!  
Green of fir and gold of corn fields  
Span thy country sweet and grand.  
German labor, true and earnest,  
German love, so singular –  
Fatherland, how blissful thou art,  
God with thee, my Austria!*

*Neither tyranny nor slav'ry!  
Open way for every strength!  
Equal rights and equal duties!  
Free the arts and thoughts at length!  
Sturdy spirits, steady gazes,  
Brave and full of character,  
Climb the ladder of good fortune,  
God with thee, my Austria!*

*Let's, by no discord divided,  
Focus on a single goal!  
Let's in unity and peaceful  
Build our future as a whole!  
Our people's offspring ought to  
Reach their fathers' gloria!  
Bless'd be our native soil, O  
God with thee, my Austria!<sup>322</sup>*

320 Cit. after Steinbauer: *Land der Hymnen*, p. 58 [our trans.].

321 See the minutes of the Austrian government's cabinet meeting from December 13, 1929, in the Austrian State Archives (ÖStA/AdR, MRang, MR 1. Rep, MRP no. 603, pp. 21–23) [our trans.].

322 Ottokar Kernstock: “Österreichische Volkshymne,” in: *Der redende Born*, Graz: Leykam 1922, pp. 113–114 [our trans., emphasis in original].

Kernstock's verses read like a "mixture of 'Gott erhalte' and the *Deutschlandlied*."<sup>323</sup> No longer is the emperor blessed, but the "native soil" ("Heimaterde"), which was called "German homeland" ("Deutsche Heimat") in the first version of the poem.<sup>324</sup> "German" is a descriptor also applied to the "labor" and "love" of the people who live in this "fatherland." It is given the name "Austria" but is described as part of a German national community. That it could not be called "German-Austria," was set out under international law in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919, which also laid down **the borders of the newly created state**.<sup>325</sup> "Austria" was now no longer a monarchy, but a democratic republic, whose merits are highlighted by the anthem's second stanza. Although the third stanza reminds the reader or singer of the country's history, with its exemplary forefathers, it calls on its youth to recognize and work together to establish "our Austria constructed in the retort of the dictated peace, no, our crippled Austria," as the Christian Social *Reichspost* phrased it.<sup>326</sup>

III.1.2 After Haydn's melody had been created as an emperor's hymn, Hoffmann von Fallersleben reworked the song as a national anthem. By contrast, Kernstock wrote the lyrics for a state anthem, whose historical and cultural references raise awareness of the mutable nature of the word "Austria." Does it denote the property of a ruling dynasty, the sub-territory of an ethnic community, or an area bounded by international law? That the musical foundation of the anthem enabled all these interpretations became apparent not only at the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" on May 14, 1933, but also five years later, when the official validity period of Kernstock's verses ended. Under pressure from the Nazi regime, Federal Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg announced his resignation on the evening of March 11, 1938, and closed his public address on

323 Gerald Stieg: *Sein oder Schein. Die Österreich-Idee von Maria Theresia bis zum Anschluss*, Vienna: Böhlau 2016, p. 47 [our trans.].

324 Cit. after Steinbauer: *Land der Hymnen*, p. 58 [our trans.].

325 See "Staatsvertrag von Saint-Germain-en-Laye vom 10. September 1919," in: *Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich* (StGBi.), 90/303 (July 21, 1920), pp. 995–1245.

326 "Sei gesegnet ohne Ende!," in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), December 22, 1929, p. 4 [our trans.].

the radio “with a German word and a heartfelt wish: God save Austria!”<sup>327</sup> His supporters bolstered his speech by shouting “Austria!,” whereupon the National Socialists present in the Federal Chancellery struck up the *Deutschlandlied*. In order to interrupt their singing, Schuschnigg’s brother Arthur, who was in charge of the concerts of phonograph recordings at *Radio Wien*, played an instrumental version of the German-Austrian anthem, namely the second movement of Haydn’s “Emperor’s Quartet.” Whether they witnessed a passing or an awakening was left to the listeners themselves to decide.<sup>328</sup>

327 Cit. after “Letzte Rundfunkansprache als Österreichischer Bundeskanzler von Kurt Schuschnigg am 11. März 1938” [our trans.], audiotape (AEG), source: Österreichische Mediathek, 99-38002\_k02.

328 On these particular events in Vienna on March 11, 1938, see Franz Danemann: “Der 11. März 1938 in Wien,” in: Franz Danemann (ed.): *Finis Austriae. Österreich, März 1938*, Vienna: Europaverlag 1978, pp. 55–71, here p. 69, and Rudolf Henz: “Der März 1938. Die letzten Tage der RAVAG. Ein Dokument,” in: *morgen – Kulturzeitschrift aus Niederösterreich*, 2/3 (1978), pp. 29–32, here p. 32.