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„The evolution of Austria's contemporary national identity  
as seen through the history of the Salzburg Festival“

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## Abstract DE

In dieser Arbeit geht es um die Entwicklung der nationalen Identität Österreichs im 20. Jahrhundert, die anhand der Salzburger Festspiele analysiert wird, einem Musik- und Theaterfestival, das 1920 von dem Regisseur Max Reinhardt und dem Schriftsteller Hugo von Hofmannsthal gegründet wurde. Sie analysiert das Problem der österreichischen nationalen Identität. Nach dem Zerfall der Habsburgermonarchie strukturierte die verbliebene Nation ihr Selbstverständnis neu, vor allem durch das Wiederaufleben von Ideen, die bereits in der Monarchie zu finden waren. Diese Version der österreichischen Identität wurde während des nationalsozialistischen Regimes abgeschafft und durch das NS-deutsche Narrativ ersetzt und erst nach dem Krieg, in der Zweiten Republik, in veränderter Form wieder eingeführt. Die Salzburger Festspiele sind ein gutes Beispiel für die Probleme, die durch diese Entwicklung der Identität entstanden.

Das theoretische Rahmenwerk der Arbeit bietet eine Struktur, um die Entstehung einer Tradition, die beteiligten Elemente und die damit verbundenen Prozesse zu analysieren. Er besteht aus den folgenden Elementen: „Akteure“, bestehend aus Maurice Halbwachs' Theorie des kollektiven Gedächtnisses und Eric Hobsbawns Idee der Neuerfindung von Traditionen. Als Nächstes befasst sich der theoretische Rahmen mit dem Element der „Rechtfertigung“, die von Pierre Nora und der Theorie der "Erinnerungsorte" beschrieben wird, sowie mit Clifford Geertz' Arbeit über die "tiefe Beschreibung" zusätzlich zu den Beiträgen von Hobsbawm. Schließlich wird die „Umsetzung“ von Traditionen durch Ideen von Hobsbawm und die Theorie der "imagined communities" von Benedict Anderson erreicht.

Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, dieses Rahmenwerk mit dem Thema der problematischen Entwicklung der österreichischen nationalen Identität zu verbinden, gleichzeitig die Entwicklung der österreichischen Nation und der Salzburger Festspiele aufzuzeigen und die Anwendbarkeit des theoretischen Rahmenwerks zu testen.

Die Schlussfolgerung dieser Arbeit ist, dass sich das Rahmenwerk auf die Fallstudie der Salzburger Festspiele anwenden erwiesen hat. Einzelpersonen wie das Gründerduo Max Reinhardt und Hugo von Hofmannsthal waren die treibende Kraft hinter der Gründung, gefolgt von späteren Akteuren wie dem Salzburger Landeshauptmann Franz Rehr. In jeder historischen Epoche der Festspiele wurden verschiedene Elemente der österreichischen Vergangenheit wie die Monarchie oder der Katholizismus wieder aufgegriffen, um ein neues Nationalgefühl zu schaffen. Die Umsetzung dieser Identität wurde durch die Organisation der Festspiele als solche gewährleistet.

## Abstract EN

This thesis revolves around the development of the national identity of Austria in the 20th century, analysed through the lens of the Salzburg Festival, a music and theatre festival founded in 1920 by director Max Reinhardt and writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal.

It analyses the problem of Austrian national identity. After the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy, the remaining nation restructured its self-image, mostly through the rekindling of ideas already found in the monarchy. This version of Austrian identity was abolished during the National Socialist regime, replacing it with the NS-German narrative and was only reintroduced in an altered form after the war, in the Second Republic. The Salzburg Festival is a good illustration of the problems occurring through this evolution of identity.

A theoretical framework provides a structure on how to analyse the creation of a tradition, the involved elements and the concurring processes. It consists of following elements: Actors, consisting of Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory and Eric Hobsbawm idea of the reinvention of traditions. Next, the framework addresses the importance of justification, described by Pierre Nora and the theory of "Memory Places" as well as Clifford Geertz's work on "deep description" in addition to input by Hobsbawm. Finally, the implementation of traditions is achieved through ideas of Hobsbawm, and the theory of "imagined communities" by Benedict Anderson.

This thesis aims at combining this framework with the problematic evolution of Austrian national identity, at the same time disclosing on how the Austrian nation and the Salzburg Festival developed as well as testing the applicability of the theoretical framework.

The conclusion of this thesis is that the framework proved to be applicable to the case study of the Salzburg Festival. Individuals like the founder duo Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal were the initial power behind its foundation, followed by subsequent stakeholders like the governor of Salzburg, Franz Rehr. Different elements of Austria's past like the monarchy or Catholicism were repurposed in every historical era of the festival to compile a new sense of national identity. The implementation of this identity was guaranteed through the organisation of the festival in its own right.

*“Was hat das aber mit der Stadt Salzburg zu tun? Das Salzburger Land ist das Herz vom Herzen Europas, (...), zwischen Berg und Ebene, zwischen dem Heroischen und dem Idyllischen; Salzburg liegt als Bauwerk zwischen dem Städtischen und dem Ländlichen, dem Uralten und dem Neuzeitlichen, dem barocken Fürstlichen und dem lieblich, ewig Bäuerlichen...”*

„But what does this have to do with the city of Salzburg? The Salzburg region is the heart of the heart of Europe, (...), between mountain and plain, between the heroic and the idyllic; Salzburg lies as a building between the urban and the rural, the ancient and the modern, the baroque princely and the lovely, eternally rural...”.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, 1919<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.36

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## Introduction

### *What is identity?*

Identity is: *“the fact of being, or feeling that you are, a particular type of person, organization, etc.,”* and it defines *“the qualities that make a person, organization, etc. different from others”*<sup>2</sup>.

Identity provides identification - this is the most fundamental idea this thesis is built upon. Identity of a nation is a particularly gripping subcategory of this concept as it affects every single individual living in this nation because state and citizen are always to some extent intertwined. However, it is noteworthy that identity changes over time, despite its fundamental goal to provide a stable sense of belonging. Historian Eric Hobsbawm argues that changing traditions are the building blocks for national identities, despite their goal to present a sentiment of permanence.<sup>3</sup> This thesis' goal is to analyse the development of a national identity over time.

To that end, I take an interdisciplinary approach. On one hand, I use the historical perspective to present a case study. On the other hand, a dedicated theoretical framework aims at covering the field of international relations.

### *The problem of Austria's national identity*

For the case study, I focus on my native country, Austria. Not only do I personally have a strong connection to this nation, but Austria is an especially interesting academic case to consider. Within the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has changed its form of governance several times, from the Habsburg Monarchy to the First Republic; from the incorporation into the Third Reich to the Second Republic.<sup>4</sup> Connected with these political changes, the national identity needed to be adapted every single time.

It would go beyond the scope of this thesis to cover every facet of the changing Austrian identity, thus a particularly clear-cut approach is needed. Therefore, I focus on one single event that took place throughout all of the above mentioned eras of nation building. The Salzburg Festival, founded in 1920, has been a significant occasion to represent Austria in the world up to this day, as one of the most significant music

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<sup>2</sup> “IDENTITY | Bedeutung Im Cambridge Englisch Wörterbuch.”

<sup>3</sup> Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” P.1

<sup>4</sup> Vöckel, *Geschichte Österreichs: Kultur - Gesellschaft - Politik; [Mit Zeittafeln, Biographien Und Hinweisen Auf Museen Und Sammlungen]*. P.304

festivals in the world.<sup>5</sup> This confident praise can be put into numbers. Last year, in 2021, 209.071 tickets were brought into sale, covering a total of 168 performances.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, I propose to use the prominent example of the Salzburg Festival as a mirror of the development of the general national identity of Austria. Likewise, I raise awareness of the problems and inconsistencies that the Austrian identity formation is faced with during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

An academic analysis demands a clearly defined methodology. To begin with, I observe the three essential time periods of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that considerably shaped the Austrian nation as it is today, the First Republic, the Third Reich in Austria and the Second Republic. Due to the focus on the festival, I first present the events and developments that occurred in the context of Salzburg, followed by the general topics that contributed to the creation of the Austrian national identity in general. After each bipartite section, I provide a brief intermediate summary. I finish this historiographical observation approximately with the independence of Austria in 1955. I use the word “approximately” because I am aware that the Austrian identity has continued to be shaped after 1955 up to this day. However, it was until this point in time that the most significant foundations for today’s national identity were laid. Therefore, only singular elements of importance will be mentioned that occur after this point in time. In regard to the time before the First Republic, the Habsburg Monarchy, I only mention the facts important for the founding idea of the Salzburg Festival.

### *Theoretical framework*

With the theoretical framework I give a theoretical structure to the real-world example of national identity formation. This framework covers the process of the (re)invention of a national identity through traditions and can be used as a basis for further research in this field, as it is independent from the case study of this thesis. It provides a novel way to combine existing theoretical frameworks. Therefore, it aims at being academically accepted, thanks to the use of already acknowledged theories, in addition to providing a fully-fledged system that does not require any further theoretical input.

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<sup>5</sup> “Über Uns • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>6</sup> “Daten & Fakten 2021 • Salzburger Festspiele • Wirtschaftsfaktor.”

The theoretic framework of this thesis concerns itself with the ways history-based traditions are developing and changing over time and in what ways they are influencing everyday life.

For a clearer understanding, I briefly mention the framework's structure altogether:

The existence of a nation-state or a comparable entity is the prerequisite to this framework. It needs to be subject to cultural change so that the involved **actors** of the state authority or the public feel the need to change traditions. In order to **justify** changed traditions, they can be made appealing through connecting them to history and to a strong sense of meaning for society. The final **implementation** of the reinvented tradition happens through the repurposing of the mentioned traditions and the broad dissemination among the public.

Actors:

The actors introduce traditions and implement changes. State authorities are the first major actor to be considered. It is them who organise official commemorative events, decide on national days and commission monuments to be erected. This power entails that a state authority can choose as well as change a tradition or its context if it seems beneficial to its authority. One efficient way for a state authority to promote a tradition is via the media. To that end the media landscape in a country can be an independently organised actor, but still needs to be affiliated with the state. Equally it is the general public that can itself play a part in the construction of traditions. Parallel to the nation-building performed by a state authority, it can choose national symbols out of their daily life experiences and elevate them to omnipresent importance. The efforts made by the German population at the time of the Frankfurt parliament in 1848 and until the German unification are one prominent example.<sup>7</sup> Consumerism as a separate actor equally plays a grand role in the reinvention of traditions, as this makes it possible for symbols to disseminate quickly into the minds of the general public.

Maurice Halbwachs provides another facet to the concept of actors I add in this theoretical framework. His theory of collective memory provides the understanding why historic events become memory in a different way than the actual historic events took place in reality. He proposes that single individuals first construct their personal

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<sup>7</sup> Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914." P.271



memory, based on individual (sometimes incompletely perceived) experiences before connecting it through social interaction into a common denominator. The term “group” means all sorts of communities, ranging from families, groups of friends to larger entities like believers in a religion or, finally, the members of a society that form a nation. That way, through the communication of individual beliefs in a group, an ideational system can achieve a particularly stable form that outlives the idea of a single person with certain convictions. The strength of the collective memory depends on the vigour and participation of the individual ideas that are combined into a collective idea.<sup>8</sup>

#### Justification:

Traditions need some sort of justification in order to be accepted by the general public. Their *raison d'être*, their purpose, is to give humans rules and aspirations to live by. Eric Hobsbawm has identified three different reasons that are the justification for the use of traditions: Firstly they can provide an affiliation to a group within society. Secondly they can give legitimacy to institutions and thirdly they symbolise values that a society deems important for social cohesion. Apart from that the varying degrees of application of traditions in daily life need to be taken into account. The three reasons for committing to traditions imply that there are elites that elevate themselves to a superior moral high ground. This elevation is justified by living the traditions in question. More concretely this clear-cut separation from “inferior” parts of society provide the lower classes with something to strive for, a kind of ideal. In some cases it can be possible to get access to the elite by living according to a kind of tradition, for example thanks to a specific kind of education. Sometimes, however, this may not be possible, because access to an elitist group is hindered by unchangeable aspects. For example, the access to certain elitist groups can be hindered by the “incorrect” kind of ancestors or the limitation to certain professions accepted in an elitist group.<sup>9</sup>

The theory of “Memory Place” is the brainchild of scholar Pierre Nora. It attributes strong meaning to real-world elements. It postulates that every kind of place, activity or object can become a part of the nationwide culture of remembrance without sticking to the facts of objective history writing. It is more about the feelings a historic

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<sup>8</sup> Halbwachs, “Mémoire Collect. Le Temps.” P.25f

<sup>9</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invent. Tradit.* P.9f

artefact produces in the brain of its observer. However, his theory emphasises that not every potential memory place will become one in the public eye. There needs to be a kind of hierarchy between the places. Otherwise it would be impossible to agree on a single symbolic identity.<sup>10</sup> Memory places do not develop automatically. Instead, there needs to be consensus in society to elevate an element to this level. As a result, memory places often have the connotation of something that needs to be defended against other ways of remembrance that do not correlate with them. If the memory place manifests itself as something visible, “touchable” like a building or an object or a gesture, its importance can be easily justified. Individuals can relate easier to an idea if they can see objects connected to it with their own eyes.<sup>11</sup> In this context there needs to be a special explanation of events that become memory places. They get attributed the value of a memory place either by design or “by accident”. The designed memory places get created with their great importance in mind, like a commemorative building. The “accidental” memory places appear to be insignificant at first before they are involved in a historic event but will be elevated to a quintessential event in hindsight, when it becomes evident how influential their impact turned out in the end. For example that can be a building that was constructed for a practical purpose but where a significant event took place.<sup>12</sup> Nora’s concept requires a prerequisite. There needs to be a differentiation between history and memory. History, he argues, is a true-to-life reconstruction of past events, without any preferences. Memory, by contrast, is the way history is lived and remembered. This means that some historic fractions are overemphasised and that others may be forgotten because of their unappealing implication for the development of society.<sup>13</sup>

Clifford Geertz’s theory of deep description is another addition to the justification of change of traditions. His theory proposes that every activity performed by humans is arguably connected to some sort of society-based meaning. He frequently uses the example of two persons winking at each other. Instead of only seeing the physical action of muscle movement in the eyes, he emphasises the social meaning of a wink and how it can be interpreted. Cultural codes define a society and form it in its

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<sup>10</sup> Press, “Between Memory and History : Les Lieux de Mémoire Author ( s ): Pierre Nora Source : Representations , No . 26 , Special Issue : Memory and Counter-Memory ( Spring , 1989 ), Published by : University of California Press Stable URL : [Http://Www.Jstor.Org/S.](http://www.jstor.org/s/)” P.19

<sup>11</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.” P.12f

<sup>12</sup> Petitier, “Les Lieux de Mémoire, Sous La Direction de P. Nora.” P.104

<sup>13</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.” P.8f

entirety.<sup>14</sup> For this thesis' purpose Geertz's theory provides a justification why the people of a social entity, such as a nation, start with relatively small symbols and signs in order to eventually change the characteristic habits that define that community. A sign or symbol can have a whole lot of different meanings depending on the surrounding, the relationships between the performing individuals and other implications. As a result, culture consists of a wide array of symbols that are commonly understood the same way by a large number of people in a society. The meaning of the symbolic actions must be understood the same way.<sup>15</sup> Further it is the behaviour of people that connects the symbols to a coherent cultural system.<sup>16</sup>

#### Implementation:

The way to implement a tradition is the last major point of this framework. However, it first needs to be established how a tradition is differentiated from the more flexible and quicker changing terminus of "custom". Customs are activities that have a practical use to society. Traditions, on the contrary, is the decoration, so to say, that is used to make the custom attractive and gives it a certain emotional meaning. Traditions often take elements of customs that do not longer make rational sense and use it for the sake of symbolism and mystification. Another differentiation that needs to be made between the concept of tradition and routine. Routines, in stark contrast to traditions, have a practical use and are performed time and time again, but do not include any intrinsic meaning that goes beyond their technical purpose. Still, they need to be mentioned in the context of the topic of traditions because it is possible that they develop coincidentally into traditions because they are repeated often and over a long period of time. Eventually their initial practical meaning will have vanished, e.g. due to innovation that makes it not necessary any longer. Still, society got used to it so much that it will be carried on as a new kind of tradition.<sup>17</sup>

There are many prominent types of implementation for traditions. These can range from architecture, over (ceremonial) fashion to folktales and music. Creators of invented traditions are often faced with a multifaceted array of customs, objects and forms of behaviour that are in theory usable for new reinvented traditions. From this

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<sup>14</sup> Kumoll, »From the Native's Point of View«?: Kulturelle Globalisierung Nach Clifford Geertz Und Pierre Bourdieu. P.21ff

<sup>15</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*. P.10

<sup>16</sup> Geertz. P.17f

<sup>17</sup> Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." P.2f

large number of traditions it is necessary to choose especially salient ones. It is possible that these traditions were not in use for some time and get rekindled for a new purpose. Sometimes these old attributes are used exclusively, some may be combined with completely new elements that are deemed necessary to transport the envisaged meaning.<sup>18</sup> Additionally it can be observed that newly invented traditions do not seem as specific and concrete as it is the case with old traditions that did serve a practical purpose in the past. They may be vague and often be easily defined. Hobsbawm mentions concepts like “duty” or “patriotism” as prime examples of this unclear characteristic of invented traditions. Still it needs to be stressed that all invented traditions have one aspect in common. They like to use history in order to gain justification. If a custom was deemed fit for purpose in the past, it is already a strong contender for an newly invented tradition in the present.<sup>19</sup>

The implementation of traditions is strongly connected with the actor of consumerism mentioned above, in addition to state actors that take care of the official commemoration of traditions through festivities, anthems and other symbols. Notably the role of consumers became apparent when the majority of population had access to education and therefore gained literacy during the industrial revolution. This meant that through the newly created consumer group for books the idea of a unified and cohesive society could be disseminated quickly.<sup>20</sup> The prerequisite to this development is the existence of a strong industry willing to support these ideas of national identity through its production capacities. Not only literature requires printing presses, later symbol-giving memorabilia objects and public memorials require the partaking of the industry as well.<sup>21</sup>

*This framework needs to be placed in the larger context of theories in the field of cultural studies. Among the large number strands of cultural studies that exist, I put special emphasis on the idea of capitalism, culturalism and Marxism.*

A capitalist society in the cultural sense is defined as a society where cultural practises are turned into commodities that are then acquired by the population through financial transaction.<sup>22</sup> The elements of implementation and actors of my theory show

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<sup>18</sup> Hobsbawm. P.6

<sup>19</sup> Hobsbawm. P.10ff

<sup>20</sup> Anderson and Verso, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. P.75ff

<sup>21</sup> Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914.” P.276f

<sup>22</sup> Barker and Jane, *Cultural Studies : Theory and Practice*. P.16

that the entrepreneurial perspective is taken into account. Consumerism is an important aspect of the reinvention of tradition, as it is both executed by state-, and population based actors and because it is important for the implementation of traditions through publications and merchandise products that reflect the core of the tradition. Therefore, capitalist societies are equipped to use this framework, especially when focussing on societies embedded in the idea of liberal institutional democracy.

The strand of culturalism proposes that all sorts of individuals have the wish and (intellectual) capacity to construct traditions on a daily basis founded on their everyday behaviour. It is not necessary to confine traditions to elevated spheres of high art or other segregated fields.<sup>23</sup> This concept correlates especially well with the “actor” dimension of my theory that describes the role of both state-authorities and citizens in the creation of traditions. Both authorities and the common population are able to contribute to the re-invention of tradition.

Lastly the Marxist culture theory is focussed on the criticism of the capitalist ideology and suggests that everything about culture and tradition is based on the will and idea of the common society and is therefore a tool of society to shape itself.<sup>24</sup> This framework acknowledges the role of society as a co-creator of traditions, but not completely on its own. State-authority, an element that I see indirectly separated from the common society, is not taken into account by the Marxist theory. In addition to this caveat the Marxist criticism of the capitalist understanding is an issue, as my theory implies that culture is at least to some extent disseminated as commodity and partly through entrepreneurial channels.

### *Thesis Significance*

With the justification for the case study and the theoretical framework established and explained, I proceed to the combination and juxtaposition of both elements of this thesis. The festival case study and the framework are confronted, analysing how the different elements of the framework correlate with the real-world example and testing the framework’s functionality.

This thesis has significance for both academic and real-world cases of nation building. The case study of Austria and the Salzburg Festival as identity-provider does not only shed light on the past of the Austrian nation, but can also be used to understand

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<sup>23</sup> Barker and Jane. P.17

<sup>24</sup> Artz, “Marxist Traditions in Cultural Studies.” P.2

current cases of nation-building and why they succeed or fail. The European Union or the current case of Ukraine could be an example for further analysis from this point of view.

Taking all abovementioned elaborations into account, the questions to be answered in this thesis do cover both levels, history as well as IR-theory: *What theoretical framework can be used to explain how and why national identities get (re)invented? How can an appropriate framework of reinvention of tradition be applied to the development of the Salzburg Festival for the creation of an Austrian identity?*

The resources used for this thesis predominantly consist of secondary literature. Primary literature plays a lesser role because its core is already intensively interwoven into the appropriate secondary literature. There exists a lot of academic writing on the development of Austrian identity, both for the First and Second Republic. However, the timeframe of Austria's existence under the umbrella of the Third Reich demands a different approach, as most of Austria's identity was replaced by the German narrative. The Salzburg Festival is described in detail by a host of literature, a lot of it published by the festival house society itself. The theoretical framework is based on academic literature published by the various authors whose theories I use.

## Austrian identity & the Salzburg Festival

The following section provides a direct comparison of the historical development of the Salzburg Festival and the correlating history of the Austrian nation's identity. I use a chronological approach that begins with the end of the Habsburg monarchy and proceeds until the Second Republic. After every subsection, there is a brief intermediary summary that aims at connecting the festival development and the narratives of national identity in the periods.

### *“A new empire of the fine arts” – First Republic 1918 – 1938*

#### **Salzburg Festival**

*“Central Europe has no more beautiful space and it was here that Mozart had to be born.”*<sup>25</sup> Those are the words of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, one of the initiators of the Salzburg Festival. However, it was not him who had the initial idea to organise some sort of culture event in Salzburg.

During the Habsburg Empire, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, summer tourism was starting to gain momentum in the educated bourgeoisie and noble classes of society. For the picturesque town Salzburg and the surrounding countryside, this development offered a substantial new economic opportunity. Equally, Salzburg was very keen on constructing its own regional identity after the Prince-Archbishopric had lost its sovereignty in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent incorporation into the Austrian Empire. In order to provide the guests from around the empire with an appropriate level of entertainment, the plan for musical events commemorating Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart took shape because of his Salzburg origin. The first Mozart concerts took place in 1842, when a monumental Mozart statue was unveiled on the Mozart-square in the Salzburg city centre, in presence of two of Mozart's sons, Carl Thomas and Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart. Afterwards, subsequent concerts were held in 1852 and in 1856. In 1880, the “Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum” (International foundation Mozarteum) was founded out of the “Internationale Mozart-Stiftung” (International Mozart Foundation), which followed the clear goal to make

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<sup>25</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.37

Salzburg into the international centre for Mozart's music, with the spear head of a dedicated festival.<sup>26</sup>

On a sidenote, it is noteworthy to mention that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart had a personal repugnance for his native town Salzburg. He was deeply hurt by the conduct against him by the Prince-Archbishop, which did not approve of his back-then innovative compositions.<sup>27</sup>

Due to the wish to make the festival appear international and not provincial, it was decided to legally form the society for the "Mozartfeste" (Mozart festivals) in Vienna and not directly in Salzburg. This helped to receive artistic support of the Viennese art scene for the festival, such as the Vienna Philharmonics.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, a broad success of these first Mozart festivals could not be achieved. In 1893, Salzburg got a new theatre house. In its opening performance of Ludwig Fulda's "The Talisman", a young Jewish-Austrian actor had his second ever engagement – Max Reinhardt. Born close to Vienna, in Baden<sup>29</sup>, he had his first engagement in Vienna in the "Volkstheater" in the Rudolfsheim district. After these and several other successful theatrical performances, Reinhardt received an offer to join the "Deutsches Theater" (German theatre) in Berlin, news that were received with regret by his Austrian audience. After a couple of months in Germany, Reinhardt realised that the style of German theatre was not to his taste. Therefore, he founded his own theatre group called "Schall und Rauch" (Sound and Smoke) that exclusively produced shorter, sometimes satirical pieces that became immensely popular in Berlin. That way, Reinhardt moved away from acting and towards directing and the production of theatre. During that stage of his life, he equally developed the conviction that theatre ought to be an all-encompassing artwork, including as many senses of the spectator as possible. His brother, Edmund Reinhardt, became his manager and remained in that position until

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<sup>26</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.21

<sup>27</sup> "Mozarts Geburtstag: Unser Kalbskotelett Ist Heuer Auch Vom Wolfgang - Bühne Und Konzert - FAZ."

<sup>28</sup> Hochleitner et al., *Grosses Welttheater: Katalog Zur Landesausstellung 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Great World Theatre: Catalogue for the Anniversary Exhibition the Salzburg Festival Centenary*. P.54

<sup>29</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.7



his death in 1929. In the following years of his stay in Berlin, Max Reinhardt became immensely popular due to his monumental productions.<sup>30</sup>

Hugo von Hofmannsthal was a Jewish-Austrian writer and poet, descending from an affluent family of silk merchants that were elevated to Austrian nobility in 1835. He was raised in the Catholic faith and never sought to be affiliated with his family's religion.<sup>31</sup>

In 1903, Herman Bahr, the director of the "Deutsches Volkstheater" (German people's theatre) in Berlin acquainted Max Reinhardt with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the German composer Richard Wagner. Reinhardt and Hofmannsthal commenced cooperation nearly immediately, with a joint production of the Ancient Greek philosopher Sophokles' play "Elektra". Richard Strauss was thrilled by the work of Hofmannsthal and asked him to write the libretti for five of his subsequent operas. In 1911, Hofmannsthal's play "Jedermann" (Everyman) had its premiere in the Berlin circus Schumann, with strong support from Max Reinhardt. In the same year, Max Reinhardt directed the opera "Der Rosenkavalier" by Richard Strauss as his first opera engagement.<sup>32</sup>

1917, Reinhardt planned to move back to Austria, to Salzburg, after nearly twenty years of working in the metropolis of Berlin. He envisaged Salzburg as the perfect clean slate for a festival that should revolve around theatre productions with a mass appeal and based on the idea of a quasi-religion, mythical "pilgrimage" site for theatre enthusiasts from around the world. However, he did not in any way envisage a connection between his theatre works and the initial driver for a festival in Salzburg, the Mozart commemoration.

Until the creation of the final festival house society, three different groups sought to incorporate the idea of a festival in Salzburg, the Mozarteum, the festival house society and later on the initiative around Max Reinhardt.

The idea of a Mozart festival had been carried on by the International Mozart foundation in Salzburg and until Reinhardt came up with his vision of a theatre festival in Salzburg. Until the end of the First World War, it had already achieved some

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<sup>30</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.22

<sup>31</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.39ff

<sup>32</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.25ff

progress for its cause. It had envisaged a festival comparable to the Wagner festival in Bayreuth in Germany that should only be dedicated to the music of one single composer, in the case of Salzburg Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The director of the Salzburg accident insurance corporation, Friedrich Gehmacher, and his friend, the music critic Heinrich Damisch were the strongest proponents of the Mozart festival idea in Salzburg.<sup>33</sup> They had already bought and refurbished Mozart's birth house in the Getreidegasse and built a house for their society in 1914. Unfortunately, the more sombre mood during the First World War had made cultural projects considerably more difficult, which led to the Mozarteum foundation refraining from further plans for a festival building. Gehmacher and Damisch reacted by founding the "Festspielhausgemeinde" (festival house society) in 1917 which was legally based in Vienna and only had a subsidiarity in Salzburg. For this new plan, cooperation with the Mozarteum foundation was not possible because the foundation considered Mozart's operas unsuitable for large festival buildings. Instead, the pieces ought to be performed in smaller venues. Equally, the Mozarteum defended its Salzburg-based "independence" from the capital city of Vienna. Therefore, the Vienna-based festival house society was perceived as an intruder "from above". The Mozarteum foundation was equally not convinced by Max Reinhardt's festival plans because it feared that the elitist approach of their festival understanding would not be continued by the large-scale theatre festival envisaged by the art director. Therefore, the Mozarteum did neither become part of the Mozart festival nor of the theatre festival and seized to show any interest in future festival plans.<sup>34</sup>

Two very different approaches for a potential festival in Salzburg remained. A Mozart festival would have nothing to do with theatre and a theatre festival would have nothing to do with Mozart. The situation seemed like a definite deadlock. Heinrich Damisch was the one who eventually got in touch with Max Reinhardt and started to negotiate a potential consolidation of both festival ideas. In 1918, Max Reinhardt first started warming with the idea of a festival that combined the pinnacle of "Austrian" applied art, with Mozart as its spear head. The deal seemed to be perfect: the festival house society would finally come to organise the planned Mozart operas and concerts

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<sup>33</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.22f

<sup>34</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.30f

and Reinhardt and Hofmannsthal could organise their theatre festival. The combined project got further support by Vienna state opera co-director Richard Strauss.<sup>35</sup>

The end of the First World War and the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy led to a game-changing social development. The Salzburg population was not keen on foreign tourists because they feared that “foreign Jews” would buy every little bit of food that remained with them in this time of crisis.<sup>36</sup> It did not help that the Austrian currency, the Crown, continuously depreciated in value. This meant that tourists from outside of Austria could profit from the low price level. The big buying power of the tourists resulted furthermore in the increase of prices of goods that the Salzburg population demanded itself, which in reverse did not contribute to the mood towards the festival.<sup>37</sup> The fact that Max Reinhardt had bought “Leopoldskron” castle close to Salzburg and had lavishly refurbished it for his personal use, did furthermore taint the local perception of the festival as a disturbance from outside. Only thanks to Gehmacher’s reassurance towards the festival house society members, Reinhardt’s position of festival initiator did not get jeopardised by antisemitic sentiments. Thankfully Reinhardt had strong support from the bishop of Salzburg, Ignaz Rieder, who was aware of Reinhardt’s religious pragmatism and valued the cultural contribution to the cityscape that took up so many aspects of the Catholic legacy of Austria.<sup>38</sup>

In 1919, Hugo von Hofmannsthal disclosed in his personal texts about the idea of a festival in Salzburg that he was himself keen on a culture event that would define the “bayrisch-österreichischen Stamm (sic)”, the Bavarian-Austrian tribe of identity that Austria has had as its foundation. This recollection on the very foundation of the Austrian identity does not come as a surprise. With the Habsburg Empire gone after the First World War, Austria was indeed in need of a new identity. As Vienna was no longer necessarily the Omphalos of the cultural world, there was no reason not to dedicate Salzburg as a new centre of a “conservative revolution” in the cultural sense, as Hofmannsthal put it. Salzburg provided the perfect foundation for his aims. Its

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<sup>35</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.22

<sup>36</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.37

<sup>37</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.52

<sup>38</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.37

baroque architecture and the beautiful landscape surrounding it contributed extensively to Hofmannsthal ideal of Austria.<sup>39</sup> He also acknowledged the importance of the Catholic foundation of Salzburg as former Prince-Archdiocese. These traditions needed to be intertwined into the festival. For example, the “Jedermann” theatre performance was planned on the cathedral square from the beginning, surrounded by churches and by implementing their ringing bells into the play itself. Through the combination of all elements, a sense of excitement ought to be created for the audience, of course without forgetting the symbol of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.<sup>40</sup> This implementation of the play can be traced back to Reinhardt’s experience in monumental theatre productions.

The “Jedermann” by Hofmannsthal deserves more attention, because its quintessential role for the Salzburg Festival was sheer coincidence. In fact, this play was never intended to become a long-term part of the festival and should have been exchanged by a new play dedicatedly written for the festival in Salzburg.<sup>41</sup> However, writer Max Mell, who was commissioned with this task, was not able to finish his work in time for the planned opening schedule in 1920. It would have revolved around the rural Catholic worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, shaped according to the already persisting traditions in Salzburg. Instead, Reinhardt took Hofmannsthal’s play revolving around the “death of the rich man” and incorporated it perfectly into the cityscape of Salzburg. This location fit perfectly to every intention that Hofmannsthal had for his piece, as mentioned before. At first, its performance was planned in old military barracks, but then the opportunity to use the cathedral square arose thanks to the help of Bishop Ignaz Rieder, equally incorporating the cathedral’s organ and bells. The stage was constructed using old construction wood for economic purposes and director Reinhardt, as well as the conductor and the orchestra donated their salaries to a war invalid fund to calm down the negative opinion of the local population. The play itself was celebrated by the spectators and critics and came to be a staple at the festival.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Kerschbaumer, “„... Du Glückliches Österreich, Spiele!“: Der Kleinstaat Als Verspielte Groß- Und Traditionsmacht.” P.128f

<sup>40</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.23

<sup>41</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.52

<sup>42</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.44ff

Despite the artistic success, the festival house society was faced with a fundamental issue. As its name proposes, its ultimate aim was to coordinate the construction of a festival house. Unfortunately, this plan fell into one of the worst economic recessions of Austria in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning, from 1917 onwards, it was possible to find initial financial support. The Austrian state but also the private US donor Mr. McCormic agreed to support the festival house project, thanks to Reinhardt's far reaching contacts. Concerning the location, the castle park of Hellbrunn close to Salzburg was chosen. In the summer of 1922, a large ceremony was held to set the first foundation brick, which was even attended by Austrian president Michael Hainisch and foreign minister Alfred Grünberger.<sup>43</sup> In this year, Richard Strauss also became the president of the festival society after the former president Alexander Prince Thurn und Taxis had resigned due to the disputes between the two sub-festival societies. Initially, Richard Strauss was not too keen on this position because it would keep him from more lucrative conducting engagements abroad, therefore he first suggested Max Reinhardt as new president. However, this was followed by an enlightening letter from Hofmannsthal to Strauss. In this letter, he explained that the festival house society members, with not one single Jew among them, immersed in a prejudiced world view, would never elect Reinhardt into this position. He did not have the right religion, he was a castle owner and an artist. With this clarification, Strauss accepted the new position.<sup>44</sup>

The initially positive developments for an envisaged festival building rapidly changed to the worst. The post-war-hyperinflation of the Austrian Crown made daily life very difficult to finance, not to mention a large-scale construction project like a festival building, that was additionally frowned upon by the local population. In this mood of general discontent, the festival house society was repeatedly accused by the media to be under the control of Jews, and that the general hunger could be traced back to the unholy alliance of the festival and tourism together with "Jewish greediness". In fact, the society had not a single member of Jewish descent, but this was eagerly ignored by the newspapers. The festival was portrayed by the conservative media as

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<sup>43</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.22

<sup>44</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.77

the stage for former war profiteers and currency tourists.<sup>45</sup> It was completely overlooked that Max Reinhardt, used to the subsidy-lacking German theatre world, did his best to keep the expenditure of the festival as lean as possible.<sup>46</sup>

Another issue did jeopardise the fulfilment of the festival society's wish for a venue. As mentioned above, the society was legally partitioned between Vienna and Salzburg, and both sub-societies started to dispute each other's significance. The two society directors in Salzburg, Friedrich Gehmacher and Heinrich Damisch, resigned from their position in 1923 due to high age. In 1924, Richard Strauss resigned as president from the Vienna side of the society, leaving both parts without leadership. Nevertheless, this administrative collapse had a positive consequence. It led to the refoundation of the festival house society in Salzburg in December 1924 without any segregation between the two cities.<sup>47</sup> Richard Strauss, however, went one step further. He announced that he would not be vacant for any opera performances in Salzburg. The reason for this action was his prioritisation of foreign engagements that were paid in foreign and more stable currencies than the Austrian Crown. The time needed to reconstruct the society as well as Strauss' absence led to the complete cancellation of the 1924 festival season. The media landscape in Salzburg at the same time stuck to its antisemitic tone and celebrated the temporary end of the event. Ironically, it went so far as to describe its own hometown as too small and culturally "impotent" (sic) as to leave a mark in the Austrian culture landscape.<sup>48</sup>

In the reformation meeting of the festival society, the Christian-social Salzburg vice-mayor Richard Hildmann was elected as the new president of the society. This local leadership led to a relative improvement of the mood of the population in Salzburg towards the festival. In 1925, the festival house project gained at last real momentum. The "Winterreitschule" (winter riding school) in the Hofstallgasse in the Salzburg city centre was chosen as the new location. Thanks to the character of the riding school, the envisaged festival house could be built around an existing venue, making the project more financially feasible.<sup>49</sup> Architect Eduard Hütter was

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<sup>45</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.10

<sup>46</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper. P.54

<sup>47</sup> *Die Weltbühne: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.24

<sup>48</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.109

<sup>49</sup> *Die Weltbühne: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.24

responsible for the plan of the building. The festival house construction led to the resolution of several issues: first and foremost, the festival finally got a long-term venue that was fit for purpose. Up to this point, it had been necessary to use the town theatre and churches for performances. Equally, a proper festival house would motivate Max Reinhardt to further focus his dedication on the Salzburg Festival despite his international projects and finally, a festival house would silence critics (most of which did originate from Vienna) who did not stop to accuse the Salzburg Festival of a provincial atmosphere, lacking professionalism. It substantially helped the progress of the project that the year 1924 did not have any festival performances. This pause had shown Salzburg that the tourism generated by the performances contributed massively to its economy. In addition, government subventions could be acquired thanks to the emphasis on the economic importance of the festival for Austria. The Salzburg Governor Franz Rehrl played a significant role in supporting the financial needs of the festival society, as he was well aware of this significance of the event for his federal state.<sup>50</sup>

It was possible to finish the reconstruction of the “Winterreitschule” within the year 1925 and in the same summer, the house could already be used for its dedicated purpose.<sup>51</sup> During the 1925 opening ceremony, dignitaries from the arts and politics, Hofmannsthal, Austrian Chancellor Ramek and Governor Rehrl emphasised the importance of the festival for the Austrian identity and its importance as connective tissue of European culture, as well as a new era after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. It was in this year that the illegal NSDAP started to rally against the “Jewish” festival, which was aggravated by the fact that the 14<sup>th</sup> “World Zionist Congress” took place in Vienna at the same time as the festival.<sup>52</sup>

After a brief period of media praise the new festival building turned out to be a scandal. Its construction had been way more expensive than initially budgeted. In addition, the citizens of Salzburg started to call the building “gotischer Stadl” (gothic barn) due to its flat shape.<sup>53</sup> The initial financing of the building also appeared to be

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<sup>50</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.118ff

<sup>51</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.56

<sup>52</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.130f

<sup>53</sup> *Die Weltbühne: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.24

fundamentally flawed. Max Reinhardt had hoped to receive more private donations from the United States of America, but this hope did not turn out to be fruitful. Henceforth, the “Salzburg Kredit- und Wechselbank”, the Salzburg credit and exchange bill bank, was asked for a loan to cover the remainder of the construction cost. The bank was pressured into providing the funds because it would otherwise have been accused of hindering the prestigious festival house project of coming to fruition. Nevertheless, the festival house society was effectively bankrupt, it wanted to continue to exist and it was in need of a financial resolution.<sup>54</sup> To that end, under Governor Rehr, the “Salzburg Tourismus Förderungs Fond”, the Salzburg tourism promotion fund, was created in 1926. From this day on until the present, this fund has supported the financial balance of the Salzburg Festival.<sup>55</sup>

The issues of the festival house did not end with the financial resolution. The house was not only perceived aesthetically unappealing, it had fundamental technical deficiencies that made it unfit for the intended purpose. The stage was encircled by a stone frame, which gave it the appearance of a church interior. Furthermore, the acoustics were irregular towards the gallery seats and varied even in the parterre.<sup>56</sup> Again, the political and media response was coined by outcries and scandal, which led Festival Society President Hildmann to resign from his presidency in order to rescue his political career as the vice-mayor of Salzburg and to survive the public scandal that followed: A lump sum of money dedicated to the modernisation of the Austrian railway was redesignated for the renovation of the festival house. The far greater issue was, however, that this amount of money, 3 million US Dollar, originated from the funds given by the League of Nation to Austria for way more fundamental infrastructure projects. This re-use was even agreed upon by the Austrian federal ministerial council, but without consulting the League of Nations. The fund were to be paid back by the festival society after the completion of the renovation and should only thereafter be used for their intended purpose. The new president of the festival house society was Heinrich Puthon, a former cavalry officer who had spent the post-war years to organise a society for disabled officers. He was known for his management

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<sup>54</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.137ff

<sup>55</sup> “Land Salzburg - Salzburger Tourismus Förderungs Fonds (TFF).”

<sup>56</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.37



skills and widely respected in Salzburg. Immensely successful with what he was doing, he should remain in this position until 1960.<sup>57</sup>

In 1928, the festival society organised a competition in the Arts and Crafts School of Salzburg in order to find a new poster for the upcoming festival season. The winner of this competition, 25 year old student Leopoldine (Poldi) Wojtek was responsible for the design of the poster, which was later on turned into the official logo of the festival. She had been taught by one of the great representatives of the “Wiener Werkstätten” (Vienna Workshop), designer and architect Josef Hoffmann. This poster/logo has been used ever since, but a severely more grave aspect of the artist was still to come and shall be dealt with in this thesis’ section about the festival’s continuation during the Second World War.<sup>58</sup>

1928 was also the year of a new potential strategy by Max Reinhardt to finance the festival. He asked the Jewish-Austrian-Italian entrepreneur Camillo Castiglioni to support the festival through a financial consortium. This funding however, was subject to a condition: The management of the festival should have fallen to the “Kunstrat” (art council), a team around Reinhardt and Castiglioni. The existing festival house society that was still in charge would have been left out of any major decision. Even though this option promised financial stability in the long term, Governor Rehrl declined this proposition with the argument that he did not wish for an artistic “dictatorship” (sic) in Salzburg.<sup>59</sup>

After two successful festival seasons in the sense of publicity and artistic quality, a human tragedy took place in 1929. Hugo von Hofmannsthal died due to a cerebral stroke while he was on the way to the funeral of his son. A couple of days later, Max Reinhardt’s brother Edmund died as well. Both the artistic and economic counsellors of Max Reinhardt ceased to exist in quick succession. The festival season was artistically successful and in regard to publicity, but, as during the years before, created a financial deficit.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, Governor Rehrl had already started to lobby

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<sup>57</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.159

<sup>58</sup> Rathkolb and Kern, *Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele : Deutsch = The Salzburg Festival’s Logo and Its Designer Poldi Wojtek : English*. P.10ff

<sup>59</sup> Stiefel, *Camillo Castiglioni : Oder Die Metaphysik Der Haifische* /. P.335

<sup>60</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.61

intensively for a raise of the governmental subventions in 1928, emphasising the importance of the festival for the Austrian identity as a whole. Only after more than one year, a mediocre additional subvention of 10.000 Schilling was granted. This subvention was geared to a condition. The federal ministry of education would receive one place on the board of trustees of the festival house society. The federal government showed that it was indeed interested in the continuation of the festival.<sup>61</sup> For the 10 year jubilee of the festival in 1930, the federal government could finally be convinced to contribute another, at first undefined sum that eventually added up to 35.000 Schilling.<sup>62</sup>

With the beginning of the 1930s the antisemitism that had lied dormant for the second half of the 1920s, returned. In September 1931 a scandal around the Jewish “Jedermann” actor Alexander Moissi made headlines. The actor disguised himself as a doctor and was present during childbirth of a woman in the Salzburg St. Johann hospital. He argued that he had done that for research purposes because he planned to write a book about the nature of women. Thereafter he received hostile anonymous letters denouncing him as “greasy, lewd Jew” and the local right-wing newspapers jumped on the bandwagon, even though his wife Johanna Terwin-Moissi declared in the “Salzburger Volksblatt” newspaper that she and her husband could prove their Arian descent. Still, this counteraction did not prove to mend the damage done. For 1932, the festival had to engage a new “Jedermann”. The antisemitic movement against the festival became again more aggressive towards the festival.<sup>63</sup> The 10 year jubilee of the festival was also overshadowed by antisemitic sentiments aimed directly against Max Reinhardt: Governor Rehrl ensured that Reinhardt received the Grand Decoration of Honour for Services to the Republic of Austria and planned to rename the square in front of the festival house to “Max Reinhardt square”. The consequence of this renaming was an outcry from the far-right milieu and a denunciation of Reinhardt as “self-enriching castle owner”. Subsequently, the Salzburg mayor Max Ott asked the festival house society for proof about the remuneration that Reinhardt had received since the foundation of the festival. It turned out that he had only received a salary in the economically stable years, but not between 1920 and 1924 and in 1926.

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<sup>61</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.189

<sup>62</sup> Fischer, “Die Idee Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Ihre Verwirklichung. Dissertation.” P.68

<sup>63</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.37

Furthermore, he had used his salary of the other years exclusively on merchants located in Salzburg when he gave receptions in his castle for festival guests. Hence, the city of Salzburg profited altogether from his presence in the festival sphere.<sup>64</sup>

The financial crisis of 1931 did contribute to the hostile mood against the festival. In this year the Austrian “Creditanstalt” bank was the first European bank to collapse as a reaction to the 1929 stock exchange crash in the United States. Despite governmental backing of the bank, this started an unfavourable economic instability across Europe. Germany became afraid that there would be a capital flight out of Germany to Austria because of decreasing public trust in the banking sector.<sup>65</sup>

The organisers of the Salzburg Festival were aware that they highly depended on foreign tourism, especially from Germany. Therefore, the festival house society became uneasy when the German government declared its intention to introduce an exit fee of 100 German Mark for everyone wanting to cross the border from Germany to Austria. The strategy to counter that measure was to promote the festival especially intensively in other European states such as France, Stockholm or London. The Austrian government equally appealed to the Austrian population to spend their holidays at home in Austria.<sup>66</sup>

For the first time, an international broadcasting agency received the rights to broadcast festival performances. Rossini’s opera “Il barbiere di Seviglia” was broadcasted to 133 European and to 83 American broadcasting stations.<sup>67</sup> With these previously unaccounted means of income taken into account, the festival of 1931 was less of a financial disaster than it had been initially anticipated. As a result, the deficit of the festival season amounted to 51.000 Schilling instead of the predicted 56.000 Schilling. Still, the general mood gave reason for pessimism. In 1932, the unemployment rate in was constantly climbing, in Germany with over 6 million people and in Austria with over 400.000 people.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.230f

<sup>65</sup> Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*. P.684

<sup>66</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*.240f

<sup>67</sup> “25. Juli Bis 30. August • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>68</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.248

In the festival season of this year, the impact of the general negative development was not as bad as envisaged. The global financial crisis led to a decrease in guests from Austria, the United States, Great Britain and Hungary, but the number of German guests continued to remain stable. In 1933, the NSDAP, the National Socialist German Workers' party, seized power in Germany and Adolf Hitler became German Chancellor. Immediately, it was palpable that this change of political leadership in Germany would influence Austria as well. The NSDAP had already been illegally present in the Alpine Republic, but had not had the necessary backing yet to develop into a political majority. However, with its German mother-party acceding power, the Austrian branch of the party rapidly gained influence. Immediately, NS-Germany introduced measures to pressure Austria into an accession to Germany that was fundamentally forbidden by the League of Nations agreement with Austria (1922). For the Austrian leadership under Engelbert Dollfuß it was apparent that events such as the Salzburg Festival had to contribute intensively to the strengthening and propagandisation of a non-German Austrian identity. In 1933, it came as a shock to both the Austrian government and the festival house society that Germany imposed a limit of 1.000 German Mark in cash for every German travelling to Austria. Before, German tourists had contributed substantially to Austrian tourism. In contrast to past demands, this time an increase of governmental subventions with an amount of 100.000 Schilling was immediately granted, underlining the relevance of the festival for the Austrian cultural landscape. Nevertheless, a deficit of 30.000 Schilling was the result of the 1933 festival due to the faltering number of German guests.<sup>69</sup>

It did not help the popularity of the festival that the terror attacks performed by NSDAP members increased. In April 1934 a bomb exploded at the entrance of the festival house, and in June firecrackers devastated the foyer of Reinhardt's castle "Leopoldskron". In addition to the general repercussions for the festival, this meant for the art director that he finally had to look for a new centre of life, away from Salzburg. Increasingly, he took on engagements in the United States and only sporadically visited Salzburg for festival affairs.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.17f

<sup>70</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.70f

In this time the Austrian Court of Audit proposed that the festival ought to have a smaller programme in order to create higher profits. However, the federal ministry of education under Kurt Schuschnigg as well as the festival house society simply ignored this demand and continued to plan the festival for 1933 in the way it used to. For the festival of 1934, the Court of Audit even proposed a complete cancellation of the festival, which was again not implemented. Only one theatre performance and one opera were cancelled due to the memorial service for Chancellor Dollfuß, who was murdered by NS-coup plotters on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1934, on the evening before the beginning of the festival season.<sup>71</sup> Festival Society President Puthon put it very directly: “A cancellation of the festival would be similar to lowering the Austrian flag altogether. It is vital to let the flag fly!”<sup>72</sup>

These negative developments reflected in the deficit of the festival in this year. The Austrian government had to assist the festival society with 180.000 Schilling of debt after the end of the festival season.<sup>73</sup> On a positive note, the world famous Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini could be won for several opera and concert performances and would remain with the festival until 1937.<sup>74</sup> His engagement for the festival had a political background. Toscanini had previously conducted several opera productions by Richard Wagner for the German Bayreuth Festival. However, he cancelled this cooperation when it became evident that the NS-leadership would boycott Jewish artists. Afterwards he became the conductor of the Vienna Philharmonics, which eventually led to his engagement for the Salzburg Festival. He saw the Dollfuß- and later the Schuschnigg government as a stronghold against NS indoctrination, despite its own manifest insufficiencies and intolerance against parts of the Austrian society, most notably the Communist and Social Democratic parties.<sup>75 76</sup>

Austria’s foreign policy was also strongly reflected by the Salzburg Festival, especially towards Italy under its leader “Duce” Benito Mussolini. From the accession

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<sup>71</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.38f

<sup>72</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.331

<sup>73</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.38

<sup>74</sup> Hochleitner et al., *Grosses Welttheater: Katalog Zur Landesausstellung 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Great World Theatre: Catalogue for the Anniversary Exhibition the Salzburg Festival Centenary*. P.65

<sup>75</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.320f

<sup>76</sup> “ANNO, Salzburger Volksblatt: Unabh. Tageszeitung f. Stadt u. Land Salzburg, 1938-02-18, Seite 5.”

of power by the National Socialists onwards, and especially after the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuß, Austria's willingness to cooperation with its Southern neighbor increased, hoping for Italy's political protection against Germany. In the festival programmes of 1933 until 1937, a higher number of Italian operas by Verdi were performed and Mozart's Italian operas like "Cosi fan tutte" or "Don Giovanni" found more stage time. In 1935 Mussolini received an official invitation to the festival, emphasising how much Salzburg could be compared to Rome in regard to the arts. Due to the Abyssinia crisis the Italian leader could not attend, but was represented through Italian Prince Umberto of Piedmont in the festival of 1936.<sup>77</sup>

The substantial international promotion of the festival that had started after the 1.000 German Mark limit seemed to pay off in 1935, when the small number of German festival guests could be outweighed by guests from the United States, Britain, France and the Benelux states. Not only the festival as such, but especially conductor Toscanini proved to be a magnet for the audience. Finally, the financial balance was positive, with the first profitable year in the history of the festival. However, this led anew to differences with the Austrian government and the Court of Audit. The government asked whether the subventions provided by the federal state of Salzburg had been used to the same extent as the ones by the federal government. The festival society affirmed immediately. The Court of Audit also proposed further measures of economy that would potentially lead to the financial autonomy of the festival. These measures, however, consisted of a limitation of complimentary tickets and cuts with the salaries for artists. The finance ministry even proposed the ministry of education to cut the full subventions as they were no longer perceived as necessary. A direct intervention of Chancellor Schuschnigg followed, who argued that the festival was too important for Austria as to decrease its financial support. Still, even this didn't change the ministries' opinion. Governor Rehr was called to Vienna to find a solution with all involved parties, which proved to be a reduced federal subvention of 36.000 Schilling and the goodwill to gradually implement the recommendations of the Court of Audit.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.60ff

<sup>78</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.35f

After the festival of 1937, in October, Max Reinhardt left Salzburg for an engagement in the USA from which he would not return any more. Again, his castle had been subject to attacks by NS followers and during the last festival, it had even been necessary to protect his property with police forces.<sup>79</sup> Generally, his connection to Europe started to fundamentally deteriorate. After the political change of 1933 his theatre projects in Germany were no longer possible and he had to take out mortgages on his castle in Salzburg because of the lack of income. In 1937, he did not even attend the opening of the Salzburg festival due to a trip to Venice.<sup>80</sup> In the United States Reinhardt would try to continue his success by opening an acting school in Hollywood. However, this project as well as several others on both the East Coast and the West Coast could not build on his past successes in Europe. He died in New York in 1943 after several concussions, having had solely survived thanks to financial support of Erich Korngold, another Jewish artist living in exile. In contrast to Reinhardt, he had become famous as a Hollywood film music composer and Oscar award recipient.<sup>81</sup>

The last years of the festival before the annexation of Austria into the German Reich were coined by a constant flow of international visitors, especially from the United States and the United Kingdom, pulled by the establishment of Salzburg as a “place to be seen” in the worldwide affluent social circles as well as for its high artistic quality. Especially the “Austrian style”, revolving around traditional clothing with “Tracht”, “Lederhose” and “Dirndl” dresses were picked up by the elegant festival guests.<sup>82</sup>

Conductor Toscanini was the main proponent of the plan to build a new festival house, a project that could finally be commenced in 1937, under the auspices of architect Clemens Holzmeister. He was the same architect who conducted the initial festival house renovation of 1926. During the planning period, however, it was realised that the enlargement of the existing festival house would be more economical than a completely new building. Unfortunately, the space to implement those plans was too

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<sup>79</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.77

<sup>80</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland: Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.104

<sup>81</sup> Hochleitner et al., *Grosses Welttheater: Katalog Zur Landesausstellung 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Great World Theatre: Catalogue for the Anniversary Exhibition the Salzburg Festival Centenary*. P.373

<sup>82</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.356

limited. Hence, Governor Rehr permitted for his own adjacent house of birth to be demolished so the necessary space could be created. The implementation of this plan would significantly improve the capacity and quality of the festival house. However, the “Anschluss” of Austria to the German Reich would happen before its completion.<sup>83</sup> The Austrian government had agreed to this project swiftly, mainly due to two reasons: Chancellor Schuschnigg saw it as practical publicity for his national job creation scheme and it could also serve as a sign of independence towards Germany. Altogether, it seemed as if the festival would be prepared for further fruitful years of performances.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> “24. Juli Bis 31. August • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>84</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.167f



### Austrian identity

The Salzburg Festival is an exemplification of the movements of identity-creation that could be observed between 1918 and 1938. In the following section, I elaborate further on the different general topics that were used to shape the Austrian self-image after the First World War.

The Empire was a thing of the past and the new Republic had to find a way to survive. Formerly a large geopolitical entity, it was now stripped of its crown lands and the political system of monarchy that had been seen as the unifying tenant, keeping the Empire together.<sup>85</sup> Former Emperor Charles I tried to restore the monarchy two times in Hungary in 1920, but to no avail. The rights of the former imperial family and the aristocracy were abolished. The peace treaty of Saint Germain led to the separation of the new Austrian Republic from regions with German speaking population that had belonged to the monarchy, such as Bohemia, Southern Tyrol and Southern Styria. Western Hungary, Burgenland, became part of Austria. Altogether, the mood was depressed, represented by statements such as “der Staat den keiner wollte” (the state nobody wanted) or “Staat wider Willen” (state against its will). From 1919 onwards, hyperinflation crushed any plans of economic development and additionally, the cold winters of 1918 to 1920 meant that large parts of the Austrian population had to endure a famine. Only a large loan granted by the League of Nations at the signature of the Geneva Protocol in 1922 could reverse this negative development. This resulted in a surge of industrialisation, a stabilisation of economy and society.<sup>86</sup>

In this period of Austrian history a new unifying identity was needed. Popular authors of those days created pamphlets aimed at constructing a new identity, for example Anton Wildgans, Hugo von Hofmannsthal or Robert Musil.<sup>87</sup> They all repeatedly mentioned distinctive elements of a new Austrian identity.

The Habsburg Empire proved to be a very strong element, with special emphasis on the reign of Empress Maria Theresia. The fundamental aim of this trait of national identity was to create an ideological separation from the German-speaking, but “Prussian” German Empire. To that end, Austria was exemplified by the female,

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<sup>85</sup> Höbelt, *Erste Republik : Österreich (1918-1938): Das Provisorium*. P.363f

<sup>86</sup> Vöckel, *Geschichte Österreichs: Kultur - Gesellschaft - Politik ; [Mit Zeittafeln, Biographien Und Hinweisen Auf Museen Und Sammlungen]*. P.272ff

<sup>87</sup> Johnston, *Der Österreichische Mensch : : Kulturgeschichte Der Eigenart Österreichs*. P.78

motherly characteristics of Empress Maria Theresia, while Germany was represented by the patriarchal and aggressive Friedrich II of Prussia.<sup>88</sup> One can say that through the example of Maria Theresia, Austria was first and foremost defined as “everything but German”. The positive elements of her reign that were underlined consisted of her reforms and modernisation of the empire.<sup>89</sup>

In addition, the reign of the Empress was connotated with an array of characteristics that segregated the “Austrian” character from the “German” character. She was described by Hugo von Hofmannsthal as the pinnacle of Austrian nature, combining human warmth, consilience and strength of soul. She was elevated to the “mother of the Austrian nation”. However, she remained “German” in the sense that she was seen as orderly, conscientious and strict, but without connecting these traits of character to the German nation.<sup>90</sup>

The impact of the Habsburg Empire, however, did not stop with Maria Theresia. The Baroque and Historicistic architecture received high praise, for example by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, who designed monuments such as the Charles’ church in Vienna. Especially the clerical architecture of churches and monasteries started to play a significant role for the Austrian identity.<sup>91</sup> Also, the art collections collated by the Habsburg dynasty were praised as the pinnacle of European art, which led to the further interpretation of Austria as the bygone nerve centre of the European continent, at least in an intellectual sense.<sup>92</sup>

The idea of a character like Maria Theresia as the quintessence of Austrian-ness was connected to several other elements of the newly created Austrian identity by the abovementioned authors.

The defining trait of the Catholic religion, which had already resisted Protestantism in the Habsburg Empire, was strongly supported by the First Republic. However, this national identity through religion was not only strengthened by the Catholic members of society. The Jewish inhabitants of the First Republic were missing the stability and tolerance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Habsburg Empire, thanks to the patent of tolerance under Emperor Joseph II. They wholeheartedly gave up their

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<sup>88</sup> Stieg, *Sein Oder Schein: Die Österreich-Idee von Maria Theresia Bis Zum Anschluss*. P.51f

<sup>89</sup> Brix, *Memoria Austriae : 1 : Menschen, Mythen, Zeiten*. P.27f

<sup>90</sup> Telesko, *Maria Theresia: Ein Europäischer Mythos*. P.180ff

<sup>91</sup> Bruckmüller, *Nation Österreich: Kulturelles Bewusstsein Und Gesellschaftlich-Politische Prozesse*. P.367f

<sup>92</sup> Wildgans, *Rede Über Österreich*. P.18f

Jewish identity for the sake of an "Austrian" identity with a strong Catholic connotation. The religion did not necessarily serve its initial purpose to provide a fully-fledged world view, but to provide a sense of mystique and gilded glory to the drab years of crisis. A large part of the Jewish intelligentsia worked in the applied arts, for example aforementioned Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Max Reinhardt. Therefore, they knew how to present the myth of religion in an appealing way. At the same time, the Jewish population hoped to mingle into the majority of the Christian population through their engagement for the Catholic church. Antisemitism was an issue present at all times, and this new identity seemed like an exit route. One of the major Zionist thinkers, Theodor Herzl, had already declared in 1893 that the Catholic church could play a major role for the fight against antisemitism. He proposed a mass-christening of Jews in front of Vienna's Saint Stephan's cathedral to show how adaptive the Jewish community really was.<sup>93</sup> The Austrian Christian Social party was generally known as an antisemitic breeding ground during the First Republic, especially under its founder Karl Lueger. Under Chancellor Ignaz Seipel, however, the necessity to cooperate with the Jewish population was acknowledged. The Jewish bourgeoisie was seen as a good partner against Social Democratic and Marxist movements and proved to be a fertile ground to acquire large party donations.<sup>94</sup>

One interesting facet of Austria's identity in the First Republic was the popularity of the "Heimat" culture. Its aim was to provide a sense of identification without referring to the social centre of Vienna and instead concentrating on the rural elements of Austrian identity. Indirectly, this resulted in a separation of the cosmopolitan city life coined substantially by the Jewish community from the Catholic way of life on the countryside. This included the praise of the Austrian landscape as well as folklore such as songs, traditions and more mundane elements such as clothing. The author Peter Rosegger with his work "Die Entdeckung der Provinz" (the discovery of the province) is a popular example, as well as Max Pircher's "Die Zukunft der Österreichischen Alpenländer" (the future of the Austrian alpine provinces).<sup>95</sup> Even though this cultural movement concerned itself with the Austrian countryside and the accompanying traditions, it was not aimed at the inhabitants of the rural areas as such.

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<sup>93</sup> Silverman, *Becoming Austrians* : : *Jews and Culture between the World Wars*. P.146ff

<sup>94</sup> Höbelt, *Erste Republik : Österreich (1918-1938): Das Provisorium*. P.86

<sup>95</sup> Bischof, Plasser, and Berger, *From Empire to Republic* : : *Post-World War I Austria*. P.296ff

Austrians living in towns such as Vienna were especially severed from their former ties with the Habsburg empire and needed a new form of identification. Therefore, they increased their interest in the rural culture, including but not limiting itself to the literature just mentioned. A whole lifestyle emerged and percolated from the bourgeoisie to the middle classes and even to the working classes. The rural regions supported the sudden interest in their traditions and started to publish “Brauchtum” manuals about traditional clothing and ceremonies. Even Social Democratic folklore societies were founded, getting known as “Trachtler Genossen” (traditional costume comrades). Especially in Vienna celebrations around Austrian folklore gained momentum, consisting of stereotypical marquee festivals with “Tracht” and brass band concerts.<sup>96</sup>

The perception of Austria as the birthplace of high-culture must be elaborated on as well. Composers and theatre writers that were living or just working in Austria during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century were elevated to the quintessence of their profession during the First Republic. It is particularly interesting that Vienna was awarded the nimbus of the perfect breeding ground for the fine applied arts, thanks to the pre-eminence of a large noble class and the imperial court. That way, even artists that originated in different countries, including Germany, could suddenly be “made” Austrian. Prominent examples are Ludwig van Beethoven or Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The former was born in the German town of Bonn, the latter in the archbishopric Salzburg before it became part of the Austrian Empire.<sup>97</sup> Literature and theatre were strongly defined by Austrians like Franz Grillparzer, Johann Nestroy or operettas by Johann Strauss, and connected the Austrian culture to one of the most fundamental elements of identity – the spoken language. Even though the language in use was still German, it was an dedicated “Austrian” German, with different words, phrases and dialects, that were elevated to cult status.<sup>98</sup>

At the same time, however, a detrimentally different idea of Austrian identity gained momentum, Pan-Germanism. This movement should not be compared directly with the idea of the “Anschluss” to Germany that eventually took place in 1938. Instead, it was oriented towards the idea of a new empire or federation of all German-

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<sup>96</sup> Puchberger, “Heimat-Schaffen in Der Großstadt.” P.49ff

<sup>97</sup> Wildgans, *Rede Über Österreich*. P.21ff

<sup>98</sup> Stieg, *Sein Oder Schein: Die Österreich-Idee von Maria Theresia Bis Zum Anschluss*. P.172

speaking nations, with Austria as a member. The legitimacy of this idea originated in the Holy Roman Empire, but was strongly altered over time. In fact, the Austrian Social Democrats were the first ones to support the idea of an Austrian accession to Germany, because it hoped for more influence in a larger electorate of workers, as Austria was still relatively agrarian and hence oriented towards the Christian Social party. The German-Nationalist party only hesitantly joined that band wagon due to fears that this would make them unappealing for Catholic Austrian voters. Altogether, religion played a substantial part in this ideological construct. Austrian Cardinal Innitzer, for example, saw it as Austria's duty to build a German sphere of living based on the Catholic faith. This shows that there were indeed several strands of Pan-Germanism that had their different intentions. It is certain, however, that it was always coined by strong antisemitic sentiments. Altogether, the concept was very vague, used by different political groups alike. It is argued by scholars such as Günter Bischof that this vagueness of the idea led many Austrians to support the "Anschluss" to Germany, thinking that this would give Austria a new opportunity to become more politically significant in Europe.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Bischof, Plasser, and Berger, *From Empire to Republic : : Post-World War I Austria*. P.254ff

## Chapter Summary

In this chapter I analysed the foundation of the Salzburg Festival and the different strands of identity-creation in the young Austrian republic. The Salzburg Festival was one of the direct outlets of the new national identity. It combined the memory of the Habsburg Empire, the deliberate contrast to Germany, Catholic mysticism, folk-culture and the new image as a culture nation, fuelled by the Jewish drive for action in a new and unproven system.

Salzburg provided the perfect preconditions thanks to its baroque architecture coined by the Habsburg Empire, immersed in the picturesque Austrian landscape. Its origin as an archbishopric made it perfect as a metaphorical “pilgrimage” site for a festival that emphasises German applied arts, but with a focus on artist that either lived or worked in the Austrian Empire of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, first and foremost Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Despite the prevailing antisemitic accusations, it was thanks to the Jewish intelligentsia that this festival was successfully founded, despite unsuccessful attempts in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The festival was a quick success in artistic and touristic terms, but remained to disappoint economically. It repeatedly needed governmental funds to even continue to exist. Still, the time between 1920 and 1937 made it possible to establish the Salzburg Festival as a strong contribution to the young Austrian state that was already back then known around the world.

## *“Austria seizes to exist” - NS regime 1938 – 1945*

### **Salzburg Festival**

After the “Anschluss” of Austria to National Socialist Germany, the international goodwill towards the festival changed substantially. Foreign journalists cancelled their attendance in the few months between the accession and the 1938 festival. In addition, the viewer magnet Arturo Toscanini announced that he was not further interested in participating with the festival altogether – communicated via one single telegram, while staying in the United States.<sup>100</sup>

Governor Rehr, one of the biggest supporters of the Salzburg Festival during the First Republic, was imprisoned in May 1938 and was subsequently put in house arrest until the end of the Second World War. Max Reinhardt, who had already left Austria in 1937 and had moved to the United States, was from now on publicly called only by his full family name “Max Reinhardt-Goldmann” in the official phrasing of the Third Reich, in order to underline his Jewish descent.<sup>101</sup>

The Jewish conductor Bruno Walter, the former director of the Vienna State Opera and responsible for several opera performances in Salzburg, equally refrained from attending the festival and concentrated on projects at the “Concertgebouw” opera house in Amsterdam. When the Netherlands became inflicted in the war as well, he equally moved to the USA in order to flee from the atrocities of NS-ideology.<sup>102</sup>

Despite these grave incisions into the programmatic base of the festival, the National Socialist newspapers celebrated the fact of the new political climate for the festival. In that regard, one quote of the “Salzburger Zeitung” from July 1938 has to be mentioned in full detail to grasp the level of excitement for the new leadership:

*„Die Salzburger Festspiele sind eine Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands geworden, sie sind Teil, Baustein und Juwel des nationalsozialistischen Aufbaues geworden. Das Wort von den deutschen Festspielen erhebt sich in sieghafter Weihe; das ganze deutsche Volk steht nun schirmend um diese Spiele, der deutschen Seele sollen sie gehören, der deutschen Kunst.“*

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<sup>100</sup> Hochleitner et al., *Grosses Welttheater : Katalog Zur Landesausstellung 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Great World Theatre : Catalogue for the Anniversary Exhibition the Salzburg Festival Centenary*. P.65

<sup>101</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.67

<sup>102</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.209

*(“The Salzburg Festival has become a matter for Greater Germany; it has become part, building block and jewel of the National Socialist construction. The word of the German Festival rises in triumphant consecration; the whole German people now form the umbrella of these games; they are to belong to the German soul, to German art.”)*

The new programmatic essence for the festival, declared by Gauleiter Friedrich Rainer and Reichstatthalter (Governor) Albert Reitter, was to focus on its initial goal of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, to become a definite Mozart-festival, as a southern counterpart to the Wagner-festival in Bayreuth. However there was an even more dominant reason for this repositioning of the festival in Salzburg as a counterpart to Bayreuth. Josef Goebbels, the NS propaganda minister, discloses in his diaries that he intended to separate the Salzburg Festival from Viennese influence in order to dilute the idea of Vienna as hub of the applied arts.<sup>103</sup> However, Winifred Wagner, organiser of the Bayreuth-Festival, and Adolf Hitler did not see Salzburg as equal and strongly argued against direct competition for Bayreuth. In the first festival season in Salzburg under the NS-regime, “Die Meistersinger”, as a production by star conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, was performed as opening act. After criticism from Hitler, Goebbels removed further Wagner performances from the schedule. His strategy was cunning. Through adhering to Hitler’s wish, he could be sure to have the Führer’s support for any other programme plans as long as they did not include Wagner performances.<sup>104</sup>

In practical terms the NS-regime first and foremost intended to forbid Jewish artists and personnel to participate at the festival. Prominent examples have been mentioned already, like Max Reinhardt. Non-Jewish artists that had defended the rights of Jews, like actress Helene Thimig or Governor Rehr, were branded as “verjuded” (influenced by Jewish ideas) and put on the same level as ethnic Jews.<sup>105</sup>

Initially, it was planned for the Vienna Philharmonics to cleanse their orchestra from Jewish musicians as well, but when it became evident that it wouldn’t be possible to function solely with its Aryan members, an official exception for Jewish orchestra members was granted. Still, the only real reason for this decision was that Goebbels

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<sup>103</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.68

<sup>104</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland: Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.328f

<sup>105</sup> “Stadt Salzburg - Wachsender Antisemitismus Bis Zum Nationalsozialismus.”



feared that the Salzburg festival could fall behind its German counterpart in Bayreuth.<sup>106</sup>

When the Second World War did eventually begin in 1939, Goebbels made sure that the Salzburg Festival continued to take place. In addition to the aforementioned reasons, its importance grew when the Allied bombardments on German cities increased. Salzburg was spared from bomb damage until 1944 and therefore seemed to be the perfect holiday location for members of the Wehrmacht and their relatives at that time.<sup>107</sup> Hence, the NS-regime tried to reframe the festival in a substantially different perspective. It should become a festival “for the people”, run by the “Kraft durch Freude” (strength through joy) National Socialist leisure organisation, while still sticking to the expensive ticket prices. The regime was also trying to continue an established festival with well-known recurring elements without sticking to the ideal behind it. Most notably the “Jedermann” performance was replaced by Goethe’s “Egmont”, which was interpreted along the lines of NS-“liberation” for Austria.<sup>108</sup> To that end, the former partner of Max Reinhardt, Heinz Hilpert was given the authority over the theatre projects in Salzburg. Hilpert did not approve of the political indoctrination of Goethe’s play and tried to keep it free from the intended anti-Habsburg ideals that the regime planned to incorporate. He could achieve this at least in part through the re-use of scenery that did not represent Austria, but rather reflected the Netherlands. He argued that this would be the more economical option for the play, successfully hiding his real intentions.<sup>109</sup>

It was also officially decided that the mere idea of a music festival could only be traced back to “German” ideology under Richard Wagner. For that purpose, Friedrich Gehmacher and Heinrich Damisch were presented as the real founders of the Salzburg Festival, while discrediting the influence of Hofmannsthal and Reinhardt.<sup>110</sup>

In 1939, the plan to build a gigantic new festival house on the Kapuzinerberg took shape. The elevated location of this building aimed at making a mark of NS-

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<sup>106</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.277f

<sup>107</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.69

<sup>108</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.240f

<sup>109</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.386f

<sup>110</sup> Kriechbaumer. P.284ff

ideology in the silhouette of the townscape that had been mainly characterised by the fortification “Hohensalzburg”.<sup>111</sup> This project never came to fruition due to the increasing war effort, but on a smaller scale, visual changes were made in the existing festival house. The fresco in its foyer, created in 1925 by artist Anton Faistauer, was demolished due to its “catholic” appearance due to the depiction of liturgical scenes.<sup>112</sup> It took until 2006 until the stored fresco was refurbished and returned to its intended location in the foyer of the (small) festival house.<sup>113</sup>

Politically, the festival developed into a linchpin for the NSDAP elite due to the proximity to Hitler’s summer residence, the “Berghof” on the Obersalzberg in the German Berchtesgaden Land. Therefore, the infrastructure in and around Salzburg was improved during the early 1940s. “Kleßheim” Castle, repurposed as a guesthouse for the NS-regime, received a dedicated train station, and Salzburg was connected with the highway network. Comparable with Schuschnigg’s plan for the First Republic, the festival should help the NS-regime to stabilise its relationship with fascist Italy. In addition to the “German” programme revolving around Mozart, Strauss and Weber, Verdi and Rossini were added as well. Ironically, it was not possible to engage Italian opera artists, which were not eager to return to Austria after the “Anschluss”.<sup>114</sup>

In 1943 the Salzburg “Festival” was renamed into “Theater- und Musiksommer” (theatre and music summer). The term “Festival” should finally be uniquely reserved for Bayreuth. In 1943 and 1944, the significance of the festival for Salzburg was strongly decreasing, mainly due to the intensification of the Second World War.<sup>115</sup> Even though events were planned for 1944, the last military mobilisation of the NS-regime meant the nearly total cancellation of the intended programme. Only one concert with the Vienna Philharmonics and one general rehearsal of Richard Strauss’ opera “The love of Danae” could take place thanks to the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of Maestro Strauss himself.<sup>116</sup> This dedication to the conductor came as a surprise, after he had fallen out of good graces with the NS-regime in 1935, when

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<sup>111</sup> “Der Traum von Einem Feentempel • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>112</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.243

<sup>113</sup> “Blog • Wandbilder Im Faistauer-Foyer • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>114</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland: Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.292f

<sup>115</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.244

<sup>116</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.70

the Gestapo found a letter from his to the Jewish author Stefan Zweig, containing negative remarks towards the National Socialist ideology. He had to withdraw from the presidency of the “Reichsmusikkammer” (NS-German chamber of music), but could continue his occupation as a conductor. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1944 the first bombing runs on Salzburg began because of the strategic significance of the adjacent train line to Northern Italy. Unfortunately, there had been a number of false alarms between 1942 and 1944, therefore a large number of inhabitants did not take the final alarm seriously.<sup>117</sup> The result were 530 casualties and immense damage in the city centre. Mozart’s house of birth as well as the cupola of the cathedral were destroyed and 10.000 inhabitants lost their homes. Finally, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1945, United States’ troops liberated Salzburg from the NS-yoke.<sup>118</sup>

The Logo of the Salzburg Festival, designed by artist Poldi Wojtek in 1928, was not in use during the NS-era because of its connection to the festival’s pre-war era under Max Reinhardt. Instead, the motive of a naked Mozart playing the lyra was used from 1938 to 1944 in order to emphasise the new goal of the event.<sup>119</sup>

Wojtek was married to art historian and SS-member Kajetan Mühlmann. Wojtek’s father was looking for a place of living during his retirement and his daughter was eager to help him with the search for new housing. The Jewish artist Helene von Taussig owned a house in Anif, a quaint village close to Salzburg. In 1941, Poldi Wojtek was eager to achieve an “Arisierung”, an expropriation, of this property for the benefit of her father. This plan came to fruition due to her personal engagement with the Salzburg “Reichsstatthalter” and “Gauleiter”.<sup>120</sup> Despite the common procedure of expropriation, it was only due to Wojtek’s personal initiative that the house was eventually taken from Taussig. In 1941, because of the ongoing war there was already a general real estate sales ban in place and at the same time there were many other official NS prospects for the house. In 1943, her father gifted her the house, the same

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<sup>117</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.414f

<sup>118</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.245

<sup>119</sup> Rathkolb and Kern, *Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele : Deutsch = The Salzburg Festival’s Logo and Its Designer Poldi Wojtek : English*. P.39

<sup>120</sup> Rathkolb and Kern. P.21f

year that she got divorced from Kajetan Mühlmann.<sup>121</sup> Other than that, Poldi Wojtek participated eagerly in the NS propaganda system, creating various illustrations and works of art for official projects, such as a tapestry with woven quotes of Adolf Hitler or pictures for a Hitler biography aimed at children. She was never official member of the NSDAP, therefore there was no official denazification procedure after the end of the Second World War. She was only deemed “minderbelastet” (lightly involved) due to her ex-husband and did not face any legal consequences in the Second Republic. Still, the house in Anif was given back to the descendants of Helene von Taussig.<sup>122</sup> The Jewish artist was murdered in a Polish concentration camp.<sup>123</sup> It took until the festival jubilee in 2020 for the official resolution of the logo’s past. Throughout this process, it was decided to face the problematic memory of the logo as a symbol, but to keep it unaltered because of its role as symbolic feature of the Salzburg Festival.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> “Präsentation Zweier Gutachten – Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>122</sup> Rathkolb and Kern, *Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele : Deutsch = The Salzburg Festival’s Logo and Its Designer Poldi Wojtek : English*. P.23f

<sup>123</sup> “Orte & Biographien.”

<sup>124</sup> Rathkolb and Kern, *Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele : Deutsch = The Salzburg Festival’s Logo and Its Designer Poldi Wojtek : English*. P.41

### Austrian identity

The Austrian identity after its accession to the Third Reich can be summarised bluntly – it ceased to exist from an official point of view. All elements that had previously provided an Austrian way of life were suddenly reshaped as a regional version of the bigger German identity. If this strategy could not be applied, the traditions in question were abolished if they could not be placed in the German sphere.

The most apparent sign was the abolishment of the name “Austria” on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1939, changing into “Ostmark”. However, the NS-regime went further than just to change the nation’s name. The borders of the federal states were redrawn extensively in order to dilute the recollection of the original Austrian regions. Burgenland, the youngest Austrian province, was divided between the authority of Lower Austria and Styria. Vienna was enlarged, suddenly including 97 surrounding municipalities, but was at the same time degraded administratively to a provincial town. This was exemplified by the repurposing of the former parliament building to a “Gauhaus”, the seat of the provincial government.<sup>125</sup> The provincialisation of Austria was also palpable in the treatment of its cultural sphere. Vienna and Salzburg as centres of the applied arts were given less attention. Especially Vienna should not be perceived as cultural giant any longer.<sup>126</sup> It must be underlined that the new cultural landscape of Austria was weakened and squeezed out anyway after any participation and any works of Jewish artists and artisans were forbidden and deemed “entartet” (degenerate). It must be emphasised that in Vienna alone 9,4% of the population had been Jewish, with dominant presence in the arts, culture business and art patronage. The sudden cultural emptiness resulting from the eviction of “Jewish” influences was replaced with NS-propaganda.<sup>127</sup> The aim was to construct a cultural identity that transported “German” ideals, while keeping the term “German” very vague and adaptable. The main terms to describe it were “true”, “fit for the construction of a German Empire” and “not degenerate”. Therefore, the NS-regime had the latitude to construct its own artistic programme without having to follow a clear-cut template.<sup>128</sup> Classic aesthetics, both in the applied and the visual arts, were the only ideal. This included foremost German

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<sup>125</sup> Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung* : : Österreich Seit 1918. P.186ff

<sup>126</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland : Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.291f

<sup>127</sup> Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung* : : Österreich Seit 1918. P.190ff

<sup>128</sup> Kashapova, “Deutsche Kunst Im Dritten Reich.” P.158

writers like Friedrich Schiller or Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and painters like Albrecht Dürer and Rembrandt van Rijn, even though the latter was of Dutch origin. In addition the connection of Germany, “Germanic” Nordic symbolism and Gothic style was stressed, together with the concept of the “Germanic race” as superior to other ethnicities.<sup>129</sup> The examples of the above-mentioned painters shows that the NS-culture-ideology revolved around the repurposing of old and generally accepted images, but with the spin of the general racial and totalitarian ideas of this ideology.<sup>130</sup>

The fundamental concepts of National Socialist ideology were founded on five major principles, as proposed by media scientist Werner Faulstich. The “Weltimperialismus” (world imperialism) together with the “Lebensraum” (living space) theory were the fundamental drivers for the hostile actions and the expansionism during the Second World War. At the same time, the big business corporations in Germany were implied in this new world view, their profit-orientation providing a perfect base for a consumer-society that was steered by the political regime, additionally profiting immensely from an economic point of view during the war effort. The race theory of the NS-regime gave a clear-cut and simplified explanation that justified the suppression of different ethnicities, by arguing for the superiority of the “German tribe” and deeming other members of society, first and foremost the Jewish community, unworthy of survival. Hand in hand with this line of argument, the Jewish community was accused of causing the social and economic problems that were troubling the public, effectively leading to public paranoia and hence easier indoctrination. Equally, the “Gleichschaltung” (enforced conformity) of society through one standardised way of living needs to be mentioned, including every part of daily life, from social classes to the media and judicial system.<sup>131</sup>

In the sphere of classical music composers previously perceived as “Austrian” were rebranded as “German” with the prime example of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. It was lamented that for a very long time this “German” composer had been misused by Jewish artists, especially in Salzburg. Therefore, the goal of the NS-regime was to

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<sup>129</sup> Kashapova. P.165ff

<sup>130</sup> Borsò, Liermann, and Merziger, *Die Macht Des Populären : Politik Und Populäre Kultur Im 20. Jahrhundert*. P.123

<sup>131</sup> Faulstich, *Die Kultur Der 30er Und 40er Jahre*. P.11f

elevate his work properly, as it had already done with the works by composer Richard Wagner.<sup>132</sup>

I would like to concentrate more on the example of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. His idealisation in the Third Reich did only succeed because of a partial view on his personality. Mozart was a Free Mason, a movement that was persecuted during the NS-regime. Therefore, this facet of his life was simply ignored and never mentioned in the NS-propaganda. Equally, the perception on his works changed. His Italian operas like “La nozze die Figaro” or “Cosi fan tutte” were ignored as long as they were not necessary for political alignment with fascist Italy. Instead, especially the happy and wholesome “Zauberflöte”, conveniently one of his operas in German language, received the highest praise. What the NS-regime blatantly ignored was that the opera was full of symbols of Free Masonry. It was not a coincidence that the opera’s character “Tamino” has to endure a number of tests in the second act of the opera. This storyline was based on the tests necessary to become a Free Mason. Another example of NS-reinterpretation is his late “Requiem”, a funeral mass, that was elevated on the same level as the military mourning song “Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden” (I had a comrade). The religious connotation of the mass was put aside.<sup>133</sup>

Brass music, that had a prominent cultural role in Austria since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was effortlessly repurposed for the NS-propaganda. For example, the Tyrolean brass music pieces around the famous independence fighter Andreas Hofer were used to repurpose this regional element of collective identity as a part of the “strong” NS-ideology.<sup>134</sup>

The German music stars, first and foremost the conductors Karl Böhm and Wilhelm Furtwängler, who had been known before the Third Reich, continued to work for the regime and were used extensively as figureheads of “German” high culture, promoting “German” music on extensive worldwide tournees. Karl Böhm also took over the directorate of the Vienna State Opera and therefore facilitated the German

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<sup>132</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland: Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933 - 1944*. P.289

<sup>133</sup> Stieg, *Sein Oder Schein: Die Österreich-Idee von Maria Theresia Bis Zum Anschluss*. P.244f

<sup>134</sup> Achhorne, *Musik Und Kulturelles Gedächtnis: Zur Musikalischen Instrumentalisierung von Heimat, Kultur Und Identität Im Tiroler Nationalsozialismus* /. P.110f

influence on the Austrian culture scene, even though he was only a sympathiser of the NS-regime and not a full party member.<sup>135</sup>

The folklore culture, that was already popular in the First Republic, was repurposed under the NS-regime as well. However, the main goal was now to emphasise the fundamental down-to-earth character of the rural inhabitants that was not mentally diluted by cosmopolitanism and (Jewish) intellectuals.<sup>136</sup>

These general elements of folklore were continued through a distinctive connection of NS-culture and the “strong” deeply-rooted ideas of agrarian ideology, emphasising the aesthetics of the “working men and women”, feeding the (national Socialist) society through the physical work on the fields.<sup>137</sup> What needs to be stressed is that the German NS-ideology defined itself strongly as being “healthy” in contrast to “sick” elements of foreign and alien identities.<sup>138</sup>

The Catholic and also Evangelic church had initially welcomed the accession of Austria to Germany because they had hoped for easier access to a larger sphere of geographical influence. However, they realised soon that their days as a state-defining power would not continue under the National Socialist rule. Public holidays had previously been coined by the Catholic church year, but were put aside in favour of new occasions. Just to name one example, Christmas was put on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December and called “Wintersonnenwende” (winter solstice). Completely new holidays were e.g. the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, commemorating the rise to power of Adolf Hitler and the 13<sup>th</sup> of March, commemorating the “Ostmark”. Equally, civil marriages replaced church weddings. The previously popular catholic youth organisations like the “Cartellverband” were replaced with the “Hitlerjugend” (Hitler youth) which followed the main goal to produce large numbers of future soldiers for the German Reich.<sup>139</sup> The NS-regime did not intend to forbid the existing Christian churches outspokenly, as it was aware it needed the support of these organisations with its vast number of followers in the general public. Instead, a new confession was introduced, the “Bekenntnis zur kirchenfreien deutschen Religiosität” (Commitment to church-free German religiosity), indirectly incentivising the population to leave the church, as it

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<sup>135</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.241f

<sup>136</sup> Kashapova, “Deutsche Kunst Im Dritten Reich.” P.162f

<sup>137</sup> Faulstich, *Die Kultur Der 30er Und 40er Jahre*. P.37

<sup>138</sup> Kashapova, “Deutsche Kunst Im Dritten Reich.” P.172

<sup>139</sup> Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich Seit 1918*. P.188ff



offered a more diluted concept of Christianity, not geared to the institutions of the Catholic or Evangelic belief.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Faulstich, *Die Kultur Der 30er Und 40er Jahre*. P.91ff

## **Chapter Summary**

The accession of Austria to the Third Reich led to grave changes both in regard to the Austrian identity and the Salzburg Festival. The main goal of the NS-leadership was to remove Austria from the map and with it the distinct Austrian identity that had been forged in the First Republic. Every element of national identity that could be repurposed as a facet of “German” ideology, was kept, like traditional music or folklore. Unsuitable elements like the Catholic religion and altogether Jewish influence were discarded – either subtly like with the church or aggressively as in the Jewish case.

The Salzburg Festival was initially repurposed by Joseph Goebbels as a southern version of the Bayreuth Festival, focusing on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. However, this equilibrium between the two festivals eventually changed, degrading Salzburg to a second-rank cultural event for German citizens. 1944 it did not take place at all due to the final war effort. Strapped from contributions of the Jewish intelligentsia, the festival’s highlights, most notably the “Jedermann” performance, was replaced with “German” contributions.

### *“Recollection of the past, again” - Second Republic 1945 – present*

The following section of this thesis will shed light on the period from the liberation of Austria by the allied powers in 1945 mostly to the end of the occupation. Where necessary, I will elaborate into the younger past as well. For general understanding it must be emphasised that the Austrian identity created in the ten years of occupation by the Allied Powers proved to be persistent in the long term and continues to be the identity-providing trait of ideas

#### **Salzburg Festival**

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1945, US-American troops arrived in Salzburg and ended the National Socialist regime in the region for good. At the very beginning the American occupiers had the orders to implement the same strategy for Austria as for Germany, a strict military government with no real emphasis on culture or national identity development.<sup>141</sup> However, the commander for the US occupation zone in Austria, General Mark Clark, with Salzburg as the only major city in his influence area, followed the logic of the Moscow Memorandum of 1943. This document declared Austria as the first major victim of NS-aggression and therefore led to a more lenient behaviour of the allies towards its redevelopment. In contrast to Berlin or Vienna, Salzburg was occupied by only one allied nation. The United States could therefore focus on their reconstruction work without having to coordinate their plans with the three other fellow victorious powers. In May 1945 the ISB (Information Service Branch), the public diplomacy section of the US Forces, opened its subsidiary in Salzburg. Immediately, the rekindling of the Salzburg Festival was identified as the top priority for the local ISB branch.<sup>142</sup> Its aim was clearly defined: the recreation of an Austrian identity based on topics that severed the thread to Germany and the German culture that Austria was infused with during the Second World War. As a second priority, the interweaving of American culture into Austrian daily life was envisaged. In addition the United States followed a competitive goal. The Soviet Union had already started a comprehensive project of rekindling Austrian culture in Vienna through the reconstruction of the State Opera and other outlets of the applied arts.

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<sup>141</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.247

<sup>142</sup> Scott, “From ‘Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands’ to ‘Österreichische Abende’: Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival.” P.220ff

Therefore, the United States did not want to be perceived as inferior to the USSR. The Salzburg Festival proved to be ideal for these aspirations.<sup>143</sup>

The strategy for the festival was to organise a programme that resembled the style and content of the festivals organised before the “Anschluss” of Austria to Germany. Heinrich Puthon, the festival house society president before the Second World War, had been made redundant during the NS-regime, but eagerly returned to his position in 1945. For the practical organisation of the festival, the ISB made culture officer Otto de Pasetti available in order to support the festival house society.<sup>144</sup> Pasetti was Austrian from birth and Jewish but had left Austria in 1937 to the USA and had joined the US Armed Forces. Due to his training as an opera singer and attorney at law, he was soon promoted to the “Theatre and Music” division of the ISB. When the US Army settled down in Austria, he was first posted to Vienna but soon transferred to Salzburg for the festival organisation. The US Army provided food, accommodation and transportation for the first festival in 1945. Ironically, the funding for the festival came mostly from NS-research grants that were intended for scientific analysis of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s oeuvre, amounting to 35.000 Reichsmark. Naturally, this opportunity was welcomed by the ISB, eager to spend enemy money on their own project. The price of the festival tickets were placed relatively low, ranging from 2 Reichsmark to 25 Reichsmark. For comparison, a single cigarette cost one Reichsmark. Nevertheless, the majority of the spectators consisted of American soldiers and the local US administration.

It is noteworthy that the US occupiers had initial worries about using classical music for the cultural re-education of Austria, but soon realised that this proved to be the most efficient way due to the large knowledge about this kind of culture within the Austrian population.<sup>145</sup>

It has to be taken into account that the United States had been ignorant before against the cultural knowledge when they had first arrived in Austria. This did show though the way the American troops treated the venues they found in Salzburg, to the great disdain of the local population. The festival house was briefly transformed into a

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<sup>143</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.84f

<sup>144</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.247

<sup>145</sup> Scott, “From ‘Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands’ to ‘Österreichische Abende’: Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival.” P.221f

variety theatre, the Mozarteum became witness to several boxing competitions and the Salzburg Theatre became a cinema for the US troops. Despite these initial issues, the high-culture division of the ISB was able to calm down the mood of the population when it shifted its focus on the duties of an ordinary cultural management authority as it had been known in Austria since the Habsburg Empire.<sup>146</sup> It also used most of the administrative structures that were already present in Salzburg. The festival of 1945 had to achieve the balance between a high artistic quality and the obvious restraints of a war-ridden Austrian nation. Most of the artists that were engaged originated from Austria, with single exceptions like the US pianist and member of the armed forces Gilbert Winkler. The ISB also slightly changed the focus of the festival, away from theatre and towards music, concerts and the opera. Even though the aim of this change was to remove a German-centric programme of the festival, in the end it proved vital to include theatre in the German language for the sake of creating an Austrian identity. After all, Austrian identity was based on the German language.<sup>147</sup>

One major issue for the 1945 festival was the Denazification of the art world, as in all the professions in Austria. The initial aim was to only use artists that did not have any affiliation with the NS-regime. However, this intention proved to be difficult to implement, especially in the case of a suitable orchestra. It was clear that quality-wise, the Vienna Philharmonics were the obvious choice for the festival, but many of its members had a National Socialist past and – in theory – would not be allowed to perform their profession. The orchestra would not have the necessary size if all NS-tainted members were to be left out. Therefore, the orchestra playing at the first post-war festival contained indeed several musicians with a NS-past. The ISB's initial plan was also to engage artists that had participated in the resistance against the NS-regime actively, including those who had endured torture and persecution. However, Pasetti had to acknowledge during the festival preparation that the majority of artists falling in this category had either changed their profession completely or were not mentally able to return to their profession after seven years of persecution. In the end, artists that had worked for the NS-regime were admitted to participation in the festival if no other candidates could be found. The ISB remained only strict towards Austrian

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<sup>146</sup> Wagnleitner, Wolf, and Wolf, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*. P.167f

<sup>147</sup> Scott, "From 'Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands' to 'Österreichische Abende': Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival." P.224

members of the NSDAP.<sup>148</sup> The celebrated maestro Arturo Toscanini or international stars like Yehudi Menuhin could not be moved to conduct in Salzburg.<sup>149</sup>

The American occupiers tried to insert subtle contemporary elements into the festival programme with pieces by Gottfried von Einem or Arnold Schönberg. However, these performances were slammed mercilessly by the Austrian press. Austria evidently wanted to found its new identity on the basis of its old identity before 1938 and even before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>150</sup> Austria wanted 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century composers like Mozart, Johann Strauss or Franz Léhar with distinct Austrian roots as well as composers who lived in Austria for a long time like Ludwig van Beethoven. The ISB had also invited the Vienna Boys' Choir for two performances at the 1945 festival.<sup>151</sup> However, this choir performance was a new experience for the non-American festival guests, for they sang the songs "Yankee Doodle" and "My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean".<sup>152</sup>

One particularity in the 1945 festival were the "Österreichische Abende" (Austrian evenings). They were performances on a smaller scale, with the aim to promote "Lieder" (songs) by Austrian composers. They should install specifically sentiments about "homely" folklore within the spectators. The focus did lie substantially on songs written by Franz Schubert and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, in addition to all sorts of texts that had a distinctive catholic or peace-loving connotation. This series of events was intended as a form of "reassurance" in regard to the creation of an Austrian identity. After all, the ISB argued that many of the larger festival productions had been played during the NS-era. However, this point of view did not include the bigger picture. Mozart was one of the core idea of NS-propaganda in Austria and Franz Schubert had been equally admired by the National Socialists.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.249f

<sup>149</sup> Scott, "From 'Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands' to 'Österreichische Abende': Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival." P.226

<sup>150</sup> Kerschbaumer, "„... Du Glückliches Österreich, Spiele!“: Der Kleinstaat Als Verspielte Groß- Und Traditionsmacht." P.130

<sup>151</sup> Scott, "From 'Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands' to 'Österreichische Abende': Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival." P.225ff

<sup>152</sup> Wagnleitner, Wolf, and Wolf, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*. P.111

<sup>153</sup> Scott, "From 'Angelegenheit Großdeutschlands' to 'Österreichische Abende': Programming the 1945 Salzburg Festival." P.228f

Former Governor of Salzburg Franz Rehrl participated at the opening of the festival in 1945 as a guest of honour, although he was an ill man, scarred by the war-time spent in prison and in house arrest. He died in 1947.<sup>154</sup>

1946 a completely new player entered the stage of the Salzburg festival. France was the allied power with the least political influence in Austria, due to its moderate economy and military power in comparison with the superpowers USA and USSR, but also due to its defeat against the NS-regime in 1940. Aware of these obvious limitations, culture diplomacy turned out to be an unexpected asset, which was used before only for the promotion of domestic French interests. At first their culture diplomacy became palpable in Innsbruck and Vienna, which were part of the French occupation sector. Soon, however, Salzburg was identified as another potential place for influence. France was fascinated by the contradictory role of the Salzburg Festival, which was initially founded as a place of liberal cosmopolitanism for the applied arts, which was then turned to a propaganda tool for the Austrian corporative state and the NS-regime. However, it was not the official French culture mission that started its engagement in Salzburg.<sup>155</sup> Marquise Peyrebère de Guilloutet, a French aristocrat, had already been in Austria before the Second World War and was well connected in the national art world, including Salzburg. After the war she unilaterally took up the task to promote French art in Salzburg, using her old contacts including festival society president Heinrich Puthon. The French embassy found out about her work and made her their official culture representative in Salzburg. Concretely, in addition to teaching French to the locals, the Marquise sought to bring French musicians to the festival, with noticeable success. Thanks to her initiative, conductor Charles Munch as well as the chamber ensemble “Pasquier-Trio” came to the festival, as well as the world-famous Strasbourg church choir. Still, she understood that contemporary music was not wished for in Salzburg. She continued this work until her death in 1961, with 86 years of age. The ISB in Salzburg appreciated this French influence.<sup>156</sup>

The ISB tried to make the festival of 1946 more American by proposing the inclusion of United States’ composers to the festival programme. Ernst Lothar,

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<sup>154</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehrl Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.403ff

<sup>155</sup> Golovlev, “Vom Rhein an Die Salzach: Teilnahme Vom Straßburger Domchor an Den Salzburger Festspielen Und Die Französische Musikdiplomatie in Österreich Während Der Alliierten Besatzungszeit.” P.41ff

<sup>156</sup> Golovlev. P.45ff

however, the successor of Otto Pasetti in the ISB, put it perfectly when he said that the Austrian sphere of high culture was not only unaware but simply not interested and opposed to the idea of adding American music to their listening portfolio. Austria seemed to feel culturally superior to the USA. In 1946 only Samuel Barber's "Adagio for Strings" and Aaron Copland's piece "Quiet City" could be added to the festival programme despite the opposition of the festival house society. A sphere where the ISB was definitely more successful was in bringing international stars to Salzburg. Thanks to the USA, music stars like Jewish-American violinist Yehudi Menuhin and Jewish-American-Hungarian conductor Antal Doráti could be engaged from 1946 onwards. Also other previously politically persecuted, mostly Jewish artists could finally return to their former stomping grounds.<sup>157</sup>

Helene Thimig could be persuaded to return to Austria in 1946. Her husband, Max Reinhardt, had already died in 1943 in the United States. She was invited to return to the Salzburg Festival in her capacity as an actress, for nothing less than an official engagement of this year's "Jedermann" production. She played the meaningful role of "Faith", which strongly shows the will of the festival organisers to instate a connection between the origins of the festival and the present. Her brother, the actor Hermann Thimig, was also engaged for the production of Reinhardt's play "Die Diener zweier Herren" (The servants of two masters), which was officially intended to strengthen the commemoration of the founder of the festival.<sup>158</sup>

The topic of Denazification of Karl Böhm, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Herbert von Karajan deserve more attention in the context of the Salzburg Festival, due to their artistic significance as well as for the further development of the festival as a cultural pillar in Austria.

Due to the aforementioned relative limitation of artists untainted by the NS-regime, Otto Pasetti tried to de-nazify the three conductors as swiftly as possible in order to win them back for future engagements. The American occupiers were represented by the "Salzburg Commission", the inspection body for de-Nazification issues.

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<sup>157</sup> Wagnleitner, Wolf, and Wolf, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*. P.196ff

<sup>158</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.163f



Karl Böhm, who never was official member of the NSDAP, was cleared of all charges in 1946. However, after the lifting of his professional ban, material emerged in 1947 which showed that his involvement with the NS-regime had been far more intensive than initially thought. From 1933 on, Böhm had been in close contact with the NS-leadership, proven by letter correspondence. He also turned out to have been a personal favourite of Hitler himself, who placed Böhm in the State Opera of Saxony and the “Musikalische Kapelle” in Dresden in 1934. Despite these overwhelming pieces of evidence his Denazification remained unaltered. Apparently the information did get lost in the bureaucratic system of the United States in Austria.<sup>159</sup> Böhm furthermore wrote articles in NS-music journals stating that he saw the National Socialist ideology as the perfect driver for contemporary art and music and openly supported the National Socialist ideology.<sup>160</sup>

Wilhelm Furtwängler was especially popular during the NS-regime, and subsequently very frowned upon after the liberation of Germany and Austria. He was perceived as the overall favourite conductor of Hitler and prioritised engagements in the National Social sphere of influence over offers from abroad, like the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>161</sup> However, he was a more complex person than it seemed. While certainly having an antisemitic and Germanic world view in private, he was aware that the removal of all Jewish influence in the world of music meant a substantial loss in quality. Therefore, he repeatedly supported Jewish musicians in the orchestras he worked with, and even wrote an open letter to propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels in 1933 accusing the aggressive anti-Jewish policies.<sup>162</sup> Still, he served as one of the strongest advertisers for German-centric art in the Third Reich, especially due to his famous interpretation of operas by Richard Wagner that he repeatedly conducted at the Bayreuth Festival.<sup>163</sup> After the war he was initially forbidden of any musical engagements both in Germany and Austria, but especially Jewish star violinist Yehudi

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<sup>159</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper. P.259f

<sup>160</sup> “Stadt Salzburg - Prof. Dr. Karl Böhm.”

<sup>161</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.257

<sup>162</sup> Allen, *Wilhelm Furtwängler: Art and the Politics of the Unpolitical*. P.114f

<sup>163</sup> Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler*. P.30

Menuhin defended his return to the conductor's stand. He could return to his position at the Berlin Philharmonics in 1947 and also conducted at the Salzburg Festival.<sup>164</sup>

Herbert von Karajan is the third case of denazification I mention because this conductor was one of the most influential persons for the further development of the Salzburg Festival in the 1950s and 1960s. By then he would be responsible for promoting the construction of the Large festival house as well as for introducing the Salzburg Easter festival in 1965.<sup>165</sup>

Otto Pasetti wanted to include him into the Salzburg Festival of 1946 and therefore demanded a quick Denazification-ruling for the conductor. In addition, Karajan could rely on many supporters in the American leadership, who admired his artistic skill. However, Pasetti's successor Ernst Lothar did not agree with the lax approach towards Karajan.<sup>166</sup> After all, the conductor had been a NSDAP member since 1935 and had substantially contributed to the music propaganda during the Third Reich, like Furtwängler had done. What could be said in his defence was that he withdrew from the NSDAP in 1942 after marrying the "Quarter-Jew" Anna Maria Gütermann. There was substantial pressure on Ernst Lothar to admit Karajan to the festival in 1946.<sup>167</sup> Former colleagues of Karajan in Aachen and Berlin, which were completely free of allegations against collaboration with the NS-regime, sent a letter to the US administration. In this letter, they argued that Karajan had repeatedly acted against the proposals of the Third Reich propaganda. Nevertheless, Lothar did not change his opinion and kept his point of view. Karajan was not as indispensable as to make an exception for this year's festival or any other performance. However, this directive was formulated too vaguely and so the festival house society engaged Karajan for two opera productions. The only requirement was that he had to have unblemished conductors do the public performances. During rehearsals he was responsible for the artistic shaping. Ernst Lothar found out about this circumvention of his directive and immediately banned Karajan from any appearance at the festival.<sup>168</sup> Albeit in 1947 Karajan as well as the majority of artists accused of

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<sup>164</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.257f

<sup>165</sup> "Der Jahrhundert-Dirigent – Osterfestspiele Salzburg."

<sup>166</sup> Osborne, *Herbert Von Karajan: A Life in Music*. P.213ff

<sup>167</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.255

<sup>168</sup> Osborne, *Herbert Von Karajan: A Life in Music*. P.124ff

collaboration with the Third Reich, were reinstated and cleared from any charges concerning their National Socialist past. For the first time, Karajan performed at the festival of 1948.<sup>169</sup>

In 1947 Ernst Lothar resigned from his post at the ISB, but entered the society of the Salzburg Festival in 1948, as a member of the directorate under Puthon. In that capacity he sought to reinforce theatre productions at the festival, as the US occupiers had predominately invested into concert and opera productions.<sup>170</sup> However, a slight imbalance of music and theatre remained, with “Jedermann” as prominent exception. Economically, the festival proved to be way more successful than before the war, and in 1949 it could generate a genuine profit – for the first time in its existence. The only criticism from the Austrian Court of Audit was the generous distribution of free tickets to journalists.<sup>171</sup>

In 1951 the conflict between the contemporary art scene and the traditional approach of the Salzburg Festival resulted in a public scandal. Bertold Brecht, German author and defender of the Communist avantgarde, was officially stateless. In 1950, he sent his colleague and friend Gottfried von Einem a letter seeking for naturalisation in Austria. He would even contribute a piece for future festivals, called “Totentanz” (Dance of Death) as a progression of the topics covered by “Jedermann”. Von Einem was a member of the festival society since 1948. The state government of Salzburg granted Brecht an Austrian passport, however there was a public outcry when this decision reached the newspaper “Salzburger Nachrichten”. Chief editor Gustav Canaval found Brecht’s new connection with Salzburg appalling, calling him “ein Dieselmachinist im Oratorium” (a diesel engine machinist in the oratory) and declared that the work of the “Dreigroschenoper” writer was not even worth “2 Groschen” (pennies). Gottfried von Einem was called a “Schande für Österreich” (disgrace for Austria) by the Governor of Salzburg Josef Klaus and had to retire from the festival society. In the end Brecht kept his Austrian passport, but never finished “Totentanz” or ever returned to Salzburg.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman’s Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.259

<sup>170</sup> “27. Juli Bis 31. August • Salzburger Festspiele.”

<sup>171</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.84f

<sup>172</sup> *Die Weltbühne: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.43

Von Einem could incorporate his artistic mark eventually in 1954, the first year that allowed for the world premiere of contemporary music at the Salzburg Festival. The opera “Penelope” by Swiss composer Rolf Liebermann was the most prominent among several other modern contributions to the summer programme. From that year onwards, contemporary plays, concerts and operas continued to play a role at the Salzburg Festival.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> “25. Juli Bis 30. August • Salzburger Festspiele.”

### **Austrian identity**

After the end of the Second World War Austria was again in need of a reinvention of its national identity. The new Second Republic was substantially shaped by the Allied Powers that occupied the Austrian territory, in addition to the inherent willingness of Austrians to link the new Republic to the time before the Second World War. In many areas of national identity the “recipes” of the First Republic that lasted until 1938 were rekindled. However, the choice of basic symbols was relatively arbitrary. The Austrian flag originated from the First Republic but the new story of origin for the Austrian nation was found further back in history. One endowment document to the Babenberg dynasty from the year 950 provided the new official founding date of the country, because it mentions the name “Ostarrichi” for the first time and did not touch in any way the tainted past of the Habsburg Monarchy, the First Republic or the NS-regime. Additionally, as it had been the case in the First Republic, Austria made a great deal of defining itself as “everything but Germany”, a red thread that will be visible through the subsequent topics that were used to define the Austrian identity.<sup>174</sup>

The strong urge to separate Austrian identity as far as possible from the German neighbours, despite its shared language, resulted in outright drastic measures. The Second Republic’s first minister of education, Ernst Fischer, was a Communist who had spent the wartime in Soviet exile and was in office under Social Democratic Chancellor Karl Renner. He renamed the school subject of “German” into “Unterrichtssprache” (language of instruction). This political decision was, however, awarded to his successor, ÖVP (Austrian people’s party) minister Felix Hurdes who took over office in 1945 after the first federal election. He implemented the renaming of the school subject, a decision that received the nickname “Hurdestanisch” (not directly translatable). Additionally, the teaching material was tweaked towards dedicatedly “Austrian” content, for example the speech of Anton Wildgans “Rede über Österreich” (speech about Austria), initially published in 1930. However, only the text passages about the differences between Germany and Austria were used, not the ones that covered similarities between the two nations.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Bruckmüller, “Demokratiezentrum Wien Die Entwicklung Des Österreichbewusstseins Demokratiezentrum Wien.” P.6ff

<sup>175</sup> Tschiggerl, “Significant Otherness Nation-Building and Identity in Postwar Austria.” P.791f

The formation of the Second Republic's national identity already started before the Second World War came to an end in 1945. On October 30<sup>th</sup>, The Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States agreed upon that after the end of the war, Austria should be treated as an independent and free nation, having been the first victim nation that fell under the expansive policy of the Third Reich. At the same time it was underlined that Austria ought to take responsibility for its participation in the war crimes and crimes against humanity performed by the NS-regime. This "victim doctrine" became one of the strongest drivers for Austria's newly found sovereignty after the Second World War. It worked well to push aside the crimes committed by Austrians in the National Socialist regime, especially against the Jewish part of the population.<sup>176</sup> The Austrian government after the end of the war was very keen to disseminate this point of view and published a pamphlet in 1946 to argue in detail why Austria was in fact a victim of NS-Germany. The "Rot Weiß Rot Buch" (Red White Red book), named after the colours of the national flag of Austria, presented a detailed account of the economic, social and eventually military steps to annex Austria. It was lined by the general argument that Austrians were predominantly against the annexation and that it was false to presume that Austria sought to be part of any sort of German state. Subsequently the book does not understate the role of the Austrian resistance against the NS-regime. Still, the book mentions nearly apologetically that the sources to analyse Austria's role in the Third Reich were incomplete due to a lot of it being destroyed during the war effort. Therefore, it forecasts a second part to this official document, as soon as further sources would be found.<sup>177</sup> However, this second edition was never published, which left this book's subtitle "Erster Teil" (first part) in a bizarrely weird place.

With this line of argument Austria could build its identity around the idea of the "real" Austria of the First Republic that had only laid dormant below the imposed German and National Socialist ideology of the war years. As a pleasant side effect, Germany was the one country that was forced to pay reparations to the Allied powers and their allies. Thanks to the victim doctrine the Austrian nation remained financially less burdened. Despite the reluctance of the Austrian government, the Allied occupiers

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<sup>176</sup> Stourzh and Mueller, *Der Kampf Um Den Staatsvertrag 1945-1955: Ost-West-Besetzung, Staatsvertrag Und Neutralität Österreichs*. P.30ff

<sup>177</sup> *Rot-Weiß-Rot-Buch : Gerechtigkeit Für Österreich!* . P.5f

demanding that it still had to deal with the bureaucratic and incomplete process of denazification.<sup>178</sup> This process was incomplete because of the high numbers of former NSDAP party members that were distributed over all sectors of the Austrian society and a wide array of professions. Of the 700.000 party members in a country of just 7 million inhabitants 130.000 were accused of war crimes, 23.000 actually received a trial and only 13.000 were eventually sentenced. The reason for this incomplete process was that the recovery of Austria would have been severely hindered by taking all the NS-party members and sympathisers out of society. Furthermore, it was often difficult to determine whether an individual had been an ardent believer or just a political follower of the regime. From 1947 onwards, however, a differentiation between “more” and “less” incriminated former National Socialist was introduced, which resulted in the clemency of 500.000 former party members.<sup>179</sup> In fact, from 1948 onwards, the Austrian veteran organisation “Kameradschaftsbund” lobbied for the perception of Austrian Wehrmacht soldiers as the real victims of the war effort, who “only did their duty”. Memorials to commemorate the fallen Austrian soldiers were erected all around Austria, or were sometimes added to existing memorials that originated from the memory of the First World War. In 1955, during the negotiations for the Austrian State Treaty, the preamble of the initial treaty document still contained a remark that was based on the Moscow Declaration and that mentioned Austria’s co-responsibility for the Second World War. However, this addendum was omitted during the final negotiation round, without opposition of the Allies. The Western Allied powers were already aware of Austria’s potential role as a puffer state towards the East in the Cold War and therefore did prefer to keep Austria’s sympathies on their side. It would take until the 1990s when this fundamental identity policy of Austria was fundamentally resolved. Responsibility for NS-war crimes conducted by Austrians would eventually receive the attention they deserved.<sup>180</sup>

There exists only one single movie produced by the Austrian government that has been described as a deliberate work of national propaganda. Published in 1952 it is called “1. April 2000” and sets scene in the Austria of the year 2000, however still

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<sup>178</sup> Bischof, “Victims? Perpetrators? ‘Punching Bags’ of European Historical Memory? The Austrians and Their World War II Legacies.” P.18ff

<sup>179</sup> Judt, *Postwar : A History of Europe since 1945*. P.52f

<sup>180</sup> Bischof, “Victims? Perpetrators? ‘Punching Bags’ of European Historical Memory? The Austrians and Their World War II Legacies.” P.20

occupied by the victorious Allied nations. The finale of the movie consists of the unearthing of the Moscow Declaration, finally liberating Austria. The fundamental idea of this movie was to induce popular opinion towards national independence after already seven years of occupation. One of the quintessential scenes in this movie is a song with the refrain “Die Sonne scheint für alle gleich, warum nicht auch auf Österreich...” (The sun shines for everyone, so why not for Austria...). The sole purpose of the movie was to present Austria’s victim doctrine and show it to its own population as a peace-loving, friendly and cultured nation with a long heritage.<sup>181</sup>

“1. April 2000” mentions three fundamental ingredients of Austrian identity in the Second Republic that I am going to analyse on the following pages. Its self-perception as a culture nation, its Catholic origin and the historical background of the Habsburg Empire.

The reinvigoration of Austria’s culture started immediately after the liberation of Austria, mainly due to the exonerating content of the Moscow Memorandum. The Soviet Union was the pioneering occupier to dedicate energy towards the Austrian cultural landscape and started its work immediately after the liberation of Vienna on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1945. The USSR’s culture responsible Ernst Fischer had the clear directive to enliven the culture sphere as quickly as possible and not pay too much attention to the National Socialist past of the involved artists. Equally he chose to stick to a traditional “classic” repertoire revolving around writers like Franz Grillparzer or Johann Nestroy and music by Mozart and comparable composers. Contemporary or antifascist art was not part of these first steps.<sup>182</sup> It was the declared goal to give the Second Republic a sense of continuity and connection with the First Republic. This was palpable through the choice of artists that received praise through commemorations, jubilees and priority in the play schedules. One example of this new cultural dogma was the repatriation of Joseph Haydn’s skull from Vienna to Eisenstadt in 1954. It consisted of a large remembrance procession, whereafter his skull was added to his other remains in a dedicated mausoleum. Equally round jubilees of

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<sup>181</sup> Korbel, “Das Österreich-Lied von Josef Petrak – Ein Musikalischer Identitätsdiskurs in Der Zweiten Republik in Österreich. Oder: Warum Die Sonne Eben Nicht Auf Alle Gleich Scheint. | Deutsche Lieder. Bamberger Anthologie.”

<sup>182</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*. P.315ff



Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's birth were played up as nationwide events, e.g. in 1956 for his 200<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>183</sup>

This conservative approach was not only promoted by the Allies but also by the conservative ÖVP government that prevailed in the late 1940s and 1950s. The Social Democratic SPÖ certainly played a large part in the political sphere of the coalition governments, but limited its culture politics to its own party clientele.<sup>184</sup>

One form of art that added another facet to the cultural identity of Austria was its contemporary popular music scene. With the occupation, American and British pop music gained ground in Austria, but was initially not overly popular. At first, pop music was perceived as very alien, not necessarily in a positive way.<sup>185</sup> By the 1960s, the younger generation of Austrians refrained from focusing on the traditional folk and classical music of Austria, which was not seen as representative of the new generation's social issues. Therefore, Austropop music in Austria developed through the combination of stylistic elements of Anglo-American sound and lyrics about social development, mostly in check with the new state-centred understanding of Austrian identity and the break with the parent generation that was seen as reactionary. These elements were combined with distinctive Austrian dialects, first and foremost the Viennese one.<sup>186</sup>

The Soviet and Anglo-American influence on Austrian identity development was by far the most pertinent, but the French occupiers contributed equally to the reshaping of Austrian cultural identity. They sought to act as an ideological mediator between the materialistic side of the USA and Great Britain and the practical approach of the Soviet Union. French influence was vital for the reincorporation of the Habsburg myth and the Catholic elements to the Austrian identity.

The French impact on the Catholic element of Austrian identity was perfectly suited to the conservative politics of the ÖVP government. The new Republic ought to receive a "Christian-humanitarian" touch, by reflecting on the Catholic past of the Austrian Empire and the First Republic, albeit without the tainting elements of the

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<sup>183</sup> Gruber, Tammen, and Boisits, *Musik – Identität – Raum: Perspektiven Auf Die Österreichische Musikgeschichte*. P.190f

<sup>184</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*. P.323f

<sup>185</sup> Thumberger, "Regional and National Identity in Austrian Dialectal Pop Songs A Critical Analysis of Two Austropop Songs." P.17f

<sup>186</sup> Fürnkranz, "Unser Österreich Als »Greater Austrian Songbook« — Überlegungen Zur Gegenwärtigen Bedeutung von Austropop." P.120f

“Ständestaat” (corporative state) of the First Republic. To emphasise this ideologic foundation, the major event was the recasting of the “Pummerin” bell of the Viennese cathedral of St. Stephan. It had been destroyed during a bombing raid in the Second World War. Its transport and fitting into the church tower was accompanied by an American film team that captured the whole procedure. Hence, the resulting movie was the epitome of the rekindles Christian identity, also depicting scenes of “Frohnleichnams” (Corpus Christi) processions and mountain summit crosses.<sup>187</sup>

In December 1945 Chancellor Leopold Figl published a text in the magazine “Österreichisches Monatsheft”, with the title “Was ist Österreich?” (What is Austria?). It was a three-page pamphlet on the history and significance of Austria and the ideals of the new republic. The majority of this text is dedicated to the legacy of the Habsburg Empire and in particular Empress Maria Theresia. As it had been the case in the First Republic, she was elevated to the position of the “Mater Austriae”, the mother of Austria, exemplifying the Austrian mentality. The challenges she had faced with keeping together the Empire were emphasised, especially against the “barbaric” Prussians. Fittingly to the task of rebuilding post-war Austria, Figl underlined her achievements as a reformer and innovator of the nation who needed to focus on governmental reforms after her military defeat against Prussia.<sup>188</sup> It needs to be stressed that despite the interest in the symbolic figure of Maria Theresia, the factual analysis of her reign and activities as an Empress were put on the back burner. She rather developed into an unquestioned and perfect symbol that was taken for granted. This development can be observed especially by the use of Maria Theresia’s portraits in the official governmental context. When President Karl Renner was laid out in the Vienna Hofburg after his death in 1951, a portrait of the Empress adorned the background. In the young Austrian film industry the Habsburg Empire took a prominent role as well. Maria Theresia’s life was subject to one of the first major productions, “Maria Theresia – eine Frau trägt die Krone” (Maria Theresia – a woman wears the crown) with actress Paula Wessely in the role of the Empress. On a sidenote the famous movie production with Romy Schneider about Empress Elisabeth “Sissi”

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<sup>187</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*. P.326ff

<sup>188</sup> Figl, ““ Leopold Figl : Was Ist Österreich ?” In Österreichische Monatshefte ( Dezember 1945 ) Was Ist Oesterreich ?” P.2ff

from 1958 followed the same logic, only in a more romanticised way and through a more youthful example.<sup>189</sup>

Commemorative exhibitions about the Habsburg Empire and especially Maria Theresia were organised as well, commemorating both her birth and death jubilees.

It took until the early 2000s that the actual repercussions of the Maria Theresian reign was analysed without the rose-tinted glasses of national symbolism.<sup>190</sup>

One far-reaching example of this more educated research is the work “Schwarzbuch der Habsburger” (black book of the Habsburgs) published in 2003 and presents the unembellished truth about the Empress: The Habsburg Empire under Maria Theresia was notoriously strapped for funds, due to the manifold military operations performed against Prussia to protect the resource-rich province Silesia. The institutional reforms that were praised later on, were mainly copied from Prussian templates initially invented under Friedrich II. Still, despite these financial reforms the economic deficit could not be resolved due to the high military expenditure. Saving money and focusing on the domestic tax burden was never taken into consideration. Equally, her distaste for the Prussians led to the persecution of Protestants in the Habsburg Empire, which went so far as Protestants were put into “Konversionshäuser” (conversion houses) to be missioned towards Catholic belief. Maria Theresia’s religious intolerance was also reflected in a strong antisemitism. The reform of the empire’s administration, most notably through the first land registry, aimed at fostering the absolutist centralised state system. The much-praised school reform that introduced compulsory education did not aim at the personal enlightenment of the masses. On the contrary its aim was to educate functioning subjects that could provide an added value to the state system. The abolishment of torture as a judicial means of enhanced questioning was not Maria Theresia’s idea. On the contrary, it did enter into force despite the Empresses’ reservations towards her counsellors. Lastly her image as the perfect mother was also far away from the actual truth. She was an overly dominant mother that did not treat her 16 children equally. After the death of her husband Franz Stephan, she became obsessed with her grief and forced everyone at court to stick to

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<sup>189</sup> Gruber, Tammen, and Boisits, *Musik – Identität – Raum: Perspektiven Auf Die Österreichische Musikgeschichte*. P.189f

<sup>190</sup> Telesko, *Maria Theresia: Ein Europäischer Mythos*. P.204ff

her strict rules of mourning.<sup>191</sup> In addition she did not contribute with her reforms to any balance between the crown lands. The dominance of Austria and Hungary among them was left unaltered.<sup>192</sup>

For the last facet of the Austrian identity in the Second Republic, I need to leave the timeframe initially set between 1945 and 1955. The Austrian concept of geopolitical neutrality came only into being after the end of the occupation by the Allied forces. Nevertheless, this concept provides an interesting contrast to the abovementioned recollection on the Habsburg Empire that represented a large, not at all impartial fraction of the European continent. The Second Republic therefore combined two different ideational approaches of statesmanship in its national identity.

The Austrian neutrality was agreed upon by the four occupying powers in order to create a puffer zone for the heating up Cold War. The Soviet Union was against a partition of Austria, like in the German case, because this would have meant Anglo-American influence over the strategically and economically vital Western part of Austria. Hence, neutrality seemed to be a suitable solution for the interests of both geopolitical blocks.<sup>193</sup> The content of the Austrian neutrality law foresaw the abstention from any memberships in military alliances and the preservation and defence of its neutrality by the means deemed necessary.<sup>194</sup> The template for this approach originated from the Swiss understanding of neutrality. However, immediately after the declaration of Austrian independence in 1955 Austria sought accession to the United Nations, a step that Switzerland only took a long time later in 2002. During the Hungary Crisis of 1956 it became evident that Austria opted towards a political preference of the West while remaining militarily neutral. It denounced the Soviet actions on Hungarian soil. Equally Austria allowed its airspace to be used by US planes during the 1958 Lebanon crisis.<sup>195</sup>

The public perception of neutrality in Austria was (and continues to be) overwhelmingly positive. It gave the Austrian population the sense of being able to make a difference in terms of foreign policy, as an intermediary between the two

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<sup>191</sup> Leidinger, Moritz, and Schippler, *Das Schwarzbuch Der Habsburger: Die Unrühmliche Geschichte Eines Herrschergeschlechtes*. P.209ff

<sup>192</sup> Brix, *Memoria Austriae : I : Menschen, Mythen, Zeiten*. P.27

<sup>193</sup> Schmidl, "Lukewarm Neutrality in a Cold War? The Case of Austria." P.36

<sup>194</sup> "RIS - Neutralitätsgesetz - Bundesrecht Konsolidiert, Fassung Vom 14.01.2022."

<sup>195</sup> Schmidl, "Lukewarm Neutrality in a Cold War? The Case of Austria." P.37

geopolitical blocks.<sup>196</sup> However, the concept of neutrality was fundamentally flawed. Even at the height of the Cold War Austria never had the military capacities to theoretically fend off aggression from either geopolitical spectrum, the NATO or the Warsaw Pact. In fact Austria profits mainly from the neighbourhood to NATO member states.<sup>197</sup>

During the 1960s and 1970s, Austria was indeed able to use its neutral position for a successful foreign policy, as a mediator between the East and the West, thanks to the cunning of foreign minister and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. It was during this time that the nimbus of neutrality shined the brightest, crowned by the successful establishment of an United Nations headquarter in Vienna, followed by subsequent international organisations moving to Austria.<sup>198</sup> With the accession of Austria to the European Community in 1995 it was declared that the membership in a community of states could be harmonised with the concept of neutrality. However, the EC/ EU accession demanded a support of the community's CSDP (Common Defence and Security policy) that explicitly stated the duty to assist fellow member states if in need of support – a detrimental different policy than the one laid down in the Austrian neutrality law that could only be justified due to the reservation that all EC/ EU member states have to implement community policy in accordance with their national laws.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Waldheim, *The Austrian Example*. P.89f

<sup>197</sup> Krejci and Ermacora, *Neutralität : Mythos Und Wirklichkeit*. P.24f

<sup>198</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*. P.298ff

<sup>199</sup> Hauser, "Die Neutralität Österreichs." P.25

## Chapter Summary

Austrian identity after the Second World War was thoroughly coined by the identity politics of the four Allied powers occupying the nation. They focussed on rekindling the Austrian identity of the First Republic without the aspects of the corporative state. High and folk and pop culture, Habsburg legacy, Catholicism, altogether linked with the victim doctrine of proclaimed Austrian innocence in regard to the participation in NS-cruelty. With Austrian independence, the aspect of geopolitical neutrality was added to this list of identity-providing tenants. However, the denazification of the country proved to be a major issue due to the large number of NSDAP party members and supporters. Already two years after the Austrian liberation most former National Socialists could participate again in every area of Austrian society.

The Salzburg Festival was one prominent outlet that combined all of the rekindled strands of identity thanks to the effort of the American and French occupiers. The emphasis on high culture was the most obvious choice, re-introducing the initial purpose of the festival, albeit with a stronger focus on music than on theatre. It was acknowledged that Salzburg was perfect for the new Austrian identity. It was shaped by the Catholic church and baroque architecture, with a well-maintained sense for folklore. However, the Salzburg Festival was not as successful to capture the minds and hearts of the younger post-war generation. Averse to the culture and world view of their parent generation, it turned to contemporary art, for example the contemporary “Austropop” movement that dedicated its lyrics to the challenges of the new Republic. Equally the self-proclaimed “innocent” Austrian state could dwell on its victim role by presenting itself as an cultural “empire”. The occupiers provided the festival with a host of international stars from around the world, a fact that bodes well with the positioning of Austria as mediator between the geopolitical behemoths of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

## Connection of theoretical framework and case study

Up to this point, I have dedicated the space of this thesis to the analysis of the history of Austrian identity, exemplified by the Salzburg Festival. In the introduction I mentioned the construction of a framework that is able to explain how the evolution of identity- the reinvention of tradition - can be achieved.

In this chapter I combine the festival case study with my framework and give the historic events an underpinning in the sphere of political science.

Identity-creating actors are either state authorities or emerge out of the general public.<sup>200</sup> The Salzburg Festival offers the case of both kind of actors combined: The initiators of the Mozart Festival were the private individuals Heinrich Damisch and Friedrich Gehmacher, albeit members of the affluent part of Salzburg's society, but the idea for the eventual version of the Salzburg Festival originated from the personal initiative of Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who developed the initial idea further.<sup>201</sup> When the, at least artistic, success started to make the festival popular, state actors entered the stage. Salzburg Governor Franz Rehr and the Austrian federal government saw the potential of the festival and supported it both logistically and financially.<sup>202</sup> During the NS-regime the twofold level of actors prevailed. The regime-run NS-propaganda system was the dominant actor to shape the festival during the annexation of Austria to the Third Reich, accompanied by individual actors such as Joseph Goebbels, who wanted to construct the Salzburg Festival as counter-event to Bayreuth.<sup>203</sup> After the liberation of Austria, however, a return to the initial structure of actors can be observed, albeit with a stronger emphasis on the superior authority of the US<sup>204</sup> and French<sup>205</sup> occupiers and later on the Austrian government<sup>206</sup>.

Another element of the "actor" level in my framework is Halbwachs' model of collective memory originating from individual, personal memory.<sup>207</sup> Hugo von

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<sup>200</sup> Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914." P.271

<sup>201</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.22

<sup>202</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.130f

<sup>203</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.68

<sup>204</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews : 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.247

<sup>205</sup> Golovlev, "Vom Rhein an Die Salzach: Teilnahme Vom Straßburger Domchor an Den Salzburger Festspielen Und Die Französische Musikdiplomatie in Österreich Während Der Alliierten Besatzungszeit." P.41

<sup>206</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.43

<sup>207</sup> Halbwachs, "Mémoire Collect. Le Temps." P.25f

Hofmannsthal in particular must be seen as a figurehead in this regard, as he wrote extensively about his personal ideal of both a new Austrian identity and about the sense and purpose of the festival in Salzburg.<sup>208</sup>

Tradition and identity needs justification in order to become accepted. According to Eric Hobsbawm, justification can manifest in the affiliation to a societal group, the symbolisation of values deemed as important and the provision of legitimacy to institutions.<sup>209</sup> For the case of the Salzburg Festival, I predominantly observe the first two reason for justification. The festival quickly developed into a glamorous event for affluent guests from around the world. Hence, this festival was perceived as elegant and part of a social class that valued the arts and sophistication.<sup>210</sup> The symbolisation of values is attributable as well, because the festival only came into existence thanks to the urge to compile idealistic elements that ought to create a new national identity.<sup>211</sup>

Pierre Nora's concept of memory places is a further point to be added to the justification-level of the framework. He argues that spaces, buildings or other objects can become vital for the general identity of a nation.<sup>212</sup> The festival house society in Salzburg was aware that as long as it did not have its own festival house, it would not be taken as seriously as comparable organisations that did possess dedicated venues. Therefore, the adaptation of the "Winterreitschule" was a fundamental step to foster the festival's national standing and to silence critics.<sup>213</sup> Equally, the actions of the National Socialists regarding the festival house say a lot about the way the regime wanted to influence the Austrian identity. The "Catholic" fresco in the festival house was destroyed<sup>214</sup> and the regime planned to build a new festival house that would be more dominant than the existing one and could have possibly become a new memory place, if the project would have come to fruition.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.37

<sup>209</sup> Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." P.9f

<sup>210</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.356

<sup>211</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.36f

<sup>212</sup> Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." P.12f

<sup>213</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.118f

<sup>214</sup> Patka, Fellner, and Asper, *Jedermanns Juden: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele = Everyman's Jews: 100 Years Salzburg Festival*. P.243

<sup>215</sup> "Der Traum von Einem Feentempel • Salzburger Festspiele."



The framework level of justification is furthermore enriched by the theory of deep description by Clifford Geertz. This theory postulates that the smallest elements of human interaction are connected to a meaning in a society, creating so-called cultural codes.<sup>216</sup> This is a very broad concept that poses a challenge in the connection to the presented case study. An art festival is already a very elaborate combination of a multitude of single small elements that shape its whole meaning. It is socially-constructed that every single element of the Salzburg Festival is perceived as important for the national identity, never mind whether it is the applied art, repurposing of the Habsburg ideals or the connection of the festival with an Catholic idea of mysticism.<sup>217</sup>

Lastly the implementation of traditions into the fabric of a national society needs to be taken into account. Eric Hobsbawm writes that traditions are customs that are made attractive through an appealing appearance. These modified customs do not necessarily have to make rational sense and do not need to have a practical purpose. They possibly had those attributes in the past, but were deemed unpractical in the light of modernisation and only remain to be of symbolic nature.<sup>218</sup> At no point in history there was a factual necessity to organise a festival in Salzburg. I argue that the historic Austrian state would have survived in any case as a geographical region where people live for the sake of survival. However, there was the intention to make more of this geographical entity than. The “effort” was made to construct symbols like the Salzburg Festival in order to create a sense of belonging.

The implementation of traditions can happen on a host of levels according to Hobsbawm. Architecture, fashion, or music are prominent examples.<sup>219</sup> The symbolic implementation of the Salzburg Festival into Austrian national identity is a perfect example, following Hobsbawm’s theory that revolves precisely around this kind of pageantry. The festival revolves around a number of symbols. The festival house was criticised for its architecture after it opened to the public<sup>220</sup> but was not changed substantially in its appearance and was eventually enlarged to accommodate more visitors in the 1960s.<sup>221</sup> The festival’s logo was designed by an art student who was later on part of NS-crimes against a Jewish citizen. Even though this tainting could

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<sup>216</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*. P.10

<sup>217</sup> Hofmannsthal, *Festspiele in Salzburg*. P.23ff

<sup>218</sup> Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” P.2f

<sup>219</sup> Hobsbawm. P.10ff

<sup>220</sup> *Die Weltbühne : 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele*. P.25

<sup>221</sup> Osborne, *Herbert Von Karajan: A Life in Music*. P.465

theoretically justify a change of the logo, a historians' commission decided against it in 2020. It argued that due to the logo's significance for the festival's symbolism, it was to remain unchanged.<sup>222</sup> By sheer coincidence, the theatre play "Jedermann" became the crown jewel of every year's festival programme.<sup>223</sup> When the festival was rekindled after the Second World War, "Jedermann" was its designated unique selling point, even though music productions were put in favour of theatre plays.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Rathkolb and Kern, *Das Logo Der Salzburger Festspiele Und Seine Gestalterin Poldi Wojtek: 100 Jahre Salzburger Festspiele: Deutsch = The Salzburg Festival's Logo and Its Designer Poldi Wojtek: English*. P.42

<sup>223</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*. P.44

<sup>224</sup> Kollmann, *Jedermanns Prüfer: Die Salzburger Festspiele Und Der Rechnungshof*. P.84

## Conclusion

With this thesis, my aim was to contribute to the research on the development of national identities, exemplified by the example of Austria in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Salzburg Festival as the mirror to its evolution altogether.

In the introduction of this thesis, I postulated two research questions:

*What theoretical framework can be used to explain how and why national identities get (re)invented?*

To begin with the first question, it was possible to find a framework that consists of the combination of already proven academic ideas, based on the theories of Benedict Anderson, Clifford Geertz, Maurice Halbwachs, Eric Hobsbawm and Pierre Nora. Firstly, it consists of different levels: actors are responsible for the invention of traditions. Secondly, they will find justifications to foster the traditions in (national) societies. Thirdly, if the narrative of a tradition could be found and justified, it will be implemented in various material and immaterial ways.

*How can an appropriate framework of reinvention of tradition be applied to the development of the Salzburg Festival for the creation of an Austrian identity?*

The second question could be answered as well by this thesis, as it was possible to connect the created framework with the case of the Salzburg Festival and a bigger picture of Austrian national identity. Private individuals like Max Reinhardt or Hugo von Hofmannsthal were the initial actors responsible for the brainchild of the festival as cultural and identity-giving event. Later on, the Austrian government and in between the NS-regime joined the effort. Several past elements of Austrian & Habsburg identity were combined to justify the structure of the festival. The purpose of the festival itself had always been to organise cultural events following a defined narrative. Therefore, the implementation was clearly planned through from the beginning and mostly changed in scope with the rising popularity of the festival.

To conclude, the Austrian case of Austrian national identity through the lens of the Salzburg Festival and the presented theoretical framework can be of good use in our day and age. The Austrian nation of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is a best-practise example of how to successfully rekindle a nation through the creation of unifying tradition, even if problems with the origin of the elements of traditions persist and are never completely revised. Equally, because the framework proves to be applicable onto this

case study, the framework is potentially interesting for current nation-building efforts, such as for example the long-term case of Belgium or the very recent case of Ukraine.

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## Appendices

### *Chronologies*

#### **AUSTRIA'S NATIONAL MEMORY IN 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY** <sup>225 226</sup>

<b>1918 → 1945</b>	<b>Pan-Germanism</b> in AT → being part of a larger nation → AT welcomes “Anschluss” 1938
<b>1943</b>	Moscow Declaration → AT is victim (with responsibilities for war)
<b>1945</b>	<b>Liberation</b> of AT (FR, UK, USA; USSR occupy)
<b>1945</b>	AT parties (KPÖ, SPÖ, ÖVP) → AT is not GE → foundation of identity
<b>1945</b>	☞ AT publishes occupation doctrine ☞ agreement SPÖ ⇔ ÖVP to ignore pre-war differences (ÖVP suppressed SPÖ & SPÖ participated in “Anschluss”)
<b>1945</b>	<b>“Verbotsgesetz”</b> banned NSDAP ✕ Former members had to register → Shortage of skilled workforce
<b>1945</b>	KPÖ education minister Ernst Fischer → school course „German“ → „language of instruction“
<b>1946</b>	<b>“Rot Weiß Rot”</b> book → strengthen victim doctrine ★AT citizens opposed “Anschluss”

<sup>225</sup> Bischof, “Victims? Perpetrators? ‘Punching Bags’ of European Historical Memory? The Austrians and Their World War II Legacies.”

<sup>226</sup> Tschiggerl, “Significant Otherness Nation-Building and Identity in Postwar Austria.”

	*AT was forced to “Anschluss”
	*AT was conquered by NS Germany
1968	<u>modest</u> AT student uprisings → no facing on NS past ≠GE reaction
1986	<b>Waldheim scandal</b>
	* AT “Lebenslüge” with incorrect victim’s doctrine
	* Waldheim’s defence: “did his duty” & didn’t know about atrocities

## AUSTRIA’S SENSE OF NEUTRALITY<sup>227 228 229</sup>

1955	<b>Declaration of neutrality</b>
	► if no block (East & West) gets it → neutral inbetween
1955	► puffer country for stability of Europe
1955 → ∞	“Nachbarschaftspolitik” → AT is mediator between blocks
1956	<b>Neutrality law → based on CH</b>
	✓ feeling of being special → identity
1956	<b>Hungary Crisis</b>
	* AT denounces USSR action (not neutral)
	→ relief for NATO → thought AT could become block-free, but pro-USSR
1961	AT first chosen for USA – USSR negotiations
1962	<b>Cuba Missile Crisis</b>
	✓ AT is mediator for missile exchange

<sup>227</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*.

<sup>228</sup> Bischof, *Austria’s International Position after the End of the Cold War*.

<sup>229</sup> Krejci and Ermacora, *Neutralität : Mythos Und Wirklichkeit*.

<b>1980</b>	AT → PLO recognition (Middle East policy of Kreisky)
<b>1987</b>	<b>AT presents goal to join EEC</b>
	<i>? possible to remain neutral ?</i>
<b>1989</b>	AT hands in EEC accession bid
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>★ EC demands more West-orientation of AT</li> <li>★ AT needs to participate in EC defence policy AND keep its institutions (including neutrality)</li> </ul>
<b>1990/91</b>	✕ USSR → AT economic growth
<b>1991</b>	AT allows US to use its airspace for IQ war
<b>1995</b>	AT → EC & CFSP
<b>1995</b>	Dayton Agreement Kosovo → AT sends peace-keeping forces & diplomatic counselling
<b>1996</b>	<p>Discovery of 65 post-WW2 USA weapon depots in AT, remained there after declaration of independence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>★ USA fears AT outcry, but nothing happens</li> </ul>
<b>2001</b>	USA wants to use AT airspace for IQ war → isn't allowed due to lack of UN resolution
→ today	AT is continuously implementing EU foreign policy

## CULTURE NATION AUSTRIA<sup>230</sup>

1945	AT liberation → culture institutions immediately reopened by occupiers
	✓ AT identity separation from GE
1945	Vienna Philharmonics revival on USSR initiative
1946	ÖVP government → relying on Pre-WW2 (& WW1) understanding of AT culture (Mozart etc.) → cultural victim's doctrine
1947	FR occupiers re-emphasise baroque elements of AT culture
1952	Re-casting of "Pummerin" bell → catholic element of AT culture
1955	Re-opening of state opera with same appearance as before war (continuity)
1956 →	Worldwide TV broadcast of New Year's concert
↻ 1950'S	AT population resistance against new art

## SALZBURG FESTIVAL<sup>231 232 233 234</sup>

1842	Foundation "Dom Musikverein & Mozarteum" → Mozart myth & legacy
1852 & 1856	Mozart Festival in Salzburg → tourism
1893	Salzburg Stadttheater opening → Max Reinhardt's second ever actor engagement

<sup>230</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*.

<sup>231</sup> Kriechbaumer, *Politiker Und Impresario: Landeshauptmann Dr. Franz Rehr Und Die Salzburger Festspiele*.

<sup>232</sup> Burri, "Zwischen Österreich Und Großdeutschland: Eine Politische Geschichte Der Salzburger Festspiele 1933–44 by Robert Kriechbaumer (Review)."

<sup>233</sup> Rathkolb, *Die Paradoxe Republik : Österreich 1945 Bis 2015*.

<sup>234</sup> Golovlev, "Vom Rhein an Die Salzach: Teilnahme Vom Straßburger Domchor an Den Salzburger Festspielen Und Die Französische Musikdiplomatie in Österreich Während Der Alliierten Besatzungszeit."



	1894 Reinhardt moves to Berlin
1911	Premiere of “Jedermann” play by Hugo v. Hofmannsthal in Berlin
	→ meets Reinhardt
1911	Reinhardt meets composer Richard Strauss (directed his opera “Rosenkavalier”)
1917	Proposal for music festival in Hellbrunn close to Salzburg by Reinhardt → k.k. Hoftheater in Vienna
1918	→ Reinhardt; Berlin → Salzburg (buys Leopoldskron castle close to Salzburg)
	✱ Salzburg population criticism
	☞ food shortage in AT → potential tourists “more mouths to feed”
1919	☞ antisemitism against castle owner Reinhardt Reinhardt & Hofmannsthal cooperate for festival
1922	Festival house in Hellbrunn ✕ due to hyperinflation
	☞ new location in “Felsenreitschule” in Salzburg city
1925 →	Antisemitic accusation of festival of being “jewish”
1925	Opening of festival building in “Felsenreitschule”
1925/26	Financial crisis of festival
1932	✱ Increasing bomb attacks on festival by NSDAP
1933	NSDAP power accession in GE

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ “1000 Mark barrier” towards AT-against tourism from GE</li> </ul>
	✓ increase of AT government festival subvention
<b>1934</b>	✱ AT court of auditors demands smaller festival programme for more efficiency
<b>1935</b>	Less GE guests but more other international guests ✓
<b>1937/38</b>	Renovation of festival building → financed by broadcast to USA through conductor Arturo Toscanini
<b>1938 – 1945</b>	Incorporation of festival in NS-ideology
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ no more Jewish or Catholic elements</li> <li>✱ reinventing Salzburg Festival as “southern” version of Bayreuth</li> </ul>
	☞ re-concentration on Mozart myth & Wagner operas
	WW2 ⇒ smaller festival with fewer events
<b>1943</b>	Reinhardt dies in NYC exile
<b>1945</b>	AT occupier USA organizes first festival immediately → AT to find own cultural identity again
	✓ USA & FR join forces to rekindle Salzburg Festival (US culture is seen as inferior by AT citizens)
<b>1945 - 1955</b>	FR uses own cultural diplomacy experience for Salzburg Festival
	☞ festival → “Anti-Prussian”
	☞ international actors

	✓ thanks to French culture diplomat Jeanne-Baptiste Peyrebère de Guilloutet
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## POST SECOND WORLD WAR

### MARIA THERESIA MEMORY

<b>1946</b>	950 years of AT
<b>1951</b>	Movie about Maria Theresia (starring Paula Wessely as Maria Theresia)
<b>1980</b>	200 year death jubilee of Maria Theresia
<b>2017</b>	300 year birth jubilee of Maria Theresia

### *Dramatis Personae*

## CULTURE NATION AUSTRIA

<b>ERNST FISCHER</b>	Writer and politician of the KPÖ Post- WW2
	In Moscow during the WW2
	Promoter of “classical” reconstruction of Austrian culture landscape
<b>FELIX HURDES</b>	ÖVP education minister 1945 – 1952
	advocate of catholic and conservative self-image of Austria
	well-known for rebranding the Austrian German-school-subject to Austrian “Umgangssprache” (colloquial- language)
	initiator of first Austrian-German dictionary in 1951
<b>KARL BÖHM</b>	Austrian conductor
	Originally from Graz, Bohemian & Alsatian parents

	Profited from NS-regime, not official NSDAP member → Post-war public criticism
	State Opera director 1955 – 1956

## AUSTRIAN NEUTRALITY

<b>JULIUS RAAB</b>	Austrian <b>Chancellor</b> between 1953 and 1961(ÖVP)
	<b>Negotiator</b> for the Austrian state treaty (together with vice-Chancellor Adolf Schärf, foreign minister Leopold Figl, state secretary Bruno Kreisky)
<b>BRUNO KREISKY</b>	SPÖ politician
	Emigration to Sweden during WW2 due to his Jewish descent
	State secretary from 1953 to 1959 social democratic foreign minister from 1959 to 1966
	longest serving Austrian Chancellor from 1971 – 1983
<b>KURT WALDHEIM</b>	Wehrmacht <b>officer</b> during WW2
	1947 secretary of Austrian foreign minister Karl Gruber
	☞ Involvement in “Rot Weiß Rot” book (Austria’s victim doctrine)
	Member of Austrian <b>diplomatic corps</b> between 1948 and 1968
	<b>Foreign minister</b> from 1968 to 1970
	<b>UN secretary general</b> from 1972 to 1981
	Austrian <b>president</b> between 1986 and 1991

	✱ Election campaign overshadowed by his involvements in war crimes during his time as Wehrmacht officer
	✱ Presidency coined by political isolation

## MYTH MARIA THERESIA

<b>MARIA THERESIA</b>	Habsburg ruler 1740 - 1780
	Legitimised rule → “Pragmatic Sanction”
	Silesia region: ✕ Prussia (Frederick II) ↔ Austria → Seven Years’ War
	Reform: administration, institutions, education, medicine
	✱ Antisemitic & suppression of non-Catholics
<b>FRIEDRICH HEER</b>	Austrian <b>historian and publisher</b>
	☞ Maria Theresa is archetype of the ideal “Austrian”
<b>ANTON WILDGANS</b>	Austrian <b>writer and director</b>
	☞ Defender of Habsburg identity for post-WW1 Austria
<b>HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL</b>	Austrian Jewish <b>poet and writer</b>
	☞ Maria Theresa as quintessence of Austrian identity in the First Republic “Ständestaat” → Ideological base of Habsburg/ Maria Theresian culture → foundation of the Salzburg festival
<b>PAULA ANNA MARIA WESSELY</b>	Austrian <b>actress</b>
	Career start:

	“Theater in der Josefstadt” in Vienna → director Max Reinhardt
	1930 etc → engagements at Salzburg festival
	1934 → start of movie career
	* Cooperation with NS-regime
	1951 produces Mari Theresia movie biography

### SALZBURG FESTIVAL

<b>HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL</b>	<i>See above</i>
<b>MAX REINHARDT</b>	Jewish Austrian <b>actor and director</b>
	1 <sup>st</sup> actor engagement: Salzburg town theatre in 1893
	Actor & director in Berlin 1894 '1920
	Salzburg festival initiator with Hugo von Hofmannsthal
	Acquisition of Leopoldskron castle near Salzburg
	* → unpopularity with AT common citizens due to castle ownership & religious belief
	Director at Salzburg Festival
	USA-connection through guest performances
	X no GE projects after 1933 → NSDAP
	* NS-regime → offered honorary “Arier-ship” to keep Reinhardt
	Reinhardt stays in AT → 1937 moves to the USA
	Mediocre success & financial issues in USA

<b>FRIEDRICH GEHMACHER</b>	<b>Lawyer</b> from Salzburg
	<b>Cofounder</b> of the Salzburg festival with Heinrich Damisch
	Initiator of Mozarteum music school in Salzburg
	Pan-German world view
	Idealized as “Germanic” founder of the festival in NS-regime
<b>FRANZ REHRL</b>	<b>Governor</b> of Salzburg 1922 - 1938
	Renovation of the Salzburg festival building - initiator: → Allowed for the demolition of his house of birth for this purpose
	Brief incarceration during NS-regime
<b>RICHARD STRAUSS</b>	GE <b>composer &amp; conductor</b> → late Romantic music period
	Strong supporter of the Salzburg festival
	Director of the “Reichsmusikkammer” music chamber during the NS-regime
	<b>Fall from grace</b> with the NS-regime → contact with Jewish writer Stefan Zweig
<b>HEINRICH DAMISCH</b>	Austrian <b>author</b> for works on music
	Co-initiator of the first idea of the Salzburg festival together with Friedrich Gehmacher in 1917
	Member of the NSDAP 1933
<b>EGON HILBERT</b>	<b>Culture diplomat</b> before the Second World War
	Strong figure of re-enlivened Austrian culture after WW2
	Post-WW2 initiator of the Salzburg Festival as temporary director of the Salzburg theatre in 1945

	Reorganization of the Vienna State Opera & Volksoper in 1946
<b>JEANNE-BAPTISTE PEYREBÈRE DE GUILLOUTET</b>	French <b>culture diplomate</b>
	Coined the renaissance of Austrian culture of the Habsburg empire and the First Republic as identity-giving state-building element after the Second World War

### *Documents*

**Chancellor Leopold Figl „What is Austria?“<sup>235</sup>**

**Gerhard Kleining Das nationale Selbstbild der Österreicher. In Bericht  
XI. Werbewirtschaftliche Tagung in Wien <sup>236</sup>**

**„Rot-Weiß-Rot“ Buch<sup>237</sup>**

**Austrian neutrality law<sup>238</sup>**

### *Charts & Figures*

Development self-perception of Post-WW2 Austrians as an independent nation<sup>239</sup>:

<sup>235</sup> Figl, ““ Leopold Figl : Was Ist Österreich ?” In Österreichische Monatshefte ( Dezember 1945 ) Was Ist Oesterreich ?”

<sup>236</sup> Kleining, “Das Nationale Selbstbild Der Österreicher.”

<sup>237</sup> *Rot-Weiß-Rot-Buch : Gerechtigkeit Für Österreich! .*

<sup>238</sup> “RIS - Neutralitätsgesetz - Bundesrecht Konsolidiert, Fassung Vom 14.01.2022.”

<sup>239</sup> Bruckmüller, “Demokratiezentrum Wien Die Entwicklung Des Österreichbewusstseins Demokratiezentrum Wien.”



Von den jeweils befragten Österreichern stimmten der Ansicht zu (in Prozent)

	1964	1970	1977	1980	1987	1989	1990	1992	1993
1)Ö. sind Nation	47	66	62	67	75	79	74	78	80
2)Ö. beginnen sich langsam als N.zu fühlen	23	16	16	19	16	15	20	15	12
3) Ö.sind keine N.	15	8	11	11	5	4	5	5	6
keine Angaben	14	10	12	3	3	3	1	2	2

**Tabelle 1** Parteipräferenzen und nationale Bewußtseinslagen 1966

in %, Rest auf 100 = "weiß nicht"					
	ÖVP	SPÖ	FPÖ	keine Partei	gesamt
Österreich ist eine völlig eigene Nation ...	30	44	16	36	35
Obwohl Österreich dem deutschen Sprach- u. Kulturkreis angehört, ist Ö. eine eigene Nation	31	30	21	38	29
Obwohl Österreich ein unabhängiger Staat ist, gehört Ö. zur dt. Nation	12	6	30	7	11
Obwohl die Österreicher eine polit. Nation sind u. f. d. Unabhängigkeit eintreten, gehören sie zur dtn. Nation	10	8	23	7	9
Obwohl die Österreicher zum dtn. Sprach- u. Kulturkreis gehören, beginnen sie, sich langsam als Nation zu fühlen	13	7	6	6	8

## Pledge of Honesty

*“On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.”*

*Alexander Benedikt Eherer*

## Vita

Alexander Benedikt Eherer was born and raised in Graz, Styria and lives in Vienna, Austria. Before attending the Diplomatic Academy, he studied Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Economics in Vienna, with emphasis on the field of Change Management and Management Development. At the Diplomatic Academy he focusses his studies on history and international relations, driven through personal fascination for the topics involved. In addition, he could improve his practical expertise in these fields through several professional engagements in Istanbul, promoting Austria's economy abroad, as well as in Brussels, where he could foster his knowledge about the workings of the European Union from a national and regional point of view. Additionally, he gained experience in the fields of EU-funding consultancy, research about critical infrastructure protection and bilateral diplomacy.