

# How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes

SPACE	LIMITED
TIME	FINITE
VALUE	RANKED
PERSPECTIVE	PANORAMA
NAVIGATION	PANNING

## PARADE

2.1

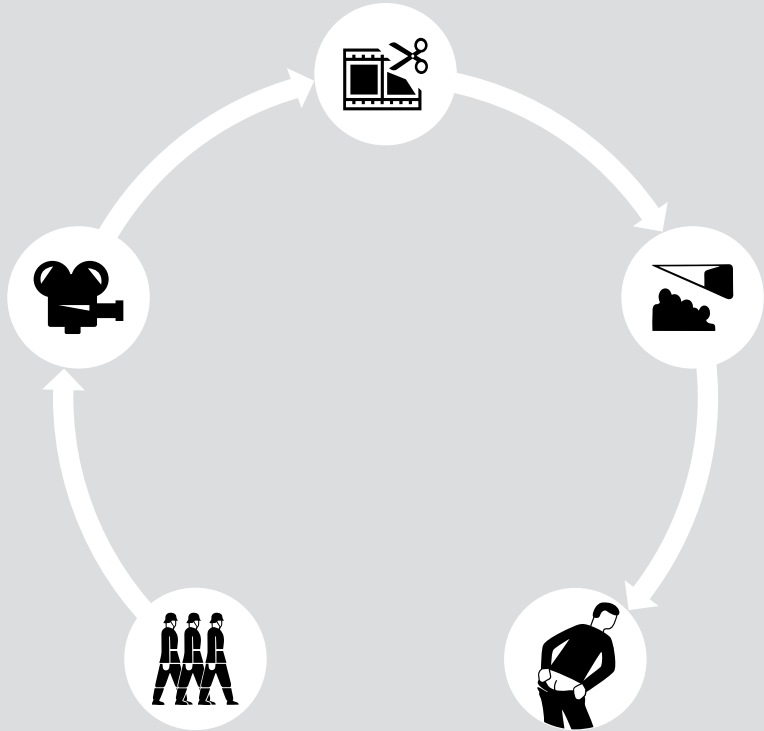
The “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in Vienna on May 14, 1933, was organized by the Austrian Homeland Protection. After the rally in Schönbrunn, Home Guard members from all over the country marched along an imperial route into the center of “Red Vienna.”

## CAMERA

2.2

There are several film recordings of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” The sound films derive from the German edition of *Fox Movietone News* and were taken with a Bell & Howell 35 mm camera—an upgraded version of the model 2709.

Fig. 73: The ranked network of the mediation “How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes” 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.



### MONTAGE

2.3

The *N.S. Sound Image Report No. 2*, issued in summer 1933 by the NSDAP's propaganda headquarters in Berlin, deals with the affairs in Vienna on May 13 and 14, 1933, and manipulates the actual events in terms of not only the film's content, but also their temporal order.

### CINEMA

2.4

On the weekend of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” the feature film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* by Fritz Lang was screened in eight movie theaters in Vienna, among them the UFA Ton Kino at Taborstrasse 8, which had opened as the Central Kino in the auditorium of Hotel Central in 1916.

### EXPOSURE

2.5

When on Saturday, May 13, 1933, German Nazi politicians drove from Aspern airfield into Vienna's city center, some inhabitants of the Lassalle Hof showed them their exposed buttocks. How can this protest gesture be interpreted in terms of its cultural history?

## 2.1 Parade: March on Vienna



place	Schwarzenbergplatz
moment	Review of Home Guard troops
space	Start
time	End

II.10 &  
Fig. 28, p. 79

The “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in Vienna on May 14, 1933, was held by a paramilitary organization, which was composed of regional Home Guards (*Heimwehren*) and from 1931 called itself the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Österreichischer Heimatschutz*). The Habsburg Monarchy had collapsed at the end of World War I and the new **Republic of (German-)Austria** was still a fragile state. “We had heard of the soviet dictatorship in Hungary and Bavaria,” one of the first Home Guard members explained retrospectively, “and didn’t know how things would pan out, so we prepared for all eventualities.”<sup>329</sup> In 1923 the associations in the western provinces joined forces as the so-called “Alpine Club” (*Alpenklub*) and elected the member of the Tyrolean provincial parliament Richard Steidle their chairman. Four years later, Steidle was also appointed the first federal leader of the Austrian Home Guards.<sup>330</sup>

Fig. 43, p. 119

Fig. 74, p. 186

This federal structure was reflected in the “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” to which **Home Guard members from all parts of Austria** traveled by chartered trains. Some formations wore their regional dress, but many abided by the instructions for the rally that had been published by the federal leadership and wore the green windbreaker that had served as the Home Guard uniform since 1927—together with a Tyrolean hat

329 Cit. after Walter Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr. Eine unwiderstehliche Volksbewegung?*, Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1985, p. 35 [our trans.].

330 See Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, pp. 35 and 42.

complete with grouse feather.<sup>331</sup> What the Homeland Protectors viewed as an expression of their down-to-earth attitude was considered by their political opponents, namely the Social Democrats, proof of just how provincial and backward the “rooster tails” (*Hahnenschwänzler*) were.<sup>332</sup> Like the Homeland Protection in general, the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” was intended to have a military quality. This being said, the ordinary participants in the parade were unarmed, and it could not be claimed that they had had professional combat training. While the first Home Guards had been founded by former soldiers who had equipped themselves with ex-army weapons, the military training of later, younger members was largely perfunctory. This was an organization of volunteers, meaning the men could take part in the gatherings and exercises, but they were not obliged to do so.<sup>333</sup>

- III.1.1 **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg** attempted to further the militarization of the Homeland Protection by fielding exemplary Home Guard troops in his homeland, the Mühlviertel in Upper Austria. With the fortune that he had inherited after his father’s death in 1927, Starhemberg armed some “ranger battalions” (*Jägerbataillone*) and marched through towns and cities with his men to appeal to the public. From a political perspective, his investments paid off; after all, he was appointed federal leader of the Austrian Home Guards in 1930. However, Starhemberg had incurred such debts in the process that he had to temporarily stand down from office. From 1932, funding
- III.1.4 came from **Benito Mussolini**, who had supported the Home Guards with money and weapons as early as 1927/28. It was also the Italian prime minister who paid for the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933, which was supposed to
- III.3.4 be orchestrated as a march on “**Red Vienna**.”<sup>334</sup>

331 See Arthur Karg-Bebenburg: *Weisungen für die Türkenbefreiungs-Gedenkfeier am 14. Mai 1933 in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichischer Heimatschutzverband 1933, p. 4.

332 See, for example, “Kein Aufmarschverbot für die Hahnenschwänzler!,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 3.

333 See Wiltschegg: *Die Heimwehr*, pp. 288–295.

334 See Lothar Höbelt: *Die Heimwehren und die österreichische Politik 1927–1936. Vom politischen “Kettenhund” zum “Austro-Fascismus”?*, Graz: Ares 2016, pp. 76, 185, 254–256, 271–272.

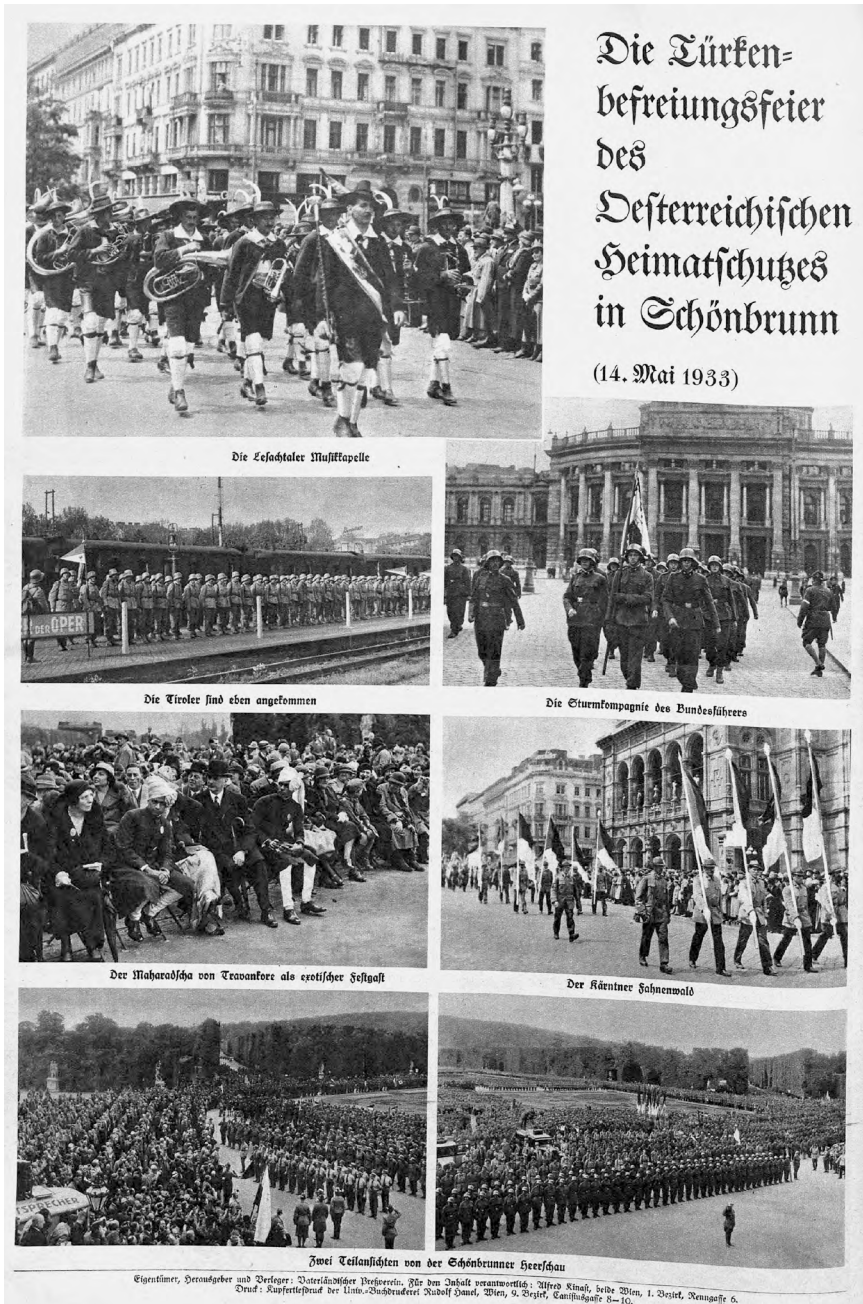


Fig. 74: Photo report on the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” held by the Austrian Homeland Protection in Vienna on May 14, 1933, printed in *Österreichische Heimat-schutzzeitung* (Vienna), 2/26 (July 1, 1933), supplement “Wehrfront im Bild,” p. 4. Source: Austrian National Library, 633589.

Whereas the Homeland Protection's own press spoke of over 40,000 men having taken part in the rally, the number of participants was estimated at under 20,000 in the newspapers of the opposition.<sup>335</sup> In view of the fact that it was a military event, but only around 35,000 people were members of the armed units of the Austrian Homeland Protection in 1933,<sup>336</sup> the number 40,000 does indeed seem too optimistic. However, the photographs and films of the parade do confirm **participation on a massive scale**, which probably surpassed the expectations of the federal leadership and their political opponents alike. As a thematic framework, Starhemberg—inspired by his **aristocratic family history**—had chosen Vienna's liberation from the Ottoman siege in 1683, the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of which would actually only fall in mid-September 1933. Besides, the speeches at the rally emphasized the *current* front lines, against National Socialism on the one hand, which was threatening Austrian sovereignty, but primarily against Social Democracy and the liberal worldview as a whole.<sup>337</sup>

Fig. 56, p. 143

Fig. 38, p. 107

This positioning was in keeping with Mussolini's demands of the policies implemented by Austrian Federal Chancellor **Engelbert Dollfuss**, whose cabinet had been ruling by emergency decree since early March 1933. Already on March 24, pre-censorship was imposed on the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the main organ of Austrian Social Democracy, and the Republican Protection League (*Republikanischer Schutzbund*), the Social Democratic counterpart to the Home Guards, was disbanded one week later.<sup>338</sup> The ban on parades, which had prohibited the Viennese Social Democrats' traditional Labor Day Parade on May 1, was repealed for the "Turks Deliverance Celebration"

Fig. 65, p. 161

335 See, for example, "Riesentriumph des Heimatschutzes!" in: *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 2, vs. "Der Spiessrutenlauf von Starhembergs Völkerbund," in: *Deutschösterreichische Tages-Zeitung* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, p. 1.

336 See Wiltshchegg: *Die Heimwehr*, p. 292.

337 See, for example, *Wiener Mittagsblatt* (Vienna), May 15, 1933, pp. 3–5.

338 See "Die Arbeiterpresse unter Vorzensur," in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), March 26, 1933, pp. 1–2; "Der Schutzbund aufgelöst," in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), April 1, 1933, p. 1.

with the justification that it was a particularly patriotic event.<sup>339</sup> In contrast to Mussolini's "March on Rome" from 1922, it was therefore not about state power, which had long been in the hands of the conservative and increasingly authoritarian parties, but rather about a "relief of Vienna," a liberation of the capital from usurpers who were attempting to establish a model socialist region there. A farmer from Lower Austria who had taken part in the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" noted in his chronicle:

*Who would have thought it possible that the red heartland of Vienna would experience something like this. Ten years ago, no one would have been able to go to Vienna in his Home Guard jacket; only the reds ruled the streets of Vienna back then. But it was a beautiful omen of a different time when the peaceful citizen once again has his rights.*<sup>340</sup>

The battle against the "reds," who had ostensibly been working toward a proletarian revolution since the end of the monarchy and been occupying Vienna City Hall, was a driving force for the Austrian Home Guards from the outset. Alleged evidence of these dangers was provided by a passage from the program of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, which had been adopted in Linz in 1926 and 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."<sup>341</sup> Opposition to the supposedly imminent "dictatorship of the proletariat" was offered in the form of a pledge by the Home Guards, which was declared during a leaders' conference in Korneuburg, Lower Austria, in May 1930. The so-called "Korneuburg Oath" (*Korneuburger*

339 See "Ausnahmen vom Aufmarschverbot statthaft," in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 1.

340 Personal chronicle (vol. 1: 1906–1937, p. 100 [our trans.]) by Franz Bauer, a farmer from Neukirchen an der Wild in Lower Austria, source: Collection of Biographical Records (University of Vienna).

341 Cit. after "Das 'Linzener 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.].

*Eid*) repudiated “Western democratic parliamentarism” and called for the establishment of an authoritarian corporative state, which was generally understood as an avowal of Fascism.<sup>342</sup>

The Homeland Protection was represented by its political party, the Homeland Block (*Heimatblock*), in the federal government formed by Engelbert Dollfuss in May 1932. Alongside Guido Jakoncig, who served as trade minister from the outset, Vienna’s Home Guard leader Emil Fey was appointed state secretary of public safety in fall 1932 and security minister on May 10, 1933, i.e., four days before the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.”

The federal chancellor’s Christian Social Party was increasingly authoritarian and just as right-wing as the peasant Rural Federation (*Bäuerlicher Landbund*), the third coalition partner, with the difference that the Homeland Block—and the **Homeland Protection in general**—openly advocated (Austro-) Fascism. “Away with parliament—a dictatorship is needed!” demanded Federal Leader Starhemberg on February 20, 1933, during a speech in Vienna’s Konzerthaus, claiming “that the ideas of Fascism alone are capable of saving the world.”<sup>343</sup> The possibility for this radical political change opened up as early as the beginning of the following month, when the federal



Fig. 75: Propaganda poster by the Austrian Homeland Protection from 1933. The text reads: “Austria for the Austrians / this is what Starhemberg wants—this is what the Homeland Protection wants!” Source: Austrian National Library, PLA16311227.

Fig. 75, p. 189

342 Cit. after “Heimwehrkundgebungen am Sonntag,” in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 19, 1930, p. 2 [our trans.].

343 Cit. after “Fort mit dem Parlament!,” in: *Österreichische Heimatschutzzeitung* (Vienna), 2/8 (February 25, 1933), pp. 1–3, here pp. 2–3 [our trans.].

government used the resignation of the presidents of the National Council to abolish fundamental rights like freedom of the press and assembly using emergency decrees.<sup>344</sup>

III.1.1.3 With the support of Mussolini, Starhemberg suggested to the federal chancellor in April 1933 that a “Turks Deliverance Celebration” be held in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace** with a subsequent parade into the inner city of Vienna, namely as a public avowal of what he called “Austrofascism” and Dollfuss the “corporative state” (*Ständestaat*).<sup>345</sup> The content of the speeches given by Fey, Starhemberg, and Dollfuss on May 14 was entirely in line with the political demands set out by the Home Guard leaders in Korneuburg in 1930. The chancellor denounced the “parliamentary machinery,” announced a “corporative state” and a “**Fatherland Front**,” which was founded just one week later as a unity party, and pledged “**allegiance upon allegiance**” to Starhemberg on the garden-side terrace of the palace building, in front of the eyes and ears of the thousands of Home Guard members who had traveled to Vienna for the rally, as well as the **cameras** and **microphones** of the journalists in attendance.<sup>346</sup> It was no accident that the Homeland Protection subsequently emphasized that the Korneuburg Oath had become Austria’s state program at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on May 14, 1933.

Fig. 71, p. 174

Fig. 41, p. 112

III.2.2 · III.3.1

*The Homeland Protection and the state authority had found common ground; the people’s state of the Home Guards, which had been unalterably established as the aim of our movement in the memorable Korneuburg Oath, had been achieved, even though its peaceful establishment still had to be safeguarded against threats from the right and left. In front of 40,000 patriotic men, who became witness to this triumph of their idea in the sun-drenched historic gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, Dollfuss and Starhemberg sealed the alliance of all vital powers*

344 See the conference proceedings edited by the Austrian Parliamentary Administration: *Staats- und Verfassungskrise 1933*, Vienna: Böhlau 2014.

345 See Höbelt: *Die Heimwehren und die österreichische Politik 1927–1936*, pp. 271–272, and Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: *Die Erinnerungen*, Vienna/Munich: Amalthea 1991, pp. 137–138.

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



Fig. 76: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (at the front with bull pizzle), Engelbert Dollfuss (out of sight on his right), and Emil Fey (behind him) inspecting the Home Guard troops at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna on May 14, 1933, printed in *Österreichische Heimatschutzzeitung* (Vienna), 2/21 (May 27, 1933), supplement “Wehrfront im Bild,” p. 1. Source: Austrian National Library, 633589.

*of the young Austria with a handshake. Homeland Protection planes crossed over the vast assembly and a march to the city and down the Ringstrasse finished off the solemn day that had proven that the rooster feather and green jacket had irrepressibly taken their place in Vienna.<sup>347</sup>*

Fig. 76, p. 191

III.1.5

The official part of the rally began at 9:45 a.m., when Dollfuss, Starhemberg, and Fey **inspected and saluted** the troops standing in formation in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace to the sound of the **national anthem**.<sup>348</sup> The federal chancellor and the Home Guard leaders turned their attention pro forma to the front row, the assault company equipped with steel helmets. From a historical perspective, however, this inspection was based on the thorough “mustering” of mercenaries, as

347 *Heimatschutz in Österreich*, ed. Propagandastelle der Bundesführung des Österreichischen Heimatschutzes, Vienna: Zoller 1934, p. 23 [our trans.].

348 See 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) and “Die Türkenbefreiungs-Feier des österreichischen Heimatschutzes am 14. Mai 1933 im Schloss Schönbrunn,” in: *Jahresschau 1933 der Bundespolizeidirektion in Wien. Eine Chronik im Laufbild*, 35 mm film, source: Filmarchiv Austria, JS 1933/8.

had been customary in Europe since the fifteenth century.<sup>349</sup> Only those soldiers who were in good condition were enlisted. Louis XIV expanded this military examination in the seventeenth century by reviewing his moving guards from 1666. That means that the soldiers had to not only stand still in front of the French king but also maneuver with their weapons.<sup>350</sup>

In an Austrian “drill with weapons” (*Exercitium mit dem Feuegewehr*) from the period around 1700, fifty-six movements and maneuvers were listed, from “(1) Present arms” to “(10) Fire” and “(38) Fix bayonets” to “(56) Shoulder arms,” and a further hundred commands were recorded for the “evolutions,” i.e., maneuvers.<sup>351</sup> Over the course of the eighteenth century, especially in Prussia, a veritable “theater of war” developed, during which the troops were arranged in various geometric formations.<sup>352</sup> Besides the Baroque aesthetics, the rationale behind drills was to rehearse basic military virtues, namely hierarchical classification and physical discipline. That the drill was intended to be more than a practical preparation for war, however, is demonstrated by the Prussian drill regulations from 1743, for example, which state: “Foremost during a drill must be to tame a fellow and teach him a soldier’s air in order to banish the peasant in him [...]”<sup>353</sup> The aim was a soldierly bearing, which shaped not only the body but also the morale. On the one hand, the soldier had to discharge his duty precisely in the platoon, even in life-threatening situations, and on the other be a model of decency in civilian settings.

III.1.4 **Napoleon** played an ambivalent role in the development of military parades. For one thing, he is symbolic of the militarization of the courtly festive culture customary throughout

349 See Walter Transfeldt: *Wort und Brauch in Heer und Flotte*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., Stuttgart: Spemann 1986, p. 20.

350 See Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, New York: Vintage 1995 [French 1975], pp. 187–188.

351 Cit. after Oscar Teuber: *Die österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867*, vol. 1, Vienna: Berté & Czeiger 1895, p. 63 [our trans.].

352 See Hans-Peter Stein: *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Herford/Bonn: Mittler 1984, pp. 130–135.

353 Cit. after Stein: *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 190 [our trans.].

Europe in the late eighteenth century.<sup>354</sup> He had his portrait painted in uniform as the emperor of the French and regularly held reviews, during which he inspected the soldiers' condition and equipment in detail.<sup>355</sup> Napoleon also abided by this custom when he occupied Vienna with the French army in 1809, during which time he resided in Schönbrunn Palace for several months. The main reason why his parades in the palace's cour d'honneur are remembered is because Friedrich Staps used one of them as an opportunity for a—woefully unsuccessful—assassination attempt on October 12, 1809.<sup>356</sup> The German commercial apprentice tried to approach the French emperor during his inspection of the troops in order to stab him with a kitchen knife that he had hidden in his greatcoat, but he was stopped by Napoleon's adjutants, arrested, and executed by a firing squad four days later.

Although Napoleon set great store by the traditional mustering of troops and performance of maneuvers, the French revolutionary soldiers actually led to a change in military training and tactics.<sup>357</sup> Put simply, they were no longer mercenaries who had to be disciplined, but rather a people's army whose enthusiasm needed to be roused and exploited on the battlefield. The Home Guard parade after the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, during which they marched to Schwarzenbergplatz in the inner city, expressed both military traditions. The troops advanced in lockstep "with ringing notes and flying colors," as had been commanded by the Prussian infantry regulations

- 354 See Jakob Vogel: *Nationen im Gleichschritt. Der Kult der 'Nation in Waffen' in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1871–1914*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997, p. 31.
- 355 See, for example, Gustav von Schlabrendorf: *Anti-Napoleon*, Frankfurt a.M.: Eichborn 1991 [1804], pp. 152–153.
- 356 See Ernst Borkowsky: "Das Schönbrunner Attentat im Jahr 1809 nach unveröffentlichten Quellen," in: *Die Grenzboten* (Leipzig), 57/4 (1898), pp. 293–301, and Theodor Bitterau: "Friedrich Stepps und das Schönbrunner Attentat auf Napoleon I.," in: *Die Grenzboten* (Berlin), 69/3 (1910), pp. 212–220.
- 357 See Stein: *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 135–139.

of 1743, for example.<sup>358</sup> In the original sense of the saying, the “ringing notes” set the pace of the march and the “flying colors” proclaimed its route. However, the participants in the Home Guard parade were not career soldiers as in the Austrian Armed Forces, which was a professional army until 1936, but volunteers from all over the country who were marching into the capital out of inner conviction.

III.1.3 The parade route from the cour d’honneur of Schönbrunn Palace up the Schlossallee, Mariahilfer Strasse, and Babenbergerstrasse to the Ringstrasse represented more than just the practical opportunity to march along wide boulevards from the southwest periphery into the city center. It was also along this route, some of whose streets had different names at the time, that the Habsburg monarchs had ridden from their **summer residence** to the Hofburg Palace.<sup>359</sup> Although the Home Guards marched along an imperial path, they did not radiate sovereign power but embodied military discipline and regional popularity (*Volkstümlichkeit*). This difference becomes clear when the parade in the context of the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” is compared with the emperor’s advent in the imperial seat, which is said to have proceeded from Schönbrunn after the coronation of Leopold I in Frankfurt.

The then king of Bohemia and Hungary had departed Prague for Frankfurt am Main in late January 1658 with 430 men and 2,000 horses and arrived ceremoniously on March 19. Only four months later, the just eighteen-year-old Leopold was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and finally crowned in Frankfurt cathedral on August 1.<sup>360</sup> His return journey led him via Nuremberg, Munich, and Linz to Schönbrunn Palace, where Leopold is said to have spent the night

358 Cit. after Stein: *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 200 [our trans.].

359 See Richard Kurdiovsky: *Die Gärten von Schönbrunn. Ein Spaziergang durch einen der bedeutendsten Barockgärten Europas*, St. Pölten: Residenz 2005, p. 10.

360 See Rotraut Miller: “Die Hofreisen Kaiser Leopolds I.,” in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 75/1–2 (1967), pp. 66–103, here pp. 91–99.

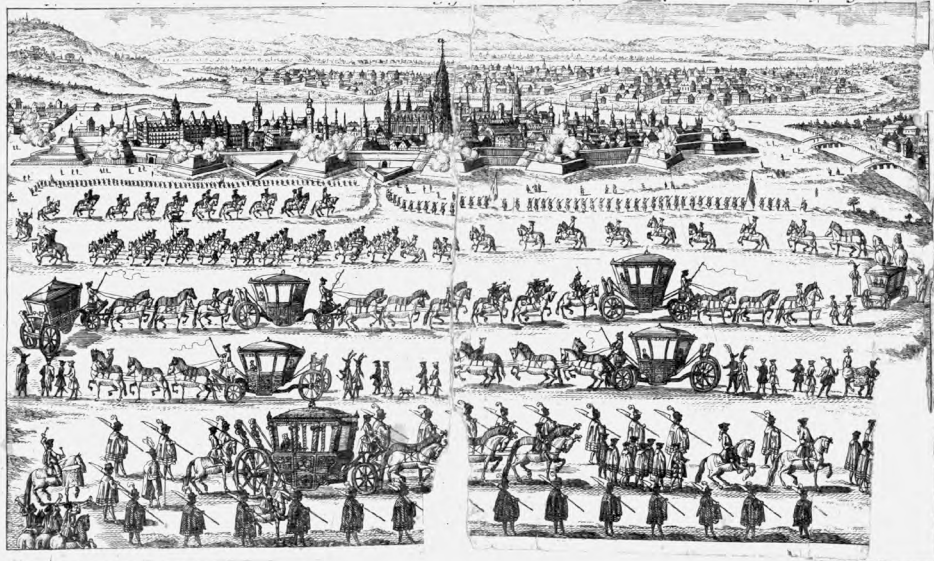


Fig. 77: Contemporary copperplate engraving showing the return of the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I to Vienna on October 1, 1658, after his coronation in Frankfurt am Main. Source: Wien Museum, 199057.

on September 30.<sup>361</sup> From there, the emperor entered Vienna with his entourage on October 1, was welcomed with a kiss on the hand by a political delegation on Getreidemarkt, at the end of what is now the Mariahilfer Strasse, and then rode on to Stubentor, the eastern city gate, to the thunder of cannon fire. Here the mayor symbolically handed the monarch the keys to the city and cleared the way to St. Stephen's Cathedral, a route that led down the Wollzeile under a sky of gold brocade. In the cathedral, the Christian hymn of praise *Te Deum laudamus* was sung, whereupon all the bells of the city pealed and once again the cannons roared. The emperor subsequently rode under three triumphal arches, which had been constructed in his honor, along the Graben, where wine poured from the fountains for the people, and along the Kohlmarkt to what is now Michaelerplatz. When he arrived at the Hofburg Palace,

361 See Elisabeth Hassmann: *Von Katterburg zu Schönbrunn. Die Geschichte Schönbrunn's bis Kaiser Leopold I.*, Vienna: Böhlau 2004, pp. 461–462.



Fig. 78: Engraving by Jan Thomas from 1667 showing Leopold I in theatrical costume. Source: Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), GG 9135.

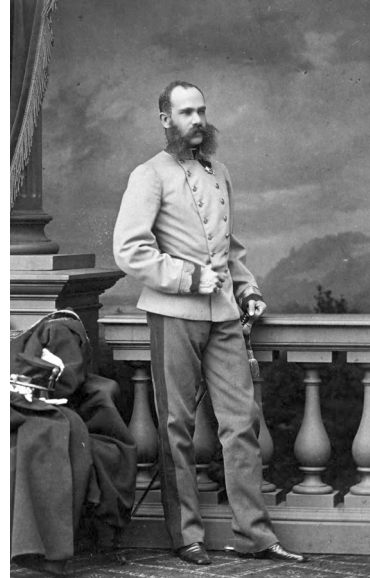


Fig. 79: Francis Joseph I in uniform as Colonel-in-Chief of the Kaiserjäger (1868). Source: Austrian National Library, Pf 19000 E 35 Var.

the cannons were fired for the third time to symbolize the end of the emperor's advent in the imperial seat.<sup>362</sup>

Fig. 77, p. 195

There is a **copperplate engraving** of Leopold's return to Vienna on October 1, 1658, which is typical of the visual representation of royal advents in cities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whereas such events had previously been illustrated as series of pictures, around 1600 stand-alone depictions emerged, which portrayed the procession in a meandering line against the backdrop of the city.<sup>363</sup> The social rank of the participants progressively increased, in this

362 On the description of the advent, see Miller: "Die Hofreisen Kaiser Leopolds I.," pp. 90–91, and Andrea Sommer-Mathis: "'...ma il Papa rispose, che il Re de' Romani a Roma era lui.' Frühneuzeitliche Krönungsfestlichkeiten am Kaiser- und Papsthof," in: Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein, Alexander Koller (eds.): *Kaiserhof – Papsthof. 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2006, pp. 251–284, here p. 283.

363 See Harriet Rudolph: "Die visuelle Kultur des Reiches. Kaiserliche Einzüge im Medium der Druckgraphik," in: Heinz Schilling, Werner Heun, →



Fig. 80: Austrian Home Guard troops marching from Schönbrunn Palace to Schwarzenbergplatz in Vienna on May 14, 1933, here along Mariahilfer Strasse near the Technical Museum. At the head of the paramilitary parade: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (in the center) with Emil Fey (on his right) and Richard Steidle (on his left). Source: Austrian National Library, H 2012.

Fig. 78, p. 196

Fig. 79, p. 196

Fig. 40, p. 111

Fig. 80, p. 197

specific case from the head of the procession at the Stubentor, with the emperor's dress coach only appearing at the lower edge of the engraving. During this ceremonious advent in the city, the monarch did not present himself as a commander in chief riding ahead of his troops, but as a representative of god on earth, whose arrival (Latin *adventus*) had to be prepared and announced by a long procession to make the people aware of their ruler's majesty. The emperor was the main actor in this sensory spectacle, which is why it is not an anomaly that Leopold later had his portrait painted in **theatrical costume**. That would have been inconceivable for Emperor Francis Joseph I in the nineteenth century, who almost always wears **military uniform** in official portraits.

The Austrian Homeland Protection staged a theatrical "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, during which the speakers assumed the **sovereign position** on the garden terrace of the palace building, the central point of intersection in the star-shaped site. However, the leaders, with Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg showing the way, subsequently constituted the **vanguard of the Home Guard troops** and marched toward the inner city in steel helmets and with bull pizzlies in hand. After roughly one and a half

→ Jutta Götzmann (eds.): *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962–1806. Altes Reich und neue Staaten 1495–1806*, vol. 2: Essays, Dresden: Sandstein 2006, pp. 231–241.

II.15 &  
Fig. 34, p. 93

hours, they were the first to arrive at **Schwarzenbergplatz**, where they stood in a line to review the remaining parade. The Home Guard members lowered their standards as they marched past and turned their heads to face their leaders, who saluted to confirm that they had passed the examination.

## 2.2 Camera: Bell & Howell 2709



place	Mariahilfer Strasse 124
moment	Filming of Home Guard parade
space	2 km 530 m from the start
time	49 min before the end

- II.10 There are several film recordings of the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*), which was held in Vienna by the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) on May 14, 1933. They were included in the *Jahresschau 1933*, an annual newsreel produced by the Federal Police Headquarters in Vienna that is preserved at the Filmarchiv Austria, in the form of two independent reports, one silent and one sound film, both of them in black and white.<sup>364</sup> The silent film, which was evidently produced by police employees, is about five minutes long and shows the Home Guard (*Heimwehr*) members’ arrival
- III.1.3 by train, the rally in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace**, and the
- II.15 parade into the city center to **Schwarzenbergplatz**. According to the introductory intertitle, the slightly longer sound film is part of a *Fox Tönende Wochenschau* newsreel, which not only contains audiovisual recordings of the celebration in Schönbrunn but also visualizes and audibilizes the protests against the subsequent Home Guard parade: National Socialists sing the *Deutschlandlied* and whistle and boo at the marching
- III.1.5 Homeland Protectors.

From the perspective of film technique, the recordings of the upper Mariahilfer Strasse are interesting because the camera travels ahead of the parade, panning to the protestors on the sidewalk and then back to the Homeland Protectors.

364 “Die Türkenbefreiungs-Feier des österreichischen Heimatschutzes am 14. Mai 1933 im Schloss Schönbrunn” and “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. See Barbara Zuber: *Die “Polizeijahresschauen” 1928–1938. Eine filmische Quelle zur Wiener Polizeigeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit*, University of Vienna: PhD diss. 1996, pp. 586–619.



Fig. 81: Austrian Home Guard troops marching from Schönbrunn Palace to Schwarzenbergplatz in Vienna on May 14, 1933, here at around noon on the upper Mariahilfer Strasse near the Westbahnhof train station. At the head: Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (in the center saluting) with Emil Fey (on his right) and Richard Steidle (on his left). On the right edge of the picture: a cameraman filming the paramilitary parade. Source: Austrian National Library, 66.287 B.

Fig. 81, p. 200

A **photograph** taken around noon near Vienna's Westbahnhof station<sup>365</sup> shows the head of the parade at the beginning of this film sequence. On the right edge of the picture, a cameraman is visible on the roof of a car, wearing a coat and suit complete with necktie, his hair tousled by the motion of the vehicle. In this moment he appears to be the focus of everyone's attention: the gaze of many spectators, even of the Home Guard leader Richard Steidle, who is marching alongside **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg** and Emil Fey at the forefront of the parade, is aimed at him and his camera.

III.1.1

365 A clock above the sidewalk shows 12:11 p.m.; on the right is Oscar Melnik's chinaware shop, which was located at Mariahilfer Strasse 124; see *Wiener Adressbuch. Lehmanns Wohnungsanzeiger 1933*, vol. 1, Vienna: Österreichische Anzeigen-Gesellschaft 1933, p. 1036.

The vehicle is too small to be a professional recording van and also does not bear the name of a production company. Instead, it looks as though a stand had been affixed onto an ordinary sedan car in order for the camera, its operator, and equipment to be able to sit on the roof. It is highly likely that it was this cameraman who took the recordings contained in the *Jahresschau 1933* by the Viennese police. As mentioned above, there they feature the intertitle of the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau*, which had been the German-language version of the American *Fox Movietone News* since 1929. According to contemporary film magazines, the following week it was not only Fox that released “pictures of the Turks Deliverance Celebration in Vienna,” but also Paramount in their newsreel.<sup>366</sup> Furthermore, several photographic and filmic documents reveal that the Viennese Selenophon Licht- und Tonbild GmbH was present in the gardens of Schönbrunn with their **recording van**. However, the sound film they recorded, which might have been published in the Austrian *Engel-Woche*, has not survived. Selenophon also produced the “patriotic newsreel” *Österreich in Bild und Ton* (“Austria in Image and Sound”) on commission from the Federal Chancellery, which played in movie theaters from June 1933 but which did not contain a piece on the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” of May 14.<sup>367</sup>

Fig. 56, p. 143

The cameraman was presumably a freelancer and sold his recordings to film companies like Fox or Paramount. Further evidence of this is the camera, which can be seen in the **photograph**. Although the model cannot be identified with complete certainty even after looking at the picture under a magnifying glass, the metal frame, the lens turret, the double-compartment film magazine, and the side viewfinder clearly point to the standard model by the American manufacturer Bell & Howell, with the type number 2709.<sup>368</sup> The camera is mounted

Fig. 81, p. 200

366 See, for example, *Österreichische Film-Zeitung* (Vienna), 7/20 (May 20, 1933), p. 6 [our trans.].

367 See Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser: “Filmografie – Österreich in Bild und Ton,” in: Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser (eds.): *Österreich in Bild und Ton. Die Filmwochenschau des austrofaschistischen Ständestaates*, Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria 2002, pp. 397–556.

368 I owe special thanks to Martin Reinhart for his assistance in identifying the camera model.

on a tripod and was obviously operated using a synchronous motor, which is attached on the right-hand side. This uniform drive made it possible to record not only twenty-four frames per second, but also synchronous optical sound, the equipment for which must have been located inside the car. In any case, the film preserved at the Filmarchiv Austria contains audio recorded on a variable-density track.<sup>369</sup> That means that the film reel, which is thirty-five millimeters wide and perforated at the edges, has photographic images on the right and the corresponding soundtrack—with uniform area but variable density—

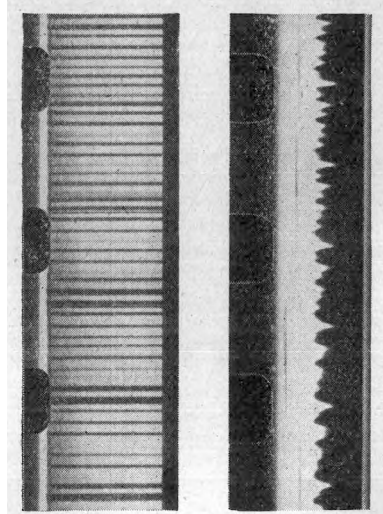


Fig. 82: Two methods for recording optical sound on film: in variable-density format (on the left) and in variable-area format (on the right), printed in *Radio-Amateur* (Vienna), 9/2 (February 1932), p. 121. Source: Vienna University Library, I-458300.

Fig. 82, p. 202

next to it on the left. For this reason, this **sound-recording technology** came to be known as variable-density recording systems, in contrast to variable-area systems in which the density of the soundtrack remains the same but its width changes, giving rise to a track with a jagged appearance.

The film camera documented in the photograph was not state of the art around 1933. At this time, much lighter 35 mm cameras were available, which had been specially developed for newsreels and outdoor recordings, e.g., the spring-driven, just over three-kilo Eyemo by Bell & Howell, which had been on the market since 1925. Despite dating back to 1912 and—with its film magazine, lenses, and additional motor—weighing some twenty kilos, the 2709 model was known for its reliability

369 See the corresponding data sheet in the Filmarchiv Austria, film no. 5860/1, sequel 2.

and longevity.<sup>370</sup> For this cameraman, it may have been more cost-effective to upgrade the older, heavy camera with a motor and sound system than to buy the latest model used by the leading newsreel producers. Moreover, the Bell & Howell 2709 was a complete studio camera and hence more versatile than a device specially developed for mobile recordings like the aforementioned Eyemo, an upgraded version of which was released with an electric drive motor in 1932.<sup>371</sup>

Founded in Chicago in 1907, the Bell & Howell company carried the 2709 as its “standard camera,” and in the course of a decade the model did in fact become established as the standard camera in American film studios.<sup>372</sup> However, this description does not refer to its commercial success, but rather the 35 mm format it used, the standardization of which as the “standard film” size was in no small part due to this camera and other equipment made by Bell & Howell. The first roll films produced by George Eastman for his Kodak cameras in 1888 were almost seventy millimeters wide. Edison had the 70 mm film halved and used the 35 mm format for his Kinetoscope, a motion picture exhibition device with a peephole for an individual viewer patented in 1893. However, the wide range of projectors in use around 1900 meant that film widths varied greatly. Donald J. Bell’s experience as a projectionist in Chicago made him familiar with the disadvantages of the various formats and perforations.<sup>373</sup> Even in the instances when a film reel fitted the projector available for the respective screening—the exception rather than the rule—it was to be expected that the reel would repeatedly fall out of the film advance mechanism while cranking. The result in most cases was not the impression of fluid movement, which arises with a

370 The seven-and-a-quarter-kilo camera alone cost US\$1,000, see Héctor Mario Raimondo-Souto: *Motion Picture Photography. A History 1891–1960*, Jefferson: McFarland 2006, pp. 27–29.

371 See Jack Fay Robinson: *Bell & Howell Company. A 75-Year History*, Chicago: Bell & Howell 1982, pp. 25 and 48–49.

372 See Kristin Thompson: “Initial Standardization of the Basic Technology,” in: David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, Kristin Thompson (eds.): *The Classical Hollywood Cinema. Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, London: Routledge 2006 [1985], pp. 262–280, here p. 268.

373 On the following, see Robinson: *Bell & Howell Company*, pp. 15–25.



Fig. 83: A Bell & Howell 2709 35 mm movie camera from 1922 with a double-compartment film magazine, lens turret, and side viewfinder, photographed by Adam J. Wilt in 2012. Source: adamwilt.com.

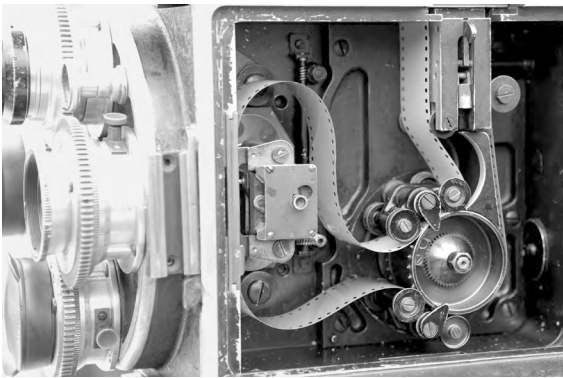


Fig. 84: Mechanics of a Bell & Howell 2709 35 mm movie camera from 1922, photographed by Adam J. Wilt in 2012. Source: adamwilt.com.

constant speed of at least sixteen frames per second. Instead, the projected events ran at an irregular speed; the pictures flickered and jumped around on the screen.

In well-planned events, apparatuses like the Cinématographe by the Lumière brothers, the Bioscop by the Skladanowsky brothers, or Edison's Vitascope, which were launched in the mid-1890s, may have lived up to the promise of their names and indeed presented life as movement, as conceived by modern biology in the nineteenth century.<sup>374</sup> In everyday film screenings, however, this illusion could only be enjoyed by those audience members whose concept of life admitted more phenomena than met their eyes. Donald Bell was aware of the problem due to his work as a projectionist, and the mechanical engineer Albert S. Howell, whom he met in a film

374 See Michel Foucault: *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London/New York: Routledge 2002 [French 1966], pp. 235–329, esp. pp. 251–252 and 303.

workshop, presented a solution with a series of technical innovations that led to the first products of their joint company, Bell & Howell: a contraption to frame images—known as a “rotary framer”—for the 35 mm film projector Kinodrome; a perforator to standardize the perforations in 35 mm film; a camera that transported 35 mm film over fixed pilot pins; and a printer that could copy 35 mm film with the same transport mechanism.<sup>375</sup> In other words, the newly founded company focused entirely on the 35 mm format and its technical solutions ensured that film would pass through recording and projection devices reliably and at a uniform speed.

The first camera produced by Bell & Howell was already equipped with the innovative film movement mechanism for stable exposure, but it was still clad in wood and leather. This was followed in 1912 by the 2709 model, whose **mechanics and casing**—in contrast to all movie cameras developed until that point—were made entirely of metal. Two magazines were mounted on the camera, one for unexposed and one for exposed film. Another feature of the camera was the turret for four lenses, which not only simplified the cameraperson’s job, but was also essential for focusing. In order to get a subject in focus, the camera had to be shifted from right to left on a metal base attached to a tripod and the lens turret turned 180 degrees. Then the cameraperson could adjust the lens without exposing the film. It was also the only opportunity to see precisely what would later be filmed, because the viewfinder mounted on the left side of the camera showed the respective subject from a perspective laterally offset from the recording lens—a so-called “parallax error,” which had not yet been corrected at that time. Also worth mentioning is the fact that the hand crank in the 2709 model was supported by ball bearings, which made the drive easier and also added to the image quality. Bell & Howell’s standard camera would be manufactured until 1958.<sup>376</sup>

Fig. 83 &  
Fig. 84, p. 204

- 375 See Robinson: *Bell & Howell Company*, pp. 24–25 and 167.  
376 See Raimondo-Souto: *Motion Picture Photography*, pp. 27–29; Thompson: “Initial Standardization of the Basic Technology,” pp. 267–268; Robinson: *Bell & Howell Company*, p. 25.

City map of Vienna (1933 © Freytag & Berndt)

place	Mariahilfer Strasse 124
moment	Filming of Home Guard parade
space	2 km 530 m from the start
time	49 min before the end

mediations

How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs

How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes

How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions

Fig. 85: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (desktop version 2.0/2021) showing the abstract of the mediator



How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes

CAMERA

## Bell & Howell 2709

There are several film recordings of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933. The sound films derive from the German edition of *Fox Movietone News* and were taken with a Bell & Howell 35 mm camera—an upgraded version of the model 2709.

READ MORE

“Bell & Howell 2709” in the mediation “How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes”  
(text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

## III.2.4

The film camera photographed at the beginning of the upper Mariahilfer Strasse in Vienna at noon on May 14, 1933, was in all probability the 2709-B1 model by Bell & Howell. This version could record up to twenty-six frames per second and was not sound insulated.<sup>377</sup> The operating sound of the camera, comparable to a sewing machine, only became a problem with the general **transition to sound film** in the late 1920s. While the film studios had developed sound-absorbing cases known as “blimps,” the manufacturers were working on making quieter cameras. With the models NC (1932) and BNC (1934), Mitchell responded better to this technological challenge than Bell & Howell, who concentrated more and more on the amateur film business with cameras and projectors for the 16 mm format.<sup>378</sup> However, sound film necessitated not only a reduction in camera sounds, but also a constant recording speed of twenty-four frames per second in order to synchronize sound and image. There had been an electric drive motor for the 2709 model since 1919, which was mounted on the back and considerably smaller than the solid synchronous motor used by the cameraman at the “Turks Deliverance Celebration.” In the **photograph**, he is grasping it with his right hand, presumably to pan the camera back to the parade, though deliberate focusing would not have been possible. Whether the recordings could be used would only become clear once the film had been developed.

Fig. 81, p. 200

In this case, despite having filmed from the roof of a moving sedan, the cameraman appears to have captured his subject well enough to present the recordings in the subsequent edition of the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau*. They captured the movement of the parade in twenty-four frames per second (and in a soundtrack recorded using variable-density technology) on a 35 mm film. His “fondest hope” for the movie industry had always been standardization, wrote Donald Bell in a letter to the magazine *International Photographer* in 1930.<sup>379</sup> In the

377 See Bell & Howell *Standard Professional 35mm Cameras Specifications*, Chicago: Bell & Howell 1943, p. 1, source: Filmarchiv Austria.

378 See Raimondo-Souto: *Motion Picture Photography*, pp. 142–145; Robinson: *Bell & Howell Company*, pp. 45–47.

379 Donald J. Bell: “A Letter from Donald Bell,” in: *International Photographer* (Hollywood), 2/1 (February 1930), pp. 18–21, here p. 19.

III.2.1

three decades since he had left his job as a projectionist in Chicago, the 35 mm format, promoted by the company he had founded with Albert Howell, had become established around the world. From a formal perspective, there was now barely any difference between the pictures on the professional film market, and neither during recording nor projection was it possible to manually influence how quickly the film reel passed through the equipment. This is why on May 14, 1933, not only the Austrian Home Guard members, but also the pictures that document their “**march on Vienna,**” moved in lockstep. Thus the film’s format mirrored the uniformity of its subject.

## 2.3 Montage: Perceptual Gymnastics



place	Engelmann Arena
moment	Nazi rally
space	4 km 958 m from the start
time	16 h 30 min before the end

Fig. 86, p. 211

The NSDAP's Reich Propaganda Headquarters (*Reichspropagandaleitung*) in Berlin published the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2* ("N.S. Sound Image Report No. 2") in summer 1933, which has been preserved in the Film Archive of the German Federal Archives.<sup>380</sup> The fourth and final piece in the 530-meter-long sound film, which when played at a speed of twenty-four frames per second corresponds to about twenty minutes, has the title "**Austria!**" (*Österreich!*) and begins with a panel of text about the "campaign of destruction" being conducted "against National Socialism" by Austrian Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. This is followed by images of headlines in the German Nazi newspapers *Der Angriff* and *Völkischer Beobachter* about a "growing fermentation" and "Christian Social conspiracy" in Austria. The visuals are accompanied by a male voice-over commenting: "In Austria the reaction is fighting its last-ditch battle against National Socialism, the only guarantor of the Greater German idea. On the occasion of a celebration in memory of Vienna's liberation from the Turks, Federal Chancellor Dr. Dollfuss speaks to the assembled Home Guard [*Heimwehr*] members." The next sequence comes from a piece in the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau* newsreel about the "**Turks Deliverance Celebration**" (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) hosted by the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) on Sunday, May 14, 1933, in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace**.<sup>381</sup>

III.2.2

II.10

III.1.3

380 See *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, 35 mm film, Berlin: NSDAP 1933, source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), K 20317-2. The following translations of textual or spoken passages in this film are our own.

381 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.



Fig. 86: Intertitle of the final piece “Austria!” in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, a 35 mm sound film published by the NSDAP’s Reich Propaganda Headquarters in Berlin in summer 1933, here after a VHS copy. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), K 172392-1.



Fig. 87: Still from the piece “Austria!” in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, a 35 mm sound film published by the NSDAP’s Reich Propaganda Headquarters in Berlin in summer 1933, here after a VHS copy: Hans Frank (second from right) addresses Alfred Eduard Frauenfeld (on his left) in the foyer of the Adolf Hitler House at Hirschengasse 25 in Vienna on the afternoon of May 13, 1933. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), K 172392-1.

In it Dollfuss says that “foreign spirit and foreign ideas” had “infected” the people and wreaked “evil havoc.”

- III.1.1 While the Home Guard leader **Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg** is visible on the garden terrace of Schönbrunn Palace, the commentator claims: “At the same time, this Austrian people received the German ministers Kerrl and Frank in Vienna.” In reality, Bavarian Justice Minister Hans Frank and his Prussian counterpart Hanns Kerrl had landed at **Aspern**
- II.1 **airfield** in Vienna the previous day, at shortly after 2 p.m. on Saturday, May 13, 1933, and then driven in a convoy to the
- II.4 **Adolf Hitler House** in the city center. The subsequent recordings of cheering National Socialists were presumably made when the German politicians arrived at the NSDAP’s Viennese headquarters at Hirschengasse 25. There, in the **foyer of the Adolf Hitler House**, Frank thanks the gau administrator (*Gauleiter*) in charge, Alfred Eduard Frauenfeld, “for the kind reception” in Vienna: it was a “tremendous joy” to be able to emphasize in the “most German part of the East,” where

Fig. 87, p. 211



Fig. 88: Still from the piece “Austria!” in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, a 35 mm sound film published by the NSDAP’s Reich Propaganda Headquarters in Berlin in summer 1933, here after a VHS copy: storm troopers marching past Adolf Hitler and Ernst Röhm. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), K 172392-1.



Fig. 89: Still from the piece “Austria!” in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, a 35 mm sound film published by the NSDAP’s Reich Propaganda Headquarters in Berlin in summer 1933, here after a VHS copy: a Nazi rally in the Engelmann Arena in Vienna on May 1, 1933. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), K 172392-1.

Hitler’s “life struggle as a simple manual laborer” had begun, that the führer was proud of his homeland, which stood “by him and his movement, by the idea of peace among peoples, by the idea of national prosperity, by the idea of the freedom and purity of national life.”

- III.1.5 Nazi supporters can then be seen and heard singing the *Deutschlandlied* near the Technical Museum in Vienna. They are violently pushed to the edge of the Mariahilfe Strasse by mounted police and with batons and bayonets to clear the way for the **Home Guard parade**, which ran from Schönbrunn
- III.2.1 Palace all the way to **Schwarzenbergplatz**. These scenes took place after the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” on Sunday, May 14, and were also captured in the piece in the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau*. Then, while the Home Guard members are marching down the upper Mariahilfer Strasse in lockstep, the male voice-over comments: “The path of suppression and prohibition is dangerous when one has the majority of the people against one and as an opponent a movement whose
- II.15

Fig. 88, p. 212

inner strength overruns everything that stands in its way.” The image changes in the middle of the sentence to show **storm troopers with swastika flags** entering the frame from the right-hand side, marching in a strict and orderly fashion past Hitler who reviews the parade by clicking together the heels of his boots and raising his arm.

Fig. 89, p. 212

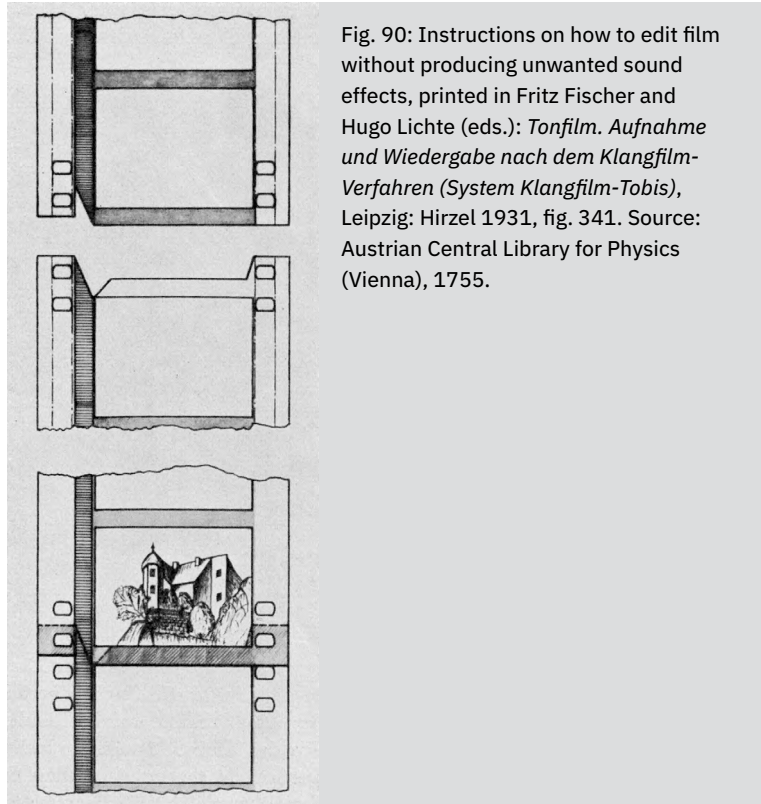
II.7

The final sequence of the sound film shows a **Nazi rally in the Engelmann Arena** in Vienna. Even though it is not stated explicitly, the context implies that it was the National Socialist **“Turks Deliverance Celebration”** on the evening of Saturday, May 13, 1933. In fact, however, these recordings were made almost two weeks earlier, on May 1, when the NSDAP was celebrating the “Day of National Work” there.<sup>382</sup> A band is playing the military march *Preussens Gloria*, which was composed in 1871 by Johann Gottfried Piefke. Afterward the Viennese gau administrator Frauenfeld speaks: “But we, my German national comrades, we who have fought this battle with pleasure and devotion, we will have crowned this battle with success, with victory! We Germans here of the Eastern March [*Ostmark*], we will have found our way home to the Holy Third German Reich!” Accompanied by the band, the crowd then starts singing the NSDAP’s party anthem, the *Horst-Wessel-Lied*, with which the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2* fades out.

On several levels this propaganda film depicts falsehoods. On the one hand in terms of its content, which juxtaposes the Christian Social “suppression” in Austria with a National Socialist “freedom.” Even though the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in Vienna on May 14, 1933, clearly showed that the Austrian federal government was on its way to an authoritarian “corporative state” (*Ständestaat*, Dollfuß) or to “Austrofascism” (Starhemberg), the Nazi regime in Germany reacted far more brutally to its political opponents.<sup>383</sup> Besides this distortion of facts, the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2* also manipulates actual events in temporal terms. Because in truth, Hans Frank

382 See the film “NSDAP-Kundgebung zum 1. Mai 1933 in der Wiener Engelmann-Arena,” in: Hannes Leidinger and Karin Moser (eds.): *Österreich Box 2: 1918–1938. Zwischen den Weltkriegen*, DVD, Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria 2008.

383 “Substantially and structurally profound differences to National Socialism existed with regard to the extent and intensity of the terror and repression, as well as concerning the racist and imperialist direction of the policies,” →



and Hanns Kerrl did not arrive in Vienna while the Austrian Homeland Protection was holding the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” in Schönbrunn, but the day before. Moreover, the final recordings from the Engelmann Arena show the rally for the “Day of National Work” from May 1, 1933, and not, as the context implies, the National Socialist “Turks Deliverance Celebration,” which took place there on May 13. In other words, the film portrays the events untruthfully insofar as its audiovisual representation contradicts numerous other documents (newspaper articles, police reports, photographs, and newsreels).

In order to produce this impression of reality, sequences from the *Fox Tönende Wochenschau* were combined with recordings that had presumably been made by the NSDAP’s

→ writes Emmerich Tálos of the Austrofascist regime, in: Emmerich Tálos and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.): *Austrofascismus. Politik – Ökonomie – Kultur. 1933–1938*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Vienna: LIT 2005, p. 414 [our trans.].

Austrian Film Office (*Landesfilmstelle*). The existing soundtracks in variable-density format were replaced in part by commentary by a male narrator on a variable-area track, which—like the introductory text panel—explains what the viewers can see in the images. This merging technique is known as film editing or montage and resembles a **crafting exercise**. In this specific case, the film strips from the Fox newsreel and the NSDAP recordings not only had to be cut and stuck back together, but in places they also had to be post-dubbed. The result was a patchwork of photographic images and **optical sound recordings**, which only reemerged as an—at least physically—coherent 35 mm film after the copying process.

Fig. 90, p. 214

Fig. 82, p. 202

II.8 &  
Fig. 26, p. 73

However, around 1930, editing was more than merely a stage of film production. Rather, the term “montage” implied the film art by Russian directors of the 1920s.<sup>384</sup> In the middle of the chronotope, the time-space, with which the report on Austria in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2* is concerned, two exemplary works of Russian film could be seen: in Vienna’s **Friedensbrücken Kino**, a movie theater at Klosterneuburger Strasse 33, the films *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*) by Sergei Eisenstein and *Turksib* by Viktor Turin were screened from 11 p.m. on Saturday, May 13, 1933.<sup>385</sup> Eisenstein in particular was both a practitioner and theorist of montage.<sup>386</sup> If one follows his development from the theater to the cinema, it becomes clear that he had nothing less than an exact representation of reality in mind. The aim of his montage technique was to have as great an impact as possible on the audience. From a purely technical point of view, the montage ideal is depicted in the sequence from the feature film *Hitchcock* (2012) by Sacha Gervasi in which the premiere of the thriller *Psycho* is shown. Played by Anthony Hopkins, the director Alfred Hitchcock is initially in the projection booth as he watches the audience react tensely to the action on screen. Then during the most famous scene of *Psycho*, in

384 See Bernd Stiegler: *Der montierte Mensch. Eine Figur der Moderne*, Paderborn: Fink 2016, pp. 131–178.

385 See *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna), May 13, 1933, p. 4.

386 See Oksana Bulgakowa: “Montagebilder bei Sergej Eisenstein,” in: Hans Beller (ed.): *Handbuch der Montage*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Munich: TR-Verlagsunion 2002, pp. 49–77.

which Marion Crane (Janet Leigh) is stabbed to death under the shower, Hitchcock is shown in the movie theater's foyer and, in time with the film's soundtrack, conducts the viewers as they flinch and scream to the same rhythm as his edits.<sup>387</sup>

Fig. 91, p. 217

The notion of the director being a conductor of the actors and audience alike is not only applicable to Hitchcock, but also to Eisenstein and his teacher Vsevolod Meyerhold, who became a pioneer of **Constructivist theater** after the Russian Revolution of 1917. For Meyerhold, the director was the author of a theatrical staging and the audience its active participant. He viewed movement as the central aspect of theater, vehemently advocating stylized and rejecting realistic forms of representation. Around 1920 he developed a system for training actors that he called biomechanics and that was based on principles of Taylorism and reflexology. Meyerhold adopted methods of “scientific management” from the American engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor in order to increase the efficiency of body movements (e.g., through rhythmization). The Russian school of objective psychology, established by Vladimir Bekhterev and Ivan Pavlov, influenced his biomechanics insofar as emotional states were supposed to be evoked reflexively by physical stimuli. For this purpose, the director commanded his actors to rehearse exercises that he put together from very diverse fields. He adapted combinations of movements from modern gymnastics, boxing training, military drills, circus art, and theatrical traditions like Japanese Kabuki or the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte*.<sup>388</sup>

In the promptbooks, Meyerhold noted down precise instructions for the action on stage to accompany every line of text. Eisenstein, who had worked as a military engineer and set designer for the Communist agitprop theater, was first introduced to biomechanics as a course participant and then as Meyerhold's assistant.<sup>389</sup> In 1923 he went on to stage Alexander

387 See Sacha Gervasi: *Hitchcock*, DVD, Frankfurt a.M.: Twentieth Century Fox 2013 [2012].

388 On this paragraph, see Alma Law and Mel Gordon: *Meyerhold, Eisenstein and Biomechanics. Actor Training in Revolutionary Russia*, Jefferson/London: McFarland 1996, pp. 13–73.

389 See Law and Gordon: *Meyerhold, Eisenstein and Biomechanics*, pp. 74–80.

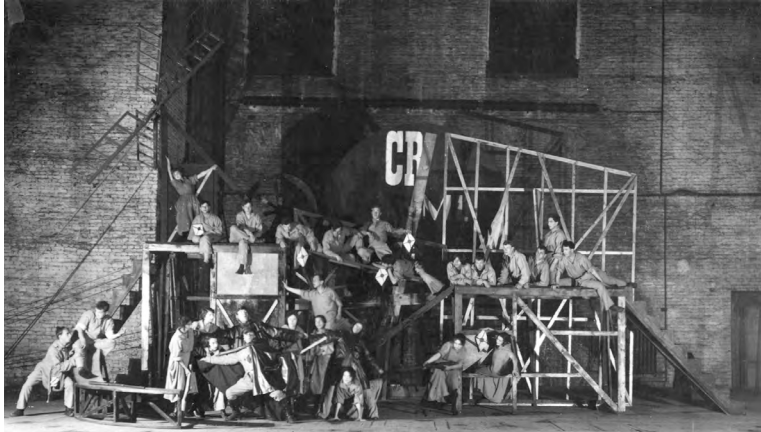


Fig. 91: Photograph of Vsevolod Meyerhold's staging of the play *Le cocu magnifique* by Fernand Crommelynck in Moscow in 1922; the Constructivist set was designed by Lyubov Popova. Source: Russian State Archives of Literature and Art (RGALI, Moscow), fund 1923 inventory 2 folder 2262 p. 4.

Ostrovsky's comedy *Enough Stupidity in Every Wise Man* and called his directorial concept a "montage of attractions":

*An attraction (in our diagnosis of theatre) is any aggressive moment in theatre, i.e. any element of it that subjects the audience to emotional or psychological influence, verified by experience and mathematically calculated to produce specific emotional shocks in the spectator in their proper order within the whole.*<sup>390</sup>

As a theater engineer, the director mounts attractions in the sense of independent performances, which do not portray a plot realistically but are intended to give the audience an emotional shock and influence them ideologically. Yet while the theater audience can tangibly experience the play, in film, as Eisenstein understood it, psychological associations are provoked and interconnected in the viewers' minds.<sup>391</sup> Consequently, although the aforementioned shower scene in

390 Sergei Eisenstein: "The Montage of Attractions" [Russian 1923], in: *Selected Works. Vol. 1: Writings, 1922–34*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor, London: BFI 1988, pp. 33–38, here p. 34.

391 See Sergei Eisenstein: "The Montage of Film Attractions" [Russian 1924], in: *Selected Works. Vol. 1: Writings, 1922–34*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor, London: BFI 1988, pp. 39–58, here p. 41.

Hitchcock's *Psycho* features close-ups of the murderer's stabbing arm, the victim's writhing body, and the blood flowing down the drain, it does not show the knife puncturing the skin or the blood splattering.<sup>392</sup> The actual murder is associated in the viewer's psyche from these sensory impressions.

Eisenstein systematically implemented this "montage of film attractions" in the 1920s, constantly developing and improving his technique. In an article from 1929, he relates the metric montage that sets the audience in motion by making, for example, "the hands and feet quiver" to the intellectual montage where "this quivering, provoked by an intellectual stimulant combined differently, produces an identical reaction in the tissues of the higher nervous system of the thought apparatus."<sup>393</sup> According to Eisenstein's stimulant-reaction-technique, using a montage of visual objects, whether they be human actors or not, the director could affect the audience as a physical "material" and "plough its psyche."<sup>394</sup> In the eyes of Walter Benjamin, this "shock effect of film" was consistent with everyday life in the modern metropolises of the twentieth century and "seeks to induce heightened attention."<sup>395</sup>

Therefore, in contrast to the clumsy editing in the *N.S. Ton-Bild-Bericht Nr. 2*, artistic montage was not intended to achieve its effects via the content shown, but rather affect the viewers' perceptual apparatus directly. With *Battleship Potemkin*, which premiered in Moscow in 1925, Eisenstein appears to have accomplished this perfectly. His contemporaries spoke of this film, dealing with the mutiny on the warship "Potemkin" in the Russian Revolution of 1905, as having both physical and

392 See Alfred Hitchcock: *Psycho*, DVD, Universal City: Universal Studios 1999 [1960].

393 Sergei Eisenstein: "The Fourth Dimension in Cinema" [Russian 1929], in: *Selected Works. Vol. 1: Writings, 1922–34*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor, London: BFI 1988, pp. 181–194, here p. 193.

394 Eisenstein: "The Montage of Film Attractions," p. 56, and Sergei Eisenstein: "The Problem of the Materialist Approach to Form" [Russian 1925], in: *Selected Works. Vol. 1: Writings, 1922–34*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor, London: BFI 1988, pp. 59–64, here p. 62.

395 Walter Benjamin: "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," trans. Harry Zohn and Edmund Jephcott [German 1936/39], in: *Selected Writings. Vol. 4: 1938–1940*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2006, pp. 251–283, here p. 267.

Fig. 92, p. 219

psychological impacts. For the censored **German version**, which came to cinemas in spring 1926, the Viennese composer Edmund Meisel devised the score. The management of the film company Prometheus, which produced and distributed the German *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin*, wrote to Eisenstein about the premiere in Berlin, emphasizing Meisel's achievement: "The music was at times so intense that in combination with the pictures on the screen it had such an impact on the viewers that they had to hold onto their seats in excitement."<sup>396</sup> Regarding the ideological impact, the Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels highlighted in March 1933 that *Battleship Potemkin* had been "marvelously made. [...] Those who are not steadfast in their worldview might become Bolsheviks as a result of this film."<sup>397</sup>

The German version of Eisenstein's most famous film was censored again in summer 1926 and then rereleased two years later in a slightly altered form by the Prometheus distribution company. This 1,464-meter-long *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin* from 1928 ultimately served as the basis for a sound version for which not only did Meisel compose new music



Fig. 92: Poster for the German version of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin* from 1926. Source: Vienna City Library, P-42361.

396 "Prometheus Filmverleih- und Vertriebs GmbH, Berlin, an Sergej Eisenstein, Moskau, 1. Juni 1926," in: Oksana Bulgakowa (ed.): *Eisenstein und Deutschland. Texte, Dokumente, Briefe*, Berlin: Akademie der Künste 1998, pp. 75–78, here p. 76 [our trans.].

397 Joseph Goebbels: "Rede im Kaiserhof am 28.3.1933," in: Gerd Albrecht (ed.): *Der Film im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Karlsruhe: Doku Verlag 1979, pp. 26–31, here p. 27 [our trans.].

Fig. 82, p. 202

and sound effects, but dialogues and chants were also post-dubbed.<sup>398</sup> Whether the screening in Vienna on the night of May 13, 1933, was of a silent version with a musical accompaniment or the sound version of 1930, which had been made using the sound-on-disc technique, is not possible to establish for certain. According to archival documents, combined optical sound and sound-on-disc equipment was installed at the Friedensbrücken Kino in 1931, which was replaced that same year with a model by the German Klangfilm GmbH.<sup>399</sup> Although Klangfilm used the **optical sound technique**, it also offered additional equipment that made it possible to screen synchronous sound-on-disc films, i.e., with phonographs.<sup>400</sup> However, the official certificate of the Friedensbrücken Kino from 1933 only refers to an optical sound machine.<sup>401</sup>

The second work to be screened by the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union (*Bund der Freunde der Sowjetunion*) on this communist movie night was only ever available in a silent version. In 1929, when *Turksib* was released, sound film was already starting to prevail in the USA and increasingly in Europe. However, in the Soviet Union work was underway on several sound film systems in order to avoid being dependent on the Western patents.<sup>402</sup> The Russian director Viktor Turin had studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and worked as a screenwriter in Hollywood before returning to the Soviet Union and shooting *Turksib* for the film company Vostok Kino: the film was a documentary about the

398 Both the German premiere version from 1926 and the German sound version from 1930 are contained in the DVD *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin & Oktjabr'*, Munich: Edition Filmmuseum 2014.

399 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 471, A3/1, Friedensbrücken-Kino, official letters from December 11, 1930, and September 8, 1931).

400 See Emil Mechau: "Der Wiedergabeprojektor" and "Das Universal-Tonzusatzgerät," in: Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren (System Klangfilm-Tobis)*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, pp. 271–283.

401 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 471, A3/1, Friedensbrücken-Kino, certificate no. 4694 from October 14, 1933).

402 See Harald Jossé: *Die Entstehung des Tonfilms. Beitrag zu einer faktenorientierten Mediengeschichtsschreibung*, Freiburg/Munich: Karl Alber 1984, pp. 281–282.

898-mile-long railroad line from Turkestan to Siberia, which was constructed from late 1926 to early 1931.<sup>403</sup> “In several respects, ‘Turksib’ is characteristic of the new direction of Russian film art,” wrote the film critic Fritz Rosenfeld on the day of the **Viennese premiere**, April 4, 1930, in the Social Democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, “it is no longer a feature film; it dispenses with the studio and the actors and nevertheless it is not a documentary film [*Kulturfilm*] in the usual sense, but rather a dramatically modeled filmic document [...]”<sup>404</sup>

Fig. 93, p. 221



Fig. 93: Poster for the Viennese premiere of Viktor Turin’s film *Turksib* on April 4, 1930. Source: Vienna City Library, P-42133.

Turin had presented excerpts from the film in Vienna two months previously at the Society of Engineers and Architects (*Ingenieur- und Architektenverein*) and emphasized in his introduction that the Soviet directors depicted social conflicts rather than individual heroes. In the case of *Turksib*, however, the film was not about a communist class war, but the “development of our country from complete technological backwardness and barbarism to colossal progress,” as Turin explained in his lecture in Vienna.<sup>405</sup> This modernization process is embodied by two opposing collectives in the film: while the Russian engineers

403 See Ingrid Kleespies: “Riding the Soviet Iron Horse. A Reading of Viktor Turin’s *Turksib* through the Lens of John Ford,” in: *Slavic Review*, 77/2 (2018), pp. 358–389, here pp. 359 and 366–367. The English version of Viktor Turin’s *Turksib*, released by John Grierson in 1930, is contained in the DVD *The Soviet Influence. From Turksib to Night Mail*, London: BFI 2011.

404 Fritz Rosenfeld: “Die Front des Friedens,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), April 4, 1930, p. 8 [our trans.].

405 Cit. after “Wesen und Arbeitsmethoden des Sowjetfilms,” in: *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna), February 9, 1930, p. 7 [our trans.].

together with air hammers and mechanical diggers represent the “colossal progress,” the “backwardness and barbarism” appear in the form of the Kazakh nomads with their donkeys and camels. Yet in *Turksib* the railroad is not shown as a synthesis of modern and natural life. Instead, the “steel path,” the original title of the film, was intended to liberate the rural territories from the forces of nature. In truth, during the Soviet collectivization of 1931 to 1933, the Kazakhs lost not only their nomadism, but some 1.75 million of them also their lives.<sup>406</sup>

406 See Matthew J. Payne: “Viktor Turin’s ‘Turksib’ (1929) and Soviet Orientalism,” in: *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 21/1 (2001), pp. 37–62, here p. 55.

## 2.4 Cinema: Mabuse's Control Center



place	UFA Ton Kino
moment	Screening of <i>The Testament of Dr. Mabuse</i>
space	8 km 112 m from the start
time	20 h 15 min before the end

Fig. 23, p. 63

II.10

After the Austrian premiere had taken place on Friday, May 12, 1933, Fritz Lang's *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (*The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*) was screened in **eight movie theaters** in Vienna on the weekend of the “**Turks Deliverance Celebration**” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*). The film aroused considerable public interest because the director was a Vienna-born celebrity and his latest work was banned in Germany.<sup>407</sup> It was Lang's second sound feature after *M* (1931) and was again produced by the Berlin Nero Film AG. The screenplay was written by his wife Thea von Harbou, based on a then still unpublished novel by Norbert Jacques, who had already provided the literary source for Lang's silent film *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse the Gambler*, 1922).<sup>408</sup> However, even in the sequel the insane Mabuse, played by Rudolf Klein-Rogge, does not speak but merely writes instructions for crimes in his cell, which are then carried out by a criminal organization. The go-between is Mabuse's doctor, Professor Baum (Oscar Beregi), who communicates with the criminal network via telegram and telephone and gives the most important instructions in a kind of control center.<sup>409</sup>

407 See Rolf Aurich, Wolfgang Jacobson, Cornelius Schnauber (eds.): *Fritz Lang. Leben und Werk. Bilder und Dokumente*, Berlin: jovis 2001, pp. 194–201.

408 Jacques's novel on which the film *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* was based was only published in 1950 under the title *Dr. Mabuses letztes Spiel* by Hoffmann & Campe in Hamburg. On the genesis of the movie and the book, see the appendix in Norbert Jacques: *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse*, ed. Michael Farin and Günter Scholdt, Hamburg: Rogner & Bernhard 1994, pp. 217–274.

409 See Fritz Lang: *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse*, 35 mm film, Berlin: Nero Film AG 1933, source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), BSP 26989-12.



Fig. 94: Still from Fritz Lang's film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* (1933): the mysterious man behind the curtain instructs his subordinates in the control center. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), BSP 26989-12.



Fig. 95: Still from Fritz Lang's film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* (1933): Kent (Gustav Diessl) and Lilli (Wera Liessem) gaze behind the curtain in the control center. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), BSP 26989-12.



Fig. 96: Still from Fritz Lang's film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* (1933): the man behind the curtain in the control center turns out to be a dummy with microphone and loudspeaker. Source: Film Archive of the Federal Archives (Berlin), BSP 26989-12.

Fig. 94, p. 224

When the associates are summoned to this “room with the curtain,” they first have to open two doors with safety locks. Upon entering, the **silhouette of a seated man** appears behind a curtain, which divides the room. The wallpaper is peeling off the walls; the outline of a urinal can be made out next to the door; a window is bricked up. A male voice not only tells those present what they must do but also reacts to their behavior. Those who move are called to order. No one knows what the “boss” looks like, and no one would dare to peer behind the curtain since a colleague was killed for doing just that. The

Fig. 96, p. 224

secret is only aired when a rogue associate, Kent (Gustav Diessl), is locked in the room with his lover, Lilli (Wera Liessem). He shoots at the curtain, rips it aside, and discovers a **table with a microphone and loudspeaker** behind which a dummy is affixed. The couple escape a ticking time bomb thanks to Kent piercing the pipe that leads to the removed urinal with a knife and a revolver and filling the room with water until the pressure breaks a hole in the wooden floor.

Fig. 95, p. 224

In the specialist literature, readers' attention is often drawn to the similarities between Mabuse's control center and the movie theater.<sup>410</sup> What Kent and Lilli discover is in principle the equipment for screening sound films. However, Lang appears to be intentionally trying to disorient the audience in this sequence, because the angle of the shots alternates axially between the curtain and the door, or, to continue the analogy, between the screen and the seats. The dummy's shadow is cast onto the curtain like the film's images onto a screen. But at the point of the reveal, it seems as though Kent and Lilli were breaking the fourth wall and **looking straight at the audience**. Furthermore, not only is there a loudspeaker on the table, but also a microphone to transmit or record sounds. It is certainly striking that the sound film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* reflects its use of audiovisual technology.<sup>411</sup> Hence, the fictional control center alludes to the type of cinema that was becoming established internationally around 1930.

II.5 &  
Fig. 101, p. 234

The development from theater to cinema can be demonstrated by the **UFA Ton Kino** at Taborstrasse 8, for example, which was one of the locations for the Vienna premiere of *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* and screened the film at 4:45, 7:00,

410 See, for example, Michel Chion: *La voix au cinéma*, Paris: Editions de l'Etoile 1993 [1982], pp. 45–46; Tom Gunning: *The Films of Fritz Lang. Allegories of Vision and Modernity*, London: BFI 2000, pp. 151–153; Brigitte Peucker: "Fritz Lang. Object and Thing in the German Films," in: Joe McElhane (ed.): *A Companion to Fritz Lang*, Chichester: Wiley & Sons 2015, pp. 279–299, here p. 290.

411 See Lucy Fisher: "Dr. Mabuse and Mr. Lang," in: *Wide Angle*, 3/3 (1979), pp. 18–26, and Jonathan Crary: "Dr. Mabuse and Mr. Edison," in: Russell Ferguson (ed.): *Art and Film Since 1945. Hall of Mirrors*, New York: Monacelli 1996, pp. 262–279.



Fig. 97: The auditorium on the ground floor of Hotel Central at Taborstrasse 8 in Vienna, where the Budapest Orpheum Society performed from 1903 to 1913. Source: Schick Hotels Betriebs GmbH (Vienna).

and 9:10 p.m. that weekend, May 13 and 14, 1933.<sup>412</sup> The cinema had opened as the Central Kino on the ground floor of Hotel Central in 1916, where a theater had been installed around 1900, which was also available to rent for events by associations and individuals. A theatrical ensemble founded in 1889 that had previously performed in the building opposite, the Hotel Zum Schwarzen Adler at Taborstrasse 11, the Budapest Orpheum Society (*Budapester Orpheum Gesellschaft*) played the “musical comedy hall” at the Central from summer 1903. “In front of what was mostly a full house, a four-hour program was offered every day until the outbreak of war in 1914,” writes Georg Wacks of the Budapest Orpheum: “The program comprised solo cabaret recitals, performances by various comedians, musical interludes by Viennese folk and operetta singers, dance performances, and guest appearances by nonresident artists.”<sup>413</sup> Loved for its Jargon theater, the ensemble combined Viennese and Jewish dialects into the

412 See “Kino-Programme,” in: *Die Stunde* (Vienna), May 13 and 14, 1933, p. 4.

413 Georg Wacks: “Der schöne Moritz von der Klabriaspattie. Die Budapest Orpheum Gesellschaft. Eine Ausnahmeerscheinung der Wiener Unterhaltungskultur,” in: Marie-Theres Arnbom and Georg Wacks (eds.): *Jüdisches Kabarett in Wien. 1889–2009*, Vienna: Armin Berg 2009, pp. 53–62, here p. 54 [our trans.].

“Jiddeln” that was an everyday language in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna’s second district through which the Taborstrasse runs.<sup>414</sup>

Fig. 97, p. 226

The **auditorium** at Hotel Central was licensed for 540 people. In front of the stage was the orchestra, followed first by reserved and then free seats. The audience sat at tables, each with five chairs, and generally ate and drank during the performances. In the loges there were also curtains to allow their occupants to withdraw into a *chambre séparée*. In the summer the Budapester Orpheum mostly performed in the amusement park in Vienna’s Prater, and every fall the ensemble had to leave the Central for ten days because the hotel’s auditorium was repurposed as a temple on the Jewish Days of Repentance from Rosh Hashana to Yom Kippur. After Carl Lechner, the director of the society, had received police authorization to screen stereoscopic, i.e., apparently three-dimensional, images in public in 1904, the Budapester Orpheum also included the cinematograph in its program over the next two years.<sup>415</sup>

“Life is captured everywhere where the lens was pointed and everything that happened faithfully reappears,” according to a flyer circulated when the Cinématographe of Auguste and Louis Lumière from Lyon was presented in Vienna.<sup>416</sup> Several roughly one-minute 35 mm films were screened daily from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. from March 26, 1896, at Kärntner Strasse 45. The apparatus could photograph and project sixteen frames per second, which the human eye only just recognizes as flowing movement. In the years that followed, cinematography became a permanent attraction in Vienna’s Prater and in variety shows. Around the time when cinematographic

- 414 Vienna’s Leopoldstadt is named after Emperor Leopold I, who had the Jewish population banished from this part of the city between the Danube Canal and the Danube River in 1670, where there had been a ghetto since 1624. Despite their temporary forced displacement, the Leopoldstadt remained a district with many Jewish inhabitants until World War II. See Ruth Beckermann (ed.): *Die Mazzesinsel. Juden in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1918–1938*, Vienna: Löcker 1984.
- 415 See Georg Wacks: *Die Budapester Orpheumgesellschaft. Ein Varieté in Wien 1889–1919*, Vienna: Holzhausen 2002, pp. 148–187.
- 416 Flyer “Die lebende Photographie,” Vienna: Philipp & Kramer 1896, source: Vienna City Library, Printed Works Collection, E-109891.

recordings were also being shown at Hotel Central, the first permanent movie theaters became established in the city: by 1906 there were already seventeen cinemas in Vienna.<sup>417</sup> That might have been one reason why the Budapest Orpheum only screened films for one year before returning to concentrate on its core business, Jewish cabaret shows. Finally, in 1913 the ensemble moved to its own theater built a five-minute walk away at Praterstrasse 25.<sup>418</sup>

During World War I, the Committee of Daycare Centers for War Orphans and Needy Children of Enlisted

Persons (*Komitee der Tagesheimstätten für Krieger-Waisen und bedürftige Kinder von Eingerückten*) made an application to the police headquarters in Vienna for permission to open a movie theater in the auditorium of Hotel Central.<sup>419</sup> For this purpose, the stage had to be bricked up and a waiting room for the audience as well as a projection room for the film projector had to be built. While the loges could remain unchanged, the tables were removed from the parterre and replaced with 614 folding chairs in twenty-four rows parallel to the screen. With the additional loges and seats on the balcony, there were a total of 1,008 seats available for the audience. The **Central Kino** was awarded a “cinematograph license” for this capacity

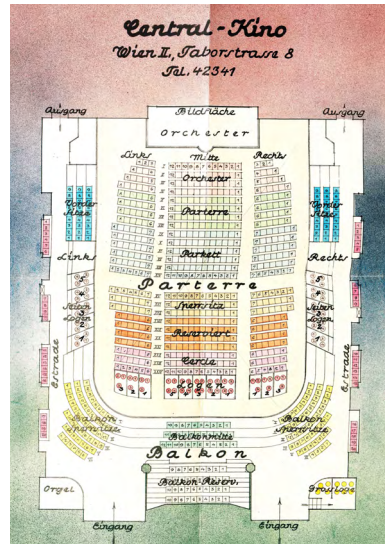


Fig. 98: The auditorium of the Central Kino at Taborstrasse 8 in Vienna in 1925. Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 1.3.2.104.A11.2.Zentralkino.

Fig. 98, p. 228

417 This number is derived from the documentation in Werner Michael Schwarz: *Kino und Kinos in Wien. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte bis 1934*, Vienna: Turia + Kant 1992, pp. 179–296.

418 See Wacks: “Der schöne Moritz von der Klabriaspattie,” p. 61.

419 The application from 1916 is documented in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino).

on October 4, 1916.<sup>420</sup> Its first manager was the journalist, screenwriter, and later film director Alfred Deutsch-German. The orchestra remained immediately in front of the stage, which now housed the screen, and in 1925 a theater organ was added on the occasion of the premiere of the film *The Ten Commandments*.<sup>421</sup>

In 1930 the management sold the organ to the Sievering parish in Vienna's nineteenth district.<sup>422</sup> The year before, the Central Kino had been fitted with sound film equipment and renamed the "UFA-Ton-Kino." The Central Association for Feeding the People (*Zentralverein für Volksernährung*), which had taken over the permit for its operation in 1926, justified the name change to the responsible municipal authority with the introduction of sound film and the fact that it was a premiere cinema for the German Universum Film AG (UFA), which had long been involved in the Central Kino.<sup>423</sup> In April 1929 the influential German film company concluded a cooperation agreement with Klangfilm GmbH, which had been founded by the electrical corporations Siemens & Halske and AEG.<sup>424</sup> Consequently, in the summer of 1929 sound film equipment by the Klangfilm brand was installed at Vienna's UFA Ton Kino. However, it was not a mere optical sound system after the Klangfilm method, but rather the "Uniton" model, which was attached to the existing projectors and could be supplemented with a phonograph.<sup>425</sup>

420 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, cinematograph license from October 4, 1916).

421 See Karl Schütz: *Theater- und Kinoorgeln in Wien*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1991, pp. 99–100.

422 See Schütz: *Theater- und Kinoorgeln in Wien*, pp. 101–102.

423 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, letter from the Zentralverein für Volksernährung to Vienna's municipal department 52, arrived on August 15, 1929).

424 See Michael Wedel: "Klärungsprozesse. Tobis, Klangfilm und die Tonfilmumstellung 1928–32," in: Jan Distelmeyer (ed.): *Tonfilmfrieden/ Tonfilmkrieg. Die Geschichte der Tobis vom Technik-Syndikat zum Staatskonzern*, Munich: edition text + kritik 2003, pp. 34–43, here p. 35.

425 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, inspection of the electrical installation in the UFA Ton Kino on March 23, 1931, "sound film apparatus: 'Klangfilm Uniton,' 2 x 30 watts, optical sound and sound-on-disc" [our trans.]).

Attempts to combine sound and image had existed since the very beginnings of cinematography. In the German-speaking world, the “Biophon” by Oskar Messter was the most famous, which was presented in Berlin in 1903 and connected the film projector with a gramophone.<sup>426</sup> However, the early sound-on-disc methods did not catch on because the synchronous recording and playback of films and records was too complicated at that time and the results mostly poor. These technical difficulties could be remedied after World War I when the electronic tube amplifiers first patented by Robert von Lieben (1906) and Lee de Forest (1907) were used.<sup>427</sup> Though not uncontested in specialist literature, the breakthrough for sound film is generally considered to be *The Jazz Singer*, which premiered in New York in 1927 and which Warner Brothers had produced using their sound-on-disc technique called Vitaphone.<sup>428</sup> What was novel about Alan Crosland’s motion picture about a New York singer and son of a Jewish cantor who rises from the ghetto on the Lower East Side to become a musical star on Broadway was not only the musical interludes integrated in the plot, but above all a short monologue by the leading actor Al Jolson and a dialogue between him and his on-screen mother.<sup>429</sup>

*The Jazz Singer* premiered in Austria on January 21, 1929, namely at the Central Kino at Taborstrasse 8 in Vienna. However, what was shown was neither the American original nor a post-dubbed German version, but rather a silent version with intertitles, which was accompanied by music from the

- 426 See Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus: “Vom Stummfilm zum Tonfilm,” in: Joachim-Felix Leonhard et al. (eds.): *Medienwissenschaft. Ein Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Medien und Kommunikationsformen*, vol. 2, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 2001, pp. 1027–1032, here p. 1027.
- 427 See Olaf Schumacher and Hans Jürgen Wulff: “Warner, Fox, Tobis-Klangfilm und die Anfänge des Tonfilms,” in: Joachim-Felix Leonhard et al. (eds.): *Medienwissenschaft. Ein Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Medien und Kommunikationsformen*, vol. 2, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 2001, pp. 1198–1207, here pp. 1198–1200.
- 428 See Donald Crafton: *The Talkies. American Cinema’s Transition to Sound, 1926–1931*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons 1997, pp. 516–531.
- 429 See Alan Crosland: *The Jazz Singer*, DVD, Hamburg: Warner Home Video 2007 [1927].

cinema orchestra, as well as singers and records.<sup>430</sup> “A swindle,” declared *Das Kleine Blatt*:

*Instead of the greatly hyped sound feature, one is shown mouths opened in silence followed by overabundant inserted text. Now and then use is made of a phonograph, and singers hidden in the gallery attempt in vain to keep in time with the comical movements of the mouths of the film’s characters.*<sup>431</sup>

Fritz Rosenfeld, the film critic at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, also trashed the Viennese premiere but found it striking that *The Jazz Singer* was playing “in the movie theater of the German National Ufa” whose lobby had been fitted out as a Jewish “temple” for the event.<sup>432</sup> Heinrich Lipsker, the then manager, did indeed set up some vitrines and candelabras from the Jewish Museum, which was located nearby at Malzgasse 16, in the waiting room of the Central Kino in mid-January 1929.<sup>433</sup> Presumably, these loans were intended to establish a connection between the film’s plot about the cantor’s son from the New York ghetto and Jewish life in Vienna’s Leopoldstadt district.

Published in January 1929, the article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* also makes it clear that even before the Central Kino was renamed the following August, the involvement of Universum Film AG was common knowledge. Both artistically and commercially successful in the 1920s, the film company had been considered to be “German National” since its founding in 1917, and this perception was only reinforced once it belonged to Alfred Hugenberg’s media group. The cofounder and future president of the German National People’s Party had taken over UFA in 1927, which was in dire financial straits, partly

- 430 The often-cited statement in the Austrian film history by Walter Fritz that *The Jazz Singer* was screened as a sound feature in the Central Kino on January 21, 1929, is wrong. See Walter Fritz: *Kino in Österreich. 1929–1945*, Vienna: ÖBV 1991, p. 15.
- 431 Johann Hirsch: “Der Jazzsänger,” in: *Das Kleine Blatt* (Vienna), January 25, 1929, p. 8 [our trans.].
- 432 Fritz Rosenfeld: “Der Jazzsänger,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), January 23, 1929, p. 6 [our trans.].
- 433 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, letter incl. sketch from the Central Kino GmbH to Vienna’s municipal department 58, dated January 18, 1929).

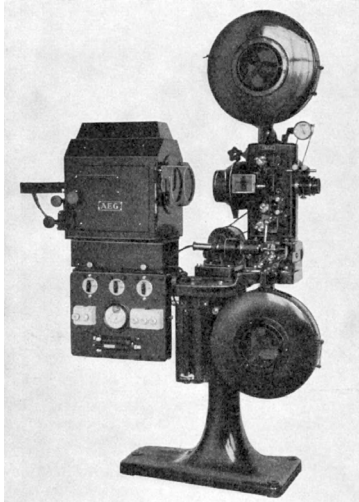


Fig. 99: An AEG projector for 35 mm film with an optical sound projector by Klangfilm GmbH, printed in Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren (System Klangfilm-Tobis)*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, fig. 242. Source: Austrian Central Library for Physics (Vienna), 1755.

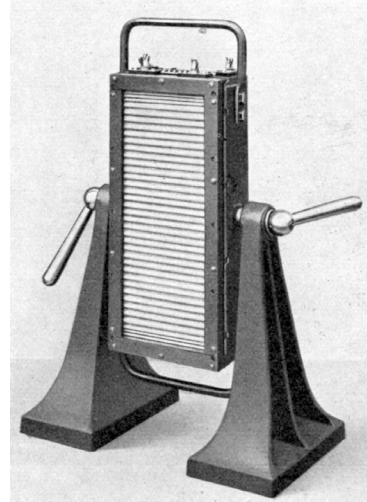


Fig. 100: The so-called "Blatt-haller," an electrodynamic loudspeaker by Siemens & Halske, printed in Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren (System Klangfilm-Tobis)*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, fig. 155. Source: Austrian Central Library for Physics (Vienna), 1755.

because of Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* whose production had cost over five million reichsmarks.<sup>434</sup> In the course of its financial recovery, the experiments with optical sound were abandoned, which had been conducted by the company in collaboration with the Tri-Ergon group of inventors since the mid-1920s.<sup>435</sup> After the founding of the German Tonbild Syndikat AG, known as Tobis for short, and Klangfilm GmbH, which signed a cooperation agreement in March 1929, UFA concluded the aforementioned contract with Klangfilm, which

434 See Klaus Kreimeier: *Die Ufa-Story. Geschichte eines Filmkonzerns*, Munich/Vienna: Hanser 1992, pp. 176–205.

435 See Harald Jossé: *Die Entstehung des Tonfilms. Beitrag zu einer faktenorientierten Mediengeschichtsschreibung*, Freiburg/Munich: Karl Alber 1984, p. 236.

is probably what led to the sound film equipment being fitted in Vienna's Central Kino.<sup>436</sup>

Fig. 99, p. 232

The schematic of the Klangfilm equipment at the Central Kino has been preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna.<sup>437</sup> The two apparatuses it shows each comprise a **motion-picture and a sound projector**, as well as a phonograph, which were powered by an electric motor, meaning that 35 mm films could be screened silently, with optical sound, or with records being played synchronously at a constant speed of twenty-four frames per second. For the sound reinforcement system in the auditorium, which was now licensed to hold 1,048 people, two "Blatthaller" were deployed, presumably positioned to the left and right of the screen. The Blatthaller was an electrodynamic loudspeaker by Siemens & Halske, which was available in a range of versions around 1930.<sup>438</sup> According to the AEG schematic from 1929, the 20 cm wide and 54 cm tall, that is, the **smaller model** of the loudspeaker was used in the Central Kino, which allowed the sound direction to be steered more easily than the bigger "Riesenblatthaller." Nevertheless, the acoustics still appear to have caused problems, because the following year the interior of the UFA Ton Kino was clad in fabric to improve the sound quality.<sup>439</sup>

Fig. 100, p. 232

Fig. 82, p. 202

At first, most sound features were released in both an optical sound and a sound-on-disc version.<sup>440</sup> However, it did not take long for the **optical sound method** to become prevalent, the product of which, a soundtrack recorded on film, was easier to **cut and combine with the images** than the records. As such, Fritz Lang's *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* was also filmed using the Tobis-Klangfilm system in 1932 before being distributed in early 1933 as an optical sound film in

III.2.3 &  
Fig. 90, p. 214

436 See Wedel: "Klärungsprozesse," p. 35.

437 See WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino.

438 See Ferdinand Trendelenburg: "Der Blatthaller," in: Fritz Fischer and Hugo Lichte (eds.): *Tonfilm. Aufnahme und Wiedergabe nach dem Klangfilm-Verfahren (System Klangfilm-Tobis)*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1931, pp. 171–174.

439 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, letter from the UFA Ton Kino to Vienna's municipal department 52, dated June 10, 1930).

440 See Wedel: "Klärungsprozesse," p. 40.



Fig. 101: The UFA Ton Kino, located on the ground floor of Hotel Central at Taborstrasse 8 in Vienna, photographed on April 13, 1944. Source: Austrian National Library, 162.307A(B).

35 mm format.<sup>441</sup> On the same day that the feature film was banned in Germany, March 29, 1933, the board of UFA decided to terminate all employment contracts with Jewish employees.<sup>442</sup> A government under the leadership of Adolf Hitler had been in office in the German Reich for just two months; not only was Alfred Hugenberg part of this administration as its economy minister, but now also Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, who had personally demanded that *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* be banned.<sup>443</sup>

Shortly before the film's premiere at the **UFA Ton Kino** in Vienna, there was a change of management. On May 9, 1933, the Central Association for Feeding the People as the licensee reported to the municipal authorities that Heinrich Lipsker had "left our services" and Hermann Stritzko had taken his

Fig. 101, p. 234

- 441 On the format of the original version, see the full credits of the movie *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (1933) at [filmportal.de](http://filmportal.de), URL: [www.filmportal.de/film/das-testament-des-dr-mabuse\\_2ab1c65e6aed44dfac401ad99147182d](http://www.filmportal.de/film/das-testament-des-dr-mabuse_2ab1c65e6aed44dfac401ad99147182d).
- 442 See Kreimeier: *Die Ufa-Story*, p. 248.
- 443 See Aurich et al. (eds.): *Fritz Lang*, p. 194.

place.<sup>444</sup> The new manager was evidently a member of the NSDAP, which was banned in Austria in June 1933: in May 1939, at which point the country had been part of the German Reich for over a year, a report from the Viennese branch of the Reich Chamber of Film (*Reichsfilmkammer*) stated that party comrade Stritzko had conducted himself “as an upstanding and respectable National Socialist throughout all the years of the prohibition.”<sup>445</sup> Heinrich Moses Lipsker, in contrast, was deported from Vienna to Kaunas by train on November 23, 1941, together with 997 other Jews, where he was shot six days later by Lithuanian auxiliaries of a National Socialist task force.<sup>446</sup>

- 444 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, M.Abt. 104, A11, Zentralkino, written request from May 9, 1933, approved on June 2, 1933 [our trans.]).
- 445 See Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA, Reichsfilmkammer, Aussenstelle Wien, A1 – Kinoakten: 135 – UFA-Theater, letter from the Reichsfilmkammer Aussenstelle Wien to the Vienna gau administration (*Gauleitung*) of the NSDAP, dated May 3, 1939 [our trans.]).
- 446 See Wolfgang Scheffler: “Massenmord in Kowno,” in: Wolfgang Scheffler and Diana Schulle (eds.): *Buch der Erinnerung. Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden*, vol. 1, Munich: Saur 2003, pp. 83–188, here pp. 83–87 and 162. That the Heinrich Moses Lipsker who was born in Vienna on July 23, 1879, and murdered in Kaunas on November 29, 1941, was the former manager of the UFA Ton Kino is proven by the historical registration records preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna.

## 2.5 Exposure: “Lick Me in the Ass!”



place	Lassalle Hof
moment	Exposure of buttocks
space	10 km 57 m from the start
time	21 h 30 min before the end

- II.1 On Saturday, May 13, 1933, some Nazi politicians from Germany landed on **Aspern airfield** in Vienna shortly after 2 p.m., led by Bavarian Minister of Justice Hans Frank and his Prussian counterpart Hanns Kerrl. The official reason for their journey was to participate in a lawyers’ conference; in fact, however, a National Socialist counter-event to the “Turks Deliverance Celebration” (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) by the Austrian Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) was being held.
- II.7 place on the Saturday evening at the **Engelmann Arena**, the latter on the Sunday morning in the **gardens of Schönbrunn Palace**. The visitors were welcomed by hundreds of National Socialists at the airfield before driving into the inner city to
- II.10 & III.1.3 the **Adolf Hitler House**, the Vienna headquarters of the NSDAP.
- II.4 On the sides of the roads, their supporters cheered and their opponents whistled.<sup>447</sup> The protest was loudest in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna’s second district. After the convoy had crossed the Danube River via the Reichsbrücke bridge, the following scene occurred on the left-hand side (in the direction of travel) of Lassallestrasse as stated by *Die Rote Fahne*:

*From the Lassalle Hof, which had been cordoned off by the police, the workers looked down from their windows, but from the back. Body parts were visible that the Nazi ministers were supposed to understand as a call to make the Götz quote a reality.*<sup>448</sup>

447 See “Lärmender Empfang der nationalsozialistischen Minister,” in: *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), May 14, 1933 (morning edition), p. 7.

448 “Pfui-Rufe, rote Fahnen und Pfeifkonzert,” in: *Die Rote Fahne* (Vienna), May 14, 1933, p. 2 [our trans.].

Fig. 21, p. 60

According to this report in the Communist party newspaper, the municipal public housing (*Gemeindebau*) at Lassallestrasse 40–44 in Vienna, the Lassalle Hof, was not only decorated with red flags, but some inhabitants showed their buttocks from their windows **as the Nazi politicians from Germany were driving past**. Instead of cheering the visitors like princes as they entered the city or saluting the convoy like a motorized parade, these demonstrators turned their backs and exposed a part of the body that usually remains concealed in the public space. It is worth following the trail laid by the *Rote Fahne*, because in this case the expression “Götz quote” is not just a euphemism, a polite term, but helps us understand this specific gesture of protest.

The Götz quote comes from the play *Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand*, which Johann Wolfgang Goethe wrote in 1771 and had published anonymously two years later.<sup>449</sup> Only these earliest versions, the original and the first printing, contain the expression in full that is also known as the Swabian greeting. Goethe, who was only in his early twenties at the time and had just started working as a lawyer in Frankfurt am Main, based his literary portrayal on the *Lebens-Beschreibung Herrn Gözens von Berlichingen*, the autobiography published in 1731 by a Franconian imperial knight of the Holy Roman Empire who lived at the end of the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period.<sup>450</sup> Despite having lost his right hand as a young man and needing to wear a prosthesis, this Gottfried von Berlichingen grew into a notorious mercenary who earned his money primarily with chivalric feuds. In other words, he was paid by private citizens or families to wage war against their enemies. However, Goethe portrayed the historical military entrepreneur as a German freedom fighter, “whom the princes hate, and to whom the oppressed turn.”<sup>451</sup>

449 Both versions are printed in Johann Wolfgang Goethe: *Geschichte Gottfriedens von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand dramatisiert. Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand. Studienausgabe*, ed. Bodo Plachta, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 2017.

450 On the historical Götz von Berlichingen, see Helgard Ulmschneider: *Götz von Berlichingen. Ein adeliges Leben der deutschen Renaissance*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1974.

451 [Johann Wolfgang Goethe:] *Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand. Ein Schauspiel*, [without place and publisher] 1773, p. 17 [our trans.].



Fig. 102: Screenshot of the Topology module of the website campusmedius.net (mobile version 2.0/2021) showing the mediator “Lick Me in the Ass!” in the mediation “How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes” (text: Simon Ganahl, code: Andreas Krimbacher, design: Susanne Kiesenhofer).

In one of the twenty-one scenes of the third act, Götz entrenches himself with his family in Jagsthausen Castle. As Emperor Maximilian I has imposed the imperial ban (*Reichsacht*) on him, i.e., declared Berlichingen an outlaw for breaching the peace, the imperial army lays siege to his castle. When a messenger calls on him to surrender, Götz shouts out of the window: “Tell your captain: For His Imperial Majesty I have as ever due respect. But he, tell him, he can lick me in the ass.” The scene ends with the stage direction: “(slams the window shut.)”<sup>452</sup> As an imperial knight of the Holy Roman Empire, Berlichingen is under the direct control of the emperor and, in contrast to his childhood friend and now rival Adelbert von Weislingen, does not serve a territorial prince. He feels personally beholden to Maximilian I but insists on the traditional right of knights to fight feuds. As Götz does not recognize the Roman law according to which the emperor has sentenced him, he considers himself innocent. That means that the Götz quote corresponds in the original text to the meaning of the expression “protection and defiance” (*Schutz und Trutz*), because Berlichingen is not only attempting to protect his territory from invaders, to make his enemy retreat, but also expressing—in a provocative and humiliating way—his defiance, his resistance to authority, through his jeer that his foe should lick him in the ass.

In this passage, Goethe further specified the description in the memoirs of the historical Götz von Berlichingen, who had apparently told a senior civil servant, “he should lick my behind.”<sup>453</sup> However, the explicit version in the play is already the verbalization of an action that dates back much further than the Middle Ages. In the mid-nineteenth century, the archaeologist Otto Jahn investigated the superstition that can be found primarily in Greece and Italy since antiquity, according to which envy can have a deleterious effect, which is wielded via the “**evil eye**.”<sup>454</sup> According to Jahn, the obscene and offensive exposure of the genitalia was one of the ways to hinder or

Fig. 103, p. 240

452 [Goethe:] *Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand*, p. 133 [our trans.].

453 *Lebens-Beschreibung Herrn Gözens von Berlichingen*, ed. Franck von Steigerwald, Nuremberg: Adam Jonathan Felssecker 1731, p. 170 [our trans.].

454 See Otto Jahn: “Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,” in: *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-Historische Classe. Siebenter Band*, →



Fig. 103: Stone carving from late antiquity with symbolic representations of means to repel the “evil eye,” among them a man with a Phrygian cap and exposed buttocks (top left), printed in Frederick Thomas Elworthy: *The Evil Eye. An Account of this Ancient & Widespread Superstition*, London: John Murray 1895, fig. 24. Source: Internet Archive.

fend off envious gazes. Showing one’s buttocks as a defensive gesture can also be found in German folk legends, where it is used on the one hand against ghosts or thunderstorms and on the other against besiegers.<sup>455</sup> In these functions, so-called “mooners” (*Blecker*) also appear on castles, churches, city gates, and patrician houses in wooden or stone form, always facing outward.<sup>456</sup> While in the profane realm the apotropaic effect of the naked posterior, i.e., its ability to avert evil or bad luck, was at the fore, such grotesque figures inside churches were also depicted as counterpoints to Christian authorities, as representatives of the apostate people of god.<sup>457</sup>

→ Leipzig: Hirzel 1855, pp. 28–110, and more recently John H. Elliott: *Beware the Evil Eye. The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World. Vol. 2: Greece and Rome*, Cambridge: James Clarke 2016.

455 See Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli: “Hinterer,” in: Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli (eds.): *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. IV, Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter 1932, pp. 61–68, here pp. 62–63.

456 The Middle High German verb “blecken” actually means “shine, polish” and was used figuratively to denote “expose.” On the sculpted mooners, see Günter Jerouschek: *“Er aber, sags ihm, er kann mich im Arsch lecken.” Psychoanalytische Überlegungen zu einer Beschämungsformel und ihrer Geschichte*, Giessen: Psychosozial-Verlag 2005, pp. 21–24.

457 See Katrin Kröll: “Der schalkhaft beredsame Leib als Medium verborgener Wahrheit. Zur Bedeutung von ‘Entblössungsgebärden’ in mittelalterlicher Bildkunst, Literatur und darstellendem Spiel,” in: Katrin Kröll and Hugo Steger (eds.): *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht. Grotteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, Freiburg: Rombach 1994, pp. 239–294, here pp. 246 and 271.

Whether the mooners were intended to have more of a protective or lampooning effect is not always clear in every case. The second effect presupposes a hierarchical relationship because an exposed behind is generally aimed at religious or political elders and betters. This kind of insult as a specific act is recorded in Vienna in the late Middle Ages, where according to the chronicler Michael Beheim some Viennese residents showed their naked buttocks to Empress Eleonore and her female entourage in 1462 and shouted to them: “Thou empress and ye virgins! / This mirror ye should merge in!” (“Du kaiserin und ir juncfrawn! / ir solt in dise spiegel schawn!”).<sup>458</sup> That not only the act but also the linguistic taunt to let someone lick on or in the ass is to be understood as an “expression of defiance” was emphasized by Sigmund Freud in reference to Goethe’s *Götz von Berlichingen*. The founder of psychoanalysis regarded obstinacy—together with orderliness and parsimony—as the result of the sublimation of anal erotism.<sup>459</sup>

Howsoever these psychological connections may develop, it is a fact that the Götz quote expresses in both the gestural and linguistic version a historically established pattern of behavior. Just as Goethe incorporated a figure of speech that was common in southern Germany in his literature, the inhabitants of the Lassalle Hof did not invent the corresponding defiant gesture but simply used it at an appropriate moment. It is remarkable that in both cases the medieval context of the mooners is brought to mind. In the play, the similarity is obvious: the knight Götz von Berlichingen shouts the expletive from a window of his Jagsthausen Castle during its siege. In contrast, at the protest in Vienna on May 13, 1933, this analogy requires further explanation.

The municipality of Vienna invited submissions for the construction of the apartment building named after Ferdinand Lassalle, a pioneer of the German labor movement, in

458 Michael Beheim: *Buch von den Wienern. 1462–1465*, ed. Theodor Georg von Karajan, Vienna: Rohrmann 1843, p. 193 [our trans.].

459 See Sigmund Freud: “Character and Anal Erotism” [German 1908], in: *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. IX: 1906–1908*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, London: Hogarth Press 1959, pp. 167–176, here p. 173.

fall 1923.<sup>460</sup> As it was in a prominent position in terms of urban planning, the future building should “be particularly exemplary.”<sup>461</sup> What was realized from May 1924, however, was not the winning project by the architect Karl Krist, but the second-place design for a “Lassalle tower” by Hubert Gessner’s office. Like many of the 199 architects who were commissioned with building the 382 municipal public housing projects (*Gemeindebauten*) in Vienna from 1919 to 1934, Gessner had studied under Otto Wagner at the Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>462</sup> He was supported by Victor Adler, the founder of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party in Austria, and planned among many other buildings the Arbeiterheim Favoriten workers’ house (1902) and the business premises of the party’s Vorwärts publishing house (1910), which also incorporated the editorial department of the Social Democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

Gessner’s construction style, which became characteristic of public housing in Vienna, was strongly influenced by Wagner’s urban planning, which favored multistory apartment buildings with green courtyards over settlements with row houses.<sup>463</sup> Wagner’s students had learned how to deal with large building volumes and insert the new apartment buildings into the former imperial seat in a conservative rather than radical way. Therefore, Viennese public housing not only differs from concepts of the settlement movement (*Siedlerbewegung*), which were advocated by the likes of the architect Adolf Loos, but also from the functional approach of the International Style, which in Germany found expression at the Bauhaus. These differences go beyond the buildings’ external appearance, because to create work for as many people as possible, the communal housing complexes in Vienna were intentionally

460 See Markus Kristan: *Hubert Gessner. Architekt zwischen Kaiserreich und Sozialdemokratie 1871–1943*, ed. Gabriela Gantenbein, Vienna: Passagen 2011, pp. 232–239.

461 “Ein Wettbewerb für Stadtarchitektur,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), October 30, 1923, p. 6 [our trans.].

462 See Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann: *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919–1934*, Vienna: Schönbrunn-Verlag 1980, pp. 203–206.

463 On this and the following, see Hautmann and Hautmann: *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919–1934*, pp. 205–217.

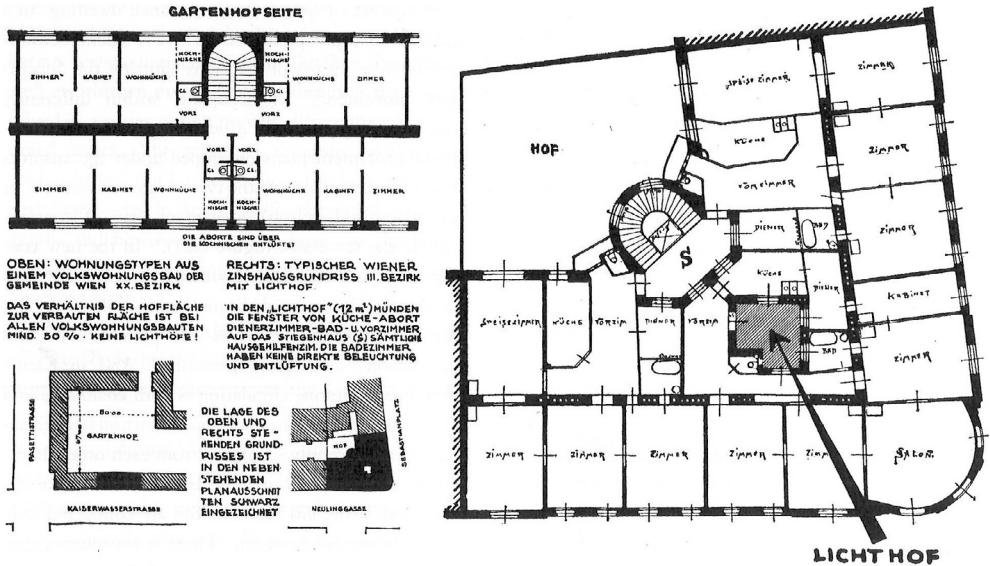


Fig. 104: The layout of municipal apartments built in Vienna in the 1920s (left) compared to typical Viennese tenements from the time before World War I with rooms facing onto a narrow air well (right), printed in *Der Aufbau* (Vienna), 1/4 (1926), p. 54. Source: Austrian National Library, 558249-C.

built using conventional construction techniques.<sup>464</sup> The apartments, all of which were equipped with toilets and gas ovens and were almost free for working-class families, were a considerable improvement compared to the overpriced nineteenth-century tenements, where water access and toilets were located in the hallways.<sup>465</sup> When compared with the Modernist furnished model settlements in Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, Vienna's public housing seemed modest. Yet

Fig. 104, p. 243

464 See Friedrich Achleitner: "Wiener Architektur der Zwischenkriegszeit. Kontinuität, Irritation und Resignation" [1981], in: *Wiener Architektur. Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und semantischem Schlamassel*, Vienna: Böhlau 1996, pp. 52–72, here p. 64.

465 See Friedrich Achleitner: "Der Wiener Gemeindebau als Teil einer sozialreformerischen Konzeption. Historische, politische und wirtschaftliche Vorbedingungen" [1983], in: *Wiener Architektur. Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und semantischem Schlamassel*, Vienna: Böhlau 1996, pp. 73–80, here pp. 73–74.

III.3.4 &  
Fig. 126, p. 295

the aim of the Social Democratic city government or rather “Red Vienna” as a whole to improve living conditions for as many workers as possible with the funding available was certainly achieved with the new apartment blocks they built.

In his speech at the opening of the Lassalle Hof on October 3, 1926, Vienna’s mayor Karl Seitz emphasized that it was impossible to provide every working-class family with their own house in a city. Even the 290 apartments in this new municipal housing project were neither “showy” nor “excessively large,” but they went some way toward reducing the “housing shortage,” and therefore the city government would abide by this tried-and-tested concept and continue to build multistory apartment complexes with communal facilities like kindergartens and libraries.<sup>466</sup> In the brochure to accompany the opening, the municipal planning and building office highlighted the position of the building site, which “from an urban planning perspective” had required “a particular emphasis of the architectural structure,” which the now realized project had achieved with a “tower-like development of the corner of the building.”<sup>467</sup> The eight-story tower facing Lassallestrasse with bay windows and a top-mounted glass pavilion marks “a threshold for those who approach the city from the Reichsbrücke or those who leave it after having come from Praterstern.”<sup>468</sup> In the specialist literature, the Lassalle Hof is also described as a “bridgehead” to the Danube and as the “entrance gate to the city.”<sup>469</sup>

For the Viennese architect Josef Frank, a vehement supporter of the settlement movement, this mixture of lower-mid-class apartments and monumental façades was fittingly

466 Cit. after “Zwei Feste der Wiener Gemeindeverwaltung,” in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), October 4, 1926, p. 3 [our trans.].

467 *Lassalle-Hof. Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im II. Bezirk*, ed. Wiener Stadtbauamt, Vienna: Reisser [1926], p. 5 [our trans.].

468 Friedrich Achleitner: *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Führer in vier Bänden. Vol. III/1: Wien, 1.–12. Bezirk*, St. Pölten: Residenz 1990, p. 100 [our trans.].

469 Helmut Weihsmann: *Das Rote Wien. Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919–1934*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vienna: Promedia 2002, p. 189 [our trans.].



Fig. 105: The Lassalle Hof in Vienna, photographed from the Lassallestrasse in 1926. Source: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.2.FC1.407M.

expressed in the term “people’s apartment palace.”<sup>470</sup> Instead of aiming to provide every working-class family with a house with garden, Vienna’s public housing was competing with the pathos of princely residences. As one could not directly draw on monarchical architecture as a republican, however, the “primitive-thinking planners” reverted “to medieval forms”: “castle doors, towers, bay windows, and battlements that in former times were the accessories of the ideal dwelling of the petit bourgeois, who looked to German history for inspiration.”<sup>471</sup> Indeed, the **Lassalle Hof with its mighty tower and massive portal**, its bay windows and battlements, is reminiscent

Fig. 105, p. 245

470 See Josef Frank: “Der Volkswohnungspalast / The People’s Apartment Palace,” trans. Brian Dorsey [German 1926], in: *Schriften. Bd. 1: Veröffentlichte Schriften 1910–1930. Writings. Vol. 1: Published Writings 1910–1930*, ed. Tano Bojankin, Christopher Long, and Iris Meder, Vienna: Metroverlag 2012, pp. 254–267.

471 Josef Frank: “Wiener Bauten und Wohnungen / Viennese Buildings and Apartments,” trans. Kimi Lum [German 1930], in: *Schriften. Bd. 1: Veröffentlichte Schriften 1910–1930. Writings. Vol. 1: Published Writings 1910–1930*, ed. Tano Bojankin, Christopher Long, and Iris Meder, Vienna: Metroverlag 2012, pp. 394–403, here pp. 397 and 399.

of a medieval castle in whose windows at around 3:30 p.m. on May 13, 1933, a row of mooners appeared.

With their naked buttocks, these (presumably Social Democratic- or Communist-minded) inhabitants of the Viennese public housing project wanted to offend their political opponents from Germany and deny the arriving National Socialists the authority that their supporters at the edge of the road were jubilantly asserting. However, due to the location and architecture of the Lassalle Hof, it was also a gesture of defiance aimed at invaders or besiegers: the Nazi politicians who were coming to Vienna to advocate Austria's annexation by the German Reich were supposed to be scared off and prevented from passing into the city. Yet Hans Frank drove on to the Adolf Hitler House, albeit diverted into side streets by the police at Praterstern, then went on stage that evening at the Engelmann Arena, gave a press conference the following day in the **German embassy**, and was only expelled from Austria on Monday, May 15, 1933, by order of the federal government.<sup>472</sup>

In order to interpret this gesture of protest appropriately, its body language must be understood. After all, in a normal stance, people's gaze would have been directed at the passing convoy. The spectators would have demonstrated their attentiveness with their eyes, ideally speaking, **marveled at the arriving princes like divine beings, or bestowed military honor on their betters**. What is the meaning of Hans Frank and his entourage instead being shown naked buttocks? Aside from the deterrent and offensive impact of the gesture, the anus also expresses a dissolution of bodily boundaries, which encapsulates Goethe's topical formulation. In the literary Götz's taunt that the captain could lick him "in" the ass, the insulter and the insulted or the besieged and the besieger merge into one, as it were. In his studies on the French writer François Rabelais, the Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin pointed out that while the eyes are of crucial significance to the body's individuality in the modern period, the grotesque body of the Renaissance emphasized its "convexities and orifices," above

472 See "Ersuchen um Rückberufung Dr. Franks," in: *Reichspost* (Vienna), May 16, 1933, p. 1.

all the mouth and the nose, the phallus and the buttocks.<sup>473</sup> In this sense, the Viennese mooners of May 13, 1933, not only called into question the authority of the German Nazi politicians, but also “the individual, strictly limited mass, the impenetrable façade” of the modern body.<sup>474</sup>

473 Mikhail Bakhtin: *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1984 [Russian 1965], pp. 316–317.

474 Bakhtin: *Rabelais and His World*, p. 320.