Operetta after the Habsburg Empire

by

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Abstract

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This thesis discusses the political, social, and cultural impact of operetta in Vienna after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. As an alternative to the prevailing literature, which has approached this form of musical theater mostly through broad surveys and detailed studies of a handful of well-known masterpieces, my dissertation presents a montage of loosely connected, previously unconsidered case studies. Each chapter examines one or two highly significant, but radically unfamiliar, moments in the history of operetta during Austria’s five successive political eras in the first half of the twentieth century. Exploring operetta’s importance for the image of Vienna, these vignettes aim to supply new glimpses not only of a seemingly obsolete art form but also of the urban and cultural life of which it was a part.

My stories evolve around the following works:

*Der Millionenonkel* (1913), Austria’s first feature-length motion picture, a collage of the most successful stage roles of a celebrated operetta comedian, which aimed to advertise the artistic potential of the new and controversial medium of film;

Bruno Granichstaedten’s *Der Orlow* (1925) and *Reklame!* (1930), two of a series of jazz-inspired, American-themed revue operettas meant to prove that—even after World War I—the genre was still relevant and Vienna remained its foremost innovator;

Ralph Benatzky’s *Das kleine Café* (1934) and *Herzen im Schnee* (1937), two “intrinsically Austrian” operettas, endorsed by the Austrofascist government and tourism office to promote the geographical and cultural treasures of the “New Austria,” both at home and abroad;

Rudolf Weyss’s version of Franz Lehár’s *Der Rastelbinder* (1902/1944), one of the Third Reich’s many operetta revisions, with which the Nazis hoped to replenish Greater Germany’s repertory of “Aryan” works;

*Die Straussbuben* (1946), Vienna’s first postwar Singspiel, a trusty Strauss pastiche that became the touchstone for a recovering Austrian national pride, and likewise proved a last—missed—chance to find operetta a new lifeline.
The patchwork adumbrated by these historical scraps points to a larger trend: after the fall of the Habsburg Empire, operetta was considered cultural capital for Vienna and, as such, increasingly became an object of political relevance. While this development inextricably linked operetta to the image of Vienna (and Austria), and at points helped to keep this form of musical theater alive, it was also largely responsible for operetta’s hopeless stagnation.
to MuVa
with love and gratitude
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Richmond Pollock gave especially sympathetic, levelheaded advice toward the end. Holly Replogle-Wong, Nicholas Mathew, and James Davies kindly read and commented on early chapter drafts. Melissa Hacker, Lisa Robinson, and Jim Coates helped me jump all administrative hurdles. Jamie Apgar acted as a reliable courier of draft manuscripts. Anicia Timberlake and Nell Cloutier, as well as my Viennese friends Sarah Noemi Schulmeister and Magdalena Peyrer-Heimstätt, looked up sources in Berlin, Paris, and Vienna when I could not do it myself. Most essential to my positive graduate-school experience, however, were my year mates and later dissertation group, Emily Frey, Rachana Vajjhala, and Garrick Trapp who, in many friendly gatherings, offered their smart insights and emotional support as well as their precious friendship. Without them I might not have made it through. I can only hope that I have been able to give them some of what they have given me.

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INTRODUCTION

Vienna, January 2013. Arriving for my final research visit, I enter the Austrian capital through the international airport’s sparkling new terminal. As I escape the long flights of narrow corridors into the arrival hall, I am faced with a vast wall display of score excerpts from *Die lustige Witwe*.

This operetta is Franz Lehár’s (1870–1948) most popular. Following its world premiere at the Theater an der Wien in 1905, the work quickly found a special place in music lovers’ hearts the world over,

I read on the awkward English label behind an assortment of high-tech trashcans. Directly opposite, brightly colored billboards advertise historic buildings as well as the city’s largest schnitzel—“Vienna’s only attraction that will also satisfy your appetite”—as tourists wait for their baggage. This is the first impression that modern Vienna offers its international visitors.

*Figure 0.1:* The *lustige Witwe* Wall, Arrival Hall of the new Austrian Star Alliance terminal, Vienna International Airport. (Photo by the author.)

Operetta still seems to be regarded as a major asset for Vienna, then—an important factor both in the self-propagated and foreign perceptions of the Austrian capital as “the city
of music.”¹ This may come as a surprise; after all, operetta has long since lost its relevance as the sought-after, trendy leisure activity of large parts of Vienna’s population and, consequently, has forfeited the identity-establishing potential that once sparked so many heated debates about its appearance and reception.² Abroad, too, the art form is no longer treated as a hot continental commodity today; it now speaks mainly to a small group of specialists as well as those with long personal memories. Explanations of operetta’s importance for Vienna are not to be found then in the present, but by exploring the history of the city and its entertainment theater. And such explorations promise to supply more than new glimpses of a seemingly obsolete form of musical theater. As Camille Crittenden observed in her compelling study, Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture, “operetta offers an invaluable window on to the urban and cultural life of which it was a part.”³

Literature about the history of operetta in Vienna is by no means scarce. Yet, as libretto scholar Thorsten Stegemann already pointed out almost two decades ago, the state of scholarship is surprisingly deficient, the vast majority of writings featuring a facile or anecdotal, non-scholarly style and sticking to the same few stock approaches.⁴ The Anglo-American literature in particular offers, in Andrew Lamb’s words, “precious little beyond Strauss or Lehár biographies, general operetta histories and collections of synopses.”⁵ Responsible for the dearth of academic engagement is, among other things, what Stegemann called the “pseudointellectual—seeming repudiation” of operetta, which—still habitual among academics today—was spurred on by the disparaging positions of influential early twentieth-century critics such as Theodor Adorno, Hermann Broch, and Karl Kraus. Furthermore, such important German musicologists as Carl Dahlhaus and Georg Knepler have endorsed the narrative of operetta’s perpetual degeneration after Offenbach.⁶

Among the few German-language operetta scholars (hardly any of them musicologists) who have recently started to think of new ways to approach this vast and influential form of musical theater is Marion Linhardt, whose critical analyses of the field’s shortcomings and suggested plans of action have inspired much of this thesis. Lamenting particularly the prevailing “work-analytical” trends in the literature, Linhardt has argued repeatedly that “an

¹ The most recent literature on Vienna’s image as a city of music includes Lutz Musner, Der Geschmack von Wien: Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt, Interdisziplinäre Stadtforchung 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009) and Martina Crittenden, Kontrolle—Prestige—Vergnügen: Profile einer Sozialgeschichte des Wiener Theaters, 1700–2010 (Vienna: LiTheS in cooperation with Don Juan Archiv, 2012), 6.
⁴ Thorsten Stegemann, “Wenn man das Leben durchs Champagnerglas betrachtet...” Textbücher der Wiener Operette zwischen Provokation und Reaktion (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 11.
approach that aims to work out the social relevance and ideological potential of entertainment theater cannot be limited to observations about the satirical or sentimental, provocative or reactionary tendencies of a few, apparently representative works,” but should entail a “differentiated examination of all the ramifications of operetta’s development, the diversity of its production, presentation, and reception.” Frameworks based on quality judgments, prescribed norms of genre, or on contrasting “operetta” with contiguous art forms, cannot do justice to this complex, multilayered network of genres, Linhardt maintains, since such frameworks run the risk of relying on a fictive operetta prototype whose properties can only be found in a handful of works. She proposes:

Beside the theater-immanent perspective, a socio-historical one should be adopted, which recognizes operetta as an element of a diverse cultural field, the cornerstones of which are provided by political and social turning points and the needs defined by them. This, not least, would make the possibilities of a political instrumentalization of entertainment theater describable.

In the case of Vienna, Linhardt points out, “this involves attention to the several hundred works premiered there over many decades” if one does not want to risk reading “meanings” into individual operettas that could never have been conveyed to members of a contemporary audience. Linhardt is not in principle against detailed analyses of individual operettas. She argues, however, for a new “path toward the selection of works whose analysis is really meaningful, and toward a determination of the aspects to be analyzed.” The criteria for studying operetta and its librettos need to be derived from the “practical theatrical possibilities and constraints of the time”; the objects of analysis have to be the dramaturgical patterns and

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9 “Neben der theaterimmanenten wäre sodann eine sozialhistorische Perspektive einzunehmen, die die Operette als Element eines weitgefächernten kulturellen Feldes begreift, dessen Eckpunkte mit politischen und gesellschaftlichen Einschnitten und den hierdurch definierten Bedürfnissen gegeben sind. Damit würden nicht zuletzt die Möglichkeiten einer politischen Instrumentalisierung des Unterhaltungstheaters schreibbar.” Marion Linhardt, “Schlaglichter auf die Operette,” in “Warum es der Operette so schlecht geht”: *Ideologische Debatten um das musikalische Unterhaltungstheater (1880–1916)*, Maske und Kothurn 45 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 2–3. If not otherwise indicated, translations are my own and stresses are original. Typographical errors and inconsistencies in German sources have been amended.

“fashions” that help to characterize different, relatively well-defined but short-lived operetta types.  

In her own writings, Linhardt tackles the vast blanks she has located on the map of operetta history through systematic exploration and stock-taking of Vienna’s multifaceted theater scene. Her habilitation thesis Residenzstadt und Metropole, for example, offers an admirably detailed topography of operetta in Vienna until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She explains:

> The assignment of the numerous operetta stages to urban spaces, each with a specific population configuration and a certain prestige, and the positioning of individual venues in the overall context of the theater and city history also lend a contour to these venues’ audiences—previously only a blurred mass of “auditors”: existing audience strata become comprehensible and the interdependence of the audience and the repertory emerges.  

Abounding in fascinating data concerning the interrelation between operettas, their venues, and the topography of the city and its population, Linhardt’s extensive network analysis (though surely overwhelming even for interested non-specialist scholars) provides subsequent operetta specialists with an invaluable starting point. Her approach, however, only allows her to incorporate comparatively few detailed observations about individual works and events, and remains rather abstract and theoretical. Inevitably, the problem she herself raised—that a few popular operettas take elevated and apparently “representative” positions in the scholarly literature—obstinately remains. What is more, at the end of the Habsburg monarchy—the point at which Linhardt’s book as well as many others stop—the musical theater topography she describes became far more complex, making it impossible to view Vienna’s operetta scene through only a few venues. Between 1918 and 1955, a dizzying array of interdependent political, constitutional, economic, social, and cultural changes affected Vienna’s cityscape as well as its theater scene. New media (cinema, a booming recording industry, and public radio) made operetta available and affordable to an ever-broadening audience, in Vienna and further afield, offering even less well-off Austrians the opportunity to listen to smash hits from the capital’s elite venues in the comfort of their homes. Moreover, new impulses from the Berlin

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13 Indeed, soon such use of modern media was no longer necessarily “secondary”: Richard Oswald’s silent film Paganini (1923), for example, seems to have spawned the eponymous 1925 Lehár operetta with Richard Tauber, and Oswald’s Lady Hamilton (1921) may have inspired Eduard Künneke’s 1926 stage work with the same title. See Richard Traubner, “‘Operette’: the German and Austrian musical film” (PhD diss., New York University, 1996), 71.
revue and the Broadway musical led to an even wider range of works covered under the term “operetta.”

These complexities are not the only good reasons to focus on operetta after the Habsburg Empire. When World War I started, Viennese operetta was at the height of its international popularity: while it had still been a local phenomenon in Strauss’s time, the success of Die lustige Witwe had put operetta on the cultural world map. As Vienna lost its political importance as the capital and royal seat of a vast, wealthy empire, its internationally esteemed cultural assets such as operetta became welcome means for officials as well as other citizens to assure themselves of the city’s continuing cosmopolitan status. Since operettas were prime export products, their representations of Vienna gained significance and were carefully calculated.

The scholarly literature hardly reflects these negotiations. Renowned fin-de-siècle scholar Moritz Csáky, for example, once concluded his observations about the art form with the offhand statement that “after 1918 operetta lost its cultural bearings and seemed understandable only through a transfigured nostalgia.”¹⁴ Others, including Andrew Lamb in his Grove article, do note twentieth-century operetta’s continued currency when they observe that composers such as Paul Abraham and Ralph Benatzky “sought to combine the traditional romance of operetta with modern stories and dance styles,” but they read such measures as “signs of the terminal decline of the classical operetta,” ignoring the fact that fashionable dances and contemporary settings were also essential ingredients of such “classic masterpieces” as Die Fledermaus and Die Lustige Witwe.¹⁵

Another problematic topic is the commercial aspect of operetta, which is usually seen to reflect negatively on popular musical theater and therefore played down if not ignored altogether by scholars. Contrasting the operetta with the musical, Otto Hambüchen, for example, noted “serious differences … even in the outer form …: most musicals, and the most successful ones, kept themselves apart from the state- or city-subsidized theaters.” He overlooks the fact that most operettas before 1930 were also produced for independent theaters and supported largely by their audience appeal.¹⁶ Even such a brilliant operetta analyst as Volker Klotz uses the argument of a different, commercial “means of production and distribution” to contrast the objectionable musical and “bad,” populist operetta with what he regards as the “good,” satirical, system-critical specimen. While musical theater scholar Kevin Clarke has started to debunk this notion, it is still widespread.¹⁷

Of course, no PhD dissertation or single volume can hope to satisfy Linhardt’s demand for “an account that connects the numerous artistic, social, theatrical, topographical, and economic aspects of the operetta scene in the German-language area up to 1945.”\(^\text{18}\) Accordingly, this thesis does not attempt a full picture. My account can be neither complete nor final. I want, rather, to contribute one new layer to the open-ended scholarly accretion that constitutes operetta history. As an alternative to the common Anglo-American panoramic approach as well as to Linhardt’s topographical one, this thesis offers a montage of loosely connected case studies formed around individual operetta events; philosopher Gilbert Ryle and anthropologist Clifford Geertz might have called them “thick descriptions.”\(^\text{19}\) These vignettes zoom in on significant operetta moments during each of Austria’s successive political eras in the first half of the twentieth century: the First Austrian Republic (1918–1934), the Austrofascist state (1934–1938), the annexation to the Third Reich (1938–1945), and the early postwar Second Republic (1945–). Choosing my events, I have sought opportunities to grapple with larger questions of musical style, venues, and reception, as well as the relationship between music, Viennese society, and the image of the city. By mediating among multiple levels of inquiry, I hope to supply the depth and graspable detail that have been missing from surveys of twentieth-century Viennese operetta while still remaining sensitive to the broad outlines of its historical scope.

In order to reach this goal, my criteria for choosing case studies have been the exact opposite of those employed by Csáky, for example, who focused on operetta’s “‘classical’ representatives” in the belief that most other works “have perhaps rightly fallen into oblivion.”\(^\text{20}\) I have selected my case studies not because of their position in today’s operetta canon, but in light of their original impact. Unlike Klotz, who also explicitly omitted those “once popular pieces that meanwhile have vanished from the repertory because they have likely faded forever,” I am not interested in what Viennese operetta should or can be on today’s stages, but rather in what it was and meant during the various time periods under investigation and may, as a consequence, mean for today’s historian.\(^\text{21}\) Indeed, unlike Stegemann or Martin Lichtfuss, I do not even start my account with those operettas that dominate the repertory today.\(^\text{22}\) Nor, for that matter, do I want to examine operetta primarily as a series of “works” with fixed texts, as many of these scholars have done.

Deliberately avoiding the handful of “outstanding masterpieces” favored in previous accounts, I have picked a series of radically unfamiliar events, alternative stories that may

\(^\text{18}\) “Eine Darstellung, die die zahlreichen künstlerischen, sozialen, theatralischen, topographischen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Operettenszene im deutschsprachigen Raum bis 1945 ... miteinander verknüpft”; Linhardt, “Schlaglichter auf die Operette,” 2.


\(^\text{21}\) “irgendwann einmal populäre Stücke, die inzwischen aus dem Repertoire verschwanden, weil sie wohl für immer erblasst sind”; Klotz, *Operette*, 19. One should note here, that in his brilliant reference work Klotz pursues the rather different goal of making operetta more attractive for today’s theaters and audiences again. 

illuminate new aspects of not only the composition but also of the production, performance, consumption, and reception of operetta in twentieth-century Vienna. To determine which particular moments in Vienna’s operetta history could provide the most revealing or startling commentary on Austria’s cultural life and justify a thick description, has been the primary historiographical challenge of this study, requiring a substantial amount of preliminary archival research. Many a promising-looking path became a blind alley when insufficient documentation prevented further access to roads that had first seemed so passable. Having originally set out to research performances of single-act Singspiele in basement theaters, seedy late-night costume shows with eccentric dances, and catchy Schlager numbers broadcast on national radio request programs, I soon found out how difficult it was to accumulate useful information and texturing detail about events that newspapers did not cover and whose performance materials were rarely preserved. On the other hand, I was surprised to discover a wealth of untold, powerfully expressive moments on the same famous stages that feature prominently in most history surveys. To use Marie-Theres Arnbom and Kevin Clarke’s words: operetta, as we claim to know it, remains a “terra incognita.”

As a consequence, this thesis may disappoint some readers: “operetta” will remain here just what it has always been in the standard histories—a popular but elite genre performed in Vienna’s most glamorous high-society venues. But since the chronological structure of my thesis hardly leaves room to evoke a sense of simultaneity, it made little sense to attempt a breakdown into kinds of venues, backgrounds of audiences, performance quality, and impact further afield. In the end, the focus on Vienna’s flagship theaters has allowed me best to pursue both of my main objectives: to trace the Selbst- und Fremdbild (the self-perception and perception by others) advanced in operettas that were produced in Vienna with the explicit objective of wide international distribution, and to put such “classics” as Das Land des Lächelns, Gräfin Mariza, and Im weißen Rössl into perspective by providing a context of directly comparable and equally significant historic operetta events.

While working on this project I was delighted to learn that several other scholars are currently striving to enrich operetta history in similar ways: the curators of the 2012 exhibition “Welt der Operette” in Vienna’s Theatermuseum, for example, explicitly focused on aspects, “which in operetta research and the great operetta volumes of the past have so far been neglected: contemporary history, sex, and new media.” Arnbom, Clarke, and the contributors of the perceptive essay collection accompanying this exhibition share my goal to show operetta as a genre “in touch with the pulse of time”—an international form of musical theater that flourished through a lively cultural exchange between Europe and America and was immediately affected by the drastic and frequent changes in its surroundings. Promising recent studies have also come from US scholars. While Timothy Freeze’s PhD thesis (U Michigan, 2010) bridged the academic gap between “serious” and “entertainment” music by examining operetta and other popular fin-de-siècle influences on Mahler, Zoe Lang’s

dissertation (Harvard, 2005) dealt with interwar Strauss reception and issues of Austrian identity. As I write, Micaela Baranello (Princeton) is working on a thesis titled “The Operetta Empire: Viennese Music Theater and Austrian Identity, 1900–35.” The accretion of operetta history is gaining momentum, it seems!

My own layer of this history starts with a prologue that shows how, even before the end of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna’s operetta network was increasingly expanded through the new media. I zoom in on the launch of Austria’s first feature-length movie, Der Millionenonkel (1913), featuring popular operetta- and Volksstück-comedian Alexander Girardi—celebrated as a last emblem of Viennese operetta’s “Golden Era”—in more than thirty of his most successful stage roles. Incorporating the latest fashions and addressing current concerns in Viennese culture and politics, the producers relied on the renown of Girardi and operetta to promote the artistic possibilities and respectability of the new and controversial medium of film. Der Millionenonkel made the stage genre and its star accessible to larger parts of society, while introducing a promising new, internationally marketable vehicle for operetta.

After the Great War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was reduced to an unimportant Alpine republic. As poverty-stricken Vienna struggled to keep pace with the modernizations of other metropolises, many artists and intellectuals left for the more glamorous art scenes of Berlin, Hollywood, or New York. Vienna’s producers and theater directors, hoping to build on operetta’s international dream successes from before the war, had to battle with an unsettled political situation, economic crises, crippling entertainment taxes, an impoverished bourgeoisie, and ever-increasing competition from public radio and the talkies. Chapter 1 examines director Hubert Marischka’s series of American-themed “jazz”-operetta productions at the Theater an der Wien. I focus particularly on the first and last of these, Bruno Granichstädten’s now almost forgotten smash hit Der Orlow (1925) and its much more radically “modern,” unlucky successor Reklame! (1930). Marischka’s choice of subject matter and his glamorously cosmopolitan production style contradict undifferentiated assessments of 1920s operetta as a single nostalgic celebration of Austria’s golden past and illustrate his difficult balancing act between presenting Viennese operetta as a modern, international, and cosmopolitan art form on the one hand, while retaining its specifically, but not stereotypically “Viennese” aspects that made it “authentic” and irreplaceable, on the other.

A far bigger watershed than the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy—for all areas of Viennese art and culture—was the destruction of democracy in 1933 and the establishment of the authoritarian Corporate State after the civil war in February 1934. While historians already pointed to this turning point more than fifteen years ago, it is still hardly reflected in operetta accounts, which tend to treat the interwar years as a single continuous period. In Chapter 2, I want to adjust this perception by examining the conditions under which Ralph Benatzky wrote operettas for Austrofascist Vienna after leaving the Third Reich in 1933. Upon their takeover, Austrofascist authorities quickly assumed unprecedented power over Viennese entertainment

25 See, for example, Gänzl and Lamb, Gänzl’s Book of the Musical Theatre, 892 and Linhardt, “Schlaglichter auf die Operette,” 8.
venues and their programming as they tried to foster a Christian, corporate value system as well as the sense of a distinctly Austrian, national (rather than regional or pan-German) identity. Nostalgic recollections of “Alt Wien” were now propagated officially as a legitimization of the present and future of the entire state; operetta was no longer representative only of Vienna but was integrated into the patriotic narrative of a glorious national music history—a hallmark of the “music country Austria.” Such imagery also became part of the regime’s intensified efforts to expand tourism, an important source of income, which had suffered immensely from the recent economic crises as well as the Nazis’ strenuous efforts to pressure the Austrians to join the Reich. Not surprisingly, then, both Benatzky’s chamber operetta Das kleine Café (1934), set in a true-to-life Viennese middle-class milieu, and his grand revue Herzen im Schnee (1937), which celebrated the pleasures of the Tyrolean Alps, were welcomed by Austrofascist officials with open arms and allowed the composer to continue along the lines of his earlier successes. But the restrictive theater policies and the increasingly traditionalist attitude of large parts of the population soon started to limit Benatzky’s creative options and eventually induced him to turn his back on Vienna.

After the Anschluss, when racial persecutions made Vienna an unsafe and unprofitable working environment even for celebrated Jewish authors, the repertory of theaters shifted increasingly away from new operettas to emphasize instead re-workings of racially and politically unproblematic older material. Chapter 3 sheds light on one of the operetta revisions commissioned by Nazi officials in order to replenish the Reich’s performable repertory: the unfinished 1944 version of Franz Lehár’s popular success Der Rastelbinder (1902), which originally featured a Jewish main character. For its editor, Viennese cabarettist Rudolf Weys, a pro-Austrian social democrat with a Jewish wife, this official commission proved a powerful tool to dodge many of the Third Reich’s bullets as work of this sort increasingly turned into an alibi. Weys’s case shows that musical theater could provide a lifeline for authors under the Nazi regime. The absence of political explicitness in operetta made it both an ideal form of escapist entertainment with a native, now “German-Viennese” background, as well as a welcome vehicle for nonconformist artists who could not afford to attract attention or leave the Reich.

The years following World War II are, as Wolfgang Jansen has recently pointed out, still largely ignored in operetta scholarship. And, indeed, from the standpoint of innovative

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29 Musner, Der Geschmack von Wien, 154.


production, the history of the genre in the late 1940s hardly deserves any attention. But operetta’s importance for Vienna and Austria by no means ceased at that time. My final chapter focuses on Vienna’s first postwar operetta premiere, *Die Straussbuben* (1946), a new Singspiel cobbled together from previously unknown music in the Strauss brothers’ estate. Hailed in the press as evidence that the “quintessentially Austrian” genre was alive and well, the successful Raimund Theater production received substantial political support as operetta became a welcome focus for the official propagation of a recovering, resolutely apolitical Austrian national pride. By asserting a break with Third Reich cultural ideas and the return to specifically “Austrian” traditions and values—in this case Strauss, the waltz, and the Singspiel—the Allied forces and new government evaded any problematization of the Nazi past and Austrian complicity in it, encouraging instead cultural business as usual. The *Straussbuben* case, however, shows obvious continuities between wartime and postwar aesthetic preferences: like Weys’s *Rastelbinder*, this new operetta had been written as an official Reich commission long before the much-touted *Stunde Null*. The reception of the work makes clear that officials’ deliberate and ironic use of operetta as trusty Austrian musical memento pushed concerns about forward-looking innovation into the background and stifled any remaining efforts toward the renewal of Viennese popular musical theater.

In spite of the radically different setups within the time periods covered, the patchwork adumbrated by these historical scraps points to a larger trend: after the end of the Habsburg Empire, operetta was considered important cultural capital for Vienna and, as such, increasingly became an object of political relevance, even a propaganda instrument. While this development inextricably linked operetta to the image of Vienna—and Austria—and helped to keep this form of musical theater alive at points, it was also largely responsible for operetta’s hopeless stagnation.

I finish my investigation with a more uplifting look across the pond. The epilogue examines the legacy of Viennese operetta in three successful American postwar musicals, Billy Wilder’s movie *The Emperor Waltz* (1948), Rodgers and Hammerstein’s *The Sound of Music* (1959), and Cole Porter’s *Kiss me, Kate* (1948). While all three works respond to operetta with critical distance—Wilder’s and Porter’s by parodying the older musical theater form, *The Sound of Music* by trying to avoid any markers of it—they nevertheless bear witness to the continuing fascination of Austrian topics as well as to the unceasing emotional potency of operetta’s musical resources.

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33 See Appendix 6 for a list of Vienna’s musical theater premieres after 1945.
PROLOGUE: THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

Setting the Screen

The premiere of the Austrian motion picture Der Millionenonkel in 1913 was touted as a sensational sellout. Realized by film pioneer Alexander “Sascha” Kolowrat and operetta luminaries Ernst and Hubert Marischka, the movie attracted great interest both in Vienna and further afield, offering a remarkable list of novelties: it was the longest Austrian feature film to date, an artistic and commercial breakthrough for Kolowrat’s new “Sascha Film” company, the first Austrian movie to present operetta, one of the earliest to incorporate an original film score, and also the first successful star vehicle, featuring the famous operetta comedian Alexander Girardi in more than thirty of his stage roles—from jailor Frosch in Johann Strauss’s Fledermaus (1874) to violin primarius Rácz Pali in Imre Kálmán’s Zigeunerprimas (1912). Der Millionenonkel appeared at a time when many still saw cinema as a direct threat to staged theater. The Viennese press at the time carried numerous articles and interviews about the dangers and benefits of film. As in other European metropolises, cinemas in Vienna had initially attracted a lower-class audience. Yet by 1907 the novelty of the medium had worn off and the world economic crisis kept this audience from attending. If the Viennese film industry was going to have a future, it needed to attract the middle classes. In order to counter the stigma of film as corruptor of public morals and to transform the medium from an entertainment commodity into a respectable art form, longer films modeled on bourgeois literature and stage works were introduced. Of course, such competition—at such an

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36 The Wiener Lichtspieltheater, for example, extended its run of the movie because of the “extraordinary interest.” Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt, October 5, 1912, 23. The Prager Tagblatt, Bohemia, and the Grazer Tagblatt describe similar successes outside Vienna. See excerpts in Kinematographische Rundschau 294 (1914): 71.
38 Accounts of the number of characters Girardi played varied enormously. The star’s son claims that the film featured more than 60 Girardi roles. (Anton Maria Girardi, Das Schicksal setzt den Hobel an: Der Lebensroman Alexander Girardis [Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1941], 306–307.) The only extant copy shows the star in twenty-three different guises; the detailed synopses in the Kinematographische Rundschau and several newspapers mention thirty four. For a complete list of Girardi’s documented roles in Der Millionenonkel see Appendix 1.
39 This debate was described in “Franz Molnar über Kino und Theater: Schadet das Kino dem Theater?,” Neues Wiener Journal, September 18, 1913, 3.
economically difficult time—exacerbated the hostility of established institutions of high culture. Nevertheless, by 1913 such intellectuals as Peter Altenberg and Arthur Schnitzler began to speak up for Austrian film’s creative potential, with popular actors including Hansi Niese and Karl von Zeska soon defecting to the new medium.

*Der Milliononkel* was clearly part of this movement toward respectability. The movie assembled a cast of influential Austrians: Alexander Kolowrat, a rich aristocrat and popular cult figure, known also for his involvement in other elite ventures such as car racing; Hubert Marischka, “well-established member” of the glamorous Carltheater; and—most importantly—actor Alexander Girardi, Vienna’s “darling,” a star for whom many profitable showcase works were written and whose important birthdays were celebrated officially.

Girardi hats were a fashion craze in fin-de-siècle Vienna, as were his portraits, candies—even Girardi liqueur.

Not unusually, reviews of the film were uniformly positive, stressing its progressive qualities. As many pointed out, Girardi’s success was aided by the screenplay, which integrated many of his most famous roles into a typical operetta plot: a young count (played by Marischka) develops a fancy for a beautiful actress, seeks her acquaintance but is found out by his wife during a masked ball and has to feign a disastrous duel in order to make up with her. This standard operetta narrative was framed in a self-reflexive, “documentary” manner: at the beginning Kolowrat and Marischka visit the star in his private home to suggest the film project; as they describe the plot, the operetta pictures appear on the screen. Girardi is convinced and agrees to take part.

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49 Kos and Rapp, *Alt-Wien*, 485. Many minor roles in *Der Milliononkel* were also cast with members of Vienna’s high society: popular folksinger Pepi Augustin, for example, played an overzealous constable, operetta composer Leo Fall conducted the orchestra during a theater performance, and even the filmed theater audience boasted applauding celebrities such as Bernhard Baumeister, a leading actor at the prestigious Burgtheater.
This combination of an overarching theatrical narrative with real-life elements as well as tried-and-tested “cinematic attractions” (for example, the increasingly fast succession of Girardi’s appearances in his well-known costumes and Marischka’s slapstick pursuit of the beautiful actress) ensured a broad audience appeal and was praised by the press as an “exceedingly auspicious idea, even worthy of emulation.”

Similarly glowing were the comments on Robert Stolz’s music, which is unfortunately now missing. Most films at the time were still accompanied by amateur pianists, who did not always manage to underline the screen actions: Stolz reported on emotional death scenes accompanied by the “Blue Danube” waltz, for example. Understandably, then, Millionenonkel

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52 Kinematographische Rundschau "Girardi-Nummer" special (1913): 7. Photo courtesy of the Filmarchiv Austria.
55 Fritz, Alexander Girardi und der Film, 7.
critics marveled at how “effectively [the music] underlines the actions on the screen”⁵⁷ and stressed that the score was not “an arrangement of a Girardi hit potpourri …, but … a proper original composition, into which the mosaic of the most immortal Girardi operettas seems to be embedded. This required not only a thorough musical connoisseur but also a composer with tasteful ideas.”⁵⁸ One reviewer further stressed the film’s affinity to more prestigious musical theater when he suggested that Stolz had composed “a proper operetta” because “the music, which filled circa two hours, would fully suffice to make up two modern operettas.”⁵⁹

Critics also mentioned the “photographically almost perfect” filming technique and “technical tricks,” pointing toward another sophisticated attribute of the film, its progressive cinematography.⁶⁰ Marischka and Kolowrat experimented with perspective and space, used close ups and long shots, varied viewpoints, and created narrative continuity through segmented actions and cross-cutting—for example, between two characters having a phone conversation.⁶¹ The unusual pace of the film was determined by Girardi’s appearances, which, as film scholar Günter Krenn has pointed out, seem rather incidental at the beginning but increasingly agglomerate and eventually reach a climax at a masked ball scene when, facilitated by a revolutionary montage effect, several Girardis seem to be on screen at once.⁶² Devoid of any theatrical antecedents, such techniques acknowledged film as an art with its own possibilities.

Finally, the notion of the film’s prestigious and sophisticated nature was promoted by its glamorous reception in Vienna, as is documented in the press: “all who can be seen at sensational premières were present in the overcrowded hall,” the Deutsches Volksblatt noted,⁶³ and the Kinematographische Rundschau concluded triumphantly that this “proves yet again that the interest for film theater has captured all circles.”⁶⁴ “Everyone will now want to marvel at this most Viennese of all actors.”⁶⁵

This high demand could hardly be satisfied any time soon, as only four venues had managed to obtain the premiere showing rights from the movie’s distributor, the

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⁵⁷ “die Vorgänge auf der Leinwand wirksam unterstützt”; Neues Wiener Journal, September 11, 1913, 6.
⁶¹ “Eine Kinosensation: Girardi im Film,” Deutsches Volksblatt, September 11, 1913, 8. As Riemer has pointed out, however, the succession of shots does not always make sense visually. Riemer, “Literature and Austrian Cinema Culture,” 189. Riemer discusses the novel filming techniques of the Girardi film in some detail.
⁶³ “In dem überfüllten Saale war alles anwesend, was bei Sensationspremieren zu sehen ist.” “Eine Kinosensation: Girardi im Film,” Deutsches Volksblatt, September 11, 1913, 8.
Österreichisch-Ungarische Kinoindustrie. Keeping the tickets scarce and much sought after helped to make the movie even more of an object of desire. Moreover, the four premiering theaters were not exactly average cinemas: the Kruger-Kino was a Nobelkino (classy movie theater), known for its choice program and attended by the upper classes, aristocrats, even members of the royal family.\textsuperscript{66} The Imperial-Kino also seems to have targeted the upper ten thousand considering that it presented itself as “the most elegant and exclusive cinema of the imperial residence” in its advertisements for the film.\textsuperscript{67} The Sofiensäle had been a well-established venue famous for its elite balls, its carnival, sports and operetta events as well as its waltz concerts since the 1860s.\textsuperscript{68} Finally, the Marine-Kino was part of the season-long Adriatic exposition in the Prater amusement park, a spectacle that—as the \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung} pointed out—“would be hard to trump in its attractions.”\textsuperscript{69} Clearly, the film was expected to be an unusual crowd puller.\textsuperscript{70} But although the distribution tactics and the resulting advertising advanced the reputation of \textit{Der Millionenonkel} as a prestigious venture, the ticket prices were within the normal range for Viennese cinemas at the time and the film therefore theoretically accessible to large parts of the Viennese population.\textsuperscript{71}

The second major concern in reviews of \textit{Der Millionenonkel}, apart from the movie’s artistic merit and prestige, was its value as “a theater-historical document.”\textsuperscript{72} For one thing, it was—in Hubert Marischka’s words—“an archival monument ... of the extensive oeuvre of our brilliant Alexander Girardi.”\textsuperscript{73} As Siegfried Kracauer observed, in its early days stage people often welcomed film not as a medium in itself but primarily as “a means of emphasizing the art of the actor,” and “as a wonderful opportunity to popularize theatrical productions.”\textsuperscript{74} Indeed, Marischka himself attested later that Girardi had been incapable of grasping the different laws

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} Verein artminutes, “Kruger Kino,” KinTheTop, \url{http://www.kinthetop.at/forschung/kinthetop_1_KrugerKinoDetail01.html} (accessed October 4, 2011).
\item \textsuperscript{67} “dieser elegantesten und vornehmsten Kinobühne der Residenz”; \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung}, September 12, 1913, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Christoph Römer, \textit{Die Sofiensäle: Eine Wiener Institution} (Erfurt: Sutton, 2004), 55–57.
\item \textsuperscript{69} “an Zugkraft nur schwerlich zu überbieten sein dürfte”; \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung}, September 10, 1913, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{70} Even the Marinekino secured the first-run screening rights “with great pecuniary sacrifices.” (“mit großen pekuniären Opfern”; \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung}, September 10, 1913, 4.) Later advertisements of several other cinemas imply the difficulties especially the smaller venues faced in screening the film. The commercial of the Baumgartner Grand Bio-Theater, for example, noted—several weeks in advance—the "great expense" of securing the exclusive screening rights in the 13th, 14th and 15th district, where \textit{Der Millionenonkel} was to run “with Robert Stolz’s music” for “an entire week” in late October. \textit{(Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt}, October 19, 1913, 26.) None of these press announcements specified whether such cinemas were able to hire an entire orchestra or only a pianist.
\item \textsuperscript{71} In the Sofiensaal Kinetophon tickets for \textit{Der Millionenonkel} cost between 60 hellers and 3 crowns and the Marine-Kino offered combined tickets and entrance to the exhibits starting at 1.40 crowns. (\textit{Neues Wiener Journal}, September 18, 1913, 15.) There are, to my knowledge, still no studies of early Viennese cinema audiences. In an email correspondence, however, film journalist Dr. Herbert Wilfinger kindly emailed me with information of ticket prices for other films screened in Vienna in 1913, all of which were between 40 hellers and 3 crowns for adults, depending on the kind of cinema and seat.
\item \textsuperscript{72} “ein theatergeschichtliches Dokument”; “Eine Kinosensation: Girardi im Film,” \textit{Deutsches Volksblatt}, September 11, 1913, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{73} “ein archivarisches Denkmal ... von dem umfangreichen Schaffen unseres genialen Alexander Girardi”; Hubert Marischka, “Wie der Girardifilm zustande kam,” \textit{Kinematographische Rundschau} 270 (1913): 27.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Siegfried Kracauer, \textit{From Caligari to Hitler} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), 18.
\end{itemize}
of the cinematic medium, and recent writers on the film have noted that Girardi’s “accomplished” performance exhibits “the best of stage technique.” Contemporary commentators, on the other hand, repeatedly pointed out how well suited Girardi was as a film actor because of his “marvelously impassioned facial expressions with his amazing expressiveness.” “One did not miss the word at all,” reviewers commented, because of these gestures as well as Stolz’s accompanying music, which “refreshed the old memories” and “enliven[ed] the excellent film greatly.” The *Kinematographische Rundschau* explained further:

Alexander Girardi ... can only be understood entirely to the sounds of fetching Viennese waltzes of our renowned operetta composers; what Girardi’s eloquent mimic expressions cannot say by themselves, the lively music supplies, without which we cannot imagine our Girardi at all.  

But *Der Millionenonkel* was not only noted for recording Girardi’s acting for posterity; reviewers also praised the film for capturing Viennese characters and “Viennese locales in action,” for example through the “felicitous framing of the Viennese street appearance.” Such comments point to a much larger interest in archiving the city at the time, a direct result of Vienna’s modernization. Since the 1880s, the acceleration of life through technical advancements, the compression of the urban space, and the diversification of lifestyles had made the urban system much more complex. Between 1850 and 1900 half the houses that had distinguished Vienna’s cityscape had been demolished, and the city’s population almost doubled to more than two million between 1880 and 1910. These radical changes caused a

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76 See, for example, Riemer, “Literature and Austrian Cinema Culture,” 189.
78 “so dass man das Wort gar nicht vermisst”; “Eine Kinosensation: Girardi im Film,” *Deutsches Volksblatt*, September 11, 1913, 8.
80 “Alexander Girardi ... ist unter den Klängen der feschen Wiener Walzer unserer bekannten Operettenkomponisten erst ganz und voll zu verstehen und was das beredte mimische Spiel Girardis allein nicht sagen kann, ergänzt eben die flotte Musik, ohne die wir unseren Girardi uns gar nicht denken können.” “Der Girardi-Film,” *Kinematographische Rundschau* 282 (1913): 4.
sense of foreign infiltration and triggered a yearning for stability and the familiar. The longing for the “good old days,” especially among the skeptical petty bourgeoisie, was cleverly used by Vienna’s populist mayor Karl Lueger, who united the disparate social fractions of the Viennese bourgeoisie through a politics of clericalism and anti-Semitism. Lueger helped to foster “Alt Wien,” a city image in the form of a pre-industrial middle-class community founded on heritage, paternalism, authority, and a Christian-catholic value system. This superimposition of an idealized image of the imperial city on the modern metropolis was unique and distinguished Vienna from other western megacities. The interest in the preservation of the old city and its traditions went even further: starting in the 1870s, historical societies were founded and city museums established, and around 1910 liberal Heimatschutz (homeland security) became an active force, addressing the immediate losses due to modernization without objecting to it en large. The historic museum became a hub for “urban researchers” and documentarians who depicted “vanishing Vienna,” supplementing maps and location drawings of individual buildings with depictions and even short films of typical Viennese characters that could be found on the city’s streets, so-called “Wiener Typen.”

Photography was the preferred medium of such archiving attempts, as it seemed to capture an otherwise unattainable “reality”: as author Friedrich Schlögl put it, “the photographer now takes the figures ‘from the street,’ places them in front of his impartial instrument and the characters appear on paper in unquestionable authenticity, yes, if desired, in unretouched truth.” Amateur photographer Emanuel Wähner, for example—now considered one of the foremost documentarians of his time—produced a series of snapshots of Viennese performing everyday duties as early as the 1880s. Similarly, Emil Mayer’s series “Wiener Typen und Straßenbilder” (1908/1911) captures his wide range of subjects with a great immediacy.

87 Linhardt, Residenzstadt und Metropole, 139–140.
93 Kos and Rapp, Alt-Wien, 478.
Others chose to paint a more idealized picture of Viennese street life. Otto Schmidt’s two portrait series entitled “Wiener Typen” (1873/1875 and 1880), for example, seem theatrical and staged, several characters wear wigs or clothes made from the same patterned fabric, and even some of the faces appear more than once. Moreover, Schmidt portrayed his subjects in front of painted street and backyard scenes, although photographic techniques would already have allowed for on-site shootings. Clearly, not documentary faithfulness but the refinement of the “type” and the conveyance of a particular atmosphere were Schmidt’s main objective. 94

Idealized Wiener Typen were also depicted as statues or watercolors, 95 and together with the vanishing old cityscape became an important topic in Viennese publications. Many leading newspapers and magazines at the end of the Habsburg era had a special column that dealt with “Wiener Volksleben” and Wiener Typen. 96 As Christian Rapp has pointed out, the feuilleton format was particularly popular for such contributions, as it allowed for an inconspicuous mixing of description and interpretation, which left open what was real and what was imagined at the same time as evoking the comforting, nostalgic image of a small-town community in the midst of the metropolis. 97 Not least, the usual presentation of Wiener Typen in a series helped to suggest a harmonious community, in spite of their diverse social and economic backgrounds. 98

Operetta did not lag behind with regard to such nostalgic trends: while pithy local characters had already featured prominently in the Biedermeier stage works of Johann Nestroy and Ferdinand Raimund among others, more standardized “types” developed toward the end of the nineteenth century. Adolf Müller’s Strauss pasticcio Wiener Blut (1899)—featuring a Ringelspielbesitzer (owner of a merry-go-round), a Fiaker (horse coachman), a Deutschtämer (soldier of the royal infantry), and a folksinger 99—started a whole series of “Alt Wien” operettas with comfortably familiar, older Viennese music and various Wiener Typen. 100 As in Otto Schmidt’s photographs, not real Viennese people acted as models for these operetta characters, but certain costume ensembles, accessories, local expressions and idioms.

100 Other Alt Wien operettas include the Singspiel Alt-Wien (1911), which was based on music by Joseph Lanner (1801–1843) and featured various street vendors including a female gingerbread baker, as well as Leo Fall’s Brüderlein fein (1909), which centered on the historical figure of the Biedermeier Kapellmeister and composer Joseph Drechsler (1782–1852) and some of his popular melodies; the “Biedermeier-operetta” Die tolle Therese (1913) was based on Johann Strauss Sr.’s music, and Wiener Kinder (1917) used Johann Schrammel’s. Linhardt observed that the number of operettas with Viennese subject matter increased ten times from the last forty years of the nineteenth century to the prewar years of the twentieth century. Linhardt, “Der Wiener Stoff,” 218.
It is remarkable, in this respect, that for advertising purposes Vienna’s private operetta venues circulated collectable series of their stars’ role portraits that looked strikingly similar to those of “real” Wiener Typen.101 As Barbara Lesák has pointed out, Ludwig Gutmann, the photographer for most operetta theaters until the end of the Great War, typically used a rather old-fashioned and conventional style, placing his subjects in front of painted or neutral backgrounds in his studio, parallel to the camera, and in poses rooted in nineteenth-century traditions.102

![Figure 0.3: Alexander Girardi as Adam in Zeller's operetta Der Vogelhändler (ca. 1890; left) and a Wäschermädel (laundress) from Otto Schmidt's series “Wiener Typen” (ca. 1886; right). An operetta titled Das Wäschermädel was premiered at the Theater in der Josefstadt in 1905.](image)

The line between real and imagined was even more blurred in the folksinger business where remarkable interchanges took place: the horse carriage man of crown prince Rudolf, Josef Bratfisch, for example, eventually became a popular folksinger while stage celebrities


103 Photos courtesy of Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ÖTM FS_PP100977 (left) and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ÖNB/Wien, Pk 3304,1 (right).
such as Girardi often acted as folk characters—most famously in Gustav Pick’s “Fiakerlied” (1885), which is also featured in *Der Millionenonkel*.104 Indeed, anecdotes report how “real” Girardi appeared acting out his role, and when his horses slipped during the filming, the professional horse carriage drivers on site praised him for his professional and “courageous” reaction.105 Girardi’s interpretation of their profession was so successful that the Fiakers’ association even presented the actor with a “silver horsewhip” in 1915.106

If one can believe contemporary author and critic Felix Salten, Girardi was in fact a pivotal figure connecting the “real” and the idealized Vienna. In a fictional letter to a friend in Berlin, Salten observed in 1910:

When he speaks we hear from his voice the elemental cries of the folk, ... and when the people speak of Girardi, they immediately bring up all the Wiener Typen as comparison; the Fiaker, the Imperial and Royal soldier, the waiter, the sports baron. But the Vienneseness that he presents is at its heart not the real one, but it is a Vienneseness that he himself has invented. ... Ever since he has come up with it, it is being imitated. People have learnt from him in the theater how to be Viennese and they have copied it afterwards. Hundreds ... of his spontaneous ideas of Vienneseness now walk around ... alive. ... Lately, every other young man one met on the street, every horse carriage driver, every mailman, every civic booster was a Girardi role. ... One could say that much of what Girardi does is Vienna, but much of what Vienna does is Girardi.107

Against this background, *Der Millionenonkel* can be seen as more than just a document preserving a part of Viennese theater history: cleverly using the new medium, the film’s makers offered yet another series of Wiener Typen, for each of Girardi’s roles was such a character. Not only the liberal Heimatschützer would see their archiving efforts supported in this film, then; the wide circles of bourgeois, staunchly nationalist Christian Socials following Lueger could also welcome this production as showing the “most innate Vienneseness, an own-brand, a favorite dish of the Viennese.”108

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107 “Wenn er spricht, hören wir aus seiner Stimme die Urlaute des Volkes, ... und wenn die Leute von Girardi reden, schleppen sie auch sofort alle Wiener Typen zum Vergleich heran; den Fiaker, den Deutschmeister, den Zahlkellner, den Sportbaron. Aber das Wienerum, das er gibt, ist im Grunde nicht das wirkliche, sondern es ist ein Wienerum, das er ganz allein erfunden hat. ... Seit er es eronnen hat, wird es nachgeahmt. Die Leute haben im Theater von ihm gelernt, wie man wienerisch ist und haben es nachher kopiert. Hunderte ... seiner plötzlichen Ideen vom Vienerum laufen jetzt ... lebendig umher. ... Zuletzt war denn auch jeder zweite junge Herr, der man auf der Straße traf, jeder Fiakerkutscher, jeder Briefbote, jeder Spiessburger eine Girardi-Rolle. ... Man könnte sagen, vieles, was Girardi tut, ist Wien, aber vieles, was Wien tut, ist Girardi.” Felix Salten, *Das österreichische Antlitz* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1909), 147–150; also partly quoted in Rapp, “Wiener Typen,” 148.
While the influence of operetta on the image of cinema was evidently a major concern of this film project and its reception, the impact of the new medium on the stage genre is less apparent. “Operetta” at the time was by no means well defined: as an art form connected to all members of society who could afford any theater attendance, it had a constantly changing reference framework. During the late nineteenth century operetta had been widely associated with Vienna’s supposed degeneration as a result of urbanization. German nationalists, especially, saw operetta as French and “frivolous” amusement, which threatened to oust the older, “authentic” Viennese folk play.  

To counter this development, conservative citizens’ initiatives supported the foundation of several theaters (among them the Kaiser-Jubiläums-Stadtheater, the Raimund Theater, and the Bürgertheater) specifically for performances of traditional works. But the advocated folk play programs could not compete with the audience appeal of operetta, which—in its many different guises—increasingly dominated the repertory of most Viennese theaters during the first decade of the twentieth century.

As Marion Linhardt has shown in admirable detail, Viennese operetta indeed changed significantly around the turn of the century: as a direct response to Vienna’s critically perceived metropolization, one can observe, in Linhardt’s words, “processes of internationalization, mediazation, and potentiation” (meaning both acceleration and amplification) in Viennese musical theater, which—together with the quick succession of deaths of Strauss, Suppé, and Millöcker—explain why the notion of an operetta “crisis” was first evoked around 1900. From now on nineteenth-century operettas were commonly received as the fruits of a “golden age,” the compositional and dramatic quality of contemporary operetta production as debased—an interpretation that is uncritically reflected even in many recent publications about the art form.

Linhardt distinguishes between two main types of operetta that crystallized around this time, the operetta of the metropolis and the operetta of the imperial city Vienna:

While the operetta of the metropolis in its themes and subject matters, its dramaturgic strategies, its character types, and its musical means adopted the most up-to-date tendencies, which connected it with an internationally tinted and thus internationally marketable atmosphere of glamor, its complement, the operetta of the imperial city, drew its specific profile from strong local links, from reference to traditional social patterns, and from an aesthetic basis in a field of theatrical precedents that reached far into the past.

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109 Linhardt, Residenzstadt und Metropole, 148.
112 “Prozesse der Internationalisierung, der Medialisierung und der Potenzierung”; Linhardt, Residenzstadt und Metropole, 124–125.
113 „Während die Operette der Metropole in ihren Themen und Stoffen, ihren dramaturgischen Strategien, der Figurenzeichnung und den musikalischen Mitteln aktuellste Tendenzen aufgriff, die sie mit einer international gefärbten und damit international vermarktbaren Atmosphäre des Glamours verknüpfte, gewann ihr
While the “imperial,” “Alt Wien” operettas primarily catered for conservative Viennese middle-class audiences skeptical of the modernizations of city life, the “cosmopolitan” works played in vaudeville venues as well as glamorous theaters such as the Theater an der Wien, Carltheater, and Johann-Strauß-Theater became successful further afield. Indeed, after the staggering world success of Die lustige Witwe in 1905, the dominance of Viennese works on the international operetta market was unrivaled. American, French, and British producers scrambled for the rights of any halfway decent Viennese work and the catchiest waltzes reappeared in palm-court orchestras, coffee houses, dance halls and street corners all over Europe and the New World. Particularly Lehár’s, Kálmán’s, Leo Fall’s, and Oscar Strauss’s works were consistently popular abroad.

In Linhardt’s discussion of the contrasting concepts of “cosmopolitan” and “imperial” operetta each style is encapsulated by a representative actor, the “dancing Jew” Louis Treumann and Alexander Girardi, respectively. Central to Linhardt’s observations are Karl Kraus’s reactions to those stars: while Treumann was for him only a salesman who—without creative talent or the comic potential so important in Vienna’s theater tradition—relied solely on “social polish,” smooth conversation, and dancing, Girardi’s style as well as his explorations of older spoken works made him an “authentic” Lustige Person (comedian), rooted in folklore, an icon of traditional Viennese art. Kraus chose to ignore the fact that Girardi, like Treumann, successfully appeared in many newer (though mostly “imperial”), often sentimental operettas and through his renditions of typical Viennese characters played a significant part in the “dumplingification” of Viennese operetta and “its degeneration into the folksinger-like” that the author criticized so sharply. He disconnected Girardi from the despised contemporary operetta and made him a representative solely of the old repertory apparently threatened by it.

In Der Millionenonkel, Girardi presents an image of operetta that is remarkably different from Kraus’s: here, the star’s roles in contemporary operettas (Pufferl, Zigeunerprimas, Bruder Straubinger, etc.) and his folk-singing numbers are acknowledged as much as his earlier and spoken characters. The prominent involvement of up-and-coming tenor Hubert Marischka, whose “elegant” appearances as “bon vivant” in fashionable dance operettas increasingly
established him as Treumann’s rival,\textsuperscript{122} also suggests the promotion of a more inclusive picture of operetta in the film, whose rather “cosmopolitan” plot was based on an eponymous stage work by Adolph Müller Jr. (1892). Furthermore, reviews show that Stolz even incorporated musical hits from recent dance operettas without Girardi, which, because of their international familiarity, provided a witty commentary on the screen action\textsuperscript{122} and in Vienna were “always met with knowing laughter.”\textsuperscript{123}

Put on a par with classic operettas and folk pieces, then, the cultural value of newer works was no longer questioned in \textit{Der Millionenonkel}. Indeed, the wide perception that the artistic respectability of Girardi’s stage characters would help to elevate the film genre also contributed to establishing “operetta” all the more firmly as an essentially Viennese cultural asset. By including modern (“cosmopolitan” and “imperial”) operettas in a presentation of Girardi highlights, their canonic “legitimacy” was suggested. At the same time, reviews show that \textit{Der Millionenonkel} was also welcomed as an opportunity—made possible only through the wordless new medium film—to present more locally rooted works (Linhardt’s “imperial” operettas) and the character of the city to an international audience. The \textit{Kinematographische Rundschau} proudly reported:

And so Girardi, whose name is treasured and valued wherever there are theaters and theater people, will now regale with his delicious humor in a live moving picture all those millions, who otherwise would never have the opportunity to become acquainted with Girardi in his very own, self-created art. In his newest creation ... Alexander Girardi ... will win his international audience, to whom he will speak in the Volapük of film and tell them, why the people of Vienna and Berlin and all others who know Girardi’s art name him as one of the best of the German stages.\textsuperscript{124}

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These brief explorations have portrayed \textit{Der Millionenonkel} as a conscious effort to address the latest trends in Viennese culture and politics, as well as current concerns, in order to promote

\textsuperscript{122} Around the time when \textit{Der Millionenonkel} played in Vienna’s cinemas, for example, Marischka starred as the principal in Lehár’s \textit{Die ideale Gattin} at the glamorous Theater an der Wien. “Franz Lehár’s neue Operette ‘Die ideale Gattin,’” \textit{Neue Freie Presse}, October 12, 1913; see also Traubner, \textit{Operetta}, 254.

\textsuperscript{122} “Eine Kinosensation: Girardi im Film,” \textit{Deutsches Volksblatt}, September 11, 1913, 8. For example, when count Waldersberg (Marischka’s character) follows his love interest across the city, the composer introduced the melody of the smash hit “Man steigt nach” (“one follows,” but also “one philanders”) from Leo Fall’s 1908 operetta \textit{Die geschiedene Frau}, in which Marischka had played the leading role. “Aus der Kinowelt,” \textit{Grazer Tagblatt}, February 6, 1914, 6.

\textsuperscript{123} “immer mitverständnisvollem Gelächter aufgenommen”; “Generalproben im Kino,” \textit{Filmwoche} 27 (1913): 12.

\textsuperscript{124} “Und so wird Girardi, dessen Namen man überall dort, wo es Theater und Theaterleute gibt, wohl zu schätzen und zu werten weiss, nun im lebenden Filmbilde einmal alle die Millionen mit seinem köstlichen Humor ergötzten, die sonst niemals Girardi in seiner ureigensten und selbstgeschaffenen Kunst kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit hätten. Alexander Girardi ... wird ... in seiner neuesten Schöpfung ... sein internationales Publikum gewinnen, zu dem er im Volapük des Films sprechen und ihm einmal sagen wird, warum die Wiener und Berliner und alle anderen, die Girardis Kunst kennen, ihren Girardi als einen der besten deutscher Bühnen nennen.” \textit{Kinematographische Rundschau} “Girardi-Nummer” special (1913): 6. Volapük is a constructed language (like Esperanto) that flourished in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century.
both the artistic possibilities and the respectability of (Austrian) film as well as a wholesome image of Viennese operetta. Speaking to conservative theater fans and staunch patriots as well as to the fashion-conscious high society and curious workers who could not afford to see Girardi in the theater, the film proved a hit in Vienna, and, free from language barriers, it also promised successes further afield, promoting Vienna’s star Girardi as well as the city’s leading musical offering, operetta, a popular export product on the international music market.\textsuperscript{125}

And yet Der Millionenonkel would remain the only successful movie of its kind. Plans to produce a second film with Girardi fell through,\textsuperscript{126} and an attempt by Kolowrat’s rival company Wiener Kunstfilm to follow suit misfired only two months after the Millionenonkel was released. Like the Girardi vehicle, the long and expensive “Großfilm” Johann Strauss an der schönen, blauen Donau combined operetta scenes (performed by stage celebrities such as the original Merry Widow Mizzi Günther and operetta comedians Hansi Niese, Louise Kartousch, and Richard Waldemar) with optic sensations such as magnificent ball scenes, historic costumes, and decorations as well as with original music by Alfred Grünwald and real-life documentary features, molded into a loose biographical narrative about Johann Strauss jr., the father figure of Viennese operetta. But in spite of the efforts of cinema advocates to stress the prestigious nature of this first biopic, the film flopped: as the press concluded, the waltz king’s life lacked dramatic interest so that an “unambitious love story” had to be drawn on, which, full of unmotivated dream scenes and anachronisms, lacked all “historical correctness.”\textsuperscript{127} Instead, as film scholar Robert Dassanowsky observed, literary-based social dramas on crime and problems of the urban working class dominated Austrian cinema until World War I.\textsuperscript{128}

Only during the bleak war years did the elegant world of operetta become an increasingly welcome refuge.\textsuperscript{129} But these later operetta films were different from the Girardi movie: typically straightforward adaptations of stage works, without a star focus, without original music, and without the same agendas.\textsuperscript{130} Indeed, those agendas were no longer necessary: by the time the Austrian Republic was proclaimed, film was firmly established even within high society,\textsuperscript{131} and operetta had become an essential element in both the international image and self-conception of Vienna—an integral part of Viennese identity.\textsuperscript{132}
CHAPTER 1: THE FIRST REPUBLIC

“Spiel’, My Jazzband, Spiel’!”

For you, for you
Ist alles was ich tu’!

.... Neon signs appear, headlights flood the stage and the setting changes abruptly as in the movies: from Hershman’s office one directly enters the colorful carnival hustle and bustle in Nice, which admittedly is theater within the theater. Sound film recordings are being made, advertising girls run across the auditorium, an advertising revue passes on stage, one idea chases the next, loudspeakers bellow from every nook and cranny and, even on the street, escort the visitor part of his way:

For you, for you
Ist alles was ich tu’.

The premiere of Bruno Granichstaedt’s operetta Reklame! on February 28, 1930, shook the Theater an der Wien with storms of enthusiasm and filled Vienna’s papers with panegyrics. “If there was still doubt whether Vienna keeps the upper hand in the battle about the leadership of operetta, then this great evening has confirmed that Vienna leads by a far margin,” exclaimed the Welt am Morgen, while other dailies offered long lists of superlatives and details of the production’s “American-gigantic” proportions. Masses of performers and technical workers as well as five hundred hours of rehearsal had been necessary to make this production work, claimed Das kleine Volksblatt. Even in terms of decor, director Hubert Marischka had managed to outdo all his glamorous earlier productions. The Neues Wiener Tagblatt summarized: “beautiful, opulent, colorful. ... Marischka has reached the limit here.”

133 “For you, for you / Ist alles was ich tu’! / .... Reklamelichter tauchten auf, Scheinwerfer überfluten die Bühne und wie im Film wechselt unvermittelt der Schauplatz: Aus Hershmanns Bureau kommt man unmittelbar in das bunte Karnevalstreifen in Nizza, das freilich Theater im Theater ist. TonfilmAufnahmen werden gemacht, Reklamegirls laufen durch den Zuschauerraum, eine Reklamerevue zieht über die Bühne, ein Einfall jagt den andern, Lautsprecher brüllen an allen Ecken und Enden auf und begleiten noch auf der Straße den Besucher ein Stück Weges: / For you, for you / Ist alles was ich tu’.” “Die neue Jazzoperette Granichstaedtens im Theater an der Wien,” Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt, March 2, 1930, 12.


Along with its spectacular, mind-blowing technology and unsurpassably extravagant decor, critics particularly praised the operetta’s unusual book. Reklame! tells the story of English lord Percy Livingston, whose family has disinherited him for marrying the American dancer Mary. Struggling to make a living in New York, Percy agrees to fake an affair with a newly arrived European singer in order to spawn the scuttlebutt that is necessary to ensure her American success. Advertising monarch Hershman, in charge of this coup, also wants to exploit Mary’s jealousy and asks her to shoot her “rival” with a fake shotgun. Pained by true feelings, however, the dancer uses a real revolver and only narrowly escapes catastrophe as well as imprisonment. The scandal makes Mary famous and an object of desire, but in the end she decides for the rueful Percy.

This “very American story,”¹³⁸ free from “false sentimentalities,”¹³⁹ was welcomed by commentators as evidence “that real life too can be brought on stage ... and that even in the home of all romanticism, in the operetta theater, one can be cool and objective.”¹⁴⁰ In the Austrian capital, advertising was already an established and successful business: circa three thousand billboards were scattered around the city by 1930—in relation to Vienna’s population count, this number was among the highest in Europe.¹⁴¹ And Reklame!’s pertinent subject matter even allowed for a previously untapped source of operetta funding as well as a new kind of advertisement for Viennese firms: product placement. Apart from the glamorous costumes provided by local fashion houses,¹⁴² an Act I scene showing rehearsals of Hershman’s “great, living propaganda show”¹⁴³ featured products by real companies such as Erdal (shoe polish), Ovomaltine (hot drink), Stollwerck (chocolate), and Elix (light bulbs).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Wolfgang Kos, ed., Kampf um die Stadt: Politik, Kunst und Alltag um 1930 (Vienna: Czernin, 2009), 549.
¹⁴² Showing off local businesses had become an aspiring aspect of musical entertainment culture ever since Marischka’s revue Alles aus Liebe (1927), with which he had actively involved Viennese companies in order to support employment opportunities in the Austrian capital. For a detailed discussion see Oliver Kühschelm, “Implicit Boycott: The Call for Patriotic Consumption in Interwar Austria,” Management & Organizational History 5 (2010): 165–195.
¹⁴³ “die große, lebende Reklameschau”; “Theater an der Wien: ‘Reklame,’” Der Morgen, March 5, 1930.
Figure 1.1: Dancer Lilly Schwalm presents “Elix,” the lasting light bulb. Premiere of Granichstaedten’s Reklame!, Theater an der Wien, February 28, 1930, (left) and a contemporary poster commercial (right). 

Vienna’s critics saw such product placement in a positive light and as a sign of creativity. One paper commented, for example:

What does it hurt that through Reklame! also glimmer intermittent calls and luminous effects of real advertising, which … not only can but must be artistic, if it is to be effective. 

Reklame! displayed “character, punch, esprit” summarized the Welt am Morgen, while another paper listed “invention, humor, peppiness, [and] tempo.”

Such praise also addressed the way in which standard operetta patterns had been evaded. While still organized into the traditional three acts, the operetta is “broken down

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145 Photos courtesy of Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ÖTM FS_PSA70781 (left) and Energie AG Oberösterreich (right).
148 „Erfindung, Witz, Schmiß, Tempo”; Ostrauer Morgenzeitung, March 4, 1930; quoted in So urteilt die Presse über das große Theater-Ereignis Wiens “Reklame!” (Vienna: Bernhard Berger, 1930), 23.
into a plethora of pictures,” as *Das kleine Volksblatt* observed. Furthermore, *Reklame!* does not feature the customary second couple. Although both main characters have their suitors, these disappear as soon as their chances wane. The humorous elements typically contributed by the buffo couple and the comedian are also incorporated in ways that were unusual for contemporary works. Hans Moser’s hilarious utterances as the head of the advertising institute “Hershman’s Weltreklame” are for once not confined to the final act but integrated throughout, becoming an essential part of the storyline, and two further comical characters appear intermittently throughout the operetta. The press lauded *Reklame!* for “restoring gaiety” to the art form: “finally a funny operetta again!” the *Neues Wiener Journal* exclaimed.

Like its book, *Reklame!*’s score also shows many features unconventional for Viennese operetta at this time. Even the Act II finale, at the climax of the plot, avoids what one paper termed the “opera-like” grandiloquence of chorus commentary and traditional recitatives. Several critics noted that “the famous tragic operetta conflict has almost become a negligibility of the performance.” Indeed, recitative only features as part of an embedded opera scene but is otherwise replaced by melodrama. Furthermore, almost all occurrences of large-ensemble singing are framed as performances. This use of a “play within the play” technique to introduce musically diverse or dramaturgically traditional elements was welcomed by those Viennese critics who yearned for logic and continuity.

*Reklame!*’s departures from common operettic practice were quite clearly moves toward American models. As Gerald Bordman has pointed out, bombastic grand finales, recitatives, and the extensive use of large choruses were by this time considered “hopelessly antiquated” in the US. Furthermore, *Reklame!*’s almost excessive use of dance or show scene expansions—almost every musical number ends with such a dramaturgically unnecessary interlude—points to Broadway revue practices and Florenz Ziegfeld’s celebrated shows specifically. The work’s resulting, rather loose storyline was clearly in between classical operetta and revue structures. As one paper put it, *Reklame!* “blithely builds a bridge that offers everyone just what they want.”

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149 See, for example, “‘Reklame’: Die neue Operette Granichstaedtens im Theater an der Wien,” *Volks-Zeitung*, March 2, 1930, 7.
151 For details on the standard operetta structure see Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf*, 97.
158 “so bildet es fröhlich eine Brücke, jedem das bietend, was er gerade will.” “Theater an der Wien: ‘Reklame,'” *Deutschösterreichische Tages-Zeitung*, March 2, 1930, 7.
This short discussion of Granichstaedten’s *Reklame!* stands in stark contrast to most portrayals of operetta in First Republic Vienna. Contemporary operetta composer Oscar Straus, for example, observed:

In its consciousness of what it has, Vienna is ... harder to entice for a trial, an experiment, for the unwonted and new than Berlin. ... Vienna has created the new operetta and thereby has founded a kind of tradition based on an eminent confidence of taste, which, on the other hand offers a certain resistance toward the new and untried. One does not happily give up the sweet security of success, one does not endanger the firmly coined brand through too far-reaching or even bold variations. Therefore Vienna has its well-proven, audience-favored operetta genre, which—seen with Berlin eyes—is perhaps rather too protected from every draft of air.\(^{159}\)

Similarly, operetta scholars such as Martin Lichtfuss note that, in light of the economic and cultural disadvantages Vienna’s theaters had to face during the interwar period, the more esteemed venues and publishing houses often stuck with established molds, avoided high-risk experiments, and contracted authors whose works had already been successful—actions that contributed to the routinization of operetta in the interwar period and restrained composers aiming for innovative approaches.\(^{160}\)

While such portrayals of interwar operetta as somehow creatively inhibited or limited are undoubtedly well founded, they do not document the efforts of several Viennese theater directors and publishers to produce innovative, internationally up-to-date operettas in spite of the deficient local conditions. For Vienna’s operetta protagonists were painfully aware of the need for fresh takes on the genre. In an interview with Bruno Granichstaedten entitled “Away With The Operetta Mold!,” the fashionable arts magazine *Die Bühne*, for example, noted the urgent necessity that Viennese operetta move with the times:

It is well known that Viennese operetta is among those things that count as inimitable Austrian export articles abroad, a means of propaganda for the Austrian way, which has, however, really not always been beneficial. We have to understand that abroad people draw conclusions about our mentality from the sentimentality [we show]. ... We must not be surprised if our democratic disposition is judged, for example, by the seemingly invincible public taste for dukes, counts, and princes in operetta. ... We can

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\(^{160}\) Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf*, 57.
see that in most cases, foreign countries already shut themselves off from new Viennese operettas.\(^{161}\)

In this chapter, then, I want to explore Viennese attempts to hold on to the reins of Austria’s most internationally marketable cultural export. I will concentrate on Viennese operetta’s glamorous flagship venue, the Theater an der Wien, which was one of only three independent theaters that survived Red Vienna relatively unimpaired.\(^{162}\) Quick to pick up on any international vogue, this theater’s new director Hubert Marischka encouraged authors to pick American subject matters that would lend themselves to unconventional musical and structural treatment. In the Old World of the 1920s, the United States was equated increasingly with tempo, progress, fashion, and an optimistic attitude to life—ideal characteristics for a successful operetta. Within two years of taking office, Marischka was able to launch the first of a whole series of emphatically innovative New World–themed productions that culminated with *Reklame!*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Setting</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td><em>Gräfin Mariza</em></td>
<td>Imre Kálmán</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td><em>Der Orlow</em></td>
<td>Bruno Granichstaedten</td>
<td>US/Russia</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td><em>Die Zirkusprinzessin</em></td>
<td>Imre Kálmán</td>
<td>Russia/Vienna</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td><em>Die Königin</em></td>
<td>Oscar Straus</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td><em>Die gold’ne Meisterin</em></td>
<td>Edmund Eysler</td>
<td>“Old” Vienna</td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td><em>Die Herzogin von Chicago</em></td>
<td>Imre Kálmán</td>
<td>US/Sylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td><em>Rosen aus Florida</em></td>
<td>Leo Fall/Erich Wolfgang Korngold</td>
<td>US/France/Russia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td><em>Reklame!</em></td>
<td>Bruno Granichstaedten</td>
<td>US</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td><em>Der Bauerngeneral</em></td>
<td>Oscar Straus</td>
<td>Russia</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td><em>Der Traum-Express</em></td>
<td>Robert Katscher</td>
<td>Cannes (France)</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td><em>Der Teufelsreiter</em></td>
<td>Imre Kálmán</td>
<td>Hungary?</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td><em>Siss</em></td>
<td>Fritz Kreisler</td>
<td>“Old” Vienna</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td><em>Zwei lachende Augen</em></td>
<td>Oscar Straus</td>
<td>(?)</td>
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*Table 1.1:* Director Hubert Marischka’s significant operetta premieres at the Theater an der Wien.

While operetta scholar Kevin Clarke has already provided valuable insights about two of these—in his words—“transatlantic productions,” Leo Fall’s *Rosen aus Florida* (1929) and Imre

\(^{161}\) "Es ist bekannt, daß zu den Dingen, die das Ausland zu den unannahmlichen österreichischen Exportartikeln zählt, vor allem die Wiener Operette gehört, ein Propagandamittel für österreichische Art, das uns wahrhaftig nicht immer genützt hat. Wir müssen es verstehen, daß man draußen aus der Sentimentalität auf unsere Mentalität schließt. ... Wir dürfen uns nicht wundern, wenn man unsere demokratische Gesinnung etwa nach dem scheinbar unumstößlichen Publikumsgeschmack an Grafen, Fürsten und Prinzen der Operette beurteilt. ... Wir sehen ja, daß sich das Ausland in schon überwiegenderen Fällen neuen Wiener Operetten verschließt." Fred Heller, "Weg von der Operettenschablone! Gespräch mit Bruno Granichstaedten," *Die Bühne* 160 (1927).

\(^{162}\) The other two venues were the Raimund Theater and the Stadttheater, the latter of which was also in Marischka’s hands. Yates provides a detailed account of the fates of Vienna’s various theaters. See Yates, *Theatre in Vienna*, 211.
Kálmán’s *Die Herzogin von Chicago* (1928), pointing to fascinating connections with films and Broadway musicals as well as with such Zeitoper as Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), little attention has been devoted to the other American-themed and jazz-influenced Viennese operettas.¹⁶³

I will therefore focus on the two operettas that frame the Theater an der Wien’s “transatlantic” period: Bruno Granichstaedten’s box-office hit *Der Orlow* (1925)—one of director Marischka’s first triumphs, which arguably triggered a whole series of US-themed jazz-operetta productions also in other Viennese and Berlin theaters—and the same composer’s last Viennese premiere, the peculiar genre mix *Reklame!* (1930), which already figured at the beginning of this chapter. Through these works I want to provide insights into the production processes of Red Vienna’s leading operetta venue and also investigate First Republic Austrian conceptions of the New World as well as American expectations toward Viennese operetta. How were these works envisioned by their creators? How did the authors incorporate American elements and what ensured that these modern operettas were still accepted as Viennese products? How did contemporary critics as well as Viennese and international audiences respond to these deliberately “progressive” works? Why did the Viennese interest in operettas with American subject matter abate around 1930? And why did these remarkable works not prevail in operetta histories and theater programs?

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Hubert Marischka, whom we have already met as a renowned tenor and film pioneer, became the director and co-owner of the Theater an der Wien in 1923 after the death of his predecessor and father in law, Wilhelm Karczag. He took office during a difficult time for Vienna and its theaters. World War I had left the Austrian capital in a state of crisis: the great Habsburg empire had been reduced to an unimportant Alpine republic with a disproportionately large capital. Almost one third of the six million Austrians lived in Vienna,¹⁶⁴ which, economically unviable and now lacking the treasure chambers Bohemia and Hungary, depended solely on the material support of its provinces, as food, coal, and electricity became increasingly scarce, especially after the inflation of 1921–1922 and the subsequent collapse of the Austrian currency.¹⁶⁵ Clashes between the extremely conservative outlooks within the federal states and the new Socialist municipal government of “Red Vienna” caused further inner-political tension.¹⁶⁶ Lacking any liberal middle, Austria’s two political camps fought each other throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s in a vicious civil war.

¹⁶⁶ For a detailed introduction to “Red Vienna” see, for example, Judith Beniston and Robert Vilain, eds., *Culture and Politics in Red Vienna*, Austrian Studies 14 (Maney Publishing for the MHRA, 2006), 36–59.
Operetta lacked support from either faction: while cultural officers of the Christian Social party questioned its moral values and only encouraged performances of established works with suitably tame subjects,167 Vienna’s Social Democratic leaders rejected operetta for lacking revolutionary qualities.168 For them, operetta was the worst variety of “traditional and meaningless bourgeois entertainment.”169 Most Socialist cultural politicians agreed that workers should devote their leisure time to self-improvement and cultural education rather than to such “philistinism” and “otiose distraction” as was embodied by operetta.170 In order to develop “the original good instincts of a new theater audience,” the Social Democratic Kunststelle (Arts Office) specifically subsidized tickets for spoken theater as well as modernist or classical music events.171 Bound at least to some degree to audience demand, however, Social Democratic officials had to make concessions in the long run and increasingly offered subsidized tickets also for lighter musical fare.172 While directors of other private theaters such as the Deutsches Volkstheater sought cooperations with the Kunststellen, Marischka avoided them.173 It seems that the association of his theaters with luxury was more important to him than a guaranteed—if somewhat reduced—income through institutional bulk purchases of cheap tickets. The Social Democratic Kunststelle’s concessions to popular musical theater “in lieu of art” aroused heated confrontations within the party, notably with intellectuals such as Arthur Schnitzler and Karl Kraus, who even suggested using alcohol to wean the Viennese proletariat off operetta.174 This Social Democratic contempt for operetta found an explicit outlet in a much-debated tiered entertainment tax system, introduced in Vienna in 1921: while spoken theaters were charged with the already significant amount of up to 10 percent of their income, operetta and revue venues had to contribute 30 percent.175 As the responsible councilor Hugo Breitner explained, taxes were to be constituted in view of a profession’s greater good for society as a whole.176 Popular musical theater venues could only be tolerated if they were paying for ethically sounder causes. Operetta houses suffered even more under this measure because of their comparatively high production expenses—not least the pay of a statutory number of musicians.177 Furthermore, competition in the entertainment business had become damagingly intense: while the city’s population had been declining significantly since 1914, a

169 “traditionellen und sinnlosen Vergnügung der Bourgeoisie”; quoted in Ott, “Kulturpolitik,” 44.
170 “Banausentum”; “müßiger Zerstreuung”; mayor Karl Seitz, minutes of the municipal council meeting from November 13, 1923; quoted in Ott, “Kulturpolitik,” 45–46; see also Judith Beniston, “No Laughing Matter: The Place of Comedy in David Josef Bach’s Theatre Politics,” in Beniston and Vilain, Culture and Politics, 166.
172 Yates, Theatre in Vienna, 205.
175 For details on this tax law, see, for example, Kothes, “Theatralische Revue,” 195.
number of new theater and music venues had opened, public radio was launched in 1924, and cinema continued to prosper throughout the 1920s.

With plenty of experience and fully aware of the financial risks of the trade, Hubert Marischka started his position as director of the Theater an der Wien with a general overhaul of this esteemed, state-independent business. He assembled a fresh cast of stars as well as an increasingly family-run team, with his brother Ernst writing libretti, his brother Franz providing ideas for the decorations, Carl overseeing the technical considerations, and his wife Lilian acting as a costume designer. Of course, this nepotism was repeatedly criticized by the press but it allowed for cost efficiency and financially more risky productions.

From the outset, Marischka identified two challenges he needed to tackle in order to keep up the Theater an der Wien’s elevated position: to maintain and foster the Viennese operetta tradition beyond the Great War and to keep up with international trends in order to ensure worldwide distribution and success. He approached these tasks by promoting “Alt Wien”—style Singspiele on the one hand and glamorously fashionable, internationally attractive operettas on the other. Implementing his double-tracked programming immediately, Marischka started his appointment with new productions of works by Johann Strauss to appease the conservative Viennese theatergoers and to demonstrate that his program was grounded in local traditions. Later he continued in this direction with new, hugely successful “Alt Wien” works such as Edmund Eysler’s Gold’ne Meisterin (1927) and Fritz Kreisler’s Sissi (1932), which sparked a whole wave of “stillborn Old-Viennese operettas,” as
Bernhard Grun put it. Such nostalgic reminiscences, although they satisfied the yearnings of those mourning the loss of the Empire, did not make it far from Vienna and, internationally, were no longer seen as typical of their time.

On the other hand, starting with his successful production of Kálmán’s *Gräfin Mariza* in 1924, Marischka fostered a more cosmopolitan style of operetta to attract younger Viennese as well as international audiences. Successes abroad did not only help to keep up the Theater an der Wien’s prestige but were essential if he wanted to earn the necessary revenue to finance further projects. Because Marischka had also inherited Karczag’s publishing house, the theater’s cash register could benefit directly from any additional business, even with the new mass media, which to so many other stages only posed a threat. Success on a Marischka stage eventually resulted in royalties not only for the sheet music and international production as well as distribution rights but for recordings, frequent radio broadcasts, and film licenses.

In spite of the triumph he had scored with Kálmán’s *Gräfin Mariza*, by the time of the *Orlow* premiere in April 1925, Marischka was in almost desperate need of another sensational success. For the Theater an der Wien’s next production, Ernst Steffan’s *Das Milliardensouper*, had been a glaring flop with only 28 performances “in spite of magnificent decor” and its popularity in Berlin. Furthermore, as a result of increasingly dire economic and cultural-political circumstances, neighboring venues were folding one by one. In May 1925 the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* reported the recent closures of seven renowned theaters and five cabarets. The *Neue Freie Presse* described Marischka’s—and operetta’s—dire situation:

Lehár kept silent, the operetta skies became clouded and Kálmán ruled the hour. Among flops “Gräfin Mariza” grew into a world success and in his dreams even appeared as a recapitalization operetta to the gloomy mind of a Viennese director. But even the most Hungarian countesses wear out and often nothing remains of a *Milliardensouper* ["billion supper," title of the following flop] but an upset stomach. It is just in time that Granichstaedten’s *Orlow* fell into the lap of the Theater an der Wien.

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186 *Der Orlow*, for example, was broadcast once every year, in March 1925 (right after its premiere!), May 1926, April 1927, and March 1928. See *Radio Wien* issues for those months.
187 “trotz prunkvoller Ausstattung”; Gertrud Marischka, Hubert Marischka biography, 88.
Marischka was willing to take extraordinary measures to make Granichstaedten’s work into the necessary hit.\endnote{190} Internal theater correspondence shows that he originally envisioned a premiere with Berlin’s great operetta diva Fritzi Massary as his partner. His administrative partner Emil Steininger agreed with Marischka that “if two such aces as you and the Massary launched a work, it would naturally be a splurge for the sensation-mongering Viennese.” “One knows that a lot of people would go green with envy.” Steininger continued, however, by meticulously itemizing all the unavoidable costs—from taxes and royalties to complimentary press seats—concluding that even with a sold-out house, the theater would incur a loss. The “luxury” of Massary’s guest appearance was out of the question even at Vienna’s flagship venue, which, according to Steininger, made the same daily revenue as all the city’s other theaters combined.\endnote{191} Indeed, even without Massary’s appearance the financial situation became so tense during the autumn and winter of 1925 that staff reductions were unavoidable and the ensemble had to be “downsized severely,” a measure that to audience members “became apparent through the particular decline of the sound effects and the sparse music between acts.”\endnote{192}

Such financial constraints also illustrate how much Marischka risked with his grandiose staging of Granichstaedten’s work. As one reviewer sharply observed, “the decorations, Parisian costumes, and the orchestral forces that this operetta requires are so costly that only a lasting success could turn them to account.”\endnote{193} Leading woman Betty Fischer’s “stylized crinoline gown” in Act III, for example, was “of such size, that in order to act she had to doff half of it” because it did not fit through any stage door.\endnote{194} Acutely aware of the magical appeal of luxury and pomp on Viennese audiences in these times of economic hardship, and in an effort to address the growing, internationally spurred revue craze in Vienna,\endnote{195} Marischka correctly predicted that a profligate staging, complete with attractive lines of chorus girls and an accumulation of luxury objects, was a worthwhile, even necessary investment. And the director was successful: the press agreed that “the operetta’s decor exceeded everything to

\endnotes
Indeed, the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* credited the Parisian dresses with a significant impact on *Der Orlow’s* success, and writer Hans Liebstoeckl attested that such sumptuous productions were “the most honest way nowadays to make money with theater and to keep up this impoverished, unhappy, and tormented city’s appearance that things are just as plentiful here as they are in Paris at the grand revues.”

The audiences agreed with this enthusiastic press: with 428 consecutive performances—more than *Die Fledermaus*—Granichstaedten’s work yielded the fourth-longest run at the Theater an der Wien. Even before the premiere, Steininger could already announce the unprecedented feat of placing contracts with two foreign theaters, and in 1928 Marischka proudly reported that 425 theaters so far had acquired the performing rights for *Der Orlow*. Further evidence of the work’s triumph are its adaptations as a silent movie in 1927 and as a talkie in 1932.

Apart from the glamorous production, *Der Orlow’s* success was largely due to its remarkable book. Set in a New York car factory, *Der Orlow* tells the story of a Russian grand duke who, having fled to the US after the 1917 revolution, works as a simple mechanic and falls in love with the popular singer Nadja Nadjakowska, herself a Russian émigré. Mistaken for a thief, when he tries to make himself a legitimate suitor by selling his only keepsake of Russia, the famous “Orlow” diamond, the impoverished nobleman has to overcome many a New World preconception before he can embrace his attractive countrywoman.

Granted, this storyline points to the very operetta “mold” Oscar Straus and many contemporaries bemoaned, following, as cabarettist Karl Farkas observed around this time, the tradition established by Lehár’s box-office smash *Die lustige Witwe* (1905):

> There are always two couples of whom one knows everything from the outset. One of them falls out in the second act in order to find itself—as sure as death—in the last; the other sings two duets, dances and provides humor.

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196 “Die Ausstattung der Operette übertraf alles Bisherige”; “‘Der Orlow’: Die neue Operette im Theater an der Wien,” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, April 4, 1925.
199 Thomas Aigner, “Der musikalische Nachlass Bruno Granichstaedtens,” essay manuscript (Vienna University, 2004), 9. The only operettas with longer runs at the Theater an der Wien were Lehár’s *Lustige Witwe* (premiered in 1905; 483 performances), Leo Fall’s *Rose von Stambul* (1916; 480), and Johann Strauss’s *Zigeunerbaron* (1885; 477).
200 Steininger to Marischka, October 27, 1924; Marischka Papers.
202 “Der Orlow” (1927), directed by Jakob and Luise Fleck; “Der Diamant des Zaren” (1932), directed by Max Neufeld.
203 “Es gibt immer die zwei Liebespaare, von denen man von Anfang alles weiß. Das eine zerkracht sich im zweiten Akt, um sich todsicher in den letzten zu finden, das andere singt zwei Duette, tanzt und sorgt für Komik.” “Operette oder Revue?,” *Die Bühne* 76 (1926): 11–12; reprinted in Marion Linhardt, *Stimmen zur Unterhaltung: Operette und Revue in der publizistischen Debatte* (1906–1933) (Vienna: Lehner, 2009), 212. A few disappointed reviewers’ comments show expectations that *Der Orlow* would break away from this established “mold.” See, for example, “Der Orlow,” *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 5, 1925, 5. Others, however, were pleased about this “return to the
Yet Viennese audiences received Der Olow’s altogether foreign, present-day milieu—without reference to Vienna!—as an unusually fruitful subject, and even critics raved that the work had “entered virgin soil for operetta.” Indeed, both the Russian and the American material, but especially the latter was excitingly novel; although a couple of earlier operettas had already successfully explored the New World as a topic, most notably Carl Millöcker’s Broadway hit Der arme Jonathan (1898) and Leo Fall’s popular smash Die Dollarpinzessin (1907), none had exploited the musical potential of such American subject matter. By 1925 modern US dances had become a fashion craze in European capitals. German-language composers increasingly had to measure up to their colleagues at Broadway and started to spike their scores with what they considered jazzy dance numbers. In Der Vetter aus Dingsda (1921), for example, Eduard Künneke wittily accompanied the far southeastern country Batavia with syncopated music. As Volker Klotz has observed, however, such numbers rarely provided more than momentary extra spice.

Granichstaedten took this development an important step further: the big sensation of Der Olow were the “surprising sound effects” attained through the main orchestra’s alternation, opposition, and collaboration with a fully fledged jazz band, which performed partly on stage, causing one paper to announce “the beginning of the bar operetta.” This novel aspect was not planned from the outset. According to his co-librettist, Hubert Marischka’s brother Ernst, Granichstaedten—who, through his early hit Bub oder Mädel (1908) and the nostalgic “operetta idyll” Auf Befehl der Kaiserin (1915), held a reputation as a

204 Even Gräfin Mariza had presented its fashionable shimmy rhythms still against the reliable backdrop of familiar crownland territory—Hungary. Although the Austrian capital is not even a locale in this work, Tassilo sings of Vienna in the famous “Grüß mir die reizenden Frauen im schönen Wien.” The critical Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung specifically praised Der Olow’s lack of songs celebrating the Austrian capital. “Von der Generalprobe des ‘Orlow’: Im Theater an der Wien,” Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, April 4, 1925, 6.


206 “‘Der Olow’: Premiere im Theater an der Wien,” Neues 8-Uhr-Blatt, April 4, 1925, 3. Indeed, Slavic subjects allowed for some fashionable exotic spice: Russian dancers like Nadja (or dancers with Eastern-sounding stage names) were particularly popular in continental Europe at the time, at least partly because of the hype surrounding Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes in revue and fashion center Paris. And Russian topics caught on after Der Olow, as hit works such as Kálmán’s Zirkusprinzessin (1926), Lehár’s Zarewitsch (Berlin, 1927), and Straus’s Bauerngeneral (1931) show. These works, as the press duly noted, avoided any pro-communist sentiments, implicitly favoring czarist Russia. See, for example, “Von der Generalprobe des ‘Orlow’: Theater an der Wien,” Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, April 4, 1925, 6. Compare with Lichtfuss, Operette im Ausverkauf, 149 and Klotz, Operette, 399.

207 Compare with Klotz, Operette, 341.

208 Examples are Kálmán’s Bayadere (1921) and Gräfin Mariza (1924) as well as Künneke’s Der Vetter aus Dingsda (1921).

209 Klotz, Operette, 400.

composer of specifically Viennese music—had initially envisaged the story of a Russian grand duke who flees to Paris after World War I and becomes a tailor. Ernst Marischka had objected that a tailor could not make an operetta hero and insisted on turning him into a more respectable estate manager. However, having just contracted Kálmán’s *Gräfin Mariza*, the story of an impoverished nobleman who works as a bailiff, his brother Hubert would only accept their work after yet another rewriting. “And through this reconfiguration the operetta acquired a whole new—a modern appearance,” Ernst reported.\(^{211}\)

In his insatiable quest to create “something new, something unprecedented,” director Marischka was also the one who pushed for a suitable musical implementation of this promisingly fashionable subject matter. His fourth wife Gertrud reports:

> Shortly before, he had heard the Whiteman orchestra in London and the jazz, still unknown on the continent, had fascinated him. Now he had all the Whiteman discs that he had brought from London delivered to the theater and played them to Granichstaedten and his orchestra members there. The musicians shook their heads[,] obnoxious, this saxophone… a true caterwaul! Everyone urgently advised against the risk of employing this instrument for the *Orlow*. There would be a theater scandal—the audience would not put up with such an impertinence. Thousand objections were raised. But once Hubert believed in a cause, he could not be dissuaded. …. Granichstaedten was tempted by the new challenge.\(^{212}\)

Curious to see the audience reactions, the director insisted that the first jazz sounds should come from the orchestra while he was on stage. Gertrud describes the premiere:

> The contested music number moved closer and closer. Hubert has admitted to me that never before he had stood on stage in nearly as much agitation as before this experiment. His heart was in his mouth, he was barely able to sing the verse of the introduction to this duet. And then came the big moment!
> Up on the stage Betty Fischer sang:
> “Zottelbär, ach Zottelbär…” [shaggy bear, oh shaggy bear…]
> And down in the orchestra it was seconded in the same rhythm:
> “Quack – quack quack – quack quack quack…”

\(^{211}\)“Und durch diese Umgestaltung bekam die ganze Operette ein ganz anderes—ein modernes Gesicht.” Ernst Marischka to Volksoper director Franz Salmhofer, January 28, 1963; Ernst Marischka Papers (private archive) in Hallein.

A mumbling and murmuring filled the house—in the boxes and first rows of the orchestra tier people got up and lent forward to look into the pit and see the instrument with which these never-heard sounds were created. With the end of the number started a frenetic applause that demanded several repetitions. Victory for jazz, all along the line!213

Of course, the rather sensationalist tone of this report demands caution for, as Eugen Semrau has recently shown in the case of Robert Stolz’s wife Einzi, the spouses of operetta composers often had their own, advantageous but questionable ways of writing history.214 Yet it is true that Der Orlow premiered very much at the beginning of Vienna’s contact with jazz and in a very different context even than Kálmán’s Herzogin three years later.215 In 1925 Austrians did not have any grasp of the prospering American art form since comparatively few foreign jazz musicians had made it to inflation-torn postwar Vienna.216 Like Gertrud Marischka, jazz scholar Klaus Schulz points to gramophone records as the most prevalent medium for getting to know the unfamiliar music. Paul Whiteman’s “symphonic jazz” was particularly popular among the conservative Viennese audiences because it was more melodic and less aggressive than “hot jazz.”217 Indeed, the skeptical Viennese commonly equated the art form with noise, slapstick, sultry eroticism, and superficial exoticism.218 For example, in his Jazz: Wiener Roman (also from 1925), novelist Felix Dörmann, who had written several operetta librettos,219 described “the choppy melodies of the foreign music, which sets Vienna’s pace, after which she staggers on babblingly—the lost city.”220 Similarly, in his “Monotonization of the World” of the same year,


215 Furthermore, while the sound of the saxophone cannot have been entirely new to the Viennese premiere audience, Granichstaedten’s use of the “flexatone,” a percussion instrument first patented in Britain a couple of years earlier, probably was. This instrument was also soon taken up by composers such as Krenek in Jonny spielt auf (1927), Arthur Honegger in Antigone (1927), and Schoenberg in his Variations for Orchestra (1928). See Aigner, “Der musikalische Nachlass Bruno Granichstaedtens,” xxx.


217 Lamprecht, Geschichte der Jazz(kritik), 88 and 76 and Kramer and Schulz, Jazz in Austria, 7.

218 Schulz, Jazz in Österreich, 16.

219 Among Dörmann’s librettos were those for Granichstaedten’s Bub oder Mädel (1908) and Majestät Mimi (1911).

Stefan Zweig bemoaned the “sterilization” of cities through American influences particularly in dance, fashion, cinema, and radio.221

In Granichstaedten’s operetta, however, the American setting cleverly justified the use of syncopated music and jazz band sounds (for instrumentation and rhythm were the two parameters to the composer’s interpretation of “jazz”) as unobjectionable local color.222 Furthermore, Granichstaedten employed the jazz band most spectacularly in the second couple’s comic or even parodistic numbers. The manuscript of Jolly and Dolly’s first duet, “Fräulein, wie kann man nur so treu sein,” for example, shows a peculiar orchestration including wooden drum, a children’s trumpet, xylophone, glockenspiel, and saxophone.223 Granichstaedten set trombone glissandi and drawn-out appoggiaturas in the strings and repeatedly demanded the performance to be “grotesque!” or “very comical.” To resolve all doubt of its jocular nature, the number starts with a blaring trumpet quotation of the first famous measures of Bizet’s “Toréador” aria from Carmen.

The main couple’s already mentioned, flirtatious jazz number “Zottelbär” can also not be taken at face value: in this parabolic shimmy, Nadja, fully assimilated to her New World environment, coquettishly threatens to train and “cultivate” the seemingly “wild” Russian bear Alex (“because you lack any concept of a certain polish”).224 The audience, of course, could smirk about these “American” attempts to educate the high-ranked, Old World nobleman. With such an ambivalent treatment of the American influences Granichstaedten managed to appease even some of the more conservative critics. The Christian Social Neues Wiener Tagblatt, for example, observed with satisfaction that “the jazz band nuisance is given comic shrift.”225

It seems, then, as if the musical interactions that bring the first couple closer on a “serious,” emotional level were originally all in a nostalgic Russian or romantic neutral style. Granichstaedten, once more following Lehár’s groundbreaking Lustige Witwe recipe, used three different musical idioms. Apart from the two national ones (Russian and American in Der Olow; Pontevedrian and Parisian in Lehár’s hit), both works also share a neutral, cosmopolitan style, which is reserved mainly for the first couple to express their more reflective, solitary utterances and communicate their true feelings for each other.226 Indeed, several reviews of the Olow premiere remarked on the “swaying and singing ... great waltz duet of the second

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222 This was noted in “‘Der Olow’: Operetten-Premiere im Theater an der Wien,” Neugigkeits-Welt-Blatt, April 5, 1925, 12.
223 The original orchestral materials of Der Olow are unfortunately missing.
225 “Mit dem Jazzbandunfug wird lustige Abrechnung gehalten.” “‘Der Olow’: Die neue Operette im Theater an der Wien.” Neues Wiener Tagblatt, April 4, 1925.
226 Volker Klotz points to these three levels in his brilliant, though short analysis of Granichstaedten’s work. See Klotz, Operette, 400–402. In Der Olow, Alex shows the urbane side of his character in the customary third-act tenor-hit song “Wandere, mein Mädchen” as well as the sauntering “Zigarettenlied.” Nadja’s emotional maturity and sophisticated manners are established in her entrance number, a slow Boston, in which she is pondering on her feelings for Alex.
act“ (No. 8, “Melodram und Duett”?) and noted that, in spite of employing such a wide range of musical styles, Granichstaedten had “remained true with his heart to the authentic Viennese waltz, the warm-hearted Wienerlied.” These comments hint at yet another part of the operetta mold shaped by Die lustige Witwe: ever since Lehár’s smash hit, the main love song, which usually became the most successful independent number, had been a great ballroom waltz like the famous “Lippen schweigen.” Even in Gräfin Mariza, in which both main characters share a Hungarian background, the lovers find each other in a Viennese waltz (No. 11, “Sag’ ja, mein Lieb, sag’ ja!”). By setting the emotional climax to plot-independent and therefore “neutral” music that was, however, recognized as distinctly Viennese, the universal, cosmopolitan character of the Viennese genre was implied and even operettas without Austrian subject matter could be marked. As musical scholar Gerald Bordman pointed out, this practice had soon been taken up internationally, even by American operetta composers such as Rudolf Friml and Sigmund Romberg.

In light of these more established aspects, Granichstaedten’s Der Orlow appears to be a tentative experiment, featuring many internationally attractive elements still within the safe traditional mold of Viennese operetta. The use of a tried-and-tested dramaturgical structure, a familiar framework for different musical styles, and an identifiably Viennese number at the romantic climax allowed the work’s collaborators to dare some unprecedented inclusions of controversial, cutting-edge Russian, jazz, and revue materials.

However, after the initial, positive responses to Der Orlow’s jazz components, the authors apparently felt encouraged to take their experiment a remarkable step further: scarcely one month after the work’s premiere, a reviewer of the twenty-fifth performance reported that

the longueurs have disappeared and many a neat and original thing has been added, so two new numbers, of which particularly the striking tango duet with jazz band accompaniment in the second act strongly enhances the atmosphere.

But the newly added song and dance number (No. 11b “Musik-Fortsetzung und Tango”), inserted as the lovers’ last duet right before the Act II finale, did more than enhance the atmosphere: the American music now became crucial for the first couple’s happy end.

227 “Wiegend und singend ... großes Walzerduett im zweiten Akt”; R.H., “Theater an der Wien,” Wiener Zeitung, April 4, 1925, 6; see also Otto Howorka, “‘Der Orlow’: Erstaufführung im Theater an der Wien,” Reichspost, April 4, 1925, 7 and “‘Der Orlow’: Die neue Operette im Theater an der Wien,” Neues Wiener Tagblatt, April 4, 1925.
228 “mit dem Herzen ... dem echten Wiener Walzer, dem gemütvollen Wiener Lied treu geblieben”; “‘Der Orlow’: Operette von Ernst Marischka und Bruno Granichstaedten,” Neue Freie Presse, April 4, 1925, 10.
229 Compare with Klotz’s analysis of Die Gräfin Mariza in Operette, 462.
231 Bordman, American Operetta, 85. Bordman also points to the importance of Kern’s departure from using traditional three-four time in his Show Boat (1927), which instead features ballad forms in four-four time as the main love songs, “Why do I love You?” and “Make Believe.” Bordman, American Operetta, 136.
Leading up to this number, Nadja—enjoying the “bright moonlight” with Alex at the garden party—demands that Alex tell her “something pretty.” His simple reply, “Nadja, I love you!” cannot satisfy her. “I have heard all of this so many times!” she complains. “Why don’t you make use of the atmosphere?” And Alex does: “Oh, saxophone, be my postilion of love,” he calls the jazz band, which has so far provided background music behind the scene, and finally: “play, my jazz band, play!” Moving on from the couple’s earlier Russian and then “neutrally” Viennese romantic encounters, which had also taken their cues from diegetic instruments (the Novgorod bells and balalaika, and the violin, respectively), it is the saxophone—at the time widely understood as a synonym for a libidinal counter-world to old Europe’s bourgeoisie—that breaks down the last inhibition thresholds between these two émigrés and adds to a foundation of their relationship that is no longer based only on shared nostalgia but can blossom in the American present. Nadja’s suggested boredom with conventional declarations of love inhibits Alex from intoning a traditional waltz duet and leads Viennese operetta onto untrodden paths.

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234 The same can be observed in Hermann Hesse’s characterization of the saxophonist Pablo in his Steppenwolf (1927), for example. Even the title hero of Ernst Krenek’s Jonny spielt auf, who was really a violinist, was commonly portrayed with a saxophone, and that long before the Nazis. See Kos, Kampf um die Stadt, 568.

235 Photo courtesy of Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ÖTM FS_PSE71172.
Encouraged by *Der Orlow’s* sensationally positive reception in Vienna, which seemed to confirm that he had moved into the right directions, Marischka expanded his imperium shortly thereafter. For one, he took over the Stadttheater in 1926, where he experimented further with large, internationally influenced revue formats until 1929. The *Volks-Zeitung* proudly reported that Marischka had “furnished the world also with a second export article: the Viennese revue,” and the *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt* gushed about the production *Alles aus Liebe*:

An Austrian revue! That means a new asset for Austria, a new Viennese landmark, a new Viennese delicacy, a new Viennese success. ... The Viennese ... finally have a revue that bears comparison to the ones from Paris, London, and Berlin and yet is totally different from those.

During the late 1920s Marischka also acted as co-director of the Raimund Theater, situated in a more suburban location and catering primarily for the domestic market with such works as Granichstaedten’s “Alt-Wiener Singspiel” *Das Schwalbennest* (1926). This operetta monopoly allowed the director to exchange shows between theaters and to share out his forces to maximum economic and artistic profit. In fact, the social function of his enterprise was clearly significant, providing many jobs and sources of revenue. In June 1926 Marischka was presented with the “Golden Medal for Services toward the Republic of Austria,” a sign of governmental appreciation showing how important Marischka’s enterprise was, both economically and culturally.

In the Theater an der Wien, Marischka could now focus on cosmopolitan-style, and specifically jazz operettas without having to neglect other trends. In March 1927, the director traveled to the US in order to experience New York’s operetta theaters and “get to know the American taste in art, to which one now needs to start adjusting also in Europe.” After his return and having explored further the potential of Russian topics in Kálmán’s *Die Zirkusprinzessin*, Marischka produced three American-themed operettas: Kálmán’s *Herzogin*.

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238 Compare with Kothes, “Theatralische Revue,” 214. An application from Marischka and his co-director Emil Steininger to take over the Carltheater in 1924 was rejected by Breitner.

239 For example, *Der Orlow* was moved to the Raimund Theater sometime after its four hundredth performance, making way for a new glamorous Theater an der Wien premiere. For details on Vienna’s other theater monopolies see Yates, *Theatre in Vienna*, 208–210.

240 Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf*, 42. The heated negotiations about the size of the ensemble to be employed when Marischka took over the Stadttheater in 1926 show that city officials were hoping for additional, promising employment opportunities. See Bauer, “Geschichte des Stadttheaters,” 147.

241 “um den amerikanischen Kunstgeschmack kennen zu lernen, dem man sich anzupassen nun auch in Europa beginnen muß.” Marischka quoted in Gertrud Marischka, Hubert Marischka biography, 109.
von Chicago (1928), Korngold’s Rosen aus Florida (1929), and Granichstaedten’s Reklame! (1930). And he was not the only one to get mileage out of US themes after Der Orlow: in due course works such as Michael Krausz’s Glück in der Liebe (1927) and Oscar Straus’s Hochzeit in Hollywood (1929) were taken on by the Johann-Strauß-Theater, and revue operettas such as Mischa Spoliansky’s Zwei Krawatten (1929, Berliner Theater) and Granichstaedten’s Evelyne (1927, Deutsches Künstlertheater) premiered in Berlin. Furthermore, Viennese directors started to launch works of American origin, most successfully Vincent Youmans’s No, No, Nanette, which had a run of more than six hundred performances at the Bürgertheater and Stadttheater in 1928.  

Interest in such productions was spurred by the ever-intensifying jazz craze and the increasing exposure to American musical culture in Vienna after the consolidation of the new currency through foreign loans. From 1926 onwards the radio station RAVAG started to broadcast live jazz concerts from bars and coffee houses, and in 1928 it recruited the first radio jazz band. Furthermore, international revues such as Revue Nègre (1926), Black People (1927), and Artisten (1928), featuring many famous American jazz musicians, soon swamped Vienna. Sam Wooding gave a much-noted performance in the Raimund Theater in November 1925; Paul Whiteman visited Vienna in 1926, George Gershwin and Josephine Baker in 1928, the same year that Ernst Krenek’s jazz opera Jonny spielt auf caused a major stir. The emerging talkies further helped to familiarize Viennese audiences with American jazz: in January 1929 the first Hollywood movie, Der Jazzsänger (The Jazz Singer [1927]) with Al Jolson, arrived in Vienna’s movie theaters.

Perhaps surprisingly, then, Marischka’s later “transatlantic” projects were only moderately successful. Kálmán’s Die Herzogin von Chicago (1928)—which openly confronts the clash between the Old and the New World as a Charleston-crazy billionairess from Chicago meets an ultraconservative, poor European prince on her travels to Vienna and Budapest—could not convince the Viennese audiences entirely, in spite of its internationally acknowledged topicality, its opulent design and decorations, and its infectious music. It was replaced after 287 performances. Kálmán scholar Kevin Clarke, who interprets Die Herzogin as “the peak of Kálmán’s parody operetta,” explains its flop partly by the advent of “other, more newsworthy” events, and argues that the work’s malignant mocking of the Old World’s decline and of the beloved operetta genre itself was not appreciated in such times of crisis when Viennese audiences sought escapism more than ever. Indeed, unlike Granichstaedten, who seems to use fashionable jazz and revue elements in an earnest attempt to match the American style, Kálmán juxtaposes jazzy numbers with waltzes and czárdás so that they

242 See photo reproduced in Clarke, Im Himmel, 14.
243 Lamprecht, Geschichte der Jazz(kritik), 87.
244 Schulz, Jazz in Österreich, 19.
245 Lamprecht, Geschichte der Jazz(kritik), 197–198.
246 Klösch, “Unterhaltung im Übermaß,” 199.
247 Kraner and Schulz, Jazz in Austria, 8–9.
248 Clarke, Im Himmel, 126.
250 “der Gipfel der Kálmánschen Parodieoperette”; “anderen, aktuelleren Ereignissen”; Clarke, Im Himmel, 88 and 206.
"become a deliberate caricature," allowing, Clarke observes, for "new punch lines about Viennese operetta as a genre that constantly recycles itself."\(^{251}\)

Yet contemporary reviews suggest that such parody in Kálmán's jazz operetta was lost even on some of the sharpest Viennese commentators. Renowned critic Ludwig Hirschfeld, for example, described *Die Herzogin*—with which Kálmán explicitly hoped to "steer onto a new, entirely modern path"—\(^{252}\) as:

not new wine but old water in old pipes. The authors, who seem to be too spoiled by success, have delivered a remarkably weak, humorless, and schematic work this time, and it is high time that they decide to write a somewhat different operetta for once.\(^{253}\)

The journal *Moderne Welt* also called *Die Herzogin* "a cliché operetta" and noted that "we have already seen the same subject at the Theater an der Wien, only in a different garb."\(^{254}\) Finally, more than half of the respondents to a Viennese newspaper's public opinion poll voted for *Die Herzogin* as the "dumbest" operetta book of the day.\(^{255}\) The conventional plot caught commentators' attention and distracted them from the work's innovative elements and parodistic play with the mold.

The *Herzogin* disappointment left Marischka in a delicate financial situation. The press quickly picked up on this. *Der Tag*, for example, gloomily observed "that the bill on operetta successes is irredeemable, and that for now there is no prospect for business with Viennese operetta created in Vienna. One of Vienna's most profitable export articles no longer has a say on the world market."\(^{256}\) Others specifically criticized the direction Marischka had chosen with his production and demanded that he turn away from the "mammoth operetta," this "bloated monstrosity," which he could no longer outperform.\(^{257}\) Critic, music historian, and Lehár biographer Ernst Decsey was among Marischka's most outspoken detractors:

It is not operetta that is "dead"—nobody has claimed that yet [sic!]| but just the Marischka operetta: the particular shape or misshape he has tried to give it, for which Granichstaedten's *Orlow* is an eloquent example. Marischka fights the allegation that

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\(^{251}\) "zur bewussten Karikatur ... werden"; “neue Pointen über die Wiener Operette als sich ständig recycelndes Genre”; Clarke, *Im Himmel*, 145–146.

\(^{252}\) "das Stück in eine neue ganz moderne Bahn zu lenken"; Kálmán to Marischka, June 12, 1927; quoted in Clarke, *Im Himmel*, 87.


\(^{255}\) "blödeste"; "Unsere Operetten-Preisfrage," unidentified newspaper clipping; Marischka Papers.


he holds on to a particular mold and reminds us that in the Orlow he introduced jazz music. Si tacuisses... He had better not reminded us of it. Precisely this was the biggest evil, that he has jazzed up the good Viennese operetta—and not even for the sake of originality, because in Paris and London it was all over town years before. Jazz was grafted onto our operetta as an inorganic element. ... Marischka is not a Whiteman and one cannot mix Pilsner with cocktails. Par ordre de Mufti a new art form cannot be produced out of thin air, not even at the request of a big capitalist with an interest in the arts.\(^{258}\)

Franz Lehár himself also added his two cents to this attack:

Viennese operetta has two big opponents: the revue and the American operetta. I ask, now, what has the Theater an der Wien done in order to counter these opponents? It has simply absorbed the revue and the Americanism into Viennese operetta. What does absorbing mean, however? Absorbing means imitating and imitating means to dispense with originality and any kind of character. But if I don't create out of the inside, if I don't write what my soul dictates, if I listen to what the others do, then I am no longer myself. But then I also don't create Viennese operetta. The Theater an der Wien made the mistake of wanting to produce premieres which would have to be surefire hits. ... Therefore the Theater an der Wien has kept at arm's length every work that could be an experiment. Cutting a new path, however, is always an experiment. Now, the management may say that in such difficult times one cannot think about experimenting. Here we go our separate ways now.\(^{259}\)


Lehár’s as well as his disciple Decsey’s criticism should be read in light of the composer’s falling out with Marischka shortly before as well as his forthright rivalry with Kálmán, to whose works the director had repeatedly given preference. For although these scathing remarks ring somewhat true, Lehár’s own compositions were by no means free from the “Americanisms” he criticized. Indeed, as Kevin Clarke has pointed out, Lehár voiced no objections to and even conducted the jazzy Lustige Witwe score assembled for Erich von Stroheim’s 1925 Hollywood film The Merry Widow. Furthermore, the composer clearly recognized Granichstaedten’s innovative achievements in Der Orlow, for in his Paganini, premiered in October 1925 just a few months after Granichstaedten’s success, Lehár too abandoned the waltz as the great love duet. Only the solo number “Liebe, du Himmel auf Erden” is a “Valse Moderato”; the first couple’s romantic Act II number, “Niemand liebt dich so wie ich,” is a foxtrot. His later hits, Der Zarewitsch (Berlin, 1927)—like Der Orlow with a Russian subject matter previously so rare—and Das Land des Lächelns (Berlin, 1929), each feature a “Valse Boston” as the main love duet. It seems, then, as if Lehár in fact profited from Granichstaedten’s experiment.

In spite of the sharp criticism and the moderate audience interest, Marischka continued to believe in the line he had chosen. It was unfortunate that the next “transatlantc” production, Rosen aus Florida, was already outdated before it could take off. When Leo Fall had started this operetta shortly before his death in 1923, the subject matter—another love story between an American multimillionaire and an impoverished Russian countess—had much potential, but by the time Erich Wolfgang Korngold’s finished version premiered in 1929, neither the book nor the music offered anything that could have satisfied Marischka’s audiences. Fall’s reputation and the attractive star cast (including Marischka, Rita Georg and silent-movie star Ossi Oswalda) could not hide the work’s obvious plot similarities to Der Orlow and Die Herzogin and its outdated musical style. With 216 performances Rosen aus Florida was a brief success in Vienna but it did not catch on anywhere else.

And still, Marischka did not give up. As the beginning of this chapter has shown, in Reklame!, his next Theater an der Wien premiere, he took his “American” ideas further than ever. After the disappointments of Kálmán’s and Korngold’s ventures, Marischka decided to return to the author team of his original transatlantic success, Ernst Marischka and Bruno Granichstaedten. Ever since Der Orlow, expectations from Granichstaedten had built up; in Vienna as well as further afield, he was now seen as the “most modern” Viennese operetta composer, who in terms of both material and form “steer[ed] clear of worn-out tracks” in his quest for “today’s true operetta of the present.” The Wiener Zeitung spelled out:

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263 See, for example, “Die ‘Reklame’-Premiere: Im Theater an der Wien,” Neues Wiener Tagblatt, March 2, 1930, 13–14; “Reklame,” Der Tag (Berlin), March 7, 1930 and “The Berlin Theatres,” New York Times, February 19, 1928, 110. Much later, the same view was voiced by Grun in Kulturgeschichte der Operette, 394.


Bruno Granichstaedten is the right man to Americanize the old form entirely. His *Orlow* with its eccentric music was a bashful beginning; the jazz operetta *Reklame* is tailored entirely to the taste and economic activity of the American stage.²⁶⁶

And critics saw their expectations toward *Reklame!* confirmed: an "effective advertisement [Reklame] for Vienna,"²⁶⁷ one paper trumpeted and another predicted that this operetta would "give the stagnating art form invigorating impulses and possibilities of development that could lead to a new bloom."²⁶⁸

Indeed, Granichstaedten not only provided his new operetta—as we have seen above—with an unusual libretto and musical elements inspired by Broadway but he also revolutionized its musical structure: unlike the earlier "transatlantic" works, *Reklame!* no longer involves any distinct musical levels. Apart from the Czech bandmaster who introduces himself with a piano number in a "Polka Tempo,"²⁶⁹ all characters express themselves in the same "American" idiom—there is not even a neutral, cosmopolitan style.²⁷⁰ The *Reichspost* observed:

> The jazz operetta as a tight unit is born and only small, coy hints reveal that Granichstaedten, the competent master of modern dance music, comes from the Viennese waltz and Viennese song.²⁷¹

The *Volks-Zeitung*, too, noted the sparsity of "Viennese" moments in the work:

> Only once does the composer in his American mood dare to recall the Viennese operetta of yore. One believes one is hearing a truly charming slow waltz. It is, however, only an "English waltz."²⁷²

²⁷⁰ This may explain why several papers saw *Reklame!* and none of the earlier transatlantic works as “the first real grand jazz operetta.” See, for example, “Die neue Jazzoperette Granichstaedtens im Theater an der Wien,” *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*, March 2, 1930, 12.
²⁷² „Ein einziges Mal getraut sich der Komponist in seiner amerikanischen Laune an die Wiener Operette von einst zu erinnern. Da glaubt man einen wirklich reizenden langsamen Walzer zu hören. Es ist aber nur ein ‘English Waltz.’” “‘Reklame’-Die neue Operette Granichstaedtens im Theater an der Wien,” *Volks-Zeitung*, March 2, 1930, 7. Evidence that the English waltz “Meine Augen fragen Dich...!” was the Act II duet performed at the premiere
This comment, perhaps not surprisingly, refers to the Act II love duet between Mary and Percy, “Meine Augen fragen Dich...!” While the refrain features a “valse à deux temps” rhythm, which could easily be taken for a straightforward waltz, the verse is an unmistakable “Valse Boston” (in German-speaking lands better known as “English waltz”), in which three steps equally divide two bars, creating a hemiola effect with the one-bar-long bass pattern. Employing this more voguish alternative to the classic waltz for the main couple’s grand duet allowed Granichstaedten—like Lehár and others who had chosen this option since Der Orlow—to include the lilting three-quarter time that evoked the romantic associations operetta audiences expected without jettisoning the work’s modern, American milieu.

But, unlike so many of its famous predecessors, this grand duet did not become a major hit. Apart from the Volks-Zeitung, only one other review mentions the number at all—again not by its title or refrain line, as was common practice, but only generically. Clearly, the number lacked memorability. Whether disappointed by its unremarkable reception or because the Volks-Zeitung comment showed that with its three-quarter time the duet was still associated with Viennese- rather than Americanness, Reklame!’s producers decided to replace “Meine Augen” as part of the customary post-premiere revisions.

The new duet “Es war im Frühling” was the most radical yet. With the substitution of a syncopated—probably swung—alla breve number, Granichstaedten eliminated the last traces of the waltz in his operetta. It is questionable, however, whether the Theater an der Wien audience welcomed this adjustment. For even the—entirely positive—premiere reviews show that critics were searching for Viennese characteristics, which suggests that many were uncomfortable with the fact that so little about Reklame! marked it as Austrian. The Reichspost, for example, wrote:

Of course, not much of this [Viennese waltz, Wienerlied] can be heard in this operetta revue with its American appearance, but here and there ... one can feel in the inimitable peppiness with which the small things are served the whiff of a musical culture that, at home in this city, even ennobles jazz.

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275 The streamlined result of these revisions are documented in the full score. Granichstaedten and Marischka, Reklame! Operette in 3 Akten, Klavierauszug [Vienna: Bristol E.B. 0149, 1930]. Both the book of song texts and this piano reduction include “Meine Augen” in Act II.
276 "zu hören ist davon [Wiener Walzer, Wienerlied] natürlich in dieser amerikanisch aufgemachten Operettenrevue nicht viel, aber da und dort ... fühlt man in dem unannahmlichen Schmiß, mit der die Sächelchen
The Welt am Morgen, too, searched for native characteristics or achievements and inferred the following:

It is jazz rhythm heard with a Viennese ear. His jazz orchestra plays on the fringes of the Vienna woods, whose melodies swoosh into all the daring harmony, into the new sound color, even into the parodistic titter.\textsuperscript{277}

Without the Boston, Reklame! became even less placeable—it now lacked any emblem of the “neutral,” “universal” Vienneseness that had assured the Austrian capital of its operetta’s continued international dominance.

What was left was without doubt structurally and musically modern and technologically progressive but, in the long run, could not convince the Theater an der Wien’s audiences. Of course, reviewers marveled at the fascinating mix of “operetta, sound film, revue, salon drama, [and] great spectacle,”\textsuperscript{278} and lauded the exemplary “assimilation to the unlimited possibilities created by technology,” which made the operetta cliché a thing of the past.\textsuperscript{279} Yet, persistent comments on the “overload of music, sound effects, and noise,”\textsuperscript{280} which left the audience “almost stunned, but not always carried away,”\textsuperscript{281} hint at a certain amount of spectators’ alienation. Particularly telling is a statement in the Deutschösterreichische Tages-Zeitung:

[Reklame!] might have cost a fortune and is certainly well worth seeing, although it also seems to depart alarmingly from what, in this country, one is used to calling operetta.\textsuperscript{282}

The reviewer brings up another crucial problem: Reklame!’s gigantic production expenses made it difficult for Marischka to maintain, and too costly for other Austrian theaters to take


\textsuperscript{278}”Operette, Tonfilm, Revue, Salondrama, große Schau”; Ludwig Hirschfeld, ”Große ‘Reklame’-Revue,” Neue Freie Presse, March 1, 1930, 7.

\textsuperscript{279}”Angleichung an die unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten, die die Technik geschaffen hat”; ”Theater an der Wien. Zum erstenmal: Reklame,” Neues Wiener Journal, March 1, 1930, 11.

\textsuperscript{280}”mit Musik, Klangeffekten und Geräusch überladen”; Ludwig Hirschfeld, ”Große ‘Reklame’-Revue,” Neue Freie Presse, March 1, 1930, 7.

\textsuperscript{281}”fast betäubt, aber nicht immer mitgerissen”; ”Reklame’-Uraufführung im Theater a.d. Wien,” Reichtspost, March 2, 1930.

\textsuperscript{282}”Ein Vermögen mag das gekostet haben und es ist an sich sicher sehenswert, wenn es sich auch bereits bedenklich von dem zu entfernen scheint, was man hierzulande als Operette anzusprechen gewohnt ist.” Deutschösterreichische Tages-Zeitung, March 2, 1930, 7.
on. The creators’ attempt to keep theater competitive with the new media by matching their speed and provisions onstage rendered a wide distribution impossible. It did not help that the Social Democratic official organ Kunst und Volk, with a well-aimed side blow to the disdained entertainment business, bluntly announced that the talkies would soon rout operetta and popular theater. “In Hollywood an operetta can be furnished and cast a hundred times better than in the richest operetta house of a metropolis,” the periodical stated only months after Marischka’s final “transatlantic” work premiered. Reklame! closed after a devastatingly short run of 176 performances; no further productions of the work are documented. By August 1930 director Marischka had to apply for “a one-time credit for the purpose of keeping up business at the Theater an der Wien.”

And another of Marischka’s objectives did not work out: the assumption that the combination of contemporary American subject matter and syncopated musical style would open the doors of English-speaking theaters to his “transatlantic” works. The director of the Theater an der Wien had not been alone in speculating on Broadway successes of his “American” operettas. Korngold’s contract with Leo Fall’s heirs for Rosen aus Florida provides explicit evidence that those parties too were targeting the international market. The press also repeatedly showed hope for successful exports of the transatlantic operettas: the Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt’s review of Der Olow, for example, advanced the “perhaps not unwarranted speculation for performance runs in the land of dollars,” and the Moderne Welt believed that Die Herzogin would be a good export product. Nor did such hope fade: Ernst Marischka’s communications from the 1950s document plans for a new Olow adaptation, for which publisher Otto Blau “expect[ed] business … particularly considering that the subject is internationally interesting and even topical”; in Blau’s opinion, “the work could … be very successful again, notably also in America.”

Yet, while Der Olow was a huge success across continental Europe—the New York Times reports four hundred performances in Paris alone—and surviving Italian, Polish, and Scandinavian performance materials suggest popularity in these countries also—the English adaptation by P.G. Wodehouse (among others), mounted as Hearts and Diamonds in London’s

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284 “eines einmaligen Kredites zum Zwecke der Aufrechterhaltung des Betriebes des Theaters a.d.Wien”; Hubert Marischka to the Österreichische Kontrollbank für Industrie und Handel, August 1930; Marischka Papers.
286 “eine vielleicht nicht unberechtigte Spekulation auf Serienauführungen im Dollarland”; “Der Olow”: Operetten-Premiere im Theater an der Wien, Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt, April 5, 1925.
288 “da ich mir hiervon … ein Geschäft verspreche, zumal in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass der Stoff international interessant und sogar aktuell ist; das Werk kann …, insbesondere auch in Amerika, zu neuen Erfolgen kommen.” Otto Blau to Ernst Marischka, January 18, 1956; Ernst Marischka Papers.
West End in June 1926, Granichstaedten’s work never made it to Broadway.

This fate was shared by the other transatlantic works launched at the Theater an der Wien. Rosen aus Florida did not catch on anywhere abroad, and for Reklame! there seems to be no documentation at all of productions outside Vienna. Not even Kálmán could continue his series of impressive Broadway runs after Countess Maritza (1926) and The Circus Princess (1927): The Duchess of Chicago already fell through at the Shubert brothers’ out-of-town tryouts.

A possible explanation of these failures can be found in an interview of Lee Shubert with Vienna’s daily Die Stunde in 1930, in which the Broadway producer observed:

In America we have had great successes with operetta from Europe but in the last years the American production has taken over the theaters entirely and established itself. The jazz music acted like an epidemic throughout all of America, the musical comedy became the star attraction of theaters and one turned away from the waltz euphoria of imports from Vienna. … I find it strange that European operettas always involve so many Americans. Of course this looks a bit ridiculous to us. Because the people who describe these dollar billionaires and dollar princes have of course never known them. There is a cliché of Americans in Viennese and German operettas that one cannot inflict on our audiences over there. The librettists should rather take their characters from places that Americans do not know either. But to make Americans, of all people, the main characters of the operetta is misguided for American export. The Viennese milieu—certain keywords one knows about Vienna, the Prater and the Heuriger [tavern selling homegrown wine]—is still very popular with us.

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291 See Traubner, Operetta, 299 and David A. Jasen, P. G. Wodehouse: Portrait of a Master (New York: Music Sales Group, 2002), 103. The flop in London may, however, have been partly due to weaknesses of the production. As the London Times reported, “what the play is all about hardly appears.” Although the reviewer praised the principals’ singing, he voiced that “one would have been glad to have been able to understand a little more clearly what precisely they were singing about.” “Hearts and Diamonds,” London Times, June 2, 1926, 12; The Times Digital Archive (accessed June 22, 2012).
292 Gänzl, The Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre, 653; cited also in Clarke, Im Himmel, 234. In fact, only very few originally German-language operettas made it to Broadway during the 1920s and only a handful were received cordially: Leo Fall could only show Madame Pompadour, Lehár’s—in Europe very successful—works were not represented at all, and of the three contributions by Eduard Künneke, only The Love Song became a hit. Kálmán’s position in America was clearly unique. See Bordman, American Operetta, 130.
While the beginning of this statement shows that Marischka's assessment of musical trends in the US was clearly very perceptive, Shubert also spelled out that Americans had no real interest in importing anything but waltz-drenched works from Austria: American audiences went to see European works in order to experience the (idealized) Old World, not to witness implausible portrayals of American life or watered-down jazz. Indeed, reactions to the London adaptation of Der Orlow show that the work's American and jazz components were not received as in any way innovative or exciting in the English-speaking world. The review in the London Times describes Granichstaedten's operetta as “a very pleasant after-dinner entertainment,” concluding that “musical comedy continues upon its inconsequent way, and Hearts and Diamonds ... is another milestone on the familiar but by no means unamusing road.”\footnote{295} And whereas at the time of Der Orlow's premiere Granichstaedten’s “jazz” may still have passed as cutting-edge (or at least as fashionable) in many European countries, by the time of Reklame!, when the Viennese had the chance to hear “authentically American” theater music as well as performers from the US,\footnote{296} the Austrian composer’s collection of popular dance numbers was utterly outdated—not even a Charleston, let alone a Black Bottom could be found in his score.\footnote{297}

A particularly telling example of what Americans wanted from Old World imports is the reception of Walter Kollo's operetta Three Little Girls (1930), one of the Shuberts' few European productions after Kálmán’s Circus Princess. Kollo, who is considered one of the main exponents of the Berlin operetta after Lincke,\footnote{298} had set Drei arme kleine Mädchen (1927)—the story about three generations of an impoverished Prussian noble family—in early nineteenth-century Potsdam, but for the Broadway production the location was changed to the apparently more atmospheric Vienna.\footnote{299} In a review of the local premiere, a Pittsburgh Press critic praised “this
Viennese "[!] importation" with its lilting waltz numbers as "a throwback to the days of The Chocolate Soldier, The Merry Widow and those other musical vehicles of hallowed memory." He concluded: "you're in Vienna as you watch Three Little Girls, and Mr Kollo’s score ... never permits you to forget it."\(^{300}\)

Perhaps not surprisingly, then, European operetta’s biggest success on the Anglo-American market after 1930 was an adaptation of Ralph Benatzky’s revue operetta Im weißen Rössl (1930), which combined jazz-inspired music with an almost excessively Austrian setting including mountain scenery, dirndl dresses, and folksy Schuhplattler dances. And, like many of the later 1920s’ international hit works written by Viennese composers, Im weißen Rössl was premiered in Berlin, where financial resources and performance opportunities were much more plentiful.\(^{301}\) With the advent of the talkies came what film scholar Verena Moritz has aptly described as “the musical cementing of clichés,”\(^{302}\) and Berlin’s new position as the capital of stereotypical, nostalgic Viennese and operettic export articles was confirmed: German film productions in 1930 and 1931 alone include Manfred Noa’s Der Walzerkönig, Erich Schönfelder’s In Wien hab ich einmal ein Mädel geliebt, Géza von Bolváry’s Zwei Herzen im ¾ Takt and Die lustigen Weber von Wien, Hans Tintner’s Kaiserliebchen, Conrad Wiene’s So lang’ noch ein Walzer vom Strauß erklingt, and Robert Land’s Wiener Liebschaften. Although most of these movies were not direct adaptations of stage works, even the titles hint at their pedigree in Viennese operetta and the Wienerlied.\(^{303}\) When some of their directors—notably Ernst Lubitsch and Walter Reisch—emigrated to the US, this type of “Viennese” film also successfully settled overseas.\(^{304}\) Ralph Benatzky and Hans Weigel comically described this phenomenon in the waltzing “Finale II” of their Hollywood-themed operetta Axel an der Himmeltür, premiered in Vienna in 1936:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Es sieht nah’ und ferne</th>
<th>Near and far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Das Publikum gerne</td>
<td>The audience likes to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Den echten Film aus Wien!</td>
<td>The real film from Vienna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es drängen die Massen</td>
<td>The masses usually crowd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sich stets an die Kassen</td>
<td>To the ticket offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beim echten Film aus Wien!</td>
<td>For the real film from Vienna!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{301}\) Hermann Schlösser, “Grinzing am Potsdamer Platz: Berlins Anziehungskraft für Wiener Künstler und Intellektuelle,” in Kos, *Kampf um die Stadt*, 267. In order to bypass the bad conditions in Austria, Viennese operetta composers increasingly considered Berlin as the location of their works’ premieres. Leo Fall had been the first to decide for a Berlin premiere with his Lieber Augustin (1912), and was soon followed by Oscar Straus (Letzter Walzer [1920]), Robert Stolz (starting with Die Tanzgräfin [1921]), and Franz Lehár (starting with Der Zarewitsch [1927]). For more detail see Stefan Frey, “Das wahre Zeittheater: Deutsche Operettenkarrieren, 1899–1944,” in Arnbom, Clarke, and Trabitsch, *Welt der Operette*, 218.


\(^{304}\) Moritz, “Vergangenheitsbewältigung,” 159.
As Benatzky tells us, the waltz—the very element that Viennese composers were increasingly eliminating from operetta in favor of American musical styles—remained a particular selling point for such “Viennese” films. This paradox was noted by journalist Erwin Rainalter in the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* right at the time of the *Reklame!* premiere:

in Vienna …, where [the waltz] is so much rooted in the folk, … one only wants to hear jazz today, and any American singer achieves fuller houses than all Viennese composers and singers together. In order to know that the waltz is still alive, one has to listen further afield: in Berlin one has dreamt and gotten high on the ”waltz dream” [*Walzertraum*, operetta by Oscar Straus 1907] again a few years ago; and in England the whole carnival nowadays revolves around the Viennese three-four time. … Only in Vienna do people not want to know about the waltz any more. … But it remains strange that these new, modern, souped-up operettas, adapted for an altered taste, are less and less successful. … The storm that came across the ocean devastated overabundant harvests of melodies. And instead brought tempo, pep, and many other things that are very nice but do not at all suit the Viennese and his music.306

The makers of *Reklame!* in spite of their bold decision to get rid of all waltz-like Vienneseness for the streamlined Theater an der Wien version, must have become aware of the rather different international expectations for their work. Still within the premiere year, the Karczag Verlag and Edition Bristol assembled yet another score, together with a detailed libretto, under the alternative title *Der Dollar rollt!*. Apparently adapted for productions outside Vienna, all locally specific product placement was removed from this version. Remarkably, the

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plot was also adjusted and the minor character of the "ad man" removed—a character whose
cynical commentary several reviewers had described as almost Kurt Weillian.\textsuperscript{307} Through these
changes the previously ambiguous, fascinating yet frightening portrayal of the all-dominating
advertising “machine” becomes more lighthearted, the work less complex.

Most significantly, however, the international version of \textit{Reklame!} features yet another
new Act II duet. Instead of their trivial alla breve dance number, Mary and Percy now engage in
an entirely groundless and platitudinous adulation of the Viennese waltz:

\begin{verbatim}
I.
Percy: 's war in einer Bar!
    Wie war doch der Name?
    Dort saß ganz versteckt
    Ein [sic] junge Dame!
Mary: Eine kleine Jazz
    Spielte heimlich leise
Percy: Was?
Mary: So ein Lied aus Wien,
    Eine Walzerweise.
Percy: Süßer Wiener Walzer
    Dein gedenk' ich Tag und Nacht!
    Süßer Wiener Walzer,
    Du hast uns zusammengebracht!
Mary: Von dem holden Rhythmus gepackt
    Schlug das Herz im Dreivierteltakt!
Beide: Und im Walzertanzschritt
    Nahm das Glück uns lachend mit!
Percy: It was in a bar!
    What was the name again?
    There sat hidden away
    A young lady!
Mary: A small jazz [band]
    Played secretly, quietly
Percy: What?
Mary: A song from Vienna,
    A waltz tune.
Percy: Sweet Viennese waltz
    Of you I think day and night!
    Sweet Viennese waltz,
    You have brought us together!
Mary: Captured by your graceful rhythm
    The heart beat in three-four time!
Both: And with the waltz’s dancing steps
    Happiness swept us away!\textsuperscript{308}
\end{verbatim}

One may expect that, having labored to establish any halfway plausible connection to Vienna
and the waltz, Granichstaedten and the Marischka brothers would have pined for a classic
musical setting of this text. The new duet, however, is once again a clearly identifiable “English
waltz,” complete with hemiolas and hesitations.

\textsuperscript{307} See, for example, Alfred Rosenzweig, “‘Reklame!’ Granichstaedten-Uraufführung im Theater an der Wien,” \textit{Der Tag}, March 3, 1930.
\textsuperscript{308} Bruno Granichstaedten and Ernst Marischka, \textit{Der Dollar rollt! (Reklame!) Operette in 3 Akten}, Vollständiges
Regie- und Soufflierbuch (Vienna: W. Karczag and Edition Bristol, 1930), 49.

Faced with the choice between a total relapse to worn-out but still popular structures and a risky but fresher and inherently consistent experiment, the authors decided for an awkward—and luckless—middle course.

The transatlantic flops at the Theater an der Wien had their consequences: Granichstaedten in particular struggled after the disappointment of Reklame! It was his last operetta to be premiered in Vienna. During the Nazi era he had to emigrate to the US, where he experienced yet again that his music was neither American nor Viennese enough for Broadway or Hollywood. Impoverished and working as a bar pianist he died in New York in 1944; his jazz operettas were forbidden throughout the war and never secured a place in the repertory again. Kálmán, discouraged by Die Herzogin’s flop, turned to more conventional subject matter in works such as Der Teufelsreiter (1932) but never recovered his outstanding reputation.

Only Marischka, the businessman at heart, was able to bounce back from his transatlantic experiments: his sensational Stadttheater production of Im weißen Rössl one year

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after *Reklame!* was the most elaborate yet—a saving grace!—and with Kreisler’s smash hit *Sissy* (1932) he formally welcomed “Alt Wien” into his flagship venue again. In the end, the Theater an der Wien could live without New World clichés, but it could not do without Viennese ones!
CHAPTER 2: THE CORPORATE STATE

Of Mehlspeis’, Ski Holidays, and Other Austrian Delights

Vienna in the early 1930s:

Around this time a prominent Viennese coffeehouse on Kärntnerstraße adorned its window display with a couple of portrait photos, below which one could read: “Two Popular Austrians.” One picture showed Hubert Marischka, the other—Engelbert Dollfuß. “And who’d still say that Austria ain’t no operetta state!” growled a passerby and quickly toddled off.310

Austria—an operetta state? The political conditions for operetta indeed became much more favorable when conservative leader Dollfuß assumed power and established his authoritarian system in 1933/1934, putting an end to the riots and unrest between Social Democrats and Christian Socials, which had bedeviled everyday life in Vienna since the July Revolt in 1927. The main goal of the new regime’s cultural program lay in eliminating the influences of Social Democracy, which it regarded as the root of all evil.311 Operetta’s mostly bourgeois framework now clearly became an asset. Furthermore, the Christian Social focus on specifically “Austrian” history and established customs enabled theater directors to meet both foreign and national expectations toward the art form: the internationally preferred image of the nostalgic, backward homeland of “wine, women, and waltzes” matched the new regime’s idealized image of an idyllic agrarian, deproletarianized country with cultural traditions between the baroque and Biedermeier.312

Indeed, Marischka’s 1933 Stadttheater revue O, du mein Österreich, a “Musical Parade in Two Parts with a Historical Procession: A Thousand Years of Austria,” was very much in accordance with the cultural ambitions of the rising Austrofascist movement. The spectacle—an adaptation of Roda-Roda’s Feldherrnhügel by Karl Farkas, involving 250 performers—aggrandized the Habsburg monarchy, pointed to distinctly “Austrian” qualities of the country and its people, and featured exactly those popular mythologies of an “eternal Austria” that were to provide the ideological glue for the Christian Corporate State.313 Dollfuß appreciated

and supported Marischka’s contribution to the "new Austria," and praised the theater’s potential and importance in the program leaflet, stressing that “the promulgation of paternalistic ideas from the stage has the greatest propaganda strength and outweighs many public assemblies and many kinds of tourist propaganda.”

But neither Marischka nor Dollfuß lasted long in the Austrofascist state. While Dollfuß’s assassination at the hands of Austrian Nazis in July 1934 came as a violent shock to most, the death of Marischka’s imperium was slow and foreseeable. The situation for theaters in the early 1930s was still bleak. Suffering from the continued general economic distress as well as the back-breaking burden of another high entertainment tax on private theaters, the Raimund Theater, the Bürgertheater, the Komödie, and the Theater der Komiker had to shut down within the first few months of the 1933/34 season, while the Volksoper never opened its doors and the Neue Wiener Bühne was waiting for new tenants. After the saving grace of those two last box-office smashes, Ralph Benatzky’s *Im weißen Rössl* (1931) and Fritz Kreisler’s *Sissy* (1932), the Marischka stages still stood strong throughout the first half of the season, but an interview with the *Neues Wiener Journal* in March 1933 already shows the director’s growing apprehensiveness:

> Nowadays, even the so-called “grand” success only just manages to keep us afloat. Rescue only comes from the super success. From the sensational smash of a novelty that one “has to have seen” …, that offers records both in terms of acting and decorations, and that yields such word of mouth as to ensure a minimum of two to three hundred performances.

His continued belief in the future of operetta as monumental spectacle gradually got Marischka’s venues into enormous financial difficulties. Moreover, after the Nazis’ takeover in Germany in 1933, his Karczag publishing company had lost its most important business market because the majority of its star composers were Jewish, which precluded the performance of their works in the Reich. This severe blow also affected the Theater an der Wien, the Karczag “advertising stage,” where novelties were presented to theater agents from all over the world. Without the royalties of his older smash hits, Marischka could neither finance the production of new works, nor even keep up the going concern. By January 1934 he too felt impelled to take

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315 Bauer, “Geschichte des Stadttheaters,” 201 and 208.


cost-cutting measures and broke off the all too staff-intensive patriotic Austria revue after a run of hardly more than a hundred performances. The anxious reaction of the Neues Wiener Journal shows the proportions of the matter in the minds of contemporaries:

The operetta empire that director Hubert Marischka rules is not the domain of a sole trader; surely the lion's share of Austria's popularity abroad ... clings to Vienna's leading operetta stage. Viennese waltz, anchored in the Viennese operetta, is considered standard currency in Paris, London, Stockholm, and New York. According to Marischka, Dollfuß had personally promised his help as he, too, considered the Theater an der Wien "an Austrian asset to which nothing should happen"; however, on the day when the rescue contract was to be signed, the chancellor was murdered and the relief operation, as the Christian Social leader had apparently envisioned it, never materialized. The Theater an der Wien turned into one of the most debt-ridden Viennese stages and a subject of intense debates in the press. Within a year both the Stadttheater and the Theater an der Wien had to close their doors.

And yet operetta remained an important and lucrative part of Viennese cultural life throughout the Austrofascist era. Peculiarly, while most of Vienna's exclusive operetta theaters folded and star composers increasingly moved their grand premieres to economically as well as politically safer ground such as Zurich's Stadttheater, other Viennese venues clearly benefitted from including operetta in their repertory. Indeed, as Christian Höslinger has pointed out, the "light muse" dominated the playbills across Austrofascist Vienna. Perhaps most striking was the State Opera's reach for the more popular genre. While up until the 1920s only classic hits by Johann Strauss had been tolerated in Vienna's most

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321 “ein österreichisches Aktivum, dem nichts passieren dürfe”; Marischka; quoted in Holzer, Die Wiener Vorstadtbühnen, 644 and Tolar, So ein Theater!, 220. See also Gertrud Marischka, Hubert Marischka biography, 141.
324 See, for example, the comments in “Zwei Uraufführungen in Zürich,” Neue Freie Presse, January 24, 1937, 13. Compare also with Andrew Lamb, 150 Years of Popular Musical Theatre (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 221.
prestigious musical theater venue, the bleak economic situation of the 1930s made it necessary for director Clemens Krauss to take on Heuberger’s *Opernball* (in 1931), Suppé’s *Boccaccio* (in 1932) and finally even the premiere of Lehár’s last work, *Giuditta* (in 1934). Krauss initially rejected this new operetta as unsuitable repertory for the State Opera, but, faced with pressure from political officials, he had to change his position. In a letter to the federal theater administration, he made clear, however, that it had been “by no means the artistic route” that moved him to produce Lehár’s work and that he was not willing “to subordinate the artistic goals of the institution for purely financial reasons” again. Krauss left Vienna in December 1934. The majority of the press saw the inclusion of *Giuditta* in the State Opera repertory in a more positive light. As the cultural magazine *Tonfilm Theater Tanz* spelled out,

many operas that are highly esteemed by the audience elite, are generally not box-office successes and our sadly impoverished state needs to be glad to have a popular draw in the repertory for once. ... The standard of our most important theater by no means suffers from this; on the contrary, if [*Giuditta*], which some people claim to be unsuitable for our opera, achieves something economically, it is much more likely that we can afford to launch new productions that boost the artistic prestige of our main stage.

Indeed, the premiere of Lehár’s operatic work—produced, how could it be otherwise, under Marischka’s guest direction—was an event of unprecedented dimensions, with live broadcasts by the RAVAG and almost a hundred foreign radio stations. In contradiction to what is often reported, with forty-four performances until 1938, *Giuditta* was a box-office success by State Opera standards. A similar reliance on operetta can also be observed at Vienna’s private prose theaters. In the early 1930s both the Theater in der Josefstadt and the Volkstheater started to include a *Lustspieloperette* (comedy operetta) or a *musikalisches Lustspiel* (musical comedy) at the end of their seasons because the significantly higher revenue could balance financial deficits from

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326 The State Opera produced Strauss’s *Fledermaus* (in 1894), *Zigeunerbaron* (in 1910), and *Nacht in Venedig* (in 1929).
327 "keineswegs jener künstlerischen Linie"; “die künstlerischen Ziele des Instituts rein aus finanziellen Gründen zurückzustellen”; Karl Krauss to the Bundestheaterverwaltung, June 11, 1934; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSta), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Oper, 631 ex. 1934. For a detailed account of Krauss’s dealings with *Giuditta* see Höslinger, “Leichtes Genre.”
328 "so und so viele Opern, die wohl bei der Elite des Publikums viel Anwert finden, im allgemeinen kein Kassenerfolg sind und unser leider so armer Staat muß froh sein, einmal ein Zugstück im Spielplan der Oper zu haben. ... Darunter leidet das Niveau unseres wichtigsten Theaters keineswegs; im Gegenteil, wir können uns dann, wenn mit diesem Werk [Giuditta], von dem manche behaupten, es passe nicht in den Rahmen unserer Oper, wirtschaftlich etwas erzielt werden, viel eher leisten, Uraufführungen oder Neuinszenierungen herauszubringen, die das künstlerische Prestige unserer Hauptbühne fördern.” “Streiflichter durch die Wiener Staatsoper: ‘Giuditta,’” *Tonfilm Theater Tanz* 3 (1934): 2.
“serious literary works,” as the press readily explained.330 At the same time, though, directors of operetta theaters became increasingly skeptical about the art form. Arthur Hellmer, who took over the Theater an der Wien in 1936, originally envisaged a program similar to that at the Theater in der Josefstadt (which featured mostly spoken drama) “because good operettas don’t exist in any noteworthy number at present.”331 The new director also considered operetta “to be technically and economically a matter of luxury.” He agreed with his predecessor Marischka that “the budget of an operetta theater of international standing is so high that it can only be justified by sensational successes. Experience shows that, in a time that is economically as beleaguered as ours, one cannot count on such successes.”332 City officials and other theaters, however, did not approve of Hellmer’s alternative programming: “the business of the Viennese prose theaters would be threatened by another new playhouse,” it was argued; the Theater an der Wien should remain an operetta stage.333 In order to secure the concession, Hellmer had to give in.334 As a compromise he opened his house with Ralph Benatzky’s already mentioned witty “musical comedy” Axel an der Himmelstür.

The new director’s choice was an astute one, for—although Axel was, in Bernhard Grun’s apt words, a real “small grand operetta”335 and is seen by many scholars as Vienna’s last significant, “home-grown” repertory hit as well as the end point of commercial, privately funded operetta—336 Hellmer’s choice emphatically signaled a turn away from Marischka’s priorities and an interest in more intricate formats. “Change of director. Change of genre,” Der Wiener Tag summarized. “One no longer hears grand, long, sad operettas at the Theater an der Wien.”337 Indeed, while Vienna’s former operetta emperor had commissioned from Benatzky music for his grand Stadttheater revues Wien lacht wieder (1926) and Alles aus Liebe (1927), the operettas of this resourceful composer had never premiered on a Marischka stage.338

335 “kleine große Operette”; Grun, Kulturgeschichte der Operette, 439.
336 See, for example, Attila E. Láng, Das Theater an der Wien: Vom Singspiel zum Musical (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1976), 62 and Clarke, “Jüdische Dudelei,” 164.
338 Benatzky had written the music of many of Erik Charell’s grand productions in Berlin’s Grosses Schauspielhaus, not least the internationally successful mammoth operettas Casanova (1928) and Die drei Musketiere (1929), but he also had become known as a master of intricate, nimble-witted chansons, which he performed in cabarets and vaudeville shows together with his first wife, the Viennese disease Josma Selim. After her untimely death in 1929, Benatzky increasingly focused on small-scale musical comedies, most notably Meine Schwester und ich (1930) and Bezauberndes Fräulein (1933), into which he could incorporate such witty songs.
In Austrofascist Vienna, however, Benatzky’s works were in high demand: with nine productions at four different Viennese venues, ranging from small folk comedies to a grand revue operetta, Benatzky was the most prolific and prominently featured operetta composer in the Austrofascist capital: “Ralph Benatzky in all camps,” noted a Viennese journal as early as in 1934.\(^{339}\) The fact that the composer was “Aryan” and wrote most of his own librettos, which theoretically allowed for his works to be marketed also in Nazi Germany, must have contributed to his popularity with Viennese theater directors. Furthermore, his chamber works bore many practical advantages: as they required only small forces and no virtuosic singing, they could easily be performed in smaller venues.\(^{340}\) Indeed, as Table 1 shows, it was particularly those spoken-drama venues Hellmer aspired to, that helped to put Benatzky on Vienna’s cultural map.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Book/Lyrics by</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Premiere Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Das kleine Café</em>&lt;sup&gt;341&lt;/sup&gt; (musikalisches Lustspiel)</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Deutsches Volkstheater</td>
<td>April 21, 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Die Prinzessin auf der Leiter</em>&lt;sup&gt;341&lt;/sup&gt; (musikalisches Spiel)</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
<td>August 3, 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Büxl</em> (Volksstück mit Musik)</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Deutsches Volkstheater</td>
<td>March 15, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Der König mit dem Regenschirm</em> (musikalisches Lustspiel)</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
<td>April 18, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Der reichste Mann der Welt</em> (Stück mit Musik)</td>
<td>Hans Müller, Hans Weigel</td>
<td>Deutsches Volkstheater</td>
<td>April 3, 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Axel an der Himmelstür</em> (musikalisches Lustspiel)</td>
<td>Paul Morgan, Adolf Schütz, Hans Weigel</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
<td>September 1, 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Herzen im Schnee</em> (Wintersport-Revueoperette)</td>
<td>Henry Gilbert, Armin L. Robinson, Robert Gilbert</td>
<td>Stadttheater (Zurich); Volksoper (Vienna)</td>
<td>December 19, 1936; September 8, 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pariserinnen</em> (musikalisches Lustspiel)</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
<td>May 7, 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Majestät privat</em> (Lustspielerette)</td>
<td>Arthur Hellmer, Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
<td>December 18, 1937</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1*: Ralph Benatzky’s works first performed in Vienna during the Austrofascist years.

The Christian Social rulers thought highly of Benatzky and enthusiastically endorsed his works. The premiere of *Axel*, for example, went off as a gala performance in support of the federal government’s *Winterhilfe* (Winter Relief) campaign, and was attended by many political

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340 See also Grun, *Kulturgeschichte der Operette*, 438–439.
341 This work was a reworked version of *Meine Schwester und ich* (Berlin, 1930).
342 Fritz Hennenberg attributes the book to Arthur Hellmer (Hennenberg, *Ralph Benatzky: Operette auf dem Weg zum Musical* [Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2009], 163), other sources mention Kurt or Karl von Hellmer. The performance materials are lost and the two piano reduction volumes do not mention the librettist.
notables as well as Viennese celebrities.\textsuperscript{343} Such approval by the manifestly traditionalist regime is particularly remarkable considering how popular the composer had been in the liberal Weimar Republic as well as in Red Vienna. Furthermore, Benatzky is commonly viewed as one of the most innovative operetta authors of his time. Contemporaries such as author Hugo Wiener went so far as to claim that “had Hitler not come along, we Europeans would have been just as far [with regard to musical theater trends] as the Americans,” arguing that “Benatzky with his \textit{Weißes Rössl} was on the right track.”\textsuperscript{344} Operetta historians, too, have singled out Benatzky as the “trailblazer” of a new form, the intelligent, socially relevant, and timely musical comedy, a theatrical counterpart to the talkies.\textsuperscript{345}

This chapter will examine the phenomenon of Benatzky’s Austrofascist prolificacy and supposed success by looking at two very different projects by this versatile composer, at opposite ends of his 1930s creative spectrum: \textit{Das kleine Café} (1934), the first chamber operetta he produced in Vienna after leaving the Reich; and the grand “winter-sports revue operetta” \textit{Herzen im Schnee} (1937), with which Benatzky tried to draw on earlier successes. Which aspects of operetta were attractive to the Austrofascists and how did the new regime affect the art form as well as Viennese theatrical life in general? What made Benatzky such a seemingly ideal composer for Corporate Austria and, finally, how did he manage the balancing act of satisfying such a conservative regime and yet producing some of the most innovative works of his time?

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{343} See correspondence between the Theater an der Wien and the Bundeskanzleramt; ÖSta, Archiv der Republik (AdR), Bundeskanzleramt, Inners, Präsidium, Winterhilfe, 7671; also “Wiedereröffnung des Theaters an der Wien: ‘Axel an der Himmelstür,’” \textit{Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt}, September 3, 1936, 17.
\item \textsuperscript{345} See, for example, Grun, \textit{Kulturgeschichte der Operette}, 440 and Frey, “Das wahre Zeittheater,” 213–214; also Hennenberg’s publication with the denotative title \textit{Ralph Benatzky: Operette auf dem Weg zum Musical}.
\end{itemize}
What connoisseur of pre-1930s operetta would have identified this quiet, musically simple monologue by a small waiter as an Act II finale? No noble tenor hero, no glamorous attire, no
suave cantilenas—only an ordinary man, a baron's bastard son who, in despair, just about manages to sob the last words.

The second finale of Benatzky's *Das kleine Café* starts off as one might expect, with a confrontation between Franz's three former and current love interests in a slow ländler, complete with chorus commentary and followed by energetic tango outbursts of the jealous ladies. But the customary crowd climax is withheld. Franz's true beloved, Helene, the practically minded daughter of coffeehouse owner Wallenstein, does not react with an explosion of outrage like her rivals. Above a sparse slowfox reminiscence in the strings, she speaks to Franz with ostensible indifference and finally runs off, barely concealing tears, with the comment that “this is not worth wasting a single word on.”

Left alone, Franz realizes that the money he has recently inherited is not enough to make him happy:

Ich hab' nämlich glaubt  
Auf dieser Welt  
Gibt's einen Herrgott  
Und der ist das Geld!  
Für's Geld kann man sauf'n,  
Sich allerhand kaufen  
Sogar einen Hofnarr'n  
Oder sonst eine Kreatur,  
Und doch bleibt man wie der letzte Stein  
Allein...

For I have thought  
That in this world  
There is a god  
And that is money!  
For money one can drink,  
Buy all kinds of things  
Even a jester  
Or some other kind of creature,  
And still, one is left like the last stone  
Alone...

The composer and librettist deemed this second-act ending “experimental, but if successful, a sensation.” In his diary, Benatzky noted:

I have played through the Finale II a hundred times, have listened closely, fine-tuned it... Here I stand. God help me, I cannot do it better. If it is performed simply, humanly, affectionately, and, in spite of the melancholy, with a quiet smile, it will have to work! It is an entirely new way to show with chaste, almost folksong-like musical means the inner, emotional processes of someone who has been forsaken by everybody. In operetta, which is founded on implausibility and hubbub, it is a risk. But perhaps with this I will bring the genre forward a little, out of the lowlands and toward real musical comedy.

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347 “Es lohnt sich ja nicht, ein einziges Wort zu verlieren.” Benatzky, *Das kleine Café*, Klavierauszug, 87.
348 Benatzky, *Das kleine Café*, Klavierauszug, 92.
349 “Geändertes II. Finale *Kleines Café* halte ich für experimental, aber, wenn es gelingt, für eine Sensation.” Ralph Benatzky, diary manuscript, January 30, 1934 in Helga Benatzky’s private collection, Hamburg.
The Viennese appreciated Benatzky’s experiment. In praising the work’s lack of “bedizened pomp that makes today’s operetta so unpalatable,” Das kleine Volksblatt evidently intended a dig at Giuditta, which had premiered only three months earlier.\textsuperscript{351} Indeed, Das kleine Café was close to the antithesis of Marischka’s glamor and Lehár’s “would-be operatic singing.”\textsuperscript{352} Benatzky’s musical numbers were devised as folk songs, easily memorable and singable, with comparatively small ranges and diatonic melodies. As the composer explained, such musical simplifications were necessary when one wanted to write successfully for an ensemble of actors rather than for singers and dancers.\textsuperscript{353} But the melodic constraints also made it easier to bring across more intricate texts and word play, and offered good opportunities for parody and the grotesque—those very properties that commentators missed in Lehár.\textsuperscript{354} It is not surprising, then, that one of the adjectives reviewers applied to all his small-scale operettas was geistreich (witty, ingenious).

Benatzky’s musical textures were also praised, in particular for their intelligent instrumentation, which “chattered, whispered,” and steered clear of “overblown dramatic conversations.”\textsuperscript{356} In order to avoid mannerism and “false pathos, as in the recitations of operas in the older style,” Benatzky searched for an idiom that “imperceptibly oscillates between prose and song.”\textsuperscript{357} In Das kleine Café his efforts, which point so clearly toward the American musical, were particularly successful, as Helene’s stark response in the Act II finale shows. The Wiener Tag noted:

> The whole work is almost a melodrama, underlined and painted over, whole scenes through-composed, always light-footed and variegated, and all of a sudden the musical conversation gives way to a chanson or a hit song.\textsuperscript{358}

Through such musical underlining, Benatzky managed to connect his songs and, in spite of their popular hit-tone character, give them a purpose within the plot development.\textsuperscript{359}

\textsuperscript{351} “aufgedonnerte Pomp, der die Operette von heute so ungenießbar macht”; “Das kleine Café‘ im Volkstheater,” Das kleine Volksblatt, April 22, 1934, 27.

\textsuperscript{352} “opernambitionierter Gesang”; Arthur Maria Rabenalt, “Aktivierte Operette” (\textit{circa} 1930); reprinted in Linhardt, \textit{Stimmen zur Unterhaltung}, 303–304.

\textsuperscript{353} In his novel In Dur und Moll, Benatzky’s rascally main character Toni Belloni perspicuously explains that in order to make a song into a successful hit, the range has to be kept small to facilitate a nonchalant delivery between song and speech. Ralph Benatzky, \textit{In Dur und Moll: Roman eines Menschen und einer Zeit} (Wiesbaden: Verlag der Greif Walther Gericke, 1953), 114.

\textsuperscript{354} Benatzky, diary, September 2, 1934.

\textsuperscript{355} See, for example, Hanns Gutman, “Operette auf Irrwegen,” Schwäbische Thalia der Stuttgarter Dramaturgischen Blätter 13 (1931/32): 38; reprinted in Linhardt, \textit{Stimmen zur Unterhaltung}, 323.

\textsuperscript{356} “wie plaudern, sie flüstern”; “breit ausladenden dramatischen Unterhaltungen”; “Das kleine Café‘ im Volkstheater,” Das kleine Volksblatt, April 22, 1934, 29.


The music’s modesty also fit Benatzky’s main characters: rather than fairy princesses or millionaires they were almost always ordinary people, who, like the audiences, had to cope with real-life issues such as unemployment and insolvency. This milieu also changed the dynamics among the protagonists. Benatzky no longer relied on the traditional separation of “aristocratic serious” and “ordinary buffo” pairs, but combined aspects of both in his quirky main couple, in this case Franz and Helene (although her rival Georgette gets most of the interesting soubrette items). Furthermore, as Volker Klotz has pointed out, the power relations between men and women are unusual. While the ladies clearly wear the breeches—in Das kleine Café, Franz constantly gets bossed around by the jealous “virago” Georgette, the glamorous lady of society Violett, and the haughty “Wiener Madl” Helene—it is the good-natured, endearingly droll male principal who calls the tune in most of the catchy, whimsical music numbers.

New in Das kleine Café, whose characteristics as so far described were to some extent already present in Benatzky’s earlier small-scale works, was its Viennese focus. Written both for and about Vienna, it was Benatzky’s first premiere after leaving Berlin, where he had moved in the 1920s because of the better facilities and more varied creative opportunities. But when Hitler seized power, Berlin was no longer attractive for the composer. Although the Nazis, who had at first branded Benatzky a Jew, “rehabilitated” him as “Aryan and thereby housebroken” as early as October 1933, his wife Mela was Jewish and not safe in the Reich. Furthermore, Benatzky’s work was no longer appreciated in Germany; his endearing but unheroic male protagonists and the emancipated female principals hardly suited Nazi ideology, and Benatzky’s ample use of parody often bore more or less concealed, unacceptable criticism. A particularly blunt example is the last verse of a couplet in his Pariserinnen (1936), in which, embedded in almost Dadaist remarks about goldfish and traffic lights, Benatzky sets the following text to an exaggeratedly gemütlich Schuhplattler melody:

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Es herrschen auf Erden heut’ höh’re Gewalten
Um Länder und Völker konform zu gestalten,
Da formt man die Menschheit durch Formalitäten
Und Brutalitäten zu Totalitäten!
Dabei wird die uralte Weisheit zertreten,
Wir Menschen sind eigentlich auch...
Was?

Refrain:
   Individividi-, dualili-, Individividi-, dualili-
   Individividi-, dualili-täten!
   Individividi-, dualili-täten!
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Today there are higher powers on earth
To create conformist countries and people,
One forms humankind through formalities
And brutalities into totalities!
With this the ancient wisdom is crushed
That we humans are in fact also...
Well, what?
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360 Ralph Benatzky, Das kleine Café, Soufflier- und Regiebuch (Vienna, Leipzig, and Berlin: Ludwig Doblinger, 1934), 14.
361 Benatzky, diary, 1927; quoted in Fritz Hennenberg, Es muß was Wunderbares sein… Ralph Benatzky zwischen “Weißen Rößl” und Hollywood (Munich: Paul Zsolnay, 1998), 136.
362 Benatzky, diary, April 11, 1933.
363 "als Arier und somit stubenrein"; Benatzky, diary, October 2, 1933.
Reactions to *Das kleine Café* in the Nazi daily *Der Stürmer*, describing the work as a “biliously schmaltzy, fabricatedly Viennese musical setting ... , which ... never [accords] with the unaffected taste of a down-to-earth audience,” show what hackles Benatzky raised in the Reich. “And he is [a Jew] after all,” the critic raged and, “overcome” with a “pogrom mood,” continued:

Depending on the economic situation—and by no means on the author’s character—[his work] becomes either “knorke” [Berlin dialect for “swell”] or “authentically Viennese.” Knorke no longer cuts the ice. In Berlin the penny has already dropped. Thus—in [Viennese dialect] let’s go, let’s go, it isn’t cold—one composes in an “authentically Viennese” manner!

As overwrought as this agitation against the composer was, it also bears a grain of truth: with the German stages barred, it was vital for Benatzky to break into the Viennese theater market again. As Ralf Waldschmidt has observed, the diverseness of the composer’s works between 1934 and 1938 documents his frantic endeavors to match his earlier successes and attract local audiences with similarly pertinent, up-to-date materials in order to secure the income for a reasonably carefree life. A statement in an interview about *Das kleine Café* shows the eagerness of Benatzky—since the collapse of the Habsburg Empire officially a Czech national—to assert his Austrian affiliations:

In spite of my longtime absence from Vienna, I am still the same Viennese and Austrian as I was in my youth—and if the audience senses this from my melodies, then I am completely happy.

Unlike his earlier chamber works, in which tango and foxtrot had dominated, *Das kleine Café* prominently featured waltzes and ländler as well as Viennese dialect.

Benatzky’s efforts were successful. Apart from the Nazi critique, reviewers of *Das kleine Café* lauded his return to “the older Viennese Lokalstück” (dialect folk play), and commented particularly on the “homey” locations, his “real Viennese, charming music,” and the many typically local elements, such as the commercial slogans of merchants and other Wiener Typen.

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in the introductory “Naschmarktsinfoniette.” The story’s consoling message that money alone is never enough and that love is much more important for happiness—a message which Benatzky would deliver again and again in his Viennese works—was particularly appreciated in crisis-torn Vienna where, by 1934, the average salary only just reached 70 percent of the 1929 level. With industrial production dwindling ever since the beginning of the depression, almost 45 percent of industrial workers were unemployed by early 1934, and for every available office job there were eighteen people without work. Franz’s boredom and unhappiness in high society after accepting his inheritance, and his ultimate preference for a stable life and work in the small coffeehouse, as well as for the local girl rather than a socialite or a dazzling singer, could hearten many Viennese.

Considering how consciously Benatzky had tailored Das kleine Café for Viennese audiences, it is not surprising that the regime welcomed the work: many important politicians graced the premiere (dedicated to “the social services of the Old-Viennese Union”), and the Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung featured Das kleine Café in its program, which suggests that the organization had purchased a block of discounted tickets for its members. After the dissolution of the Social Democratic party in February 1934, the newly founded Christian Social unity party Vaterländische Front had abolished all cultural organizations that did not toe its line and, in September that year, the remaining Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung was to merge into the unitary Österreichische Kunststelle. Through this institution the Vaterländische Front—whose primary cultural goal was “the uniting of culture and an patriotism through suitable cultural-political measures”—wanted to foster all “that adheres to [the new state’s Christian, German, and corporative] foundations, grows out of the Austrian folk heritage, and advances respect for Austrian achievement, work, and Austrian essence.” Memorandums of verbal agreements between the Österreichische Kunststelle and several private theaters show how the regime aimed to exert a “fundamental influence on theaters.”

It was not always necessary for government officials to intervene, however. Communications of Volkstheater director Rolf Jahn from December 1933 show that, even

370 “anheimelnde”; “echt wienerische, reizende Musik”; “Welturaufführung im Deutschen Theater,” Reichspost, April 22, 1934, 14. On the importance of the coffeehouse and its cuisine for Vienna see, for example, Musner, Der Geschmack von Wien, 15 and 109.
371 A great example is the number “Ein bißchen Liebe” in Benatzky’s Der reichste Mann der Welt (1936).
373 “den Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen des Alt-Wiener Bundes”; Neue Freie Presse, April 21, 1934, 7.
374 See “Das Mai-Juni-Programm der Kunststelle,” Reichspost, April 22, 1934.
377 “eine wesentliche Beeinflussung der Theater”; “Entwurf einer Landesweisung über die Kunststelle,” ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
before the Ständestaat was fully set up, the theaters reacted sharply toward the political tensions and self-censored their repertory accordingly. Jahn explained his rejection of a drama by Bernhard Rehse, for example, with the “thoroughly changed political situation,” which made it “extremely inopportune” to stage the work in contemporary Austria: “nowadays, one would receive a satire that is pointed against officialdom, against the police, etc., not as harmless as you, my dear Mr Rehse, meant it, and the audience would be alienated in places that would only have amused it a year ago.”

Still, once the Austrofascist Kunststelle had been set up, the libretto of any prospective production had to be delivered there at least five days before rehearsals started. If the institution decided to endorse the work, it took on a certain number of performances but reserved the right to make its final decision after the premiere. In case the Kunststelle rejected a production—“which is of course to be justified ... with moral, political, religious, and general literary arguments”—and the work was nevertheless performed, the organization was released from all responsibilities. While this intervening measure, particularly powerful because of the monopoly position of the Österreichische Kunststelle, cannot yet have been fully in place for Das kleine Café, Benatzky’s later works had to go through this process.

In spite of such interference, however, the Vaterländische Front never aimed at a comprehensive censorship system. As a manuscript essay about “Cultural Politics in Austria” in the institution’s papers emphasizes, “cultural life shall unfold with the necessary freedom. In case interventions are necessary, these need to be handled with care. We have neither the intention nor the means to keep culture on the leash.” But active suppression was often unnecessary as Vienna’s press and audiences became increasingly conservative. Benatzky’s last Viennese premiere, Majestät privat (1937)—a cheeky, typically “Parisian comedy” about the adventures of a royal Casanova—garnered neither critical nor popular success: the plot, featuring “lubricities that are unbearable” and not “indigenous” to Vienna, was deemed too immoral. Such reactions show how fine a line Benatzky had to walk in his works for Austrofascist Vienna with regard to subject matter and style. While several diary statements demonstrate that against the Nazis he would always have taken the side of the Corporate State, others convey skepticism toward the conservative, self-regarding Austrofascist cultural ideology. “Blubo à la Vienne wherever one burped!” he reported of a Heuriger evening.

378 “Die durchaus veränderte politische Lage”; “äusserst inopportun”; “Man würde heutzutage eine Satire, die sich gegen das Beamtenbrot, gegen die Polizei u.s.w. richtet, nicht so harmlos auffassen, wie Sie von Ihnen, sehr verehrter Herr Rehse, gemeint und das Publikum wäre an Stellen, die es noch vor einem Jahre ausschliesslich erheitert hätten, befremdet.” Rolf Jahn to Bernhard Rehse, December 28, 1933; Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Heinrich Schnitzler Papers.

379 “die natürlich ... zu begründen ist ... mit sittlichen, politischen, religiösen und allgemein literarischen Argumenten”; “Gedächtnisprotokoll; 3. September 1936: Über die mündliche Vereinbarung zwischen der Ö.K. und dem Theater in der Josefstadt für die Spielzeit 1936/37”; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38. These agreements would have affected Benatzky’s Pariserinnen production.

380 “soll das Kulturleben sich in jener Freiheit entfalten, die es braucht. Sind Eingriffe nötig, so müssen sie mit Vorsicht geschehen. Wir haben weder die Absicht noch die Mittel, die Kultur am Gängelband zu führen.” n.n., "Kulturpolitik in Österreich," manuscript; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 37, 14.


382 See, for example, Benatzky, diary, July 26, 1934.
organized by the Austrian composers’ league, and he also complained about the sleazy ingratiation and “knee-slapping,” “duliö-like [Austrian slang for intoxicated] intimacy of the a-tout-prix Viennese” that he had witnessed at Austria’s exhibit at the 1935 World Exhibition in Brussels.  

With *Das kleine Café*, Benatzky managed to satisfy not only those who were looking for a waltz-drenched homage to Vienna but also the more critical or cliché-weary audience members, at the same time positioning himself so that his own attitude—whatever it might have been—could not be pinned down. He achieved this through his characteristic, by this time already tried-and-tested balance of very different musical materials, none of which could be taken entirely seriously. As critic Fred Heller observed, Benatzky was a specialist in mixing styles into an “infallible” cocktail, combining “crooning Boston rhythms” and “scoffing ländler tempos,” the glamorous and the folksy. His riskily emotional Act II finale is embedded in comic numbers, which led one critic to note with relief that its “melancholic pathos” was “just one more melodramatic effect that tickles.” Immediately beforehand, Georgette delivers the exaggeratedly “French” chanson parody “Chiribiri” and (already within the finale) another humorous slowfox “about the art of palm reading.” Similarly, after the interval, once Franz’s loneliness is reestablished in another “intimate,” “folksong-like” solo number, a brooding, explicitly parodistic quotation from Schubert’s “Erlkönig” introduces the jealous ladies once more. Played by the saxophone, of all instruments, and perhaps aiming at the more sincere use of Schubert’s melodies in Berté’s schmalzy Alt Wien epic *Das Dreimäderlhaus*, this quotation may well have been one of the “sneaky melodic malignities” that years later prompted critic Ludwig Ullmann to call Benatzky “the Bernard Shaw of the light but almost pedantically witty muse.”

In this eclectic, indiscriminate context, the composer’s use of jazz instruments and a wide range of fashionable American dances—theoretically anathema to the Austrofascists, who had vowed to “brace [themselves] against the frightening degeneration of culture” by “combat[ing] every kind of negro culture (jazz or so-called Americanism)”—remained entirely

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383 “Blubo à la Vienne, wohin ma krapetzte!” “schenkelklopfende”; “duliö-ske Intimität ... der A-tout-prix Weana”; Benatzky, diary, July 23, 1936. “Blubo” is an acronym for the National Socialist “Blut- und Bodenideologie” (blood and soil ideology), the aggrandizing of the German racial lineage and native soil. Blubo literature and art glorified rural life and promoted a return to nature. These ideas, of course, were also important to the Austrofascists, whose added emphasis on Christian values is sometimes reflected in the adapted term “Gobo” (Gott- und Bodenideologie). On “Blubo” in Austria see, for example, Gabriele Volsansky, “Die ‘Affaire Wenter’: Zum Verhältnis austrofaschistische Kulturpolitik und Nationalsozialismus,” in Haider-Pregler and Reiterer, *Verspielte Zeit*, 54.


385 “melancholische Pathetik”; “nur ein melodramatischer Effekt mehr, der ... kitzelt”; “Benatzkys ‘Kleines Café’ im Volkstheater,” *Der Wiener Tag*, April 22, 1934, 8.

386 über die Handlesekunst”; “Das kleine Café’ im Volkstheater,” *Das kleine Volksblatt*, April 22, 1934, 27.

unchallenged. Indeed, the regime may have backed Benatzky's partly mocking use of foreign elements because, without being too obtrusive, these elements could help to present Austria as a modern, progressive state overseas. For, as the press stressed, *Das kleine Café* bore potential for exposure abroad, especially after the international triumph of Benatzky's jazzy *Im weißen Rössl* and the successful Broadway run of his first chamber operetta, *Meine Schwester und Ich* in 1930.

Just as essential to his success as the balance between diverse musical elements was their delivery—as Benatzky's already quoted comment about the experimental Act II finale makes clear. For the successful realization of his specific performance standards, Benatzky relied on his long-trusted star principal, the parody artist Max Hansen. The *Wiener Zeitung* aptly commented:

as Franz Lehár has his [Richard] Tauber, Benatzky has his Hansen! ... Who could perform the quirky and uniquely Benatzkian slowfox and waltz songs with such meticulously fitting, trenchant, enthralling rhythm, musicality, and peculiar humor, as well as a kind of compelling amiability?

It was exactly the "amiable" or "endearingly" comic quality of Hansen's performance that made any sentimental moments and insinuated criticism palatable and, so reviewers repeatedly stressed, contributed crucially to the success of Benatzky's operettas. Indeed, even critics who pleaded for an operetta without any tragic elements lauded the fact that, rather than with a "sobbing finale," the Act II of *Das kleine Café* had finished "with remarkable subtlety and pleasant discretion."

A great example for Benatzky's successful Wiener Melange is Franz's catchy "Mehlspeis" couplet, one of *Das kleine Café*’s most popular hits. This eulogy to Viennese cuisine, praising dumplings and Sachertorte over caviar and vol au vents, must have appealed to the Christian Social regime, for food was held dear in the Corporate State: it was not by chance that the Austrian pavilion at the 1935 World Exhibition in Brussels made a feature of its sausage stall, and that the main attraction and crowd puller at the Parisian exhibition two years later...
later was a “Viennese café” catered by a renowned Austrian confectionery. Benatzky had already used food in earlier works to distinguish Austrian predilections and specialties from German ones. As Norbert Abels observed, *Im weißen Rössl*, with all its eating as well as talking, singing, and ranting about food, almost turns into a “romanticization of staple foods,” even a “culinarization of eroticism.”

Franz’s hymn to Viennese cuisine is similarly rhapsodic. And yet, even reviewers skeptical in principle about the “encomium of Mehlspeisen” granted that Benatzky’s music “refreshingly de-sweetened” what could have been “conventional sob slop.” Indeed, the “Mehlspeis” couplet is not set, as one might expect, to a gemütlich waltz or ländler but to a casual foxtrot. Franz’s melody seems rather matter-of-fact; in the extant recording Hansen chooses a typical mixture of song and speech. Only the ascending line at the verse ends, including dramatic pauses and occasionally thrown-in exclamations, gives way to rather suggestive, almost ecstatic wallowing. It is inherently funny to realize that this blinkered but lovable Viennese eccentric is only enumerating a list of typical local dishes.

![Example 2.2 beginning]

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Example 2.2 continued: Final phrases of the “Mehlspeis’ Couplet.” Das kleine Café, Music and Text: Ralph Benatzky. (© Copyright 1934 by Ludwig Doblinger (Bernhard Herzmansky) KG, Wien; Bühnenverlag: Felix Bloch Erben, Berlin.)

Even more tellingly, the couplet contributes to the work’s perplexingly unromantic, Vienna-centered end—a tongue-in-cheek play with operetta conventions and perhaps even with the “new Austrian” Biederkeit (bourgeois Puritanism). When Franz has finally convinced the supercilious Helene to marry him, he does not sing of love or spring—the most common song subjects, as he himself has established earlier. In fact, only the Guglhupf (Bundt cake) with which his cashier presents him can assure Franz that it is really a festive occasion. As Helene’s behavior makes it doubtful that Franz’s “dream of delight” will ever be other than culinary, the waiter resorts to a final, rousing “Mehlspeis” reminiscence and fervently concludes: “this only happens in Vienna!!”

[1] A Mehlspeis, oh words fail me, is the best cure; crepes, plum dumplings (such an apple strudel, yeast dumpling) or even a Sacher cake, that you only get in Vienna. [2] A Mehlspeis, ring all the bells, broadcast it on the air; such a poppy-seed yeast bread, nut croissant, Salzburg vanilla soufflé, that only exists in Vienna!” Benatzky, Das kleine Café, Klavierauszug, 65–66.


[42] “Jetzt weiß ich erst wirklich ganz genau, dass heut’ a Festtag is!” Benatzky, Das kleine Café, Soufflier- und Regiebuch, 44.

Figure 2.1: Max Hansen with the Guglhf and the rest of the Ensemble. Ralph Benatzky, Das kleine Café, Act III Schlußgesang; Deutsches Volkstheater, Vienna, April 21, 1934.\textsuperscript{403}

\textsuperscript{403} Photo courtesy of Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ÖTM FS_PSA8650.
Herzen im Schnee

[One] amusing little anecdote[] to be appended:
Hannes Schneider, the great Austrian skiing ace and originator of the Arlberg style, takes a trip to America. In the giant hall of Madison Square Garden in New York a 200-foot-high ski jump with artificial snow has been erected. Thirteen thousand people fill the hall. High up stands Schneider, ready for the drop. The hall is dark, only spotlights beaming on him and on the Austrian ambassador ... in the VIP box. Breathless suspense. The giant orchestra is supposed to intone the Austrian national anthem as a salutation. All thirteen thousand rise from their seats and hear, standing—“At the White Horse Inn on the Wolfgangsee —” Because in America they think it’s the Austrian national anthem.—Nice!

Ralph Benatzky in his diary, January 15, 1937.

What seemed a peculiar mix-up to Benatzky may in fact have been deliberate: budget reports for the New York branch of the Austrian tourism office show that Hannes Schneider’s “propaganda trip” and the sensationally popular White Horse Inn revue on Broadway were Austrian officials’ two great white hopes for a “rising development of the tourist traffic from America.”

Even before Benatzky’s most famous collaboration reached American stages, the Austrian Chancellor’s Office recognized the composer’s importance as “a representative of the Viennese genre” who had “contributed immensely to disseminating the reputation of our native music.” In October 1933, during the triumphal runs of Im weißen Rössl in London and Paris, Benatzky was awarded the “Silver Medal of the Republic of Austria for Services to the Republic,” following the government-internal report

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407 Traubner, Operetta, 327.

408 “Silberne Ehrenzeichen der Republik Österreich für Verdienste um die Republik”; Pacher, Benatzky, 24. It is not widely known that Benatzky had recommended himself for this award, a fact that annoyed many of the Viennese officials. See Benatzky to the Bundes-Ministerium für Kultur und Unterricht; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 2, Z.27.893-K/1933.
that abroad, particularly in America, Vienna’s reputation as capital of music apparently relies to a large extent also on the fact that our city leads the way in the area of the light muse. Austrian hits and among them those by Benatzky have surely attracted a much larger audience to Austria than many a more valuable product of serious Austrian music. Not least, the *Weisses Rössl* has had such a resounding success, especially in England that, in view of promoting tourism alone, a recognition of Benatzky could be justified.\footnote{dass im Auslande, speziell in Amerika, der Ruf Wiens als erste Musikstadt zum grossen Teil wohl auch darauf beruht, dass unsere Stadt auf dem Gebiete der heiteren Musik als richtungsgebend gilt. Österreichische Schlager und darunter die von Benatzky haben zahlenmässig gewiss an sich ein weit grösseres Publikum auf Österreich aufmerksam gemacht als manches viel wertvollere Produkt der ernsten österreichischen Musik. Nicht zuletzt hat das ‘Weiße Rössl’ zumal in England einen so durchschlagenden Erfolg gehabt, dass schon vom Standpunkte der Fremdenverkehrsförderung aus eine Anerkennung Benatzky’s wohl gerechtfertigt sein könnte.” “Benatzky, Ralph. Dr.—Verdienstorden,” February 5, 1936; ÖSta, AdR, Präsidium für Handel und Verkehr, 11419, Pr./1936.}

*Im weißen Rössl*, set in St. Wolfgang, a small town in Austria’s Salzkammergut region, indeed attracted the interest of many foreigners. Tourism in the area boomed as the work conquered one country after another, and Carl Lamac’s homonymous film from 1935, for which Benatzky contributed additional music, even prompted international travel businesses to organize Rössl-themed trips to St. Wolfgang.\footnote{“Das ‘weiße Rössl’ wirbt,” *Wiener Zeitung*, March 27, 1936, 10; also cited in Karin Moser, “Der ‘gute’ Film,” in Moritz, Moser, and Leidinger, *Kampfzone Kino*, 380.}

Tourism was a crucial source of income in 1930s Austria as—like operetta—it did not require raw materials.\footnote{See, for example, Erwin Deinlein, “Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Fremdenverkehrs,” in *Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr*, ed. Gewerbeförderungsdienst des Bundesministers für Handel und Verkehr (Vienna: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Fremdenverkehr, 1934), 31.} When the Austrian government, fearing annexation attempts from the Third Reich, prohibited National Socialist identifiers such as emblems and uniforms in May 1933, the Nazis reacted with a decree that obliged Germans to pay a thousand marks on entering Austria. This exceptionally high tariff effectively closed the frontiers; hardly any Germans traveled to Austria in the following years. Especially the western provinces, conveniently close for Germans, were affected. In Tyrol, for example, the number of overnight stays decreased by more than half, from 2.7 million in 1932 to 1.3 million in 1934.\footnote{Statistics from Adolf Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr Tirol* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1989), 173; cited in Wolfgang Straub, *Willkommen: Literatur und Fremdenverkehr in Österreich* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2001), 40.}

The Austrian government took immediate measures to overcome the resulting shortfalls: an “Institute for Tourism Research” was founded at Vienna’s College for World Trade...
in early 1934, and the production of advertising materials, posters, and films was increased and translated into numerous languages. Furthermore, branch offices of Austria’s tourism agency were established in every major city to lure visitors from all over the world. Efforts were also made to boost inland travel: in order to encourage Austrians to see their own country and support their own economy, direct trains between major cities and the most important holiday resorts were organized, discounted ticket rates offered, and radio advertisements broadcast nationally. Of course, as in the case of operetta, the relatively affluent Viennese middle classes were the most important target of such endeavors. And although the expected influx of German visitors did not materialize after the Thousand Mark Ban was lifted following the July Agreement between Austria and the Reich in 1936, by 1937 Austrian hotels managed to equal the numbers from 1931 thanks largely to the intensive advertising efforts.

One important measure toward boosting the numbers of overnight stays was to promote a second season. Apart from the traditional summer travel, Austria increasingly presented itself as a winter destination in the 1930s. Winter sports, and particularly skiing, became the new drawing cards. Officials of the Christian-conservative regime, which placed such importance on history and tradition, promoted this up-and-coming sport as “a markedly Austrian affair,” tracing its origins back to Alpine farmers before 1200 and boasting that Austria was the only country with licensed skiing teachers as well as “scientifically grounded” skiing tuition. Winter-sports fans were led to believe that only in Austria could one learn to ski properly. Such efforts were successful. As skiing became increasingly fashionable in the 1930s, high-society magazines and tabloids started to picture Austrian as well as international stars and notables on their winter break in the vastness of the wintery Alps. Chancellor Schuschnigg himself spent New Year’s in Tyrol, at St. Anton’s Hotel Post, the press eagerly reported.

The arts, too, fueled the tourism and winter-sports enthusiasm. Novels, including Erich Kästner’s Drei Männer im Schnee (1934) and Karl Springenschmid’s St. Egyd auf Brettern (1936), but also film comedies, such as Peter im Schnee (1937) by Carl Lamac, contributed to the growing perception of Austria as a skiing nation. Even more influential internationally were Arno Fanck’s spectacular ski movies, most notably Der weiße Rausch (1931) with Leni

434 Feller, “Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit,” in Kos and Rapp, Alt-Wien, 278.
437 Straub, Willkommen, 34. For a detailed account of the “Thousand Mark Ban” and the July Agreement see also Gustav Otruba, A. Hitler’s Tausend-Mark-Sperre und die Folgen für Österreichs Fremdenverkehr (1933–1938) (Linz: Rudolf Trauner, 1983), II.
439 See also Rapp, “Schnelle neue Alpen,” 127.
440 See, for example, Ingrid Wolf, “St. Anton am Arlberg 1937,” Die Bühne 439 (1937).
Riefenstahl and Hannes Schneider, who—in a rather loose story with breathtaking mountain panorama footage—showed off the novel stem turns of his acclaimed “Arlberg method. Riefenstahl and Hannes Schneider, who—in a rather loose story with breathtaking mountain panorama footage—showed off the novel stem turns of his acclaimed “Arlberg method. The regime, aware of these films’ propaganda impact, repeatedly decorated Schneider, “the master and patron of the Austrian skiing sport.”

It was on the occasion of such an award ceremony that chancellor Schuschnigg and foreign-affairs secretary Guido Schmidt heard of the great success of Benatzky’s new Herzen im Schnee at the Stadttheater in Zurich, where it had premiered in December 1936. This grand “winter-sports revue operetta” played in Schneider’s hometown, the already-mentioned fashionable ski resort St. Anton am Arlberg and, in a fictional story, featured characters modeled on several villagers as well as the national icon himself. Revolving around the skiing teacher’s amorous interest in Rosl, the local tailor’s daughter, and his flirtations with the visiting English lady Margaret, Herzen im Schnee shows humorous conflicts between the backward but practical locals and the elegant, eccentric strangers during a typical Arlberg skiing season.

The touristic potential of the work was immediately apparent. Austrian officials were attracted by the novelty of the winter-sports material with its authentic setting as well as by the promise of Benatzky’s international popularity, especially because the antipodal attributes Herzen im Schnee promoted—“scenic beauty and glamorous elegance,” the autochthonous and the cosmopolitan, tradition and progress—showed off the harmonious synergy of both sides of the “new Austria” as its leaders envisioned it. In the interest of Austrian winter sports ... we have gladly accommodated the wishes of the Arlberg that with the aid of this operetta a grand international advertising campaign should be set in motion now,” reported Schmidt, who liked the idea of “a propaganda vehicle quite different from posters, prints, and ads, which every country offers after all.” Kunststelle director Kuno Grohmann argued that Herzen im Schnee seemed “to have the makings of an international campaign for Austria as substantial as Das weisse Rössl once did.”

Benatzky, too, openly admitted his hopes that Herzen im Schnee would become “a kind of wintry Weiße Rössl.” The composer had long toyed with the idea of some sort of sequel to his biggest success, whose royalties had enabled him to buy a comfortable home in safe

422 “Meister und Förderer des Österr. Skisportes”; Kos, Kampf um die Stadt, 376.
425 “Im Interesse des österreichischen Wintersportes ... haben wir den Wunsch des Arlbergs gerne aufgenommen, dass mit Hilfe dieser Operette nun eine grosse internationale Propaganda eingeleitet wurde.” “eine ganz andere Propaganda ... als Werbeplakate, Drucksachen und Anzeigen, die schliesslich jedes Land bringt”; Guido Schmidt an Georg Frankenstein, n.d.; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
426 “geeignet scheint, eine ebenso grosse Weltpropaganda für Österreich zu machen, wie seinerzeit ‘Das weiße Rössl’”; Kuno Grohmann to Georg Schicht, June 18, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
Switzerland in 1932. His only work of revue size since 1930 had been The Flying Trapeze (1935)—like Im weißen Rössl a collaboration with Hans Müller and Erik Charell—but Benatzky had been disappointed with the outcome. In fact, his diary entries show that he thought his chamber works to be of much higher originality and quality than his larger works. At the same time, the composer was increasingly eager for future creative and financial opportunities. “There are fewer and fewer people who stand behind my output,” he worried when Josefstadt director Otto Preminger considered leaving Vienna for Hollywood in 1935, and he regretted that he was not more suited for the film business. In August 1936, unsure of what project to tackle next, the composer committed his frustration to paper:

The urge to “make money,” which could motivate me to work …, flags because in these theater-averse times it is entirely impossible to earn more than a skimpy livelihood. … Then perhaps the addiction to outward glamor might spur me on? No again. Because the “operetta” genre is a genre maudit that—no matter how artistic and sophisticated my aspirations—is always assessed as second hand, and will always lag and be rated as frivolous, no matter of how uninspired bombastic “serious art” rubbish gets.

Benatzky went on to lament the futility of efforts to raise the standard of musical comedies because the audiences were “no less amused by the ‘pits’ of other productions of the same genre,” as by his own “(polished, clean, witty, humanly seen and felt) musical comedy situations.”

Remarkably, it was only a few days later that Benatzky began composing the music to Herzen im Schnee, which is so different from his other works of this time and, both in form and content, shows such striking similarities to Im weißen Rössl. It even has the same lyricist, Robert Gilbert, although the book authors Henry Gilbert and Armin Robinson were new to the team. Like its summertime predecessor, Herzen im Schnee is a cocktail mixed from elements of modern pop culture and rustic clichés, and combines travel adventure with down-to-earthness. Once more, Max Hansen plays one of his “slightly self-parodistic,” “amiable”

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428 Benatzky, diary, January 14 and 23, 1935; see also Hennenberg, Operette auf dem Weg zum Musical, 123.
429 Benatzky, diary, June 4, 1935.
430 “immer weniger sind es derer, die noch zu meiner Produktion stehen”; Benatzky, diary, July 1, 1935.
433 Benatzky, diary, September 14, 1936.
434 Early sources cite Benatzky also as the librettist—perhaps to facilitate performances in Nazi Germany since at least Henry and Robert Gilbert had Jewish roots—and Benatzky scholars such as biographer Fritz Hennenberg have supported this idea. (Hennenberg, Es muß was Wunderbares sein, 235.) However, extant contracts with the other authors prove their involvement. Private communication with Boris Priebe, dramaturg at Felix-Bloch Erben publishing.
characters—this time in the role of Seppl Huber, the fictionalized Hannes Schneider.\(^{435}\) Hansen, also the director of the production, even gets to sing another quodlibet with quotations from various hit songs, operetta favorites, and Shakespeare lines. The “beautiful” Sigismund in *Im weißen Rössl* is substituted here by the shy townie Bobby, whose stutter is, in turn, clearly inspired by Klärchen’s lisp in the earlier operetta. The audience also witnessed another comic rehearsal of the village choir and, as the *Neue Freie Presse* noted, the Rössl’s “famous act-closing rain becomes a lucrative snowfall” in *Herzen im Schnee*.\(^{436}\) There is yet again plenty of opportunity for urban audiences to laugh at the clumsiness of the—this time Tyrolean—country folk and smirk at the typical ignorance and eccentricities of the genteel visitors,\(^{437}\) and just as the locals in *Im weißen Rössl* openly announce that “the magic of the season” is that “the scenery yields interest,”\(^{438}\) St. Anton’s inhabitants bluntly conclude the final chorus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ja, gäb’s auf der Welt keinen Fremdenverkehr} & \quad \text{Yes, if there were no tourism in the world} \\
\text{Na, wo nehmerten wir dann das Einkommen her?} & \quad \text{Well, where would we get our income from?} \\
\text{Ja! Gäb’s auf der Welt keinen Fremdenverkehr...} & \quad \text{Yes, if there were no tourism in the world} \\
\text{Gäb’s im Inland auch bald keinen Ausländer mehr!} & \quad \text{There also would soon be no foreigner inland!} \\
\text{Wenn all’weil die Fremden gern z’Haus bleiben nur,} & \quad \text{If the strangers always prefer to stay at home,} \\
\text{Na, dann schau’n wir gut aus mit unsrer Natur!} & \quad \text{Well, then we sit pretty with our nature!} \\
\text{Drum Ausländer kummt’s! Steigt’s nur ein in den Zug!} & \quad \text{So, foreigners, come! Get onto the train!} \\
\text{Denn Inländer hab’n mir im Inland g’rad g’nug!} & \quad \text{For we have all the natives we need inland!}^{439}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, *Herzen im Schnee* ends, just like *Im weißen Rössl*, without any “international” couples: the two Austrians find each other, the English lady marries her English fiancé, and the stuttering Bobby finds work as a radio reporter in Vienna. All return where they belong. As one paper noted:

> The moral of this propaganda story: foreign ladies are in no danger of avalanche or marriage. Only skiing classes, where flirting is included in the service.\(^{440}\)

In remarkable contrast to the earlier work, however, none of the skiing guests are German: after the damaging Thousand Mark Ban, English visitors were instead welcomed on stage—and depicted rather more neutrally.

\(^{437}\) Abels, “Operettenfinale,” 7. The townie Bobby, for example, tells a cock to go back to laying eggs and Seppl boasts that in England he was introduced to “the great poet Bernhard Schaf [Sheep].” (“dem grossen Dichter Bernhard Schaf haben’s mir vorgestellt”; Henry Gilbert, Armin L. Robinson, and Robert Gilbert, *Herzen im Schnee*, Textbuch (Zurich: Musikverlag und Bühnenvertrieb Zürich AG, 1937), 121 and 24.
\(^{438}\) “Das ist der Zauber der Saison! Da trägt die Landschaft Zinsen!”
As so often, Benatzky was not happy with the work, and particularly with the book. While he never commented on its similarities to Im weißen Rössl, he repeatedly criticized the libretto as “dawdling,” “primitive,” “naïve,” and “too long,” albeit conceding that it was “not ineffective.” After the premiere in Zurich, he reflected that at least some of his musical numbers would have been “worthy of a better cause” but then bluntly admitted that Herzen im Schnee offered “good business opportunities.” The contract with Vienna’s Volksoper, which he concluded soon thereafter, seemed to confirm his hopes.

The political presence at the Viennese premiere of Herzen im Schnee in September 1937 was even more impressive than it had been for Benatzky’s other works. Chancellor Schuschnigg was accompanied by an entourage of ministers of state and foreign ambassadors, as well as by the presidents of the national radio station RAVAG and the agency for tourism advertising. The mayor of St. Anton, the owner of the Hotel Post, and Hannes Schneider had also been invited in order to demonstrate the production’s closeness to real life (or, rather, vice versa). After Act I, secretary general of the Vaterländische Front Guido Zernatto appeared on stage to greet the performers; later on, Schuschnigg personally received Benatzky for a long, friendly conversation. Furthermore, the Kunststelle organized special events such as an “advertisement performance” for representatives of the workforces, yet again in the presence of high cultural officials.

There was a reason for this deployment of political big shots: Herzen im Schnee was the first stage work endorsed and promoted by Neues Leben, a cultural institution founded in 1937 on the model of the Nazi organization Kraft durch Freude and the Italian Dopolavoro. The Österreichische Kunststelle was incorporated into this new institution, which aimed for “an intensified cultural-political influence on the Viennese private theaters” as well as a “purge of the theater business.” Minutes of an early meeting show that the new cultural leaders lamented Austrian theaters’ sacrifice of “high-quality art” for the sake of business as well as their reliance on “sensation and the lowest instincts.” Neues Leben, the officials agreed, should therefore steer the program selection and boost “the artistic quality of performance” more than ever. Herzen im Schnee was brought up in this discussion as a prime example of how one could “educate the audiences and direct them toward worthwhile pieces” through

441 “vertrödelt, primitiv”; “naiv, zu lang”; “nicht unwirksam”; “einer besseren Sache würdig”; “gute Geschäftsmöglichkeiten”; Benatzky, diary, December 17 and 22, 1936.
444 Grohmann to Legationsrat Dr. Karl Leitmaier, September 11, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 2; see also Benatzky, diary, September 9, 1937.
“appropriate ticket sales.” Accordingly, the Kunststelle newsletter proudly announced an “increased ticket acquisition” and “particularly discounted prices” for Benatzky’s work.

The political input in Vienna’s Herzen im Schnee production may have been much more weighty, however: an agreement between the Kunststelle and the Volksoper direction determined that the former had to be consulted about the casting, the direction, the scene decorations—even about the texts. In return, the Kunststelle took charge of advertising for the production and organized a “world poster as winter tourism campaign for Herzen im Schnee,” which was to be disseminated all across Austria at least a month before the premiere. Unfortunately, without the performance materials from the earlier Zurich production as comparison, it is impossible to determine how much the Kunststelle actually intervened in the Viennese production of Herzen im Schnee, and even with these materials on hand it would be difficult, as it is likely that Benatzky and his co-authors retooled their work to a certain extent from the outset, in order to ensure its distribution and success in the country in which it was set.

One aspect of the Kunststelle’s influence, however, is documented: the institution pleaded for particularly lavish stage settings and allocated a budget three times as high as for other productions. While the sets at the Zurich premiere had already aimed at an authentically “upper-Austrian” impression, Walter von Hößlin’s Viennese replica of St. Anton astonished audiences with its “stunning likeness to nature,” which commentators saw as an “estimable deed with regard to tourism advertising”—a remark that shows that a significant proportion of the potential travelers targeted by the production was situated in Vienna. The “traditional” side of Austrian culture was also represented in an “uncommonly sumptuous staged wedding procession,” in which “representatives of the various rural regions” marched with delegation banners and flags, behind them the veterans’ association, fire brigade, and sports clubs in their traditional garb. This display of the state’s sacred and secular celebration and staging culture was complemented by a couple of spectacular, usable skiing slopes as well as an artificial ice surface, on which ice comedians, skating artists, and lines of chorus girls could show their stunts in grotesque costumes.

448 “hochwertige Kunst”; “Sensation und die niedersten Instinkte”; “die künstlerische Höhe der Darstellung”; “das Publikum zu erziehen, es auf wertvolle Stücke hinzulenken”; “gebührenden Kartenabsatz”; Kulturleitertagung, n.d., must have been in August or September 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 37.
450 “Weltplakates als Winterverkehrswerbung für ‘Herzen im Schnee’”; “Gedächtnisprotokoll über die Vereinbarung zwischen der Österreichischen Kunststelle … und der Direktion der Volksoper”; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
451 “Gedächtnisprotokoll über die Vereinbarung zwischen der Österreichischen Kunststelle … und der Direktion der Volksoper”; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
452 Hennenberg, Es muß was Wunderbares sein, 236.
455 “Vertreter der einzelnen ländlichen Bezirke”; Gilbert, Robinson, and Gilbert, Herzen im Schnee, Textbuch, 121.
Just how much touristic importance officials placed on such true-to-life presentation of Austrian flair also abroad can be seen from the Kunststelle’s preliminary contract with London’s Adelphi Theatre, stipulating that all decorations should be authentically Austrian, and that Austrian specialists had to be consulted on all travel and artistic matters. Under a penalty of 25,000 schilling, the story’s setting had to remain in Austria, and the international title of the work was to read “St. Anton am Arlberg” so that under no circumstances could interested audience members forget the name of their holiday dream world.

Reactions to the Viennese production were—while hardly exuberant—consistently benevolent, perhaps partly because of its prominent endorsement by Austria’s leaders. Many critics

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458 Photo courtesy of Österreichisches Theatermuseum, ÖTM FS_PSE315076alt.
459 Grohmann to Frankenstein, June 18, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
commented on the “lighthearted pleasure” or the “charming musical Benatzky pearls,” and saw the performance as an “effective and animated propaganda prospectus” that would be very successful abroad. Even the tourism trade journal Verkehrswirtschaftliche Rundschau speculated about the “many hundred hearts” that the work brought to St. Anton and other winter-sports centers through “its Austrian character, its music, its traditional garb, and its local color.”

Benatzky, however, after his recent negative experiences, was skeptical about such “signs of outward success” and soon suspected that the operetta revue would be a financial disappointment for him. He was right: in spite of the great success in Zurich and the friendly reception of the Viennese premiere, Herzen im Schnee did not catch on widely, and even in the Volksoper the production was replaced soon after the ninety days stipulated in the Kunststelle contract.

Several reasons for this flop come to mind. Contemporary witness Hugo Wiener reports in his memoirs that the production failed because the artificial ice rink on stage—the organizers’ pride and joy—was produced with a chemical additive that made the singers (as well as the first rows of the audience) hoarse. More easily confirmed, several reviews suggest that the rather direct parallels to Im weißen Rössl were not seen in an entirely positive light. The “sequel”—as so often—did not offer enough originality to convince. The critic of the Wiener Zeitung, for example, hinted:

[Herzen im Schnee] is nice and—as they like to say—geistvoll [spirited, intellectually stimulating]; it comes from the “White Horse Inn.” ... With the sole difference that snow has fallen in the meantime.

This cannot have been the only reason for the failure, however, because the similarities to the earlier revue operetta already must have been apparent in Zurich, where Herzen im Schnee was an extraordinary success. The discrepancy in reception between Zurich and Vienna may have been due to the different staging or cast, but it could also have been a result of censoring measures by the Kunststelle. Finally, the explicitly political context of the Viennese production...
may have contributed to its flop. In this respect, it is noteworthy that between June and December 1937—just at the time when *Herzen im Schnee* played at the Volksoper—the Kunststelle lost half of its 28,000 subscribers, at least partly because members now also had to enroll in the more evidently party-affiliated Neues Leben, whose involvement made the political interference in sponsored theater productions increasingly obvious to the Viennese. In this respect, it is noteworthy that between June and December 1937—just at the time when *Herzen im Schnee* played at the Volksoper—the Kunststelle lost half of its 28,000 subscribers, at least partly because members now also had to enroll in the more evidently party-affiliated Neues Leben, whose involvement made the political interference in sponsored theater productions increasingly obvious to the Viennese.469

Outside of Austria, too, the *Herzen im Schnee* project failed to live up to the high expectations of politicians and press. Indeed, the great touristic potential that had made the work so attractive to Austrian officials never bore fruit. Benatzky reported of negotiations with the Gaeté Lyrique in Paris and also mentioned that J.J. Shubert had been approached with the work.470 Negotiations with Kraft durch Freude about a Reich production were at least considered,471 and Max Hansen planned a tour of Stockholm and Copenhagen.472 The greatest importance, however, was placed on the work's production at the Adelphi theater in London because with this event, Guido Schmidt reasoned, “a launch in all western countries, and particularly Paris, New York, etc., is as good as secured.”473 Top-class singers, including Bobby Howes, John Mills, and Kitty Carlisle, who had just starred in Broadway’s *White Horse Inn*, were considered, and a suitable author for the book’s English adaptation was found. But apparently *Herzen im Schnee* did not show enough potential for the London theater to consider backing the production financially—this matter was left entirely to the Austrian prospects. The Adelphi direction estimated that 12,000 pounds total capital would be necessary for the production—a huge sum if paid in Austrian schilling. In a meeting of the directors for Austrian Traffic Advertisement, the government involvement in financing the planned London production was subject to a detailed discussion that showed a definite reluctance on the officials’ part.475 And although Kuno Grohmann even made the effort to ask private business angels for their support, traces of the venture peter out thereafter.476

As a sample of the work of Viennese operetta’s most prolific composer endorsed by the Corporate State, the productions investigated in this chapter may suggest that Austrofascist musical theater simply continued with the trends of the 1920s. Indeed, one of the main reasons that operetta became interesting for the new rulers was its already proven potential to show off Austria as a country of natural beauty, great cultural heritage, unspoiled traditions, and

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470 Benatzky, diary, July 1, 1937 and May 28, 1937.
471 Vaterländisches Front-Werk “Neues Leben” to the general secretary [n.n.], August 25, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
474 His Majesty’s Theatre Direction to Armin Robinson, May 24, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
475 Most of the official correspondence of the Österreichische Verkehrswerbung about the planned productions in France and the UK has unfortunately been shredded.
476 Grohmann to Schicht, June 18, 1937; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 38.
lovable locals—aspects that were the most successful with international audiences and that now also promoted the preferred image of the “new,” Corporate Austria. Benatzky’s worldwide smash hit *Im weißen Rössl* was the ideal model for Austrofascist operetta, then, as it not only recommended the country’s beauties to potential foreign visitors but also helped to foster a much-desired national pride and sense of belonging among Austrian audiences. While the use of jazz elements and the comic, blunt presentation of Austrian foibles would perhaps not have fared as well with Austrofascist authorities had they been newly introduced, their previously positive reception and impact on tourism granted Benatzky much leeway in his Viennese works.

Yet withal, Benatzky’s Austrofascist productions show major concessions to the political situation, documenting more generally a fundamental change in Viennese operetta culture as authors could no longer focus primarily on audience appeal but were forced to seek the state approval on which even private theaters now depended—a change that is most commonly attributed to the Nazi era. Benatzky’s efforts in *Das kleine Café* to affirm that his work was (still) compatible with Viennese (and Austrofascist) concerns, demonstrate that he was quite aware of what was expected of him in the “new Austria.” Combining a novel chamber-scale format—widely performable and even showing elements of the traditional Viennese folk play—with innovative musical twists as well as many of his typical, peculiar local characteristics and habits, *Das kleine Café* managed to satisfy all hopes as well as his own ambitions, and made it possible for the composer to make Vienna his new professional residence.

The later *Herzen im Schnee*, however, shows how frustrating it was to work in the Austrofascist operetta scene. Because chamber works made much less profit, Benatzky had to produce new ones in rapid succession, while the constantly looming censorship and increasingly conservative audience reactions added further worries. Unflatteringly, the work most promisingly welcomed by state officials, *Herzen im Schnee*, was a straightforward “sequel” to an earlier success, a mere “business opportunity” in Benatzky’s eyes. But when not even this most enthusiastically endorsed work could secure an audience (read: financial) success, Vienna became entirely unattractive for the versatile composer.

When *Herzen im Schnee* was taken off the program—right around the time that the opening of *Majestät privat* also made negative headlines—the composer prayed that this would be his last premiere in the Austrian capital.477 Less than a month later he left Vienna for Switzerland, “and thus gladly put an end to some of the ugliest months of my life.”478 The conditions in the Corporate State had not made work easy for the composer. And still, when Austria was finally annexed to the Third Reich a couple of months later, Benatzky reacted with shock:

As of last night, Austria is National Socialist! Schuschnigg yielded to force, German troops have passed the borders, the swastika flies everywhere, independence is gone, a

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477 Benatzky, diary, December 19, 1937.
478 “und beschloß damit, mit Freuden, einige der häßlichsten Monate meines Lebens”; Benatzky, diary, January 11, 1938.
long, bitter battle for it is over, the last small stronghold of free speech and of a possibility to work in the hapless German language has collapsed.\textsuperscript{479}

In spite of its increasing restrictions, for Benatzky Austrofascism had clearly been the lesser of two evils.

\textsuperscript{479} “Österreich, seit gestern abend nationalsozialistisch! Schuschnigg wich der Gewalt, deutsche Truppen haben die Grenzen passiert, überall weht das Hakenkreuz, die Selbständigkeit ist hin, ein langer bitterer Kampf um sie ist zu Ende, das letzte kleine Bollwerk freier Meinungsaußerung und Arbeitsmöglichkeit in der unglücklichen deutschen Sprache gefallen.” Benatzky, diary, March 11, 1938.
CHAPTER 3: THE OSTMARK

Revising Lehár’s *Rastelbinder* for the Reich

Operetta during the Third Reich may seem a rather barren subject—and not just at first sight.\(^{480}\) Indeed, with regard to innovative production, an exploration of Reich-German operetta can hardly be fruitful, as both Hans-Dieter Roser and Wolfgang Jansen have recently contended. Epigonal works, whose protagonists “had disqualified themselves artistically by dint of all too much closeness and submissiveness to the Nazi regime,” understandably have not attracted detailed critical attention from scholars.\(^{481}\)

Yet, in spite of the lack of original new works, operetta did not lose its importance when Austria was “annexed” to Germany. Especially in Vienna it remained a weighty cultural product,\(^{482}\) but the rest of the Reich, too, did not want to miss out on entertaining musical theater works. As state councilor Hans Severus Ziegler (now best known for organizing the infamous “degenerate music” exhibition in Düsseldorf) pointed out in his preface to the 1938 edition of Reclam’s operetta guidebook:

> No theater director today will want to do without a decent number of operettas on his program, and his attitude is fully justified both artistically and in terms of repertory politics. ... Whoever knows how to direct a German operetta with taste and musical thoroughness contributes, like every comedy theater, to the entertainment and amusement of exactly those wide circles of the population who, in their own difficult struggle for life, know enough to thank the gay and happiest muse particularly sincerely.\(^{483}\)

Ziegler’s statement reflects the convictions of propaganda minister and president of the Reich cultural chamber Joseph Goebbels who was convinced that, applied in the right way, operetta could influence and motivate large parts of the population on an emotional level. While other

\(^{480}\) Most of the contributions to the topic can be found in a book of conference proceedings, Schaller’s *Operette unter dem Hakenkreuz* and in Arnbom, Clarke, and Trabitsch, *Welt der Operette*. See also Christoph Dompke, *Unterhaltungsmusik und NS-Verfolgung, Musik im “Dritten Reich” und im Exil* 15 (Neumünster: Von Bockel, 2011).


\(^{482}\) Roser, “Kein Shimmy für Stiefel,” 195.

Nazi ideologues such as Alfred Rosenberg were not fond of musical entertainment theater because, in its current state, it could neither display heroic German greatness nor morally improve the German people, Goebbels encouraged the favorite musical genres of the time. As contemporary reviews confirm, operettas easily filled the theaters, they were turned into successful films, and their hit songs featured prominently on music request programs broadcast at the time, providing—in manifold ways—the amusement, relaxation, and entertainment Goebbels sought for Germans.484

Yet, in their search for appropriately entertaining musical theater works, the Nazis faced a major problem: the growing objectionability of many foreign and Jewish works as well as of those set in hostile countries, combined with a steadily increasing number of theaters within the expanding “German” territories, quickly resulted in great demand for a short supply of acceptable compositions.485 As Reichsdramaturg Rainer Schlösser had reported to Goebbels as early as 1934, the situation was particularly bleak with regard to “Aryan operetta”:

At the time of takeover the situation on the operetta market was such that 80 percent of the output—both musical and textual—was of Jewish origin. 10 percent was Aryan with regard to the composer, but of those the librettists were likewise Jewish. The purely Aryan works could not have exceeded 10 percent.486

Goebbels instructed Schlösser to condone the existing operetta repertory for the moment,487 soon, however, “pressure was applied on all entities to multiply the Reich script department’s efforts toward operettas of purely Aryan origin through local discoveries and approaches.”488 Theater directors increasingly filled the gaps in their programs with new, epigonal operettas by racially acceptable composers, who were often “of the second, third, and fourth guard,” to use Christoph Dompke’s words. Particularly successful Jewish operettas were replaced by works with strikingly similar plots—Kálmán’s Gräfin Mariza, for example, gave way to Nico Dostal’s Die ungarische Hochzeit (1939), Benatzky’s Im weißen Röss to Fred Raymond’s Saison in

484 See Hans-Jörg Koch, “‘Das NS-Wunschkonzert’: Operette als Narkotikum,” in Schaller, Operette unterm Hakenkreuz, 117. The Reich’s theater programs reflect this preference for carefree entertainment: while comic and light works totaled 48 percent of stage performances before 1939, during the war their share rose to 56.5 percent. Alan E. Steinweis, Art, Ideology, & Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 164.


486 “Bei Machtübernahme war die Lage auf dem Operettenmarkt so, dass 80% der Produktion sowohl musikalisch wie textlich jüdischen Ursprungs war. 10% war den Komponisten nach arischen, den Librettisten nach aber ebenfalls jüdischen Urzuspruns. Die rein arischen Werke endlich dürften 10% nicht überstiegen haben.” Rainer Schlösser to Goebbels, September 12, 1934; Bundesarchiv, R55/20169, 145; reproduced in Schaller, Operette unterm Hakenkreuz, 14–16.

487 Stefan Frey, “‘Dann kann ich leicht vergessen, das teure Vaterland…’ Lehár unterm Hakenkreuz,” in Schaller, Operette unterm Hakenkreuz, 94.

488 “wurde auf alle Intendanzen ein Druck ausgeübt, die Bemühungen der reichsdramaturgischen Stelle um Operetten rein arischer Herkunft durch örtliche Neuentdeckungen und Versuche zu vermehren.” Schlösser to Goebbels, September 12, 1934; reproduced in Schaller, Operette unterm Hakenkreuz, 14.
Salzburg (1938), and Granichstaedten’s Auf Befehl der Kaiserin to August Pepöck’s Reiter der Kaiserin (1941). In terms of musical style such “prescribed surrogate pieces,” as Klotz termed them, tended to be rather more conservative, avoiding international influences as much as possible. As Ziegler already observed in 1938:

Naturally, the Third Reich gradually had to eliminate the typically Jewish and strongly jazzed-up operetta with the pleasant result that the operetta theaters of all large and smaller cities where Aryan operetta composers are cultivated still show full houses. Of course it would be desirable that we once again acquire as a supplement to our current operetta treasury comic Spielopern [light operas] of the lightness and true humor of Lortzing’s Wildschütz—a matter that is in the interest of the taste-building education of the audience whose sense of style and entertainment must not degenerate further.

As the regime’s limitations to the repertory became stricter and its aesthetic ideals more defined, the program selection still proved difficult for venues in 1940. Following an order from Hitler, Goebbels thus founded the Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen (Reich Office for Music Arrangements) whose prime mission was to replenish the repertory of music theater venues and concert halls by commissioning and supervising new works as well as revisions of older, no longer appropriate compositions. The institution was established as an adjunct to the music division of the propaganda ministry and was run mainly by the musicologist Hans Joachim Moser, although it was officially headed by the party member Heinz Drewes.

The Reichsstelle, a project that, according to Drewes, was “followed closely by the Führer himself with the greatest interest,” has so far mostly been mentioned in connection with its “serious” music activities, and as a constituent of a broader movement to make classical repertory more suitable for Reich performances. As official Reichsstelle lists show,

489 “die zweite, dritte oder vierte Garde”; Dompke, Unterhaltungsmusik und NS-Verfolgung, 86.
494 “vom Führer persönlich fortlaufend mit grösstem Interesse verfolgt”; Drewes to personnel division, March 7, 1942 and Leiter M [Drewes] to Abteilung H (in the Propaganda Ministry), 10 September 1942; Bundesarchiv, R 55/1240; quoted in Potter, Most German of the Arts, 130.
495 For detailed accounts of the revisions of Handel’s works see Pamela M. Potter, “The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic,” Musical Quarterly 85 (2001): 311–342; Katja Roters, Bearbeitungen von Händel-Oratorien im Dritten Reich, Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle 16 (Halle: Altenburg, 1999), 33–42; Rudolf Pečman, “Georg Friedrich
however, Handel’s oratorios and various repertory operas by no means constituted the majority of the works overseen by the institution: at least half of the office’s commissions were for operettas, for revisions as well as new works.\footnote{96} So far, only a few accounts, notably those by Pamela Potter, mention this particular emphasis, and even those are limited to the same examples that Moser himself offered in his 1943 article “Von der Tätigkeit der Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen.”\footnote{97} As Volker Klotz rightly pointed out, a closer look at these Third Reich operetta commissions as well as their circumstances is necessary in order to construct a “more reliable overall picture.”\footnote{98} In this chapter I will take a first step toward such an improved picture with a detailed investigation of the Reichsstelle revision of Lehár’s popular operetta \textit{Der Rastelbinder}, which was to be premiered at Vienna’s Raimund Theater in celebration of the composer’s 75\textsuperscript{th} birthday in January 1945.\footnote{99}

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Considering the Nazis’ urgent quest for economically viable, popular musical entertainment, the operetta I have chosen to examine seems a rather obvious candidate for a Reichsstelle revision. \textit{Der Rastelbinder}, which premiered in Vienna’s Carl-Theater in 1902 to a libretto by


\footnote{96}{See Hans Joachim Moser, “Von der Tätigkeit der Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen,” in \textit{Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik} 1943, ed. Hellmuth von Hase (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1943) and Drewes, “Die Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen.” This focus was clearly based on Goebbels’s order rather than on the officers’ personal preference: as Moser admitted, he was challenged by the operetta editing work since at first, his area of expertise being early German music, particularly Heinrich Schütz. See Moser, “Selbstbericht des Forschers und Schriftstellers Hans Joachim Moser,” 21 and “Schlußwort Hans Joachim Moser am 19.9.1947,” 3; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hans Joachim Moser Papers, N. Mus. Nachl. 31, Boxes 5 and 15 respectively. Similarly, Goebbels’s diaries from 1939 to 1941 suggest that Drewes temporarily fell out of the minister’s favor because he showed “too little understanding for the entertaining part of music” and was reluctant to spend more of the Reichsstelle budget on the popular genres. (“zu wenig Verständnis für den unterhaltenden Teil der Musik”); Goebbels, diary entry on November 23, 1940; see Joseph Goebbels, \textit{Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Sämtliche Fragmente}, part I vol. 8, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: Saur, 1987), 432; quoted also in Erik Levi, \textit{Music in the Third Reich} (London: Macmillan, 1994), 37–38. Moser’s list of the Reichsstelle’s operetta commissions is reproduced in Appendix 2.}


\footnote{98}{“ein zuverlässigeres Gesamtbild”; Klotz, “Der Widerspenstigen Lähmung,” 88.}

\footnote{99}{Sikorski to Moser, n.d; Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Weys Papers, ZPH 1011. Unless otherwise noted, all the archival documents cited in this chapter are from Weys’s papers in this archive.}
Victor Léon, had been the “first real operetta” venture of Hitler favorite Franz Lehár. The work tells the story of the young Slovakian orphan Janku, whose foster family, in keeping with the local tradition, betroths him to their even younger daughter, Suza, before sending him out to make his living as a traveling handyman. Twelve years later—in Act I—Janku, now called Schani, is permanently employed as a plumber in Vienna and wants to marry his boss’s daughter, Mizzi. But he is confronted with his Slovakian past by the peddler Pfefferkorn, who had once given Suza a silver gulden intended to help Janku on his journey. Suza has accompanied Pfefferkorn to Vienna and pretends to look for a job as a maid there in order to reunite with her Slovakian sweetheart Milosch, Janku’s friend, who is stationed in Vienna as part of his military service. Both Janku/Schani and Suza had forgotten about their bond and are stricken when Pfefferkorn reminds them of it. For Act II the story moves to Milosch’s military base, where he has returned to distract himself from his heartache after having learned of Suza’s previous engagement. Dressed up as soldiers, Mizzi and Suza, as well as Pfefferkorn and Janku/Schani, follow him in order to resolve the problem. Of course, the masquerade involves plenty of slapstick before leading to a happy end for both couples.

Starting with such a typical plot including elements of mistaken identity, *Der Rastelbinder* featured most of the ingredients that only three years later were to make Lehár’s *Lustige Witwe* such a triumphant and lasting hit: memorable waltz melodies, including “Wenn zwei sich lieben” and “Das ist eine einfache Rechnung”; plenty of humor and comic stage moments; some nostalgic melancholy; and a few scenes in a Slavic—but allied Slavic!—setting. Indeed, in spite of some dramaturgical weaknesses the work had been extremely popular: at least 2742 performances were documented up to the end of World War I alone; furthermore, two film versions (from 1909 and 1926) appeared during the silent era. In Vienna, *Der Rastelbinder* was Lehár’s biggest success.

In its original state, however, this propitious operetta—promising not only as a standard work for the Third Reich repertory but also as an economic success for theaters—could not be performed in Nazi Germany. Its central character was an itinerant Jewish peddler, Wolf Bär Pfefferkorn, who was characterized on stage with the obligatory Yiddish accent and melismatic turns. As Lehár scholar Stefan Frey has pointed out, to include such a character had been a daring project even in 1902, when anti-Semitism in Vienna was already seething. Pfefferkorn was the first Jewish leading role in the history of operetta, and reviewers of the premiere had shown much dismay and skepticism toward him, despite Jewish tenor Louis Treumann’s compelling impersonation. Under the Nazis, a new version became necessary in order to “rescue” the peddler and the work for German theaters. Such a revision also allowed for the omission of the work’s Jewish librettist, Victor Léon, in favor of the new editor. Negotiations with the composer started in 1942.

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500 Lehár himself called it this, since *Wiener Frauen* (1901) had involved a lot of piecing together of different materials in order to fit the contemporary operetta conventions. See Stefan Frey, liner notes to Franz Lehár, *Der Rastelbinder* with Fritz Muliar, the ORF Choir and Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Hans Graf, recorded November 1981, CPO, 777 038-2, 2004, compact disc, 14.


While Der Rastelbinder seems an all too obvious candidate for a Nazi revision, the editor whom the Reichsstelle entrusted with this task does not easily fit the image of the typical Nazi Säuberer (cleanser) evoked in the accusatory accounts of historians such as Fred Prieberg or Eric Levi. Indeed, Rudolf Weys (1898–1978) was a rather unlikely candidate for the job, as his wife was Jewish—a fact that, especially after the passing of the Nuremberg Laws in September 1935, complicated the process of securing a professional license from the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Cultural Chamber) and, as we shall see, created considerable further difficulties. What is more, Weys’s political inclinations seem to have been antagonistic to the regime: although through his professional affiliation he inevitably engaged in the regime’s entertainment programs such as Kraft durch Freude, his personal correspondence during this time showed as well hints of skepticism and there is no reason to doubt that he was a convinced antifascist and a staunch pro-Austrian social democrat.

Scholars have taken most notice of Weys for his cabaret work, particularly that written for the Wiener Werkel, an institution now often mentioned as the prime example of Austrian resistance against its Nazi German rulers. It was difficult to keep any kind of cabaret going during the Third Reich. Goebbels was of course aware of the powerful potential for political allusions in cabaret, and soon (and repeatedly) forbade such allusions as well as “any hint at political events or persons in performances, conferences, and announcements.” These measures quickly showed results: by the time World War II began, the Reich’s depoliticized cabaret had mostly regressed to noncritical vaudeville shows. While before the war, “positive cabaret” that fell into the official marching line and attacked only those who questioned the National Socialist mindset was still somewhat encouraged, Goebbels did not appreciate jokes about food rationing and other war-time realities and in 1941 forbid even positive references to current events and public figures.

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505 Even Hans Veigl, the author of the most critical account of Weys and the Wiener Werkel so far, reckons that the cabarettist’s work for Nazi organizations was solely a “survival strategy” (“Überlebensstrategie”). Hans Veigl, Tränen und Gelächter: Kleinkunst im Wiederaufbau (Straden: Österreichisches Kabarettarchiv, 2009), 18.
509 Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 249.
510 Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 245 and 257.
Having lost much of its appeal as a result of such measures and the precautionary self-censorship they prompted, Vienna’s renowned cabaret Literatur am Naschmarkt, the “Burgtheater of cabaret” where Weyss had worked since 1934, had to be closed down in November 1938 owing to the lack of funds. Soon thereafter, however, Weyss’s former colleague Adolf Müller-Reitzner was given official permission to open the Wiener Werkel. While party membership gave Müller-Reitzner the necessary political legitimacy, he still took pains to regather members of the Literatur staff. As he apparently explained to Weyss, despite his political inclinations he had no intention of recruiting his authors from the Völkischer Beobachter (one of the most radical Nazi papers); rather, he wanted to recreate the earlier cabaret’s liberal and critical tradition as far as possible.

Life for Viennese cabarettists was rather more “glorious” than in other parts of the Reich. Local censors by no means misunderstood what was happening on Vienna’s stages, but condoned much more than did their counterparts in the “Altreich,” at least partly because they were aware of tensions and discontent in the “Ostmark” that could be relieved through some typically Viennese grousing. Satirical critique had what cabaret scholar Peter Jelavich has called a “safety valve function,” allowing disgruntled Viennese to “laugh off steam” before accumulating dissatisfaction could result in more forceful, disruptive outbursts. Furthermore, in Germany it was widely known since Wilhelmine times that strict censorship could have the inadvertent effect of attracting public curiosity, yes even of advertising the non-streamlined venues or authors as a result. The Werkel’s censor in the Viennese propaganda ministry, architect and cabaret lover Josef Kurz, was known as rather lenient and even a useful contact for the staff. Similarly, the intendant of the radio station Reichssender Wien, also responsible for the Wiener Werkel, once said to Weyss:

You are impertinent, but I don’t have to understand it. If Goebbels were to come to Vienna, he would understand.

Indeed, a Goebbels visit posed a real danger to the Werkel members, as Müller-Reitzner soon discovered. When the minister came to Vienna in December 1940, he witnessed a performance of the fifth Werkel program, including Weyss’s piece “Der Wiener Januskopf,” which can serve here as a good example of the kind of critical work for which Weyss repeatedly has been noted. The title refers to the Austrian double eagle, here portrayed as one optimistic and one pessimistic character who reflect on their situation—a combination of roles that Karl Krauss had already used in his tragedy Die letzten Tage der Menschheit (1922). The optimist starts:

513 Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 34–35.
514 Lang, “Kleinkunst im Widerstand,” 43.
Seit zwa tausend Jahr bin ich Wiener
Und stimme seit jeher mit „Ja“,  
Als ganz gehorsamster Diener
Des Staates, der jeweils grad da.

For 2000 years I’ve been a Viennese
And have always voted with Yes,
As entirely obedient servant
Of the state, no matter what it was.

This impersonation of opportunism appears to be an early forerunner of the famous Herr Karl, a character Helmut Qualtinger and Carl Merz created with similar sarcasm from their observations of Viennese behavior two decades later.\(^{516}\) The optimist’s “other half,” the Raunzer (grouser), counters:

Mein Zwilling, der will net sinnieren,
Doch i denk ma manchmal ganz laut:
Ein Weaner, der muaß kritisieren,
Der kann net heraus aus der Haut.

My twin does not want to ponder,
But I sometimes think to myself loudly:
A Viennese has to criticize,
He cannot shed his skin.

Considering the regime’s official discouragement of criticism—even critical reviews of cultural events were abandoned officially, in favor of so-called Kunstbetrachtung (art appreciation), a concept that was never successfully implemented\(^ {517}\)—the assertion that a Viennese has to criticize, as well as the implication that there was so much apt material when one started to use one’s brain, was not without danger. The “grouser” later specifies a few of the areas he has “thought about,” for example:

Was nutzen ma Barock und Paläste,
Und wia ma so sagt, die “Guldur”?
Ich siech nur mehr spärliche Reste,
Auch die gengan schon in Verlur.

What use have baroque and palaces,
And also the so-called culture?
I see [?] only scanty remains,
Even those are now dwindling away.

These lines discuss quite bluntly the state of the arts, the necessity of Third Reich culture to rely on a (Viennese) “golden past” and its failure to break new creative ground.

The piece even directly confronts the demands of high-ranking state officials. Alluding to the statement that “Gemütlichkeit while working is laziness,” which Hermann Göring had expressed during a visit to Vienna, the optimist voices:\(^{518}\)

Ich hab unlängst a Zeitung gelesen,
Da halten s’ ma d’ Gemütlichkeit vor.
Gehts, laßts ma mei sonnges Wesen,
Nebn der Arbeit brauch I an Humor!

I recently read a paper
Where they hold the Gemütlichkeit against me.
Now, leave me my sunny nature,
Along with the work I need humor!\(^ {519}\)

\(^{516}\) Carl Merz and Helmut Qualtinger, Der Herr Karl (1961) (Vienna: Deuticke, 2007).

\(^{517}\) For a detailed discussion see Cornelia Schmitz-Berning, Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 365.

Having seen the performance, Goebbels gave director Müller-Reitzner a long dressing-down, in which he reproached the director for the “hidden criticism and Viennese ranting,” prohibited any further performances of the program, and “very plainly called the man’s attention to the riskiness of his conduct.”520 This, however, was the only time Goebbels attended, and one of only two programs that were censored after they had been publicly performed. Right at the end of the war, when many Viennese appeared to side with the invading Russians, Goebbels regretted his lenience with regard to Viennese peculiarities. In his diary he admitted his qualms about the “so-called Viennese humor that has been trivialized and exalted in our press and radio very much against my will. The Führer did assess the Viennese correctly,” he concluded; “one should have bridled them better.”521 Indeed, the Werkel was able to stage ten programs to great acclaim until the general closure of all theaters in autumn 1944, and all of them swayed between begrudging conformity and sly resistance—a phenomenon that has sparked lengthy scholarly debates over the last decades.

The Werkel’s slightly recalcitrant image is rather similar to that of the Wien Film company under Karl Hartl, which has been discussed even more frequently.522 In the popular “Vienna films,” a similar kind of Austrian or specifically Viennese identity was evoked through dialect, locations, and music, through nostalgic memories of the “good old days” as well as the usual grumbling and grousing. While there is not necessarily any reason to doubt that Weys and others such as film producer Willi Forst really used this “pro-Viennese” approach to offer at least a little resistance to the regime, one should always bear in mind that many at the time saw the portrayal of such local flair as a device to strengthen the image of German culture and thus as another motivation to further the fighting spirit.

While Weys’s work for and impact on Third Reich cabaret clearly has been a significant subject of scholarly investigation in the German-speaking world, his involvement with operetta during this time is less well known. Even Weys himself mentioned little about his operetta achievements in his published works. The reason is obvious: cabaret as a genre posed much more of a challenge, as it called for a more definite critical commitment than operetta. As Weys observed:


521 “sogenannten Wiener Humor, der bei uns in Presse und Rundfunk sehr gegen meinen Willen immer verniedlicht und verherrlicht worden ist. Der Führer hat die Wiener schon richtig erkannt. ... Man hätte sie besser im Zaum halten müssen.” Goebbels, diary entry on April 9, 1945; see Goebbels, Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels, part II vol. 15, 692.

If we ... look for contemporary criticism, where in the realms of operetta can one find a reaction to current events, to say nothing of satire, irony, and political significance? In day-to-day life operetta perhaps functioned as a lightning rod toward “high spirits”; however, it has never claimed to be a political outlet, and thus it did not provide Vienna with satirical Zeittheater at any time. However, from Hans Wurst [the German Merry Andrew] to Nestroy contemporary references and criticism have been vital elements of the mime and folk theaters.\textsuperscript{523}

But while the cabaret work was more interesting for Weyes during the Third Reich as well as for any subsequent scholar searching for Austrian resistance, operetta’s lack of topical criticism—at other times a major shortcoming in Weyes’s view—was exactly what made the art form appealing for him during Austria’s Anschluss. As he explained in a letter to a friend:

I adjusted my work to the Nazi era in that I confined myself to harmless fooling around. I wrote comedies and droll stories. Those were the least offensive and eluded the attention of the propaganda ministry. I wrote, for example, “Lisa, benimm dich,” a much-performed piece that generated most of our livelihood, I wrote “Ringstrassenmelodie,” a “revue comedy,” as I called it, but into that one I interspersed so many pro-Austrian sentiments again that it scandalized, needless to say. I wrote “Mädel im Frack,” a piece of harmless bullshit, “Höchste Eisenbahn,” cut from the same bad cloth, etc., etc. Relatively appealing was my cabaret work at the “Wiener Werkel.”\textsuperscript{524}

It was operetta that provided the author with the most innocuous and still comparatively lucrative work during the Third Reich. An account of Weyes’s operetta work therefore will not provide spectacular insights into Austrian resistance and stories of heroic actions; yet it can show another important side of the life of a writer under the Nazi regime, a side that a far larger group of people working during this era experienced. The purpose of the following account of Weyes’s revision of Der Rastelbinder, then, is not to drag this man—so far with a comparatively “clean record”—in the Nazi mud; on the contrary, my investigation will show that even a man whose resistant stance toward Hitler’s regime remains unrefuted had to make


a large number of compromises, to weigh up the pros and cons of every decision in a bid to save both his life and his conscience.

Weys first got involved in the *Rastelbinder* project in June 1944, when Moser advised the publisher Hans Sikorski that he “employ another dramatically gifted *ostmärkisch* author and suggest my old plan to him.” Both Moser and Sikorski were unhappy with the editorial work carried out by Della Zampach and a certain “Herr Köller,” who in spite of having worked on the project for several months had not incorporated all the Reichsstelle’s suggestions and, moreover, had seen their work rejected by Lehár. Sikorski, who had worked with Weys previously (see chapter 4), suggested the cabaretist to Moser. Weys quickly accepted and offered to shelve all other work in order to finish this urgent task as soon as possible. He did this in spite of reservations from the outset, which he expressed to Moser:

> As you know, the *Rastelbinder* question is very delicate in every respect. It is in any case an ungrateful task to edit a libretto that was once a world success, because even if the new work is successful, anybody who has once seen the original will compare—consciously or unconsciously—the new with the old.

While to Moser he couched his reservations in careful terms, he presented them much more openly in his first letter about the work to Lehár:

> When—approximately two months ago—the “Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen” approached me and asked whether I would dare an already twice-failed attempt at a new version of the *Rastelbinder*, I have to admit, I shied away at first. How, I thought, can the figure of Pfefferkorn be saved and how (the most difficult issue!) the third act [Act II]! First of all, I asked Dr. Sikorski whether this was a matter of “Aryanization” (which I would have refused strictly!), but I was informed that the book adaptation would come about with the approval of Victor Léon’s heirs, indeed, even by their request. In addition, Dr. Sikorski explicated in detail that the third act [Act II] in its old form—however matters stand!—could hardly be performed again, for the fooling around of a clumsy Jew and the laughing about just that would be no longer acceptable, and considered objectionable by all, not only in present-day Germany but also beyond that, so that not even (to give an example) a performance in Switzerland would be possible in this form.

525 “noch einen dramatisch begabten ostmärkischen Autor daranzusetzen und ihm meinen alten Plan vorzuschlagen”; Moser to Sikorski, June 3, 1944.

526 “Wie Sie wissen, ist ja die ganze Frage ‘Rastelbinder’ in jeder Hinsicht sehr heikel. Ein Buch bearbeiten, das einmal ein Welterfolg war, ist in jedem Fall eine undankbare Aufgabe, denn auch bei Gelingen der Neu-Arbeit vergleicht jeder, der das Stück seinerzeit sah, bewusst oder unbewusst das Neue mit dem Gewesenen.” Weys to Moser, June 23, 1944.
This argument was plausible and banished my understandable basic concerns for the time being.\textsuperscript{527}

Sikorski’s argument may not seem coherent, if only because Pfefferkorn is by no means the most “clumsy” Rastelbinder character—Suza or Mizzi’s father would easily win that competition—and he is definitely the most endearing figure. Nevertheless Sikorski’s prediction was correct: after World War II Der Rastelbinder did indeed vanish from the stage. It is unlikely, however, that, had it been completed, postwar theater directors would have felt any more comfortable producing Weys’s version with a non-Jewish Pfefferkorn, regardless of the revision’s subtlety and moral quality.

Weys’s basic principle for his Rastelbinder revision was that “a bad physician operates more than necessary. I made changes only when there were compelling reasons, never more.”\textsuperscript{528} It is sometimes difficult to reconstruct which changes were by Weys, since he based his work as much as possible on Zampach’s version, which has not yet been recovered. His correspondence shows, however, that Weys rejected many of Zampach’s alterations, thus suggesting that he must have approved the changes of the final version.

Most of Weys’s changes reflect the Reichsstelle’s proclaimed intention of making the older material as accessible as possible.\textsuperscript{529} Drewes and Moser agreed that, in order to achieve this, it would be necessary to “retrieve the same close relationship between artwork and listenership” that the original audience enjoyed.\textsuperscript{530} In operetta, they argued, “timeliness” had always been much more important than in opera. Drewes explained:

As much as the operetta masterworks by Suppé, Johann Strauss, [and] Millöcker constitute historical Denkmäler [monuments], one should also note that operettas are


\textsuperscript{528} “ein schlechter Arzt, der mehr operiert als nötig. Das heisst, ich änderte nur, wo zwingender Grund vorliegt, niemals mehr”; Weys, “Kurze Vorbemerkung zu meiner Bearbeitung des ‘Rastelbinder,’” n.d..

\textsuperscript{529} For example, the dialogue of the prologue is significantly altered to make the children’s engagement more plausible to a 1945 audience.

\textsuperscript{530} “gleiche Beziehungsnähe zwischen Kunstwerk und Hörerschaft wiederzugewinnen”; Moser, “Von der Tätigkeit,” 79. The Reichsstelle also applied the same principle to the music, particularly the instrumentation: with a “cautious hand” the editors aimed to raise the standard of the—for modern audiences, sometimes “scanty”—orchestration to match that of the “master himself at the height of his artistry.” They treated what they considered to be “weak numbers” next to “valuable pearls” with a “careful blood transfusion … in order to breathe juvenile vitality into any works of the light muse with an elderly appearance.” See Drewes, “Die Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen,” 25.
meant to serve not educational but entertainment purposes, and thus should not demand any kind of historical perspective from the audience. Therefore, Denkmäler purism is out of place here: the impact has to be immediate—not refracted through a historical prism.\footnote{Drewes, “Die Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen,” 25.}

Of course, the zeitbedingte Verbrauch (prevailing consumption) in operetta was a justification, behind which the Reichsstelle could hide any “Aryanizations” by involving new, racially acceptable editors, and thus steadily mitigate the importance of Jewish contributions to the art form, at least on paper. One should note, however, that the more general practice of modernizing operettas to suit contemporary conditions had been common long before the Nazi era and is still a standard procedure today. In their decisions about cuts and changes, producers are no longer so severely influenced by official state censorship—or by their fear of it, for preemptive self-censorship often made any state action unnecessary. There are still topics, however—especially in German-speaking countries since the end of the Third Reich—that would certainly be considered objectionable. Furthermore, since most operetta theaters are not subsidized to the same degree as “serious” opera and concert houses, they have always depended heavily on wide public approval, a fact that makes a work’s topical jokes and its relevance to the audience much more attractive for operetta producers than its value as a historic document.

One change, of course, was imperative: the reworking of Pfefferkorn’s character. Although the Reichsstelle had approved Zampach’s “simple conversion of … Pfefferkorn into the ‘Black Peter,’”\footnote{Moser to Sikorski, October 7, 1943, transcript.} Wey preferred a locally typical “Szandor.” The most obvious change for anyone who knew the original version was Szandor’s new dialect, more of a High German with an Austrian—“ostmärkisch”—influence. Szandor is molded into a fully integrated member of society: while Pfefferkorn had originally come from Vienna, Szandor—matching his new Eastern name—is a local tinker like Suza’s and Janku’s fathers and tells the audience about his childhood in that same Slovakian village, Trencsin. His comment on the children’s engagement, “that such a stupid custom exists? People are addlebrained!” (No. 4, Finale), is no longer the criticism of an outsider.\footnote{Franz Lehár and Victor Léon, Der Rastelbinder: Operette in einem Vorspiel und zwei Acten, Vollständiger Clavier-Auszug mit Text (Vienna: Josef Weinberger Bühnen- u. Musikalienverlag Ges.mbH J.W. 1299, 1902), 20.} Instead, he is a liberal progressive insider who wants to move away from an outmoded tradition because “that such a custom still exists, I really find
too queer.” Szandor does not have to make excuses when he is invited to dine in celebration of Mizzi’s and Janku/Schanzi’s engagement, as the Jewish Pfefferkorn had done in his touchingly awkward reply:

GLÖPPLER: Do stay, eat with us!
PFEFFERKORN: Eat with you? Well, that is a tricky one, because I can eat nothing anywhere—I have some kind of stomach catarrh—but I’ll drink a drop with you!

Szandor simply digs in like everyone else.

Pfefferkorn’s character is not the only one whose identity had caused tensions in the original work: following his departure to Vienna in the prologue, Janku seems to undergo some kind of identity crisis, which is expressed most clearly in his song “Ich bin ein Wiener Kind” (No. 9). Again, Weys removed the discordant elements in verse 1:

No. 9 [Old]  
My darling, my bride,  
Has confided to me,  
Very quietly, not loudly:  
That a Slovakian would be  
Not quite to her taste!  
She’d really rather have it  
That I should become a Viennese like her!  
With talent  
One could easily become one.  
This was my goal,  
And love can do wonders –  
I’m not a Slovakian  
With ‘toje tak’  
.................  
I am a Viennese boy,  
Like they should be,  
I’m not a Brezina  
Who does not understand a word of German,  
If I had not become a Viennese  
I’d have a donkey’s rage  
Therefore, dear god,  
Come, let me be a Viennese!

No. 9 [New]  
My darling, my bride,  
Has confided to me,  
Very quietly, not loudly:  
Her heart and mind  
Beats only for Vienna  
She’d really rather have it  
That I should become a Viennese like her!  
With talent  
One could easily become one.  
This was my goal,  
And love can do wonders –  
I quickly became  
A Vienna boy  
.................  
I am a Vienna boy,  
Like they should be,  
I don’t know about sadness  
No, no, that cannot be!  
If I had not become a Viennese  
I’d have a donkey’s rage  
Therefore, dear god,  
Come, let me be a Viennese!

536 “Mei’ Schatz, mei’ Braut, / Hat mir vertraut, / Ganz leis’, net laut: / ’s wär’ ein Slowak / Nicht ganz ihr G’schmack! / (New: Ihr Herz und Sinn / Schlägt nur für Wien.) / Sie hätt’s halt gar so gern: / Ich soll’ ein Wiener werd’n. / Mit
Instead of describing the negative aspects of being Slovakian, Janku/Schani now sings affirmative lines about being Viennese. The xenophobic parts are simply cut, which may seem at first surprising and unnecessary considering the Reich-prevalent stress on German supremacy. But by changing these lines, the identity conflict, which so many particularly in the original, multicultural Viennese audience must have experienced themselves, was toned down as much as possible. One may conclude that matters of multicultural origin were simply no longer deemed topical or endorsable, but one should also note that Slovakia was a kind of satellite state, a dependent ally of the Third Reich, with whom it was advisable to cultivate and demonstrate an amicable relationship.

“The most difficult problem of the new version” was by all accounts the final act of Lehár’s operetta. The original version had clear dramaturgical shortcomings for, as Lehár biographer Stefan Frey has aptly described, it “degenerates—in a rather unmotivated way—into a costume orgy in the barrack yard, with the single racy pretext to stick the ladies into uniforms, for ‘soldier’s pants provide a great attraction.’” Moser considered this act to be “entirely unworthy of discussion”—perhaps partly because of its deplorable disrespect for the military as well as its erotic element, strengthened by the close harmony of the two female lines in a climactic duet. Weyes was at least able to appreciate the act’s original appeal, though initially he was unsure how to recreate it:

Now, although the final act (the reef of the new version!) may be antiquated in every respect and will surely, in its old form, never be found on stage again, it was still amazing and burlesquely funny, if not to everyone’s fancy. But that is a fact. To find an equivalent for this merry merriness will be enormously difficult.


537 “Das schwierigste Problem der Neubearbeitung”; Weyes to Moser, July 11, 1944.
539 “ganz undiskutabelen”; Moser to Sikorski, June 3, 1944. Indeed, contemporary critics, for example of the Völkischer Beobachter, praised operettas that “could entertain a full house without salaciousness and ambiguous suggestive innuendos.” Karl F. Vonsien, “‘Liebe lacht im Lärchenhof: Erfolgreiche Operette Schweriner Autoren,” Völkischer Beobachter, May 9, 1942; reproduced in Klotz, “Der Widerspenstigen Lähmung,” 80. On the de-eroticizing of operetta under the Nazis see Kevin Clarke, “Einleitung: Homosexualität und Operette?,” in Clarke, Glitter and be Gay, 8.
540 “Der Schlusssakt nun (Die Klippe der Neubearbeitung!) war—mag er auch in jeder Hinsicht überlebt sein und mag er auch sicherlich nie wieder in alter Form auf eine Bühne kommen—toll und burlesk lustig, wenn auch nicht nach jedermanns Geschmack. Aber es war so. Ein Equivalent für diese lustige Lustigkeit zu finden, ist enorm schwer.” Weyes to Moser, June 23, 1944. See also Weyes to Moser, July 1, 1944.
Indeed, Zampach’s and Köller’s attempts had foundered on this “reef,” which had been the original reason to involve Wey.

The cabaret’s approach was sparked by the artistic director of the Raimund Theater, where the new version was to be premiered. Willy Seidl suggested moving Act II back to the Slovakian village of the prologue. After some hesitation, Wey was taken with this idea, as it allowed for the most “natural” meeting place for all the characters as well as for an “uncontrived” solution to the whole conflict. Besides, by using this location Wey could incorporate all of the Reichsstelle’s suggestions as well as plenty of the required humor. He proudly reported to the Reichsstelle that in this new version, Der Rastelbinder would become a “‘folk operetta' that is rooted and remains within its local setting.”

At least partly responsible for the Reichsstelle’s satisfaction were the economic advantages of Wey’s solution. In fact, Seidl’s initial suggestion had been borne of circumstances dictated by the fifth year of war: a return to the Slovakian village allowed for some serious “savings on decor.” Wey’s version also managed with a smaller cast: because the military base location was no longer included, the minor characters originally introduced there could be cut entirely. Instead, the final act reused some of the Trenčín village characters—most importantly Suza’s mother Babuschka and Milosch’s father.

Economy was also Wey’s major concern when it came to the music. He tried to use as much of the existing score as possible: as Moser had observed, in the earlier versions “the already rather weak and sparse music numbers get lost in the extensive dialogue scenes, without being introduced compellingly.” In order to improve the overall balance between text and music, he could not afford to lose many numbers. Furthermore, considering Lehár’s reluctance about the project, it was advisable to keep the composer’s involvement to a minimum. Wey cut only the climactic female duet and planned for two new musical items, the last finalo and a duet for Mizzi and Janku, as “the buffo couple can hardly remain without a number.” He wrote a first, rather generic sketch of this love duet (involving some rather random somersaults and handstands) but remained unsure how to approach the number: although worried about making Lehár feel pressured into writing a new piece, he still wanted to encourage the composer. From the start, Wey anticipated that he would have to write a new text to an existing Lehár melody in case the composer would not deliver on his promise.

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541 “Klippe”; Moser to Sikorski, October 7, 1943, transcript. In 1943 Moser had already written to Sikorski about Zampach’s “boring and hardly effective” edition.

542 “natürlich”; “zwanglos”; Wey to Sikorski, July 1944. In order to persuade Moser and Lehár, Wey even wrote a “psychological analysis,” showing what each of the main characters would most naturally be doing immediately after the end of Act II, and that for the characters to meet again, all other locations would look forced. Wey to Moser, July 19, 1944 and Wey, “Beilage A,” n.d.; see also Wey, “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”

543 Wey, “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”

544 “Dekorationsersparnis”; Wey to Sikorski, July 9, 1944 and Wey to Moser, July 19, 1944.

545 Wey, “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”

546 “verlieren sich die ohnehin etwas schwachen und spärlichen Musiknummern in den weiträumigen Sprechszenen, ohne zwingend eingefädelt zu sein”; Moser to Sikorski, June 3, 1944.

547 “das Buffopaar nicht gut ohne Nummer bleiben kann”; “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”
Having read Weys’s libretto, Lehár reacted positively—"You really have brought out the best in this old subject matter!"\textsuperscript{548}—and agreed to write the new pieces, but asked for some further time as he was still recovering from a lengthy illness. Sikorski and Weys remained skeptical about the composer’s commitment. As a precaution, they searched out themes from earlier Lehár works such as \textit{Zirkusmädel} and discussed the possibility of creating a finaletto out of reminiscences. As it turned out, their apprehension proved correct: in the following months Lehár offered more and more excuses and confirmed his dilatoriness with regard to the project. The editors, however, never got to make use of their backup plan.

Although Weys had found his own solution for Act II, he did take up one important suggestion of Moser’s:

Janku has long since spent the silver gulden that would have made the children’s engagement valid. It cannot be adduced as a witness but Black Peter cunningly vows that it—was a fake! As the three fathers want to descend on the alleged counterfeiter, the four lovers happily protect him—now all is resolved, no further disaster looms, the children’s engagement was never valid.\textsuperscript{549}

Moser proposed that it could remain open whether Peter’s statement—Szandor’s in Weys’s version—is “veridical or only facetious”;\textsuperscript{550} however, Weys decided to make the fake silver gulden Szandor’s secret: one that gnaws at his conscience throughout the work until it is revealed at the end. Lehár did not like this part of the new plot. He told Weys several times that he wanted the “fake silver gulden” removed, a request that Weys apparently did not understand:

He still objects to one aspect of my revision and reinforces this also in his letter, that is: the \textit{fake} silver gulden! ... I do not consider Lehár’s objection to be valid, that the figure of Szandor (Rastelbinder) is distorted if he is capable of giving Suza a fake coin in the prologue. For the new version shows clearly how much this very “fake gulden” has been bothering Szandor for twelve long years. Plus the final resolution shows clearly that confessing is rather hard for him. At the same time, it is exactly the “gimmick” of the fake gulden that makes for such a good and clean resolution at the end! Now, I know that you and the Reichsstelle share this, my opinion. But –, will we not have to \textit{abandon} it as a concession to Lehár? I have a feeling that it is too “contre coeur” for him. I do not

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{548} “Sie haben aus dem alten Stoff herausgeholt was nur möglich war!” Weys, reporting to Seidel about his meeting with Lehár in Ischl, August 9, 1944.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{549} “Der Silbergulden, der die Kinderverlobung gültig gemacht hätte, den hat Janku schon damals ausgegeben, er ist als Zeuge nicht mehr beizubringen, aber der schwarze Peter schwört listig er sei—falsch gewesen! Die drei Väter wollen über ihn als Falschgeld-Gauer herfallen, aber die vier Verliebten stellen sich selig vor ihn—nun ist alles in Ordnung, nun kann ihnen kein Unglück mehr drohen, die Kinderverlobung hat niemals zu Recht bestanden.” Moser to Sikorski, October 7, 1943, transcript.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{550} “wahrheitsgemäß oder nur spaßhaft”; Moser to Sikorski, June 3, 1944.
yet know what Szandor should be doing in the finale of the last act, but I will just have to think of something.\footnote{551}{"Nur zu einem Punkt meiner Bearbeitung steht er nach wie vor ablehnend und bekräftigt dies auch in seinem Brief, das ist: der falsche Silbergulden! [...] Ich halte den Einwand Lehárs, die Figur Szandors (Rastelbinder) werde verfälscht, wenn er imstande sei im Vorspiel der Suza ein falsches Geldstück anzuhängen nicht für berechtigt. Denn die neue Bearbeitung zeigt ja ganz deutlich, wie sehr Szandor durch sage und schreibe zwölf Jahre immer wieder eben die Tatsache des 'falschen Gulden' irgendwie bedrückt hat. Auch die letzte Auflösung erweist deutlich, dass ihm sein Geständnis recht schwer fällt. Gleichzeitig ergibt aber gerade der 'Gag' des falschen Gulden eine so gute und glatte Auflösung am Schluss! Nun ich weiss ja, dass Sie und die Reichsstelle auch dieser, meiner Meinung sind. Aber–, werden wir nicht trotzdem Lehár die Konzession machen müssen, davon abzukommen? Ich habe das Gefühl, es geht seinem Herzen zu sehr 'contre coeur'! Zwar weiss ich noch nicht, welchen letzten Einsatz Szandor dann wirklich im Finale des Schlussaktes haben soll, aber es wird mir eben doch etwas einfallen müssen." Weys to Moser, August 24, 1944.}

As Lehár had made clear, the “fake silver gulden” did change the tinker’s character, as his song “Das is a einfache Rechnung” shows. In the original text, Pfefferkorn wholeheartedly wished the best for the children and instructed them to learn some important values in life—frugality, a sense of business and charity. Szandor’s words bear a more self-centered subtext through their new context: although they seemingly evoke the same values, the stress is placed more firmly on the warning not to spend the gulden. If Janku were to do that, of course, Szandor’s fraud might be discovered and both of them would be in trouble. Szandor is, in short, not as selfless and trustworthy as Pfefferkorn, Victor Léon’s kind-hearted, good-natured, if rather naïve and clumsy Jew. There is now a hint of deceit throughout the operetta. Weys’s lack of understanding in this matter is particularly puzzling because he could easily have satisfied both parties by having Szandor only pretend that the gulden was a fake at the end, a possibility Moser had himself mentioned. In any case, Weys assured Lehár that he would get rid of the fake gulden but never seems to have made any effort to do so. Perhaps he decided not to put any more time into the Rastelbinder revision until Lehár had taken on his share of the work—a sensible precaution, as it turned out.

While the changes described thus far mostly show Weys’s effort to satisfy his employer’s demands, the comic role of tinsmith Glöppler, Mizzi’s father, provided him with some opportunity for less streamlined expression. Weys kept Zampach’s idea (commended by Moser) for transforming Glöppler, “whose tirades are today no longer directed at securing a seat in parliament, but at attaining an appointment as the president of the Teetotalers Association.”\footnote{552}{"dessen Tiraden heute nicht mehr der Erringung eines Parlamentsmandates gelten, sondern der Erreichung einer Präsidentenstelle im Antialkoholikerverein"; Weys, “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”} In the original, Glöppler had used political terminology whenever he spoke because he was rehearsing for the time when he could leave the tiring plumbing business to his new son-in-law (Janku/Schani) and spend his time in politics. It is not surprising that the Reichsstelle was unhappy with his clumsy attempts at becoming a politician and the implication that such work was less strenuous: politics and its agents were no laughing matter during the Third Reich. Yet the alternative they accepted hardly seems an improvement.

Mizzi’s father makes his first, unannounced entrance as follows:
GLÖPPLER: (house cap, green apron, comes out of the apartment, rambles as if memorizing, but with great pathos and without noticing the two)... and this enemy, this enemy, who has settled in [eintröten; made-up word]; one has to wipe him out [ausrotten]!! Wipe him out without mercy, without pity, without charity, without, without, without what?? Mizzerl, do say - ??

MIZZI: (dusting) What do you want, daddy?

GLÖPPLER: I have forgotten the fourth term, "mercy, pity, charity, and,"
and, well, now I am at loss!

MIZZI: Ah, are you preparing a speech for the teetotalers' association again?

GLÖPPLER: Of course! Remember, they want to make me their president!

The terminology Glöppler uses seems very much rooted in the contemporary war situation. Moreover, because ausrotten (eradicate) is even today strongly associated with the Holocaust, the tinsmith's first statement, devoid of any context, sounds like a speech Hitler could have made about Jewish citizens. Mizzi's interjection, however, establishes quite quickly that Glöppler is not a believable politician, but a harmless, petty-bourgeois Viennese eccentric, who picks up impressive words and applies them indiscriminately to his own small world. Although Glöppler's character is no longer directly linked to politics, then, his (mis)use of contemporary political vocabulary can be read as a statement about the way politics was practiced in the Reich, or more specifically in Vienna: with conviction, but without concrete understanding or knowledge of the exact content. A later dialogue between Mizzi and Glöppler makes this interpretation even more plausible:

GLÖPPLER: Our guiding principle should be: "No more delirium!" Alcohol of any kind should be abolished!! (sweeps off pans from the counter in a rage.)

MIZZI: But father, what's your point? You yourself enjoy drinking a good drop of wine?!

GLÖPPLER: Don't distract me! The good drop is my private concern. Within the society I'm part of the general public and it should be abolished! (angrily) Ah, what am I talking about! Alcohol should be abolished! Without mercy, without pity, without charity and without, without, do you think I can come up with the stupid word?!

553 "GLÖPPLER: (Hauskäppchen, grüne Schürze, kommt aus der Wohnung, spricht, gleichsam memorierend, aber mit großem Pathos vor sich hin ohne der Beiden zu achten)... und dieser Feind, dieser Feind, der sich eingertötet hat, man muß ihn ausrotten!! Ausrotten ohne Gnade, ohne Barmherzigkeit, ohne Mitleid, ohne –, ohne –, ohne was – ?? Mizzerl, so sag' schon—?! / MIZZI: (Staub abwischend) Was willst denn, Vater!? / GLÖPPLER: Ich hab vergessen was das Vierte is' –, 'Gnade, Barmherzigkeit, Mitleid und'—und –, na, jetzt weiß ich net weiter! / MIZZI: ah –, studierst schon wieder eine Red' für den Antialkoholikerverein? / GLÖPPLER: Natürlich! Die woll'n mich doch zum Präsidenten machen!" Weys, "Der Rastelbinder," libretto manuscript, 30.

554 "GLÖPPLER: unser Leitsatz muß sein: 'Nie wieder Delirium!' Alkohol in jeder Form gehört vernichtet—!! (fegt in Rage Töpfe von der Budel herunter.) / MIZZI: Aber Vater, was willst denn—? Du trinkst doch selber gern ein' guten Tropfen?! / GLÖPPLER: Bring' mich nicht aus'n Konzept! 's gute Tropferl is' meine Privatangelegenheit, im Verein gehöre ich der Allgemeinheit und die g'hört vernichtet—! (ärglerlich) Ah –, was red I denn da z'samm! Der Alkohol
Glöppler’s hypocritical stance, condemning something on principle that he himself enjoys in private, fits very well with Weys’s description of the grumbling Viennese in his “Januskopf”: “My twin does not want to ponder,” but “a Viennese has to criticize.” The character trait of not thinking too closely about one’s surroundings but criticizing them passionately nevertheless, was clearly something Weys liked to exploit.

Other small changes might even be read as a hint of resistance. For example, advising Suza on her duties as his new housemaid, Glöppler makes another sally of the kind sampled above:

GLÖPPLER: .... (loudly) You know, most importantly you have to tend to tidying my room. When you come to see me later --, then, then, then I will give you an address, without mercy, without pity, and without...

SUZA: Yes [Ja], pan.

GLÖPPLER: Without Japan? She must be a Chinese—she is always on about the Japanese!555

Suza still uses the Slovak expression for “mister” or “master,” pan, in order to appear polite to her new boss. Glöppler, however, does not know the expression and hears “Japan” instead of “yes, master.” This little joke appears repeatedly, also in the original version. However, Glöppler’s subsequent comment is only in the Weys version. He is hinting, of course, at the tensions between Japan and China, especially since the Japanese had invaded Manchuria in 1931. By itself this comment might appear innocuous but in 1939, after several intellectuals (among them the influential Marxist journalist and cabarettist Jura Soyfer who by 1944 had already been killed in Buchenwald) had pointed out the parallels between Japan and Germans, the Werkel had produced a sketch entitled “Das chinesische Wunder,” which had used Japanese/Chinese tensions as a barely concealed metaphor for the friction between the Austrians and the Germans.556 The popular program—criticized by Nazi officials—including a conversation of Chinese clerks and cleaners with Pif-keh [“Pifke” is an—often pejorative—Austrian expression for a German], a high officer of the Tokioten [a play with “Idioten”] from Japanland, who had invaded Wi-en, the capital of Chinareich.557 While many in the Rastelbinder audience—and, probably, most non-local state officials—would not have picked up on such references in Glöppler’s statement, Weys could still expect a response, at least from a Viennese audience.


One further, rather puzzling moment in Wey's revision provokes speculation: the refrain of Szandor's entrance (No. 3). For this number Wey used Zampach's "successful" text, which delineates the general duties and life of a tinker in the adjusted, no longer Yiddish dialect and without the specific references to his Jewishness.\(^{558}\) Strangely, while Wey commented on these text changes, the music is never once touched on in all the accessible correspondence about the revision. Indeed, replying to Sikorski's explicit request to make a list of all the necessary new music, Wey failed to mention this number.\(^{559}\) Furthermore, the way Wey presented the new text in his manuscript, including the explanatory comment "(2 bars of music)" in places matching the original composition, suggests that no melodic changes were carried out or planned. It is unlikely, however, that Wey or Moser or Sikorski should not have perceived these melismas—in a mostly harmonic minor, complete with augmented seconds and an underlying woodwind texture—as typically Jewish, especially as this particular melody was originally paired with the text, "I am a poor Jew! I am not at all well."\(^{560}\)

(Example 3.1 beginning)

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\(^{558}\) Wey, "Kurze Vorbemerkung."
\(^{559}\) The same melismatic melody was also woven into the introduction to the prologue; however, one easily could have cut out the corresponding parts there.
\(^{560}\) "ich bin ä armer Jud! Es geht mir gar nix gut;"
As Frey established, these melismas had been the focal point of heated discussions about the work’s Jewish aspect even after its premiere performance:

Disgusting… His entrance number, an unedifying imitation of those lugubriously beautiful songs whose interval relation is different from that in occidental music, triggers sentiments in the listener that do not suitably prepare him for what is to come.⁵⁶²

Surely, the reaction to such a melody would have been at least equally strong during the Third Reich.

But what could have been done about it? To change the melody would have been awkward, it being the most memorable part of the song—the refrain. Working on other numbers, for example Szandor’s already mentioned “Das ist eine einfache Rechnung,” Weyss had objected to Zampach’s changes to the refrain. The song’s popularity and memorability, he argued, required that at least the first few lines be adapted from the original.⁵⁶³ In Szandor’s entrance number it was, of course, impossible to keep the original words, which most explicitly identified the main character as a Jew. It might therefore have seemed too big an intervention to change also the melody.

Or did the editors feel that, without the specifically Jewish text, the melody could simply pass as “Eastern?” The fact, that Weyss never mentioned a potential problem with the music of this number and that Moser did not take issue with it either, suggests that—as so

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⁵⁶¹ Pfefferkorn: “I only trade with onions, I am not at all well; torn frock and boots, I am a poor Jew! I am not at all well, I am a poor Jew!” Szandor: “In high demand as a tinker, I move from place to place. Like a bird without a nest that settles nowhere. Once I am here and once I’m there. Soon I am here, soon there. And tomorrow I’m long gone.” Lehár and Léon, Der Rastelbinder, Clavier-Auszug, 19.

⁵⁶² “Widerlich… Schon sein Auftrittslied, eine unerquickliche Imitation jener schwermütig-schönen Gesänge, deren Intervallverhältnis ein anderes ist, wie das der abendländischen Musik, löst in diesem Milieu in dem Hö rer Empfindungen aus, die ungünstig auf das Kommende vorbereiten.” Ludwig Kar PATH; quoted in Frey, Rastelbinder CD liner notes, 16.

⁵⁶³ Weyss to Sikorski, July 9, 1944 and Weyss, “Kurze Vorbemerkung.”
often—the musical language managed to escape from the usual ‘political’ implications: there was no definite way of pinpointing the melody’s Jewishness—its markers were common elements of any “Othering” or Orientalizing music. Even Lehár’s woodwind texture, which might have seemed to point toward the typical Klezmer sound, was in fact missing the indispensable clarinet and featured instead a more generally “Oriental” oboe. In the end, it is even possible that Wey’s quite deliberately—and without calling attention to it—kept this residual Jewish aspect of the work intact—the only reminder to an attentive, knowing audience of the original, Jewish Pfefferkorn.

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The Rastelbinder revision was not just any assignment for Wey. As an official Reichsauftrag (government commission) it offered a way to dodge many of the bullets the Third Reich had in store for him, his wife Gertrude (whom he called Gerda), and their son. While his early negotiations with Sikorski and the Reichsstelle suggest that at first Wey’s incentive for accepting the job was mainly financial, it soon became clear that “said employment also seems to protect me from unpleasant capture.” In the early war years many actors and artists had enjoyed the privileges of so-called UK status (NB: this stood for “unabhänglich,” indispensable), which entailed official NS-Truppenbetreuung (entertainment of the military) as well as cultural work for official party organizations, but saved them from being drafted. Wey had been UK throughout the war because of his participation through the Werkel in Wehrmacht programs and the “Kraft durch Freude-Truppenbetreuung.” As more and more of his colleagues had to report for military service, it was the Rastelbinder commission that allowed him to retain that coveted exemption.

The prospect of such privileges must have been one reason why Wey fought for the viability of the project. It was uncertain whether, having refused two unsatisfactory attempts, Lehár would agree to any further work on a new Rastelbinder. In order to convince the composer, Moser, Sikorski, and Wey planned a visit to Bad Ischl, where Lehár had moved in 1939 in order to protect his Jewish wife Sophie from Nazi assaults. The three visitors discussed their plan of action at length: Wey was particularly worried that Lehár would consider their collective appearance as an ambush and react petulantly. In the end, they agreed that Wey should first meet “Maestro Lehár” alone. Their subsequent correspondence suggests that the visitors used Wey’s family situation as a tactic to persuade Lehár. On his return Wey reported to Sikorski:

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565 „Besagte Tätigkeit schützt mich im Moment wohl auch vor unangenehem Zugriffen.“ Wey to “Doktor Hecker,” August 14, 1944.
566 Steinweis, Art, Ideology, & Economics in Nazi Germany, 169–170.
568 Wey to Seidel, August 9, 1944.
So, I got to Vienna okay (even with a seat). Gerda was very pleased about everything I had to tell her, she laughed a lot about her indirect "assistance" with the Lehár agreement regarding the *Rastelbinder*.\(^{569}\)

It seems from this that Weys's references to his wife's Jewishness and the resulting difficult situation for the whole family had been a clinching argument in securing the composer's assent. Indeed, it would make sense that Lehár was moved by such a situation: he himself was in a very similar position, even though his own wife was comparatively safe owing to Lehár's exalted position as one of the Reich's trophy composers. Lehár knew of his powers and in this case willingly exerted them to help Weys, as his rather blunt letter to the author, written two months later, shows:

> I have agreed to arrange the *Rastelbinder*. I have really only done that in order to help you. I know exactly your situation and I am anxious to accommodate you, as much as it is in my power to do so.\(^{570}\)

And the *Rastelbinder* project did indeed help Weys to save his wife—even sooner than he or Lehár could have imagined. On arriving in Vienna after his trip to Bad Ischl, Weys was confronted with a first work deployment call for Gerda: their son Rupi had just turned six, the age limit for Jewish mothers to stay at home with their "mixed" children. Weys immediately wrote to the employment office, stressing the indispensable professional services his wife was carrying out for him:

> Since 1940 my wife has been looking after my apartment, my workplace there and my child, who has now turned six, *without any* (not even the smallest amount of) help. As I have not had any kind of dictation or secretarial assistance at my disposal *since 1941*, my wife learned to type during this time so that at least the *copying and transcription of my manuscripts* could be carried out in a timely manner. I thus feel entitled to say that through such behavior *more than one project has been saved* in my household and at my workplace for years now.  

> *I am hit all the more gravely now, at a time when I am entrusted with a commission from the Reich minister, by the officially requested potential external labor assignment for my wife.* If it becomes reality, I will face household and child without any help, but will also be without any transcribing assistance for the ongoing *Wehrmacht* and *KdF* programs.  

> In order to implement the Reich commission I would even have to *call upon the help of a typist*—at least by the hour. And apart from that, any intellectual concentration would

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569 "Also--, ich bin gut (sogar per Sitzplatz) nach Wien gekommen. Gerda war sehr erfreut über alles, was ich zu erzählen hatte, sie lachte sehr über ihre indirekte 'Mithilfe' am Lehár-Einverständnis zum 'Rastelbinder.'" Weys to Sikorski and wife, August 9, 1944.

570 "Ich habe zugesagt den Rastelbinder einzurichten. Ich habe das wirklich nur getan, um Ihnen zu helfen. Ich kenne Ihre Situation genau und bin bestrebt Ihnen entgegenzukommen, soweit es in meinen Kräften steht." Lehár to Weys, October 1, 1944.
necessarily be lacking if child and house were to be left unattended or if I had to attend to them.571

His appeal was successful; for the time being Gerda was exempted from all duties outside her home.

Matters took a new turn, however, when Goebbels announced the general closure of all theaters across Greater Germany. From September 1, 1944, the Reich minister demanded the war deployment of all persons engaged in the cultural sector.572 From a friend Weys had heard about the closure in advance and acted immediately by writing letters to Moser, Sikorski, and Lehár, asking for confirmation that his commission would continue. For the composer he even drafted a possible reply.573 Lehár’s response letter, using Weys’s suggested wording almost exactly, came only three days later and indeed helped the author to avoid deployment.

As a result of the theater closure, Weys’s financial situation became increasingly bleak. In order to secure some future income, he tried to negotiate with Sikorski an official contract guaranteeing that his Rastelbinder version would be recognized as the work’s authoritative version—but in vain. He also repeatedly urged both Moser and Lehár to consider him for further editorial work on operettas, asking especially to be involved in any new official commissions. He even tried to initiate new projects such as a new version of Lehár’s Der Göttergatte (1904).574 But the composer’s reaction was discouraging: “I don’t want to think about Göttergatte and the like. After ten years I want to write a new stage work.”575

To make matters worse, in late August 1944 work on the Rastelbinder project came to a halt: Lehár’s assistance was now needed and the composer pleaded a trip to Switzerland as taking precedence. (After a Gestapo attempt to detain his wife in Bad Ischl, Lehár had started to spend significant amounts of time with her in Switzerland, where she could feel safer.576) Weys, whose contract stated that he was to receive the final installment for his stipend only on the completion of the project, repeatedly contacted Moser asking for an advance, as he had


573 Weys to Sikorski, to Lehár, and to Moser, August 24, 1944.

574 Weys to Lehár, September 25, 1944.

575 “An Göttergatte und dergleichen will ich nicht denken. Ich will ein neues Bühnenwerk nach 10 Jahren schreiben.” Lehár to Weys, October 1, 1944.

done his part and was now dependent on Lehár. With growing desperation Weys even wrote to the composer, expressing his admiration and gratitude toward the “venerable master” and entreating him to act soon.\(^{577}\) Weys’s endeavors were in vain—Lehár’s reply was cool, no action followed.

However, Weys was soon to realize that these interruptions to the project—particularly as they were not caused by him—could in fact be highly beneficial to his family. When further evil tidings came, “that all men from the Volkssturm [People’s Militia], whose family situation is like mine (wife!) will in all likelihood be divided among ‘entrenchments’ [at the front] (possibly O.T. [Organisation Todt]),”\(^{578}\) Weys was able to give several new excuses for delays with the project, all of them through “unpredictable … reasons”:

a) Franz Lehár’s trip to Switzerland (end of September until mid-October),

b) a current kidney and bladder infection of the Maestro,

c) requests for essential changes to the textbook currently being edited, from both the Maestro and the publisher of the work.\(^{579}\)

With “requests for essential changes” Weys was alluding to Lehár’s rejection of the “fake silver gulden” twist at the end of the work. In other words, he was now turning the only problem still to be solved—a minor one, as he himself had repeatedly stated—into a major reason for the work’s delay. He even prompted Sikorski to provide him with a letter that would support his case officially. This letter is worth quoting at length, as Sikorski’s unusual wealth of information and his strangely long-winded style show how little at this stage the Reich commission was about providing a good new version. Instead, the project had become mostly an alibi:

You know how enthusiastic and happy about everything Maestro Lehár has shown himself to be regarding your work for the Rastelbinder so far; you also know how satisfied we and the gentlemen from the ministry are. But exactly because the new version promises to be so particularly excellent, I have to ask you about something else today: namely, the matter of the “silver gulden!” You remember that even at the time of our planning session in Ischl (in the presence of director Drewes and Prof Moser from the ministry) the Maestro repeatedly spoke of this motive, which, in his opinion, was not handled entirely correctly from the psychological standpoint. He has just written me a letter about this matter, which I

\(^{577}\) “hochverehrter Meister”; Weys to Lehár, September 25, 1944.

\(^{578}\) “dass alle Volkssturmmänner, deren familiärer Fall so gelagert ist wie meiner (Gattin!) aller Vorraussicht nach auf ‘Schanzen’ eingeteilt werden (möglichwerweise O.T."); Weys to Sikorski, November 15, 1944. The Organisation Todt was a civil and military engineering organization founded by Fritz Todt and led, after 1942, by Albert Speer, the Minister of Armaments. The institution was notorious for using forced labor for their often dangerous large-scale construction work.

\(^{579}\) “nicht vorrauszsehbare […] Gründe”; “a) eine Reise Franz Lehárs in die Schweiz (Ende September bis halben Oktober), b) eine derzeitige Nieren- und Blasenerkrankung des Meisters, c) wesentliche Änderungswünsche an dem in Arbeit befindlichen Textbuch sowohl von Seiten des Meisters als auch vom Verleger des Stückes.” Weys to the Vienna employment office, December 30, 1944.
enclose as an attachment. You can see all the details from it. Lehár probably did not write to you about it directly, because he perhaps did not want to burden you with the extra work. However, I think that you'll be able to clear that hurdle within 6–8 weeks at the most. A longer period of time will hardly be needed for these changes, which relate mainly to the first and third act.

Should you succeed with a good and new solution here, the work will surely be even more polished and you will have given Maestro Lehár the greatest pleasure for his 75th birthday! The gentlemen from the ministry also will be grateful for it. When all is said and done, however, you know yourself that the minister likewise has a great interest in the completion of the new version and the best possible solution.

You'll also find in Lehár a much more ambitious collaborator for the still outstanding songs than he has been so far, if you fulfill his heart's desire.580

For his wife, the Rastelbinder commission provided further helpful excuses, too. Once more arguing for Gerda’s indispensability at home, Weyss mentioned to the employment office his “work-related trips to Ischl to Maestro Lehár,” a matter he had stressed repeatedly since his letter to the employment office in September 1944.581 At that early point, Weyss may still have seriously believed that he would have to travel to Bad Ischl. When he offered this possibility to Lehár, however, the composer wrote back dismissively that “you don’t have to come to Ischl, because I can only work alone,” so that a future visit became entirely needless.582 Several of Weyss’s statements support the assumption that he never saw Lehár again. And still, having received a call to report for duty at the Volkssturm in mid-December, the author excused himself at short notice by declaring that he had already bought tickets to visit Lehár. Weyss described this bold act to both Sikorski and his friend Louis Barcata, expressing quite clearly to the latter his growing derision of the malfunctioning Nazi bureaucracy and their blind obedience at the mention of important names:


581 “arbeitsbedingten Fahrten nach Ischl zu Meister Lehár”; Weyss to the Vienna employment office, December 30, 1944. See also Weyss to the Vienna employment office, September 12, 1944.

582 “nach Ischl müssen Sie nicht kommen, denn ich kann nur allein arbeiten”; Lehár to Weyss, October 1, 1944.
By now I have received an “economic allocation certificate,” which Kurz from the propaganda ministry could still fend off this time. Because of a “Reich commission” (minister personally ... etc.). Admittedly, his two letters (employment office and Gestapo) have not settled the matter for good, but I don’t think that they will ride roughshod over them. Interestingly, the Volkssturm also still came forward with a call to muster last Sunday. Regrettably, I was just visiting Lehár in Ischl, of which I informed them apologetically, adding also the request not to put me in the foremost units, because I still had to finish a “Reich commission” from the “minister personally,” etc. Well, we’ll see...!

Letters to his friends show that Weys still had not been drafted in April, when the Vienna Offensive, the final battle for the city, was launched by Soviet forces. It had been “a high-wire act from month to month, often from week to week,” but as he wrote to Lehár in late March 1945:

Considering all that, I should be glad that for us personally things are not worse, that I can still be at home with my wife and child and protect both ... I owe this, incidentally, largely to the “Rastelbinder Reich commission,” which I produce as an “alibi” and “identification” at all official offices.

Weys and his family all survived the war and, although postwar times were still hard, the author quickly found outlets for his creative work: he was asked to help with the preparations for the Viennese antifascist exhibition “Niemals vergessen” in 1946, and provided radio stations and magazines with educational reports such as “Cabaret unter den Augen der Zensur.” Weys was able to continue his cabaret career in Vienna until his death in 1978.

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This discussion of the Reichsstelle commission to edit Lehár’s Der Rastelbinder provides several insights into the Third Reich operetta world. The simple, grey- (or, better, sepia-) shaded

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584 “ein Seiltanzen von Monat zu Monat, oft von Woche zu Woche”; Weys to unknown recipients (a couple), December 14, 1944.

conclusion is that Weys’s changes show neither a fanatically fascist nor a consistently resistant stance. While the official commission called for a certain number of concessions to the regime’s ideals—the rewriting of Pfefferkorn’s character being the most obvious example—the sparingness and subtlety of Weys’s editorial changes, as well as the reservations he initially expressed, substantiate a rather moderate image of the Reichsstelle’s work, and even support Fred Prieberg’s suggestion that Goebbels used this institution primarily as an administrative measure to keep extremist cultural outgrowths under control.

But Goebbels’s establishment of the Reichsstelle—on Hitler orders!—and his demand for a focus on lighter musical fare also suggest that operetta was still deemed important by the National Socialist regime when the war was in full swing. Even during the final stages of the war—when the Rastelbinder project had made no significant progress for months, when no performance possibility was in sight, and when all but a select few artists had already been drafted—Weyss was still given official support to carry on with his work.

Weyss’s experience, moreover, is a clear sign of the many loopholes in the complex, decentralized National Socialist system, especially toward the end of the war: as those central figures who had once given their express orders to promote operetta attended to more pressing war matters, cultural administration was left freely in the hands of their underlings whose interpretation of what needed to be done varied widely.

As the story of the Rastelbinder commission has shown, Weyss’s happy end was the outcome of a collaborative effort, involving the good will and blind eyes not only of Lehár and publisher Sikorski but also of the Reichsstelle—which, at least by this time, was likely no more than a one-man operation. The case therefore also gives some credence to Moser’s largely disparaged postwar statements before denazification authorities and can contribute to the recent, much-needed revaluation of this hapless musicologist. For, although Moser was without doubt a notorious Mitläufer (follower), desperate to keep himself—and his many dependents—aflont under different political regimes, recent findings show that some of his work has been dismissed too easily, especially by German colleagues who used him as a scapegoat for many of the era’s misdeeds in German musicology. Defending himself as well as the Reichsstelle, Moser wrote:

Incidentally, I am not ashamed of any of the opera and operetta revisions or new commissions—none of them was meant to replace a Jewish author.

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587 Prieberg, Musik im NS-Staat, 355.
I have only performed artistic-scholarly tasks ... and have even continually defied the Nazi ideology by providing authors married to Jews with commissions, and Jews and otherwise politically persecuted people with professional licenses.\textsuperscript{591}

Weyes’s example shows that operetta could indeed be a lifeline for authors during this difficult time, even for some who had not been operetta specialists previously. The genre’s lack of political explicitness became a welcome feature for artists who could not afford to attract attention. Weyes’s situation as a locally significant and popular but internationally little-known author is representative of German and Austrian artists who, even if they wanted to emigrate, were not famous enough to dare a new start abroad (as, for example, the operetta composer Robert Stolz had done). Indeed, librettists and other writers whose success depended on the German language were limited in their options abroad, regardless of their fame.

To receive an official Reichsstelle commission for an operetta project was a winning combination then: it did not require much political commitment, paid comparatively well, and could help to avoid dangerous military service as well as to keep the family together. Weyes was not the only one to have benefited from these privileges. Indeed, trying to exculpate himself, Moser did not even mention Weyes as an example. Instead he wrote of the commissions he had given to the judenversippten (miscegenetically Jewish) Eduard Künneke, Edmund Nick, and Hans Ebert.\textsuperscript{592} Future research will perhaps show how these authors used their operetta commissions, and to what extent they were supporters of the regime. It is, however, already clear that—at least to many artists working at the time—operetta during the Third Reich was by no means a barren subject.

\textsuperscript{591} “habe ich einzig künstlerisch-wissenschaftliche Aufgaben erfüllt [...] und mich sogar dauernd der Nazi-Ideologie widersetzt, indem ich jüdisch verheirateten Autoren zu Werkaufträgen, jüdisch oder sonst politisch Verfolgten zu Berufsgenehmigungen verholfen [habe?].” Moser, December 10, 1947; Moser Papers, Box 1. Also Moser, “Selbstbericht des Forschers und Schriftstellers Hans Joachim Moser,” 22; Moser Papers, Box 15.

\textsuperscript{592} Moser to Curt Sachs, December 25, 1948; Moser Papers, Box 6.
CHAPTER 4: THE SECOND REPUBLIC

“Operetta is Dead—Long Live Operetta!”

Prolog: Die Wiener Operette:

... Ich bin ein bissierl alt geworden
Und recht verstaubt, Gott sei’s geklagt,
Die kessen Brüder aus dem Norden,
Die hab’n mich sogar tot gesagt.
Man hat ihnen schon recht gegeben
Wenn man ganz “unverhofft” mich sah,
Doch weckte mich zu neuem Leben
Der Wunderdoktor Marischka!
Die “Straussbubam” füllen jetzt die Kassen,
Man spricht von an Erfolg, an toll’n,
Und das Theater kann kaum fassen
Die, die mich sterben sehen woll’n.

Prologue: Viennese Operetta:

... I have gotten a little old
And, alas, rather dusty.
The breezy brothers from the North,
They have even declared me dead.
One has already agreed with them
When one saw me rather “unexpectedly,”
But I was revived by
The wondrous doctor [quack] Marischka!
The “Strauss boys” now fill the coffers,
One speaks of a fantastic success,
And the theater can hardly believe it
Those that want to see me die. 593

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“Viennese Operetta is Alive! ‘Straussbuben’ Sensation in the Raimund Theater” read the headline of an Austrian daily on October 21, 1946.594 The city’s first grand operetta premiere after the war was a major social event. Witnesses reported uncountable encores, evocations, and homages that elongated the performance to the length of Götterdämmerung.595 For months tickets sold out weeks in advance, and many predicted a run much longer than a year.596

The work in question was a new pastiche cobbled together by some of Vienna’s most experienced operetta celebrities from previously unknown music in Johann Strauss Jr.’s estate, spiked with a series of his and his brother Josef’s most memorable melodies. Die Straussbuben, which focused on a fictional love triangle between adolescent Johann and Josef Strauss and the daughter of a Viennese ballroom manager, enjoyed much official support: the prestigious Johann Strauss Society offered its patronage,597 and state- and municipal-government leaders

596 See, for example, Rudolf Weyes to Publisher Hans Sikorski, November 7, 1946; Weyes Papers.
597 See Weyes to Franz Salmhofer, director of the Johann Strauss Society, September 30, 1946; Weyes Papers. Remarkably, this society is no longer interested in Die Straussbuben. President Professor Magister Peter Widholz informed me via email that “our society was founded in 1936 for the original works by Johann Strauss. Therefore,
not only opened the glittering premiere festivities: federal president Karl Renner and chancellor Leopold Figl even returned for the hundredth, “rapturously acclaimed” performance in January 1947.598

Zealous press reviews provide first insights into what made Die Strausstuben so successful. Critics raved about the classical form of this “ur-Viennese operetta,”599 its sophisticated music, tasteful plot, homey local setting, the dear, familiar faces on stage, and the authentic folk humor, which made the theater visit “the purest, most genuine, untarnished pleasure.”600 “This is the operetta that Vienna needs and that the world needs from Vienna,” proclaimed the Wiener Kurier.601 The work was also welcomed as evidence of Viennese operetta’s restored independence after German domination. As one paper asserted:

After the long-lasting import from the “Altreich,” [this production …] denotes also the return to our Austrian operetta. And this return could hardly have been implemented better than with the cornucopia of melodies by Johann and Josef Strauss.602

Ironically, however, the work’s conception was by no means as immaculate as the press would let on. On the initiative of publisher Hans Sikorski, who had acquired the rights to Strauss’s unpublished estate music in 1942, Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Weys, and former Theater an der Wien conductor Oskar Stalla had started work on Die Strausstuben in the midst of war, without any plans to involve the government, but it soon became clear that official support could facilitate progress on the project.603 For during Hitler’s regime, work with original Strauss music required the authorization of the Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen: facing a lack of promising contemporary and “Aryan” alternatives, Reich officials increasingly focused on revamping previously unsuccessful works by Vienna’s waltz king, who, both in the Reich and further afield, could act as a symbol for Greater Germany’s glorious past and magnificent cultural heritage.604

The Nazis’ reliance on Johann Strauss as ideal German musician and inspiring role model is especially juicy considering that this composer, too, had Jewish roots. Already shortly after Austria’s annexation, Goebbels noted in his diary:

unfortunately, I do not know specific literature about ‘operettas with Strauss music.’” Email from Peter Widholz to the author, July 22, 2010.
603 Reichsstelle director Heinz Drewes to Weys, October 15, 1943; Weys Papers.
A particular sly dog has found out that Johann Strauss is a one-eighth Jew. I forbid making this public. Because firstly, it is not yet proven and secondly, I do not fancy sacrificing the whole German cultural heritage bit by bit. In the end our history will be left only with Widukind, Heinrich the Lion, and Rosenberg. That is not very much.  

For the prosperity of the Reich’s cultural scene—and operetta in particular—Johann Strauss was simply too vital to be doubted. Goebbels ordered Strauss scholars to hush up the unfortunate family history and even had the evidence, an entry in the wedding registry of St. Stephan, replaced with an amended, politically unobjectionable copy. Furthermore, the Gestapo seized the composer’s estate from his half-Jewish stepdaughter, Alice Strauss-Meyszner in April 1939, and a three-part article series in the Nazi daily Der Stürmer, resolutely claiming Strauss as an anti-Semite, demanded that she give up her inheritance as “payable Jewish penance.” Under such pressure, Strauss-Meyszner soon “bestowed” the estate upon the city of Vienna, but she managed to stay involved in decisions about the musical collection. Indeed, Die Straußbuben, whose previously unpublished materials came from this captured estate, seems to have enjoyed the heir’s approval; postwar communications between the authors and Strauss’s family are amicable and show genuine interest in the project.

Taking into consideration this rather peculiar genesis, this final chapter will examine the postwar reception of this official Reich commission and explore the tension between Die Straußbuben’s strategic, glamorous launch and resolutely brilliant initial success, and its disastrous reverberations not only for operetta but for Viennese culture in general.

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During the years following World War II, theater was considered an ideal medium to educate Austrians, to foster a collective, national spirit based on politically unquestionable values, and to instill a new belief in a bright and independent future for the country. All who had political

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608 Correspondence within the Reich propaganda ministry about the 1934 Strauss pastiche Die Tänzerin Fanny Elßler suggests that Oskar Stalla, the musical arranger of Die Straußbuben and the earlier work, was appointed as the executor of Strauss’s estate by the composer’s family. See Senior Legal Secretary Rüdiger to Assistant Judge Dr. Flügel, October 26, 1934; Bundesarchiv, R55/141, Fiche 1.

609 Rudolf Meyszner to Marischka, July 2, 1946; Marischka Papers.
power tried to enforce their value systems and ideological goals through cultural offensives: Austria’s political parties, the Catholic Church, and the Allied occupation forces. One main objective of these authorities for Viennese theatrical productions was to facilitate the separation of Austria from Germany. This was attempted by establishing links with older, local traditions that reasserted a continuity only interrupted by the Hitler years. As the present offered only few uplifting ideas, intellectuals argued, the new Austrian self-image should be grounded in the fresh illumination and portrayal of history. Cultural councilor Viktor Matejka emphasized soon after taking office that his main goal would be to restore the worldwide recognition of Austria’s culture after the years of Nazi barbarism. The Allies unanimously supported such backward-looking cultural politics that would divert Austrians from all-German sentiments as well as from a reality of ruins and food rations, and instead provide them with positive role models and the sense of a distinctly Austrian collective identity. French officials even specifically recommended that the safest history to evoke would be that of the Habsburg era.

Operetta, of course, was perfect for such stage revivals of a glorious past. As we have seen, nostalgic settings of an idealized “Alt Wien” as well as biographical works about famous Austrians had become popular trends even before the end of the Empire, as smash hits such as Heinrich Berté’s Schubert pastiche Das Dreimäderlhaus (1915) exemplify. Indeed, as the long list in Appendix 4 demonstrates, pastiche operettas based on Strauss family music were by no means a new phenomenon by the time of Die Straubebchen. The first such compilation had premiered even before the waltz king’s death in 1899 and apparently with his consent: Wiener Blut became a hit on German-speaking stages and is still part of the standard repertory. Italian audiences reacted more favorably to a later Strauss pastiche, Oskar Stalla’s Die Tänzerin Fanny Elssler (1934). Other notable Strauss cocktails include Oscar Straus’s unusual “three-generations” story Drei Walzer (1935), featuring music by Strauss senior and junior as well as his own, and Ralph Benatzky’s Casanova (1928), a collaboration with Erik Charell which, instead of aiming to revive an “authentic” Straussian sound, incorporated fashionable jazz and…

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611 See, for example, Susanne Frölich-Steffen, “’Nationbuilding’ in Österreich: Versöhnung von Austriazismus und Pangermanismus im Zuge der EU-Mitgliedschaft,” in Österreichische Nation—Kultur—Exil und Widerstand: In memoriam Fritz Kreissler, ed. Helmut Kramer, Karin Liebhart, and Friedrich Stadler (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2006), 57, as well as other articles in this volume.
614 Director of the Deutsches Theater (Berlin) Heinz Hilpert to Ministerialrat Rüdiger, September 27, 1934 and internal communications between Rüdiger and Gerichtsassessor Dr. Flügel, October 26, 1934; Bundesarchiv, R55/141, Fiche 1.
dance elements into a grand revue operetta with Strauss melodies. In France and the English-speaking world, the most successful Strauss cocktail was Korngold’s fictionalized Strauss biography Walzer aus Wien (1930)—soon further promoted by Alfred Hitchcock’s 1934 film adaptation Waltzes from Vienna.

The tried-and-tested appeal and comprehensibility of such materials for audiences from a wide range of backgrounds made operetta even more attractive for the communist, though cosmopolitan Matejka. Furthermore, as an export product independent of raw materials and complicated compensation agreements, operetta remained one of the strongest assets of Austria’s foreign trade balance. Most importantly for the country’s cultural rehabilitation, however, operetta was considered, as one postwar critic put it, “the expression of a mentality that is recognized, loved, and gratefully remembered everywhere as Austrian—in spite of all the incidents of the last years.”

Soon after the end of the war, therefore, Viennese cultural leaders started discussing ways to reinvest operetta with the importance that it had held within the Austrian capital’s musical life before World War II. Capable composers had to be found, new performers trained. For although everyone agreed on the genre’s importance for postwar Vienna, even its most dedicated advocates had to admit that operetta was not in good shape. In defense of the art form, Marischka correctly pointed out that critics had proclaimed an operetta crisis even in Strauss’s days, but he, too, knew that the situation had changed since the 1930s: while older box-office hits such as Kálmán’s Gräfin Mariza and Benatzky’s Im weißen Rössl were popular as ever, new successful works were nowhere to be found. But restagings of older operettas, theater officials argued, would carry no yield for Austria, neither with regard to renewing culture nor in terms of bringing in further foreign exchange.

In August 1946, two months before the Straussesbuben premiere, Matejka and his colleague Robert Kraus met with Raimund Theater director Fritz Imhoff, Hubert Marischka, and Rudolf Weys to plan the most advantageous possible launch of Vienna’s new operetta. The

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615 Clarke, “Der Walzer erwacht,” 49 and 64.
616 “den Ausdruck einer Mentalität, die man überall als österreichisch erkannt, geliebt und allen Zwischenfällen der letzten Jahre zum Trotz dankbar in Erinnerung behalten hat.” Rudolf Kalmar, “Operettentheater gesucht,” Neues Österreich, August 15, 1946. Indeed, the particular benefits of operetta were also noted by the occupiers: according to Maria Kinz, the Russians’ interest in Viennese operetta contributed to the expeditious reopening of the Raimund Theater as the first of Vienna’s theaters after the war. Maria Kinz, Raimund Theater (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1985), 64.
617 The president of the Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten und Musiktextautoren (AKM) to cultural councilor Viktor Matejka, August 20, 1946; Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Viktor Matejka Papers, ZPH 830.
618 Departmental head of Vienna’s cultural office Robert Kraus to Matejka, November 26, 1946; Matejka Papers. There even was a discussion whether Fritz Imhoff was a suitable director for the Raimund Theater, and other operetta authorities such as composer Nico Dostal applied to become his successor. (Nico Dostal to Matejka, August 19, 1946; Matejka Papers.) None of the available luminaries could convince the city authorities, however.
619 Kraus to Matejka, November 26, 1946; Matejka Papers.
620 Letter with the manuscript of a short article “Frühzeitig ‘Tot-Gesagte’ haben das längste Leben!,” Marischka to Kurt J. Beck, March 1, 1955; Marischka Papers.
621 See, for example, “Echo des Tages: Gespräch mit Hubert Marischka,” manuscript of a radio interview [October 1946]; Marischka Papers.
622 Imhoff to the Austrian National Bank, April 2, 1947; Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Imhoff Papers, ZPH 1563.
Raimund Theater was the capital’s only serviceable theater available for musical entertainment theater and its managers were fully aware of their “irremissible responsibility ... to pave the way for the new Austrian operetta internationally.” While clearly a varied program was most desirable and advantageous for such a task, Imhoff argued that the sets, costumes, and ensemble for more than one new production posed risky, even impossible investments given the postwar situation. Furthermore, Marischka pointed out from experience that a work’s international success could only be guaranteed by a Vienna run of at least 250 to 300 performances. In their efforts to ensure the successful revival of operetta, the responsible authorities therefore decided to stake everything on one card: *Die Straußbuben* was their trump. And once this decision was made, all parties involved fought for this production to be received as a success. Although there are no revealing records, *Straußbuben* performances may well have been “papered” (a common practice in the theater business to fill a house and promote a work by giving out free tickets); after all, the minimum number of performances necessary for the international success mentioned by Marischka was barely reached. Yet, confronted with the looming rumors of operetta’s “death,” performers and commentators alike pointed at this long *Straußbuben* run as proof of the genre’s viability. Clearly sensing what was at stake for Austrian culture, most of Vienna’s reviewers chose to assist *Die Straußbuben’s* success by stressing the work’s positive aspects.

Strikingly, in spite of its Third Reich genesis (of which officials, unlike the press, were fully aware) and after delicate and lengthy negotiations about the libretto with the mayor’s office, few alterations were deemed necessary to make this work an ideal representation of both the Austria and the operetta postwar leaders envisaged: as was typical for entertainment works written during the Reich, *Die Straußbuben* scrupulously avoided explicit political references. Moreover, its original Strauss melodies provided musical authority and therefore

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622 “seine unerlässliche kulturelle Aufgabe …, der neuen österreichischen Operette den Weg in die Welt wieder zu öffnen”; Imhoff to the Austrian National Bank, April 2, 1947; Imhoff Papers.
624 See Gertrud Marischka, Hubert Marischka biography, 92.
625 See, for example, “Ewige Wiener Operette: Von Suppé bis Steinbrecher,” *Die schöne Wienerin* 11 (1947), and Alex Picher’s reaction in “Der Star muß glauben, was er spielt,” *Welt am Montag mit Sport*, March 31, 1947.
626 Marischka to Weys, April 18, 1946, and Weys to Marischka, April 26, 1946; Weys Papers.
627 Two musical numbers were exchanged for supposedly stronger ones and the dialogue was modified in places. Weys to Dr. Fritz Stein (Genossenschaft dramatischer Schriftsteller), January 28, 1947; see also Marischka to Weys, April 18, 1946; Weys Papers. It seems remarkable that the “free Austria” welcomed this Strauss pastiche with open arms considering that during the Third Reich the authors had been unable to place it at a Viennese venue. (Sikorski to Weys, July 17, 1944; Weys Papers.) Austrian Nazis had refused to program the work at the Volksoper, a theater that—ostentatiously renamed into “Opernhaus der Stadt Wien”—became the city officials’ battleship in a fight for at least partial artistic independence from Berlin’s centralistic cultural politics, and for “an autonomous art in our city.” (“einer eigenständigen Kunst in unserer Stadt”; “Sitzung am 17.6.1939”; Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, M. Abt. 350/ Beiräte; quoted in Deutsch-Schreiner, “Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik,” 181–182.) Only a few productions of older, “classical” operettas were condoned at the city’s theater. (Weys to “Herr Holms,” April 17, 1944; Weys Papers.) On Nazi officials’ fight about the Volksoper see Markus Felkel, “Am Wendepunkt vom Unterhaltungstheater zum subventionierten Kulturvermittler: Die Volksoper im Dritten Reich,” in *100 Jahre Wiener Volksoper: Ein Projekt zur Wiener Theatergeschichte*, ed. Ursula Simek (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 61 and 65 and Deutsch-Schreiner, “Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik,” 101–104 and 181–182.
authenticity, the setting placed it within a long line of “Alt Wien” works, and its biographical plot, portraying a politically uncontroversial, historical celebrity, could educate Austrian audiences and make them proud. The waltz king even proved the ideal cultural icon for representation abroad. As librettist Rudolf Weys pointed out:

Johann Strauss still is not only an Austrian export article but much more: I would guess our little Alpine country owes good old Johann circa 80 percent of its regained political independence.\(^{628}\)

Unsurprisingly, then, the authors used every opportunity to promote the waltz king in Die Straußsbuben. The Act II finale, for example—showing an “obeisance of the waltz kings” by the grateful, inebriated Dianasaal audience after Johann Strauss’s return to Vienna and his brother Josef’s debut as bandmaster—features a chorus set to a middle theme of the famous “Emperor Waltz.” Anyone in an Austrian audience could have hummed along to this well-known, catchy melody as it delivered its platitudinous text:

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Example 4.1: Excerpt from the Act II Finale. Die Straußsbuben, Music: Josef and Johann Strauss, Text: Hubert Marischka and Rudolf Weys, Musical Arrangement: Oskar Stalla. (© Copyright by Papageno Buch- und Musikalienverlag Ges.mbh, Wien.)\(^{629}\)
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\(^{628}\) “Zumal ja Johann Strauss noch immer nicht nur ein Exportartikel der Österreicher ist, weit mehr, ich schätze, unser Alpenländchen verdankt dem guten Johann zu 80% seine wieder errungene politische Selbstständigkeit.” Weys to Robert Gilbert, October 9, 1946; Weys Papers.

\(^{629}\) “Strauss boys, Strauss dynasty! / Cheers to the Strauss melody! / You Strauss waltz who bewitches us, / to
A picture of the production shows that for this scene the ensemble built a half circle on stage, linking arms and swaying in step with the music.

Figure 4.1: Act II Finale, Die Straububen; Vienna, Raimund Theater, October 20, 1946. 630

This inviting, inclusive gesture, especially in combination with the use of a collective “we,” suggests that the fourth wall was broken at this point and the celebration of the Austrian hero spilled from the festivities on stage down into the postwar auditorium. The immediately following polka intensified this communal spirit further and brought the second Act to a climactic end. While Verses 1 and 3 basically enumerated (stereo)typically Viennese attributes—landmarks and personalities that the Strauss boys delighted with their dances: the Danube, the Emperor, Schönbrunn Castle—Verse 2, bluntly revealing the work’s Third Reich origins, presents Vienna with its waltzes and Strauss brothers as part of a list of cities that, through its inclusion of Prague, clearly delineates former Greater German territory:

630 Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, Fritz Imhoff Papers, ZPH 1080, Box 10, 4.24.14; © Copyright by Wienbibliothek.
In Nürnberg hab’ns ein' Trichter, In Nuremberg they have a funnel,⁶³¹
In München gibt’s das beste Bier, In Munich there is the best beer,
Jede Stadt hat was, Every city has something,
Die Walzer haben wir! We have the waltzes!
In Weimar war’n die Dichter, In Weimar there were the poets,
In Prag geht nie der Schinken aus, In Prague they never run out of ham,
Und die Wienerstadt And the Viennese city
Hat ihre Brüder Strauss! Has its Strauss brothers!⁶³²

This curious slip exemplifies beautifully not only that a sense of all-German identity was still somehow ingrained in 1946 Vienna but also that the same cultural hallmarks were used under two different political regimes to encourage a feeling of togetherness and belonging among audiences.

The final verse, however, was amended after the war. Originally, the climax had been a comical one, based on the running joke that the Strauss family’s janitor Jeremias Straus “with one ‘s’” (played by director Imhoff) wants to show off his affiliation with the waltz kings and tries to take over the band, only to be detained by the youngest Strauss brother, Eduard, who then masterfully conducts the concluding phrases of the act.⁶³³ By simply changing the lyrics of that last verse, the postwar version, however, envisaged a much more rousing, topical act conclusion, leaving no doubt about the specifically Austrian message the Second Republic’s new leaders were hoping to convey:


⁶³¹ “Nuremberg Funnel” is a jocular term describing a mechanical way of learning and teaching: material gets “funneled” [drummed] into the student.
⁶³² Strauss et al., Die Straußbuben, Klavierauszug, 153–154. For the whole polka’s text see Appendix 5.
⁶³⁴ “In brotherly love all Strauss brothers stand together here, let’s be proud of them, they belong to Austria!” Strauss and Strauss, Die Straußbuben, 154.
This staging of Austrian unanimity worked wonders: the Act II finale was reportedly so popular that it had to be repeated every night.

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While the Raimund Theater direction and city authorities agreed on Die Straububen as a suitable model for a new Viennese operetta, and the press—especially the official organs of the Allied forces and Austrian political parties—demonstratively supported this choice with their exuberant reports, a few outliers did voice disapproval. Publisher Ludwig Doblinger, for example, was appalled by the contract conditions for Die Straububen, which he argued would be “ruinous” for “Viennese operetta’s entire creative prowess.” Although he thought highly of the work’s textual and musical quality, he feared that it would “block the Raimund Theater—our only operetta theater—for months, perhaps years, so that our operetta composers have no hope to get a word in edgewise in Vienna.”

Even more forthright was Rudolf Kalmar, the chief editor of the cross-party daily Neues Österreich who was also briefly affiliated with the federal theater administration in 1945. Kalmar fundamentally agreed with the official view on operetta’s importance for the new Austria: “it is indisputably among the strongest assets of the Austrian cultural property,” he wrote in August 1946. For him, however, Die Straububen was a critical turn in the wrong direction. Like Doblinger, Kalmar feared that the Strauss pastiche would occupy Vienna’s only operetta stage for too long and that, as a result, real novelties would premiere elsewhere. By failing to encourage a new, timely repertory, the journalist argued, Vienna would lose irrevocably its former reputation as operetta’s capital.

Kalmar’s criticism was more fundamental than Doblinger’s and concerned two main features of Die Straububen: its endorsement of antiquated musical styles and its lack of topicality. For one thing, he observed, musical numbers that would have been considered old hat only a few years earlier were now welcomed as operetta’s lifeline. Indeed, the fact that Straububen reviewers praised that “the waltz … dominates this operetta and proves yet again a smiling winner over jazz, saxophone, and percussion flutter” and hailed the work’s moral qualities (which, one paper observed, made it commendable even for minors), points at a fundamental change in the aesthetic goals for operetta. The work’s “grand classical style” as well as the “clean,” “unsoiled,” nature of the book—characteristics lauded almost unanimously by critics and authors—stood in striking contrast to the traditional ideals for the

635 “ruinösen”; “das gesamte Wiener Operettenschaffen”; “das Raimund-Theater—als unser einziges Operettentheater auf Monate, vielleicht auf Jahre blockieren, sodass unsere Operettenkomponisten überhaupt keine Aussicht haben in Wien zu Worte zu kommen.” Ludwig Doblinger to Matejka, July 25, 1946; Matejka Papers.
genre. For, as we have seen, while Viennese theaters had always offered folksy or nostalgic “Alt Wien” operettas for the more conservative local audiences, such works had hardly ever been meant for national representation or export abroad. Internationally successful operetta had always been considered an adult genre, and attracted its audiences precisely through its suggestive or alluring nature, combining popular musical styles with exhibitions of the latest dance and fashion trends.

Considering the postwar appeal of reviving original Straussian forms, it may seem surprising that the Straussbuben authors labeled their work “Singspiel,” a designation hardly ever used by the waltz king himself, who sought an affiliation with international trends and successful role models such as Jacques Offenbach. The promotion of a term that represented one of the oldest popular theater traditions in German-speaking lands had been pushed significantly under the Nazis. Hans Severus Ziegler, for example, justified the elimination of jazz operettas and cosmopolitan works by Jewish authors by stressing that “the tasteful and musically sophisticated operetta … is nothing but the modern Singspiel.” This term allowed for all French and Jewish origins of operetta to be easily ignored, and instead emphasized its Germanness and popular—“folk”—resonance on the one hand, while creating a link to a “classical” tradition and another of Vienna’s great musical trophies, Mozart, on the other. Operetta as Singspiel, then, stood for “classical” as well as indigenous roots and could conveniently elevate the entertainment genre both as high art and as a folk tradition—two cultural strands particularly valued, in postwar Austria as much as in the Third Reich.

Kalmar’s second major concern about Die Straussbuben, its datedness, was, of course, also an aspect deliberately advocated by Viennese officials. The journalist argued that the work’s Backhendseligkeit (hackneyed fried-chicken bliss) no longer concerned Viennese audiences. And, while only a few other reviewers agreed and most welcomed the work’s portrayal of a “food stamp-free world,” reactions in the theater suggest that Viennese audiences were indeed yearning to see their worries addressed. Strikingly, the musical number that observers described as critical for the work’s overall success—a waltz with a remarkably lackluster and by no means catchy melody—was the only one that featured any direct contemporary references: director and character comedian Fritz Imhoff’s “masterfully executed final-act couplet,” in which, as one paper put it, “all kinds of issues of the day were addressed wittily and with the funniest emphasis.”

641 Compare with Klotz, “Der Widerspenstigen Lähmung,” 82 and 84.
646 See, for example, H.R., “Raimundtheater: ‘Die Straussbuben’ von Hubert Marischka und R. Weys,” Die Komödie, December 5, 1946.
647 “bezugsscheinfreie Welt”; [no title], Die Woche, October 27, 1946.
648 “meisterhaft vorgetragenes Couplet im letzten Akte”; “allerlei Tagesfragen werden in witzigster Pointierung
In the first three verses of this waltz number, Imhoff described—with Jeremias’s manner and dialect of a typical Viennese jovial old grouser (the already mentioned Raunzer)—first the unsettled, nervous current atmosphere (as a bridge from the nineteenth-century plot to postwar reality), then the hardships in the bombed city, and the unfamiliar language jumble on Vienna’s occupied streets. Each of these pithy verses—which showed off beautifully Rudolf Weys’s otherwise suppressed cabaret skills—was followed by a variation on the refrain “slowly, slowly, take your time!,” exemplifying the famous Wiener Gemütlichkeit, a quality that in the eyes of Viennese had always distinguished their people from the operose, overly industrious Germans. The final stanza was politically the most concrete:

Viel Konferenzen werden gehalten,  Many conferences are being held,
Friede soll werden wieder auf Erden,  Peace shall be on earth again,
Wir woll’n halt nix als die Zeiten, die alten,  We just want nothing but the old times,
Arbeit und Ruah’, damit hätt’ ma gnu!  Work and rest—that would be enough for us!
Seit der Verirrung so vor acht Jahren,  Since the aberration about eight years ago,
Haben wir so viel Böses erfahren,  We have experienced so much evil,
Daß wir bereu’n und bitten zugleich:  That we are sorry and beg at the same time:
Schenkt’s uns doch wieder ein frei’s Österreich! Grant us a free Austria again!

And instead of the earlier, affirmative refrain, Imhoff now sings:

Aber net gar so langsam,  But not quite so slowly,
Laßt’s Euch net so viel Zeit,  Don’t take so much time,
Tun wir Wiener euch gar net leid?  Don’t you take pity on us Viennese at all?
Wir war’n z’frieden, beliebt in der Welt,  We were happy, popular in the world,
Und unser Schilling, der war a Geld!  And our schilling—now that was a coin!
A Großdeutschland hab’n wir net braucht,  We never needed a Greater Germany,
Wir hab’n besser ‘gessen getrunken  We ate, drank,
und g’raucht!  and smoked better [before]!
Tot is das tausendjährige Reich,  The thousand-year empire is dead,
Doch neunhundertfünfzig lebt Österreich!  But Austria lives nine hundred fifty!

Imhoff’s performance brought down the house without fail. The star even received letters asking him for the text of these last verses, which apparently expressed the concerns and sentiments of the Viennese population so well. And, although official recommendations to stick with a distant, comforting past were left behind in this number, the messages Austria’s new leaders wanted operetta to convey were clearly expressed—and in a way that resonated with postwar audiences: the waltz presented Austrians (as in the Act II finale, collectively


649 Strauss et al., Die Straußsbuben, Klavierauszug, 163–165.

650 Hansi Popp to Fritz Imhoff, n.d.; Imhoff Papers. The number was first published in a two-volume compilation with piano accompaniment (Vienna, New York: Papageno, P.V. 102/I–IV), in which only the first three verses were printed. However, probably due to popular demand, the waltz number was published separately the following year with six verses (P.V. 103). The full piano reduction (P.V. 104) was cut to four verses. See Appendix 5 for the complete number’s text.
referred to as “we”) as a simple, peace-loving, good-natured people who had been perfectly happy with their circumstances before the foreign, German interference.

Lacking the typical nostalgic nineteenth-century veil, however, this couplet also shows alarmingly clearly the unfortunate, distressing consequences of postwar Austrian cultural tactics. By dissociating Austrian habits and traditions from German ones, yes, in this (and many) cases by portraying Austrians as kindhearted, slightly naïve, and innocent victims of Nazi German “aberrations,” and by delivering this message in a sanitized, deliberately carefree, and endearingly comic wrapping, many popular entertainment works evaded critical confrontation with the Nazi past and helped large parts of Viennese society to repress a sense of their own political responsibility for World War II and its atrocities.  

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The Straussbuben sensation proved a nine days’ wonder. Despite a few respectable runs in Austria and neighboring countries, critics outside Vienna reacted to the work much more harshly: one paper in Graz, for example, found the plot “so boring it is a turn-off, thoroughly characterless, unless one is in favor of seeing the retrieval of a duliöh [intoxicated] atmosphere as the only desirable goal.” Similarly, a critic in Bern described the book as “better comparable with a Gartenlaube novel for daughters of wealthy families rather than an operetta libretto of the twentieth century,” and the Volksstimme in St. Gallen complained about the “nasty mawkishness and far-fetched humor” of this “shallow” work. And while several papers reported of a wide international interest, performances in the English- or French-speaking world are untraceable. Reluctant to take on the English adaptation of Die Straussbuben, exiled Herzen im Schnee librettist Robert Gilbert tried to explain to his friend Weys that “the taste here [in America] is ... worlds apart from everything European.” Indeed, not even the long-planned launch in Germany came through.


652 See accounting records; Weys Papers.


656 Apparently, venues in London, Paris, Turkey, and Spain expressed an interest. (Weys to the Austrian National Bank, September 20, 1948; Weys Papers.) Furthermore, Emil Steininger, once the co-director of the Theater an der Wien, planned to produce the work in Los Angeles, and the rights for a film adaptation were sold to a Hollywood company. See Fred Lorenz to Weys, February 11, 1949 and “Streit um die ‘Straussbuben,’” Welt am Abend, December 8, 1947.

657 “Der Geschmack hier ist ... himmelweit von allem Europäischen verschieden.” Robert Gilbert to Rudolf Weys,
The Raimund Theater also struggled in the following years. In spite of its undoubted position as Vienna’s first operetta house, the venue repeatedly had to close its doors due to weak attendance.\textsuperscript{658} As long-scarce goods started to fill the stores again, people hesitated to spend their limited income on theater visits, leaving especially the private venues in a financial crisis.\textsuperscript{659} As the Montags-Morgen explained in November 1949:

In the past, when there was nothing edible to buy, one bought an expensive theater ticket to dispose of one’s money; today there are so many good things again that the stomach had to spare and on top of that the schilling has become rarer. If one goes anywhere at all, one goes to the cinema because it is cheaper and more comfortable. Or, whoever likes it even cozier listens to his operetta at home by the speakers. If one listens to it, for unfortunately the whole genre has been worn out and all experiments to fit the once world-famous Viennese operetta into a modern, prickly gown have failed so far.\textsuperscript{660}

The makeup of the operetta audiences had also changed—or rather, the audiences had not changed: Gertrud Marischka, for example, observed in the biography of her husband that after the Straussbuben performances “Hubert was ... welcomed and surrounded at the stage door by a flock of cheering, no longer very young women.”\textsuperscript{661} While some of the older Viennese still found comfort in the reliable contents and familiar faces of Viennese operetta, others resorted to the up-and-coming Heimatfilm, which offered a similar value system and more realistic settings than the new, “clean,” folk-like operetta, but for smaller ticket prices. Indeed, not surprisingly the 1950s and -60s saw a boom of operetta Heimatfilme such as Das Schwarzwaldmädel (1950) and Die Försterchristl (1962). The younger generation, eager to taste long-forbidden fruit, also soon turned toward more international art forms, particularly jazz and American film.\textsuperscript{662}

Fearing the competition of other entertainment options, many Viennese artists and cultural politicians demanded the establishment of a state-run operetta theater, an “objective patron” immediately after the war, because they believed that, protected from the self-serving commercial interests of individuals, operetta would be able to regain its former artistic

\textsuperscript{658}”Wiedereröffnung des Raimund-Theaters?,” Das kleine Volksblatt, November 17, 1949.
\textsuperscript{659} Deutsch-Schreiner, “Theaterland Österreich,” 148, and Linhardt, Kontrolle—Prestige—Vergnügen, 68.
\textsuperscript{660} "Früher, als man nichts Essbares zu kaufen bekam, kaufte man sich, um sein Geld loszuwerden, auch eine teure Theaterkarte, heute gibt es wieder so viel gute Sachen, die der Magen entbehren musste, und der Schilling ist obendrein rarer geworden. Wenn man schon irgendwo hingeht, geht man ins Kino, weil es billiger, bequemer ist. Oder wer es noch gemütlicher haben will, hört seine Operette daheim beim Lautsprecher. Wenn er sie hört, denn das ganze Genre hat sich leider abgebrüht und alle Experimente, die ehemals weltberühmte Wiener Operette in ein modernes, prickelndes Kleid zu stecken, haben bis jetzt versagt.” [Stress added in translation.] “Der erste Apfel fiel vom Stamm... Vom Raimundtheater krächzt der Pleitegeier,” Montags-Morgen, November 31, 1949.
\textsuperscript{661} “Hubert wurde ... beim Bühnenausgang von einer Schar jubelnder, nicht mehr sehr junger Frauen empfangen und umringt.” Gertrud Marischka, Hubert Marischka biography, 37.
quality. Indeed, even Kalmar thought of an operetta theater under state protection as a “capital idea for the artistic rebuilding in Austria.” The underlying concept of an operetta culture independent from financial considerations and popular reception was, of course, another recent one: as we have seen, until the 1930s the art form had always relied on audience rather than state approval. Indeed, at the height of operetta’s international success, during the 1920s, Viennese venues had paid crushing luxury taxes rather than receive state subsidies. It was not its compliance with official moral or political values that had secured operetta’s success, but its carefree—if not necessarily critical—grappling with current issues and fashionable trends.

However, as Viennese officials and press started to grasp that “neither subventions nor public charges will help with the theater crisis,” plans for a state-funded operetta venue were apparently abandoned. The only measure toward some kind of institutionalization of the art form was the establishment of an operetta class at Vienna’s conservatory in 1949. Put in charge of this class was—how could it be otherwise?—Hubert Marischka, now widely hailed as the “good soul” of Viennese operetta. One paper explained:

In the bleak years after the dreadful war, [Marischka] has brought about a renaissance of Viennese operetta on his own accord, has himself created exemplary works of the best format, and also, as a performer of interesting character roles, has provided a shining example to the eager youth of how one has to play operetta in Vienna, how one has to cultivate this most cheerful child of the light muse.

Press and city officials hoped that the celebrity and “bon vivant,” who had worked with singers from Strauss’s original casts and created many of the most popular operettas’ principal characters, would hand on his first-hand knowledge to the next artistic generation and "lead

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663 Kraus to Matejka, November 26, 1946; Matejka Papers.
665 “Der Theaterkrise helfen weder Subventionen noch Kunstgroschen”; “Der erste Apfel fiel vom Stamm... Vom Raimundtheater krächzt der Pleitegeier,” Montags-Morgen, November 31, 1949; see also Jansen, “Von der Operette zum Musical,” 244.
666 “Er hat in den düsteren Jahren nach dem furchtbaren Krieg aus eigener Kraft eine Renaissance der Wiener Operette zustandegebracht, hat selbst Werke von bestem Format geschaffen und auch als Darsteller interessanter Charakterrollen der nachdrängenden Jugend ein leuchtendes Beispiel gegeben, wie man Operette in Wien zu spielen hat, wie man dieses fröhlichste Kind der heiteren Muse zu pflegen hat.” “Montag; Der Kopf der Woche: Hubert Marischka—Der gute Geist der Wiener Operette,” unidentified newspaper clipping [ca. 1950]; Marischka Papers. Years later, conservative Viennese author and editor Rudolf Holzer was still praising works such as Die Straussbuben, and even described them as “timely”: “there was something heroic in Marischka’s attempt to give operetta an artistically timely expression [after WWII]. With the books to the operettas Die Straussbuben and Die Walzerkönigin, he returned to the erstwhile form of the folk-like Viennese, “narrative” operetta again in recent years.” (“Es lag etwas Heroisches in Marischkas Versuch, künstlerisch der Operette zeitgemäß Ausdruck zu geben. Mit den Büchern zu den Operetten ‘Die Straussbuben’, ‘Die Walzerkönigin’, im Raimund- bzw. Bürgertheater gespielt, kehrte er in den letzten Jahren selbst wieder zur einstigen Form der volkstümlich-wienerischen, ‘erzählenden’ Operette zurück.”) Holzer, Die Wiener Vorstadtbühnen, 644.
Viennese operetta to another heyday. This hope seems particularly ironic when one considers that one decade earlier, Marischka had been held largely responsible for the increasing lack of new operetta talents. Following the bankruptcy of his theater empire, the “Ring of Performing Musicians in Austria,” for example, had accused the “former dominator of Viennese operetta theaters” for “not having tried in any way to give operetta a new impulse by fostering a good ensemble or supporting young authors”:

The consequences today are so catastrophic that there are not even enough performers available for operetta, so that one is forced to borrow them from film or spoken theater if one wants a good performance.

And while Marischka professed upon his conservatory appointment that the training of young talents had been close to his heart for years, his own postwar works, starting with *Die Strausssbuben*, show that the luminary’s main focus lay on the preservation of earlier ideals, ideals from even before his own heyday, rather than the nurturing of a once again buzzing, international art form. Publisher Doblinger’s worries were confirmed: a new generation of operetta composers never made it on Vienna’s stages. Instead, along with more works from the old guard and in the same vein as *Die Strausssbuben*, houses such as the Raimund Theater increasingly filled their coffers through reruns of stalwart crowd pleasers from the trusty “Alt Wien” repertory again.

Looking at *Die Strausssbuben* in this rather depressing context, Kalmar’s early and largely ignored concerns were clearly justified: for operetta, this work was indeed a critical move in the wrong direction. While it is arguable that operetta production could have regained its former prosperity had officials picked a different first postwar premiere, the art form’s reception after 1945 suffered tremendously by the choice of a Strauss pastiche with Third Reich origins as its luminous representative. For the return to Straussian ideals further confirmed the already established, warped narrative of operetta’s perpetual decline after the waltz king, the widely accepted story of the “golden” days of Strauss’s classical operettas, which were followed by

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667 “die Wiener Operette zu einer neuen Glanzzeit emporzuführen”; “Montag; Der Kopf der Woche: Hubert Marischka—Der gute Geist der Wiener Operette.”
668 “dem bisherigen Beherrscher der Wiener Operettentheater”; “in keiner Weise versucht hat, durch die Pflege eines guten Ensembles oder durch die Förderung junger Autoren und Komponisten der Operette einen neuen Impuls zu geben. Die Folgen sind heute so kastrophale, dass nicht einmal Schauspieler für die Operette zur Verfügung stehen, so dass man gezwungen ist, wenn man eine gute Leistung haben will, sich dieselben vom Tonfilm oder vom Schauspiel auszuborgen.” Ring der ausübenden Musiker Österreichs, Gewerkschaftsbund der österreichischen Arbeiter und Angestellten, Gewerkschaft der Musiker, “Vorschläge für den Wiederaufbau des österreichischen Theater- und Musiklebens durch Schaffung eines gerechten Ausgleiches zwischen den Interessen der lebenden und mechanischen Musik,” 6; ÖSta, AdR, Vaterländische Front, Box 2, 27.185/36.
669 Emmi Majewsky, “Echo des Tages,” manuscript of a radio interview with Hubert Marischka, October 13, 1949; Marischka Papers.
670 Marischka also wrote the librettos for *Die Walzerkönigin* (Bürgertheater, 1948), a considerable success in Vienna based on life episodes of singer and actress Maria Geistinger, for *Abschiedswalzer* (1949), *Liebesbriefe* (1955) and *Deutschmeisterkapelle* (1958).
671 Compare with Jansen, “Von der Operette zum Musical,” 244. For a list of postwar musical theater premieres in Vienna see Appendix 6.
the “silver” works of Lehár and Kálmán, and finally by the 1940s’ commercial Blech (which means both “metal” and “rubbish/crap” in German). ⁶⁷²

In compliance with postwar cultural-political goals, Die Strauszbuben yet again stressed innocent “classical” and “folk” aspects of the art form, and thus failed to actively encourage a revival of aspects that the Nazis, and to a certain extent even the Austrofascists, had eliminated—aspects largely responsible for operetta’s former international attraction and success: eroticism, glamor, timely subject matter, fashionable dances, and contemporary music styles. By preserving a former content and style of operetta rather than what it stood for—topicality, carefree entertainment, vogue—the Strauss pastiche presented the genre not as a living tradition but as a precious artifact of Austrian cultural heritage and of no longer reachable greatness. ⁶⁷³ Although a new work, Die Strauszbuben promoted cultural preservation over creation.

The new aesthetic preferences led to a severe limitation of the operetta canon as well as its performance practice after 1945. As Kevin Clarke has pointed out, almost all of the twentieth-century works that managed to secure places in the postwar repertory could be interpreted “folkloristically”—Kálmán’s Gräfin Mariza and Benatzky’s Im weißen Rössl are perfect examples. Anton Würz’s MGG entry on operetta also reflects this aesthetic: the work of Granichstaedten, Paul Abraham, Robert Stolz, and others who incorporated contemporary musical styles, is summarized in a couple of sentences, while “noble,” “high-quality,” “pure-sounding” Singspiele, which (singing the praises of domesticity) “reached the rank of folkloric Spieloper,” were described in comparative detail. Examples are Künneke’s Das Dorf ohne Glocke (1919), Arno Vetterling’s Liebe in der Lerchengasse (1936), and Edmund Nick’s Das kleine Hofkonzert (1935), which had prospered during the Third Reich. ⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, through performances by opera singers and philharmonic orchestras, operettas were treated (just as they were during the Nazi era) as folk classics. ⁶⁷⁵ The neglect of other, more contemporary aspects and practices in Viennese (and Jewish!) popular music history—aspects that had still been prominent, for example, in Benatzky’s Austrian tourist works—contributed to an increasingly essentialized image of Austrian culture as nostalgic, folkloristic, even antediluvian.

Postwar politicians’ plans for operetta as a means to foster a new collective identity and to present the Alpine republic as an independent, culturally sophisticated, politically irreproachable country worthy of foreign support may have been successful—after all, especially from an international viewpoint, the values promoted in the Strauss pastiche are still considered to be intrinsically Austrian today. Viennese operetta, however, was sacrificed in the process: for the nuanced reception and international appeal of this genre, Die Strauszbuben was a final deathblow.

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⁶⁷² For a detailed account of how this standard narrative was established, see Dompke, Unterhaltungsmusik und NS-Verfolgung, 43–44.
Only a few weeks after the grand premiere of the fateful Strauss pastiche, Vienna’s most successful postwar cabaret, *Das kleine Brettl*, premiered its new program, “Between the Lines.” The last sketch of the evening was a spoof with the significant title “Das Dreibuberhaus or: Operetta is Dead—Long Live Operetta!” While in her prologue—which opened this chapter as epigraph—the personified Viennese operetta still appears somewhat hopeful for “doctor” Marischka’s wondrous powers, the final song brings all but the desired happy end:

(One hears an outcry; just having entered, operetta sinks down lifelessly)

Everyone: What has happened?
Schani [Johann]: Now operetta has definitely died!

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676 Pun on the widely criticized but popular fictional Schubert pastiche *Das Dreimäderlhaus* by Heinrich Berté (1916).

677 “(Man hört einen Schrei, die eingetretene Operette ist leblos umgesunken) / Alle: Was ist denn passiert? / Schani: Jetzt ist die Operette endgültig gestorben!”

EPILOGUE: ACROSS THE POND

The Emperor’s Old Whiskers

Right when Vienna’s Raimund Theater was buzzing with Die Straussbuben in 1946, the waltz king’s same famous melodies were also being evoked on the other side of the pond. Film director and Austrian émigré Billy Wilder—having returned from the task of “de-Nazifying” the German film industry—was shooting The Emperor Waltz, his only musical comedy, with Bing Crosby and Joan Fontaine.679

From the perspective of a few old ladies, whose gossiping at a grand ball in fin-de-siècle Vienna is accompanied by the eponymous Strauss piece, the lavish Technicolor production tells the parallel love stories of traveling New Jersey salesman Virgil Smith (Crosby) and his mongrel Buttons, who have come to Austria to convince Emperor Franz Joseph to endorse their phonograph. When the mutt gets into a fight with Countess Johanna von Stolzenberg Stolzenberg’s purebred poodle (who has just been chosen to breed with the emperor’s dog), both the canines and their owners begin tempestuous acquaintances that eventually lead to the foreseeable happy ends.

As its classical title suggests, The Emperor Waltz shows many obvious markers of operetta, even in spite of its rather sparing use of musical numbers. Indeed, as Kevin Clarke pointed out in his IMDb review, the “stranger-in-the-Alps” plot, the stylized folk costumes and village settings, the excessive yodeling and Schuhplattler dancing, and the portrayal of the emperor as an endearing old fool could have come straight out of the White Horse Inn, which had been so popular with Broadway audiences only a decade earlier.680 And—unlike Die Straussbuben with its nostalgic straightforwardness—the producers also emulated Benatzky through the film’s “rather pleasing quality of seeming to kid itself along.” Especially the “emphasis on romance in the realm of canines,” wrote one critic, made it impossible to think “that either Mr. Brackett or Mr. Wilder ever took what they did too seriously.”681

Standard musical elements of operetta are also treated rather cheekily. For example, at that romantic moment when a Danilo from Die lustige Witwe would sing “lips are silent, violins whisper” and Alex in Der Orlow ask “don’t you hear the violins?,” practically minded Virgil insists on making such matters diegetic: wheeling in a piano to accompany the dogs’ (and his own) first flirtations, he orders police men nearby to get out their fiddles. After all that, the expected romance happens mostly behind closed doors, however: amusingly, the traditional waltz extension of “I Dream To Kiss Your Hand, Madam” is executed not by the main couple but—rather clumsily—by the room maid, the chauffeur, and an old receptionist in the hotel lobby.

Similarly comic is a scene on the island in a picturesque, solitary mountain lake where, just as Virgil and Johanna finally come closer again, the countess listens up, asking

**Johanna:** What’s that noise?

**Virgil:** Oh, that; that comes from the village. You know, during daytime they make violins and in the evening they fiddle. *(Pauses to listen as the villagers, in full folksy splendor and rapturously playing a waltz, are faded in.)* Mighty pleasant, isn’t it?

**Johanna:** That’s probably due to the echo...

Leaving aside the obvious, funny implausibility of the once again willfully diegetic accompaniment, Johanna’s skepticism and Virgil’s enjoyment of these clichéd sounds show rather plainly the two sides of Wilder’s operetta interpretation: while clearly “relishing in the popular strudel-and-schmaltz aesthetic,” as cinema scholar Gerd Gemünden observed, *The Emperor Waltz* also constantly spoofs these relished commonplaces. ⁶⁸²

The film’s most substantial musical number, Crosby’s crooning yodel song “The Friendly Mountains,” makes these two sides clearest. Through its “clever blending of comedy and utterly unreasonable but novel musical effects,” the sequence became, as one reviewer noted, yet another “twist at old Viennese ‘corn.” ⁶⁸³ Hiking along an Alpine road in Lederhosen and Tyrolean hat, the yodeling Virgil is answered and then accompanied by “magical echoes and a swarm of slap-dancers in the dells”—a scene that seems designed to check off a whole list of Austrian clichés in rapid succession. The lightly executed punch line comes in the following scene when Johanna, enjoying her country ride in the car, hears distant singing and dreamily tells her father:

Listen to that yodel: it’s the voice of Austria—mountain-borne, deep-rooted, eternal!

Her poodle starts barking as Buttons and Virgil come into sight—the “authentic” Austrian voice belongs to the salesman from New Jersey, dressed up in full ethnic drag.

Such play with the common expectations of both natives and foreigners (within the film as well as in the audience) about Austria, Austrianness, and how these concepts should be represented musically, is traceable throughout the film. Indeed, Wilder directly addresses the issue of what is apparently expected from Austria in one of his typically suggestive, snappy exchanges—here between the emperor and Virgil when they finally meet. Responding to the monarch’s grumpy complaints about his whiskers, the practical salesman advises:

**Virgil:** Well, you could always shave them off, your majesty? ... I think you’d look much nicer without all that ... whipped cream!


Emperor: Excellent idea! They’ve bored me for the last forty years. ... But it cannot be done. ... Young man, if I were to shave off these whiskers, Austria would be thrown into a state of turmoil. Think what it would do to our postage stamps, our coins, our banknotes.

Virgil: I guess you are stuck on that.

Emperor: Glad you see my point.

The American everyman and the Austrian leader agree: in spite of the abundant wish for change, the country’s prosperity depended on its traditional, now utterly antiquated looks. At the same time both these Wilder characters also show awareness that, stuck with its clichés, Austria struggled to keep up with modernity.

The image of old whipped cream, applied here most directly to the emperor’s beard, became a common one in postwar American twitting of the backwardness and nostalgia associated with the Alpine republic and its operetta traditions. One of the most famous musical works to come under such attack was Rodgers & Hammerstein’s Austrian-themed musical *The Sound of Music* (1959). Brendan Gill of the *New Yorker*, for example, felt himself “slowly drowning in a pit of sticky-sweet whipped cream, not of the first freshness.”

Similarly, London reviewers of the 1961 opening at the Palace Theatre criticized the work’s “marsh of treacle” or its “Austrian sugar-icing an inch thick,” and the *Herald Tribune*’s review of the 1965 film premiere was headed “If You Have Diabetes, Stay Away from This Movie.”

Such attributes of stale richness and fake, sickening sweetness were linked directly with what critics considered the work’s operetta characteristics—its stagy ensembles and soaring nuns’ choruses, the hearty ländler dancing scene near the end of Act I, and most obviously the sentimental plot. Powerful *New York Times* critic Brook Atkinson, for example, noted:

> the scenario of *The Sound of Music* has the hackneyed look of the musical theatre they replaced with *Oklahoma!* in 1943. ... It is disappointing to see the American musical stage succumbing to the clichés of operetta. The revolution of the Forties and Fifties has lost its fire.

Remarkably, such reactions appeared in spite of the authors’ efforts to avoid all operetta associations. Librettist Howard Lindsay explained their fears:

> The minute you say “Vienna” everybody thinks of chorus boys in short pants, and the

---

minute you have a waltz, you’re sunk. ... We had to keep the story believable and convincing and not letting [sic] it get into the never-never land operetta lives in.\textsuperscript{689}

Once seen—as in the case of \textit{Der Millionenonkel}—as a genre that could help to make others (including film) respectable, operetta was now avoided by international authors for fear that any such associations would make their works look passé.

In \textit{The Sound of Music}, Vienna is indeed only portrayed as a place of suspect or disagreeable sophistication, and the pastoral ländler dominates over the more elegant, urban waltz. In fact, the love song between Maria and the captain, “An Ordinary Couple”—as dreamily waltzing as it may feel—is not even in three-four time. Similarly, “Edelweiss,” the number that most clearly defines the work’s conception of “Austria,” is simple, folk song-like, and accompanied only by a guitar, thus underlining the metaphor of its Alpine homeland as “small and white, clean and bright.”\textsuperscript{690} In \textit{The Sound of Music}, then, Austria is an innocent, authentic, rural country rooted to nature, religion, as well as history, and untouched by the conceit of the modern, industrialized, political world. This image not only comes strikingly close to the widespread postwar portrayal of Austria as Hitler’s naïve first victim—a portrayal we also saw shine through in \textit{Die Straußbuben}—but, ironically, also relied on the same “folksy” and “earthbound” qualities that first the Austrofascists and then the Nazis had encouraged in their musical theater. Trying to avoid any direct confrontation with the older genre and its stealthy, outdated forms, the authors of \textit{The Sound of Music} thus ended up evoking a more straightforwardly schmaltzy, seemingly innocuous set of Austrian attributes that were nevertheless widely associated with operetta.

Almost directly opposed to \textit{The Sound of Music}’s (non-)approach to the older musical theater form was the one featured in another groundbreaking American musical, Cole Porter’s \textit{Kiss me, Kate} (1948). Porter, who—according to Ethel Merman’s biographer Brian Kellow—“worked to scrub away the layers of starch that had built up in the years when operetta was king,”\textsuperscript{691} went for a purely mocking portrayal of operetta in his musical take on Shakespeare’s \textit{The Taming of the Shrew}, as part of his play with different levels of dramatic, literary, and musical sophistication.\textsuperscript{692} The number in question, operetta waltz parody “Wunderbar” (a cosmopolitan-style Boston waltz, to be precise), is the first song that the belligerent main couple, Lilli and Fred, share as they remember the early, happy days of their relationship, when they worked for “that little British makeshift of a Viennese operetta that for some reason was laid in Switzerland but the costumes were Dutch.”\textsuperscript{693} Their performance—itself an act of nostalgic memory very much like Mary and Percy’s in \textit{Reklame}!s most international love duet—is mockingly overblown, combining grand gestures with scraps of German text that clearly denote the outdated conceits and exaggerations of a broad-brush Old World. Already in


\textsuperscript{691} Brian Kellow, \textit{Ethel Merman: A Life} (New York: Viking, 2007), 50.


\textsuperscript{693} The number’s title may allude to Robert Katscher’s cosmopolitan jazz operetta \textit{Die Wunderbar} (Vienna, 1930), which was adapted for a Broadway production (1931) and a Warner Brother’s movie (1934), both with Al Jolson.
1948, as American audiences got accustomed to the up-and-coming “method acting” in newer musical theater productions, the theatricalities of traditional operetta performance styles increasingly came to be seen as absurd and ludicrous and were thus an easy target for comic treatment. 694

Strikingly, Kiss me, Kate with its fresh take on musical theater became extremely popular also in Vienna. As Jansen has recently observed, the Austrian and German productions of Porter’s work amounted to a “Big Bang” for the American musical in German-language theaters. 695 Following its sensationally successful premiere in Frankfurt in November 1955, Volksoper producer Marcel Prawy promptly launched Kiss me, Kate as Vienna’s first American musical three months later. It was a triumph without immediate successors, for Wonderful Town and Annie Get Your Gun—premiered by Prawy within the same year—flopped in Vienna, 696 as reviewers once more expressed suspicion about the “entirely foreign, un-Viennese, and musically inferior” qualities of the more modern genre and pleaded for Spieloper, Singspiel, and classical operetta to be fostered instead. 697 As Appendix 6 shows, it took almost a decade before anyone dared to produce another American musical in Austria.

What made Kiss me, Kate the successful exception, then? I would like to think that, among other things, it was the work’s underlying reliance on, yes, even an affirmation of operetta’s magic that appeased and appealed to Viennese audiences. For, against all odds, it is “Wunderbar,” this parodic, throwaway operetta pastiche, that brings the main couple, Fred and Lilli, together again. As Raymond Knapp has argued:

> It is this song that convinces us, in dramatic terms, that the couple had a past relationship worth reviving. It is also what allows us to see how close beneath the surface that revival lurks, in the easy way the two first fall into the comic play at enacting the “loving couple” familiar from Viennese operetta, then yield to the seemingly inevitable moment when the masks slip and their play becomes real. 698

In spite of all its quaint, antiquated theatricality, then, operetta’s recipe could still work. And what moves Fred and Lilli in Kiss me, Kate as well as Virgil and Johanna in The Emperor Waltz, was also successful with postwar audiences, as the popular reception of all the operetta-influenced American works discussed here illustrates: ticket sales were spectacular and the combined list of Tony and Oscar nominations interminable; the Sound of Music soundtrack album even became the all-time best-selling record album worldwide. 699 In spite of their creators’ bluntly expressed critical distance, in these works the legacy and fascination of Viennese operetta survived.

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# Appendix 1

## Alexander Girardi’s Roles in *Der Millionenonkel* (1913)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role, in order of appearance (Profession)</th>
<th>Work (Genre)</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girardi</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pufferl (Friseur)</td>
<td>Pufferl (Operette)</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentin (Diener)</td>
<td>Der Verschwender (Originalzaubermärchen)</td>
<td>1884 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef Drechsler (Schauspieler)</td>
<td>Brüderlein fein (Alt-Wiener Singspiel)</td>
<td>1913 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucki Vierröckl (Fensterputzer)</td>
<td><em>Ein armes Mädel (Posse mit Gesang)</em></td>
<td>1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentin (Tischler)</td>
<td>Der Verschwender (Originalzaubermärchen)</td>
<td>1884 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottlieb Weigel (Schuhmacher)</td>
<td>Mein Leopold (Originallebensbild)</td>
<td>1886 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Tripp (Selbstmordgefährdeter)</td>
<td>Der arme Jonathan (Operette)</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruder Straubinger (Landstreicher)</td>
<td>[literary figure]</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolfsberg (?) (Wachmann)</td>
<td><em>Wienerstadt in Wort und Bild (Posse)</em></td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl Fienz (Briefträger)</td>
<td>Er und seine Schwester (Posse mit Gesang)</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geselle Charles (Schlosser)</td>
<td>Schlosserkönig (Operette)</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Einer von der Bande (?) (Püchter)</td>
<td><em>Wienerstadt in Wort und Bild (Posse)</em></td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiaker</td>
<td>(Fiakerlied)</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikhail Cakow (reicher Bulgare/Oberst a.D.)</td>
<td><em>Der Millionenonkel (Operette)</em></td>
<td>1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janos (Diener)</td>
<td>Heißes Blut (Posse mit Gesang)</td>
<td>1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestin (Organist)</td>
<td>Mam’zelle Nitouche (Vaudeville)</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racz Pali (Kapellmeister)</td>
<td>Zigeunerprimas (Operette)</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin (Obersteiger)</td>
<td><em>Der Obersteiger (Operette)</em></td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franz Torelli (Komiker)</td>
<td>Künstlerblut (Operette)</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchese Filippo Sebastiani</td>
<td>Der lustige Krieg (Operette)</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasim Pascha (Schah)</td>
<td>Fürstin Ninetta (Operette)</td>
<td>1893</td>
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<td>Bruder Straubinger (Kriegsveteran)</td>
<td><em>Bruder Straubinger (Operette)</em></td>
<td>1903</td>
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<td>Ignaz Wirbel (Kellner)</td>
<td>Der Nazi (Posse mit Gesang)</td>
<td>1895</td>
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<td>Kálmán Zsupan (reicher Schweinezüchter)</td>
<td>Zigeunerbaron (Operette)</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aschenmann (Waldbauer/Millionär)</td>
<td><em>Der Bauer als Millionär (Romantisches Originalzaubermärchen mit Gesang)</em></td>
<td>1898 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Rymanovicz (Student)</td>
<td><em>Der Bettelstudent (Operette)</em></td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benozzo (Wirt)</td>
<td>Gasparone (Operette)</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godibert (Wachtmeister)</td>
<td>Jungfrau von Belleville (Operette)</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballettmeister</td>
<td>Ein Armes Mädel</td>
<td>1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam (Vogelhändler)</td>
<td>Der Vogelhändler (Operette)</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profos</td>
<td>Heimliche Liebe (Operette)</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frosch (Gefängniswärter)</td>
<td>Fledermaus (Komische Operette)</td>
<td>1878 (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richter</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“(G)” marks the dates of Girardi’s first performance of works that he did not premiere. Roles in italics are not part of the (only?) extant original film copy (at the Filmarchiv Austria)
Appendix 2

The Operetta Commissions of the Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen

This list is taken directly from the manuscript inventories in Hans Joachim Moser’s papers held by the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (“Auftragswerke der Reichsstelle” and “Selbstbericht des Forschers und Schriftstellers Hans Joachim Moser,” 22; N. Mus. Nachlaß 31, Box 15). As it was not possible to confirm all details (particularly those of the intended as well as eventual publishers and premiere venues), I have reproduced everything as presented by Moser. Crossed-out notes are omitted. Wherever possible, however, I have added the first names of composers and librettists; names were adjusted to the spellings prevailing today.

New Commissions—Operetta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Publisher; Venue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Die vertauschten Liebesleute</em></td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Kern (?</td>
<td>Allegroverlag; Berlin, Admiralspalast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Die tanzende Helena</em></td>
<td>W[illy] Richartz</td>
<td>L[eo] Lenz, [Richard] Bars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Das Buch der Liebe</em></td>
<td>Eberhard Glombig</td>
<td></td>
<td>Munich, Gärtnerplatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>...</em></td>
<td>[Harald] Böhmelt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>...</em></td>
<td>[Arno] Vetterling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pamelas Erlebnis</em></td>
<td>Johanne Müller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Das Halsband der Königin</em></td>
<td>Edm[und] Nick</td>
<td>Gerhard Metzner</td>
<td>Munich, Gärtnerplatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Regenbogen</em></td>
<td>Will Meisel</td>
<td>[Just] Scheu, [Ernst] Nebhut</td>
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Modernizations—Operetta and Singspiel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Editor(s)</th>
<th>Publisher; Venue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Episode in Ungarn</em></td>
<td>[Franz] Schubert</td>
<td>[Hubert] Marischka, O[skar] Stalla</td>
<td>Marischka Verlag</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Waldmeister</em></td>
<td>[Johann] Strauss</td>
<td>[Ralph] Benatzky</td>
<td>Bote &amp; Bock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Editor(s)</td>
<td>Publisher; Venue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Leichte Cavallerie</em></td>
<td>[Franz von] Suppé</td>
<td>[Paul?] Beyer, Josef Rixner</td>
<td>Bote &amp; Bock; Chemnitz, Stadttheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Die Erntebraut (Polenblut)</em></td>
<td>Oskar Nedbal</td>
<td>[Hermann] Hermecke, [Hans Joseph] Vieth</td>
<td>Doblinger; Chemnitz, Drehbühne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Indigo</em></td>
<td>Johann Strauss</td>
<td>[Erwin?] Hartung, [Hans Joseph] Vieth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Don Cesar</em></td>
<td>Rudolf Dellinger</td>
<td>[Hans] Weißbach, Rudolf Kattnigg</td>
<td>Aug[ust] Cranz; Chemnitz, Drehbühne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Der Seekadett</em></td>
<td>Richard Genée</td>
<td>[Hans] Brennecke, [Horst] Platen</td>
<td>Sikorski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[Der] Rastelbinder</em></td>
<td>Franz Lehár</td>
<td>Rudolf Weys</td>
<td>Sikorski; Vienna, Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3

Rudolf Weys: “Der Wiener Januskopf”
Wiener Werkel program No. 5 (premiered on October 20, 1940)

Reprinted in Österreichische Literatur im Exil,

(Two protagonists—optimist and grouser—stand in the garb of taproom singers, dressed exactly the same, in the middle of the stage. Optimist hides the grouser at first.)

I.

Optimist:
Seit zweitausend Jahr bin ich Wiener
Und stimme seit jeher mit “Ja”,
Als ganz gehorsamster Diener
Des Staates, der jeweils grad da.
Ich wär ja mit allem zufrieden,
Ich war auch noch niemals der Hopf,
Nur san halt die Gusto verschieden
Da drin in mein doppelen Kopf.

Both (während der Raunzer erstmalig sichtbar wird):
Juhu! Hallo!
Als Januskopf stehngan mir do!

Raunzer:
Mein Zwilling, der will net sinnieren,
Doch i denk ma manchmal ganz laut:
Ein Weaner, der muaß kritisieren,
Weil, der kann net heraus aus der Haut!
I sag, mir gehn etliche Dekad
Aus der Backhendelzeit heute ab.
Doch wann i was red, hafts, i mecker,
Und wann i was sag, bin i schlapp!

Beide (wie früher):
Juhu! Hallo!
Als Januskopf stehngan mir do!
(Raunzer verschwindet wieder.)

Optimist:
For 2000 years I’ve been a Viennese
And have always voted with Yes,
As entirely obedient servant
Of the state that existed at that particular time.
I would be satisfied with everything,
I have also never been the Hopf [?],
But the tastes are different after all
Within my double head.

Both (while the grouser first becomes visable):
Yoohoo! Hello!
As Janus face we stand here!

Grouser:
My twin does not want to ponder,
But I sometimes think to myself loudly:
A Viennese has to criticize
Because he cannot shed his skin.
I say, I’m missing many hundred grams
From the good old times today.
But when I tell something, they say I rant,
And if I say something, I’m feeble!

Both (as earlier):
Yoohoo! Hello!
As Janus face we stand here!
(Grouser disappears again.)

[700 “Zwei Darsteller—Optimist und Raunzer—stehen in Heurigensängerdreß völlig gleich gekleidet in der Mitte der Bühne. Optimist verdeckt zunächst den Raunzer.”]
II.

**Optimist:**
Ich hab unlängst a Zeitung gelesen,
Da halten s' ma d' Gemütlichkeit vor.
Gehets, laßts ma mei sonniges Wesen,
Nebn der Arbeit brauch i an Humor!
Ja, warum soll der Mensch denn net lachen
In unserer Großstadt-Provinz?
Mir werns schon bestimmt noch dermachen,
Genau so wie Graz oder Linz.

**Beide (wie früher):**
Hallo! Juhu!
Mir schaun den Bemühungen zu!

**Raunzer:**
Mei Freund is direkt a Verführer,
Nur mir geht halt manches net ein.
Heut verliert ja sogar die Admira
Gegg die Altreichen mit Null zu Neun.
Was nutzen ma Barock und Paläste,
Und wia ma so sagt, die "Guldur"!
Ich siech nur mehr spärliche Reste,
Auch die gehngan schon in Verlur.
(Zum ersten Mal treten beide nebeneinander.)

**Optimist:** Geh kusch!
**Raunzer:** Halts zamm!
**Optimist:** Sei stad, denn jetzt stengan mir stramm!

III.

**Optimist:**
Der Balkan heißts, steht uns doch offen,
Und mir wern ein Umschlagplatz!

**Raunzer:**
Ich hab nix dagegn, woll mas hoffen,
Weil sonst ziaig i doch noch nach Graz.

II.

**Optimist:**
I recently read a paper
Where they hold the Gemütlichkeit against me.
Now, leave me my sunny nature,
Along with work I need humor!
Yes, why should a person not laugh
In our metropolitan province?
We will definitely get there eventually,
Just like Graz or Linz.⁷⁰¹

**Both (as earlier):**
Hello! Yoohoo!
We are watching those efforts!

**Grouser:**
My friend is almost a seducer,
But I just don't understand a few things.
Today even the Admira loses
Against those from the Altreich nil to nine.
What use have baroque and palaces,
And also the so-called culture?
I see only scanty remains,
Even those are now dwindling away.
(For the first time both stand next to each other.)

**Optimist:** Quiet now!
**Grouser:** Keep it together!
**Optimist:** Be silent, for now we stand at
attention!

III.

**Optimist:**
The Balkans, they say, are open to us,
And we will become a trade center!

**Grouser:**
I don't mind, let's hope,
Because otherwise I'll move to Graz after all.

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⁷⁰² Pun on “Führer”?

⁷⁰³ In the final of the 1939 Reich soccer championship, the Viennese club Admira—“Ostmark champion” of the year—had lost abominably against the best “old-German” club, FC Schalke 04.
*Optimist:*
Vom Kahlenberg bis fast nach Baden
Reicht heute unser Groß-Wien!

*Raunzer:*
Na wenn schon! Soll ma nix schaden!
Deswegen steckt a net mehr drin!

*Optimist:*
Des Gfraßt!
*Raunzer:*
Des Gfrieß!

*Beide:*
I beiß eahm noch zsamm, des is gwiß!
*Optimist:*
Mei Leben lang muß i mi streiten!
*Raunzer:*
Er giftet mich ganz enorm!
*Optimist:*
Nur, sehgn ma an Fremden von weiten,
*Beide:*
Da geh ma gleich beide konform!
*Optimist:*
An Weaner wolln Sie schimpfieren?
*Raunzer:*
Sie!! Mir ham zwar ein Doppelgesicht,
*Beide:*
Doch des könnt Ihnen etwas zitieren,
Provozieren S' unsere Einigkeit nicht!
*(Vorhang.)*

*Optimist:*
From the Kahlenberg almost up to Baden
Reaches our Great Vienna today!

*Grouser:*
Whatever! It won't hurt me!
There is still nothing more in it!

*Optimist:*
This person!
*Grouser:*
That mug!

*Both:*
I will kill him eventually, that's for sure!
*Optimist:*
All life long I have to quarrel!
*Grouser:*
He infuriates me enormously!
*Optimist:*
But if we see a stranger from afar,
*Both:*
Then we both agree immediately!
*Optimist:*
You want to scold a Viennese?
*Grouser:*
You!! We may have a double face,
*Both:*
You would like that, wouldn't you,
Don't provoke our agreement!
*(Curtain.)*
Appendix 4

Pastiche Operettas based on Strauss Family Music

This list is a compilation of all the operettas I came across during my research that take significant proportions of their music from works by Johann Strauss senior and/or his sons Johann and Josef. As I could not get hold of many scores or other performance materials of these works, it was impossible to confirm all the details given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work's Title</th>
<th>Strauss</th>
<th>Librett</th>
<th>Music Arrang.</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wiener Blut</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Victor Léon, Leo Stein</td>
<td>Adolf Müller jr.</td>
<td>Vienna, 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grafin Pepi (after Simplicius, Blindekuh)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Victor Léon</td>
<td>Ernst Reiterer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frühlingsluft</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>Carl Lindau, Julius Wilhem</td>
<td>Ernst Reiterer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Frauenherz</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>Carl Lindau</td>
<td>Ernst Reiterer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Schwalber aus dem Wienerwald</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>Emil Berger, Louis Taufstein</td>
<td>Fritz Sommer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tausend und eine Nacht (after Indigo und die 40 Räuber)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Leo Stein, Carl Lindau</td>
<td>Ernst Reiterer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Teufelsmädel</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>J.S. Clifford, Louis Taufstein, Josef S. Donebaum</td>
<td>Ernst Siebert</td>
<td>Vienna, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiche Mädchen (after Die Göttin der Vernunft)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Felix Salten, Franz Glawatsch</td>
<td>Ernst Reiterer</td>
<td>Vienna, 1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>Die weiße Fahne</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>Fritz Grünbaum</td>
<td>Oscar Stalla</td>
<td>Vienna, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der blaue Held (after Carneval in Rom)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Ferdinand Stollberg</td>
<td>Vienna, 1912</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die tolle Therese</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Leopold Krenn, Julius von Ludassy</td>
<td>Otto Römisch</td>
<td>Vienna, 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faschingshochzeit</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Oskar Friedmann, Fritz Lunzer</td>
<td>Josef Klein</td>
<td>Vienna, 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casanova</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Rudolph Schanzer, Ernst Welisch</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>Berlin, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walzer aus Wien</td>
<td>JSJ, JSS</td>
<td>Julius Bittner; Alfred Maria Willner, Heinz Reichert, Ernst Marischka</td>
<td>Wolfgang Erich Korngold</td>
<td>Vienna, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freut euch des Lebens</td>
<td>JSJ, JfS</td>
<td>Julius Wilhelm, Peter Herz, nach Johann Nestroy</td>
<td>Bernhard Grün</td>
<td>Leipzig, 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Tänzerin Fanny Elßler</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Hans Adler</td>
<td>Oscar Stalla, Bernhard Grün</td>
<td>Berlin, 1934</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacht am Bosporus (after Indigo und die 40 Räuber)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Gustav Heidrich</td>
<td>Ernst Schliepe</td>
<td>?, 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldmeister</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Gustav Davis</td>
<td>Ralph Benatzky</td>
<td>–, 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verzaubertes Wien (after Cagliostro in Wien)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Gustav Quedenfeldt</td>
<td>Karl Tutein</td>
<td>?, 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Apfelfest (after Jabuka)</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Christof Schulz-Gellen</td>
<td>Fried Walter</td>
<td>?, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walzerträume</td>
<td>JfS</td>
<td>Tilde Binder, Ernst Friese</td>
<td>Bruno Uher</td>
<td>Nuremberg, 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiener Bonbons</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Franz Zelwecker</td>
<td>Franz Zelwecker</td>
<td>Graz, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Strauszbuben</td>
<td>JSJ, JfS</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Weys</td>
<td>Oscar Stalla</td>
<td>Vienna, 1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walzerzauber</td>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Willy Werner Göttig</td>
<td>Willy Werner Göttig</td>
<td>Mannheim, 1949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JSJ = Johann Strauss junior  
JSS = Johann Strauss senior  
JfS = Josef Strauss
Appendix 5
Rudolf Weys: *Straussbuben* Texts (1943/1946)

**Act II Finale—Polka**

*Strauss et al., Die Straussbuben, Klavierauszug, 153–154.*

1 Leni:
Zum Walzer g’hört die Geigen,
Zur Geigen aber g’hört ein Mann,
Der das Walzernspielen
Zum narrisch werden kann!
Wir werd’ns euch beiden zeigen,
Jetzt bricht eine Revolte aus
Geg’n das Königstum
Im Walzerkönigshaus!

Refrain:
Wenn in Wien die Musi spielt,
Das geht in d’Füß,
Da wird man wild,
Alles dreht sich umadum,
Tschindaratabum!

2 Schüsserl:
In Nürnberg hab’ns ein Trichter,
In München gibts das beste Bier,
Jede Stadt hat was,
Die Walzer haben wir!
In Weimar war’n die Dichter,
In Prag geht nie der Schinken aus,
Und die Wienerstadt
Hat ihre Brüder Strauss!

3 Eduard:
Ihr werd’s vielleicht nicht wissen:
Wenn Johann einen Walzer spielt,
Hupft die Donau mit,
Der Steffel wird ganz wild!
Die Vogerln tun sich küssen,
Die Bären tanzen mit Gebrumm,
Selbst der Kaiser dreht sich
Draußen in Schönbrunn!

1 Leni:
For the waltz one needs a violin,
For the violin, however, one needs a man,
who can play waltzes
So well that one could go nuts!
We will show you two,
A revolt breaks out now
Against the kingdom
Within the waltz kings’ home!

Refrain:
When the music plays in Vienna,
That goes into the feet,
One goes wild,
Everything spins round and round,
Tschindaratabum!

2 Schüsserl:
In Nuremberg they have a funnel,
In Munich there is the best beer,
Every city has something,
We have the waltzes!
In Weimar there were the poets,
In Prague they never run out of ham,
And the Viennese city
Has its Strauss brothers!

3 Eduard:
You may not know this:
When Johann plays a waltz,
The Danube hops along,
St. Stephan’s tower goes wild!
The birds kiss,
The bears dance and hum,
Even the Emperor spins round
Out there in Schönbrunn!
Als Straus will ich euch’s zeigen,
Wie ich ein’ Walzer dirigier’,
Fehlt euch auch das “S”,
Die Geigen g’hört jetzt mir!

Eduard:
Wass woll’n Sie mit der Geigen?
Sie sind ja doch kein echter Strauss!
Wenn’s ein Strauss sein soll,
Dann geh’ halt ich hinaus!

Heut’ ist ein Riesentrubel!
Der Jubel bleibt in Wien net aus,
Ruhm und Rubel bringt
Der Schani mit nach Haus!
In brüderlicher Liebe
Steh’n alle Straussbub’n hier zugleich,
Sei’n wir stolz auf sie,
Sie g’hörn zu Österreich!

No. 15, Lied (Jeremias)
Strauss et al., Die Straussbuben, Klavierauszug, 163–165.

1 Wie heut die Leut rennen und jagen,
   Wie sie nervös sind, grantig und böß sind.
   Keiner hat Zeit sich zu vertragen,
   I weiß ein Rat, macht’s es so wie i,
   I bin ganz stad, schau zu von Weitem,
   Mir ist’s zu fad allerweil z’streiten,
   Mit’n Kopf durch d’ Wand geht’s im Leben nie,
   I hab mei eigne Philosophie!

Langsam, langsam, lass’ dir nur Zeit,
Schluckweis trinken macht viel mehr Freud!
Renn net, stöß’ net, dräng dich net vor,
Immer fidel, all’s mit Humor!
Rauzn net, brumm net, reg dich net auf,
Schimpf net, schrei net, zahlst ja nur drauf,
Darum langsam, alles mit G’fühl,
Der Herrgott macht’s eh so wie er will.

1 How people run and speed today,
   How nervous, grumpy, and angry they are.
   Nobody has time to live in harmony,
   I know what to do, do it like me,
   I’m very quiet, watch from afar,
   I find it too boring to fight all the time
   With the head through the wall never works in life,
   I have my own philosophy!

   Slowly, slowly, just take your time,
   Drinking sip by sip is much more fun!
   Don’t run, don’t push, don’t jump the line,
   Always gay, everything with humor!
   Don’t nag, don’t grumble, don’t make a fuss,
   Don’t rant, don’t shout, you only pay extra,
   Therefore slowly, everything with feeling,
   God does it the way he wants anyway.

704 Hubert Marischka and Rudolf Weys, “Die Straussbuben: Singspiel in 3 Akten,” annotated libretto manuscript; Weys Papers.
Nach jedem Krieg geht's drunter und drüber,
Jahre vergehen, bis d'Häuser stehen.
's gibt keinen Sieg, 's g'winnt nur der Schieber,
das müssen's einsehn, die Herr'n Strateg'n:
wie schnell im Krieg all's demoliert ist
und wie lang's dauert bis renoviert ist!
Wenn man das z'erst bedenken möcht,
Gäb es kein Krieg mehr, na hab i net recht?
Drum langsam, langsam, laßt's Euch nur Zeit,
Friedlich leben macht viel mehr Freud!
Macht's kein' Aufmarsch, bleibt's schön daham,
Arbeit's und kommt's beim Weinderl dann z'samm!
Hezt's net, huß'ts net d'Leut geg'neinand,
Reicht's doch friedlich ein' jeden die Hand,
D'rum vertragt's euch, i hab das G'fühl,
Daß kein Volk der Welt ein Krieg mehr will!

Gehst du in Wean heut' über die Strassen,
Durch alle Zonen, wo Weana wohnen,
Hörst nah' und fern auf allen Gassen:
How do you do, bon jour und dawai!
'S Reden is schwer für'n Weana Schnabel,
Im Wörterbuch such i die Vokabel,
Rennt mi wer um, mach' i ka G'schrei,
Sing in vier Sprachen mei Litanei.

Lentement, slowly make no Bahöll,
Take it easy that's very well!
Lach', keep smiling! Comment dites vous?
Ich auch Genosse Towarisch du!
That is okay und das Karasko,
I am so sorry pardon, nitschewo!
Alle red'ns nur i bin ganz still,
Der Herrgott der weiß schon, was i will!

Uns're Wirtschaft, die soll sich heben,
Die Vorbereitung steht in der Zeitung!
Aber ob wir dies erleben,
Das eben frag' ich mich alle Tag',
Wann kommt die Zeit, wo unser Essen,
Nicht mehr nach Kalorien wird bemessen,
Wo wir ein Schnitzl krieg'n und an Reis,
Ganz ohne Schleich, zum normalen Preis!
Langsam, langsam, geht es bergauf,
Wer's net aushalt, der geht halt drauf!
Rohstoff geb's ja, und Kohl'n aus Pol'n
Wer gut z' Fuß ist, der kann sich hol'n.
Eis'nbahnschienen führ'n üb'rallhin,
Hast ein Auto kriegst kan Benzin.
Alle lieb'n uns, doch i' hab' das G'fühl,
Mit uns macht ein jeder was er will.

5
Die grosse Zeit, die ist vorüber,
Mir war die "kleine" wahrhaftig lieber,
Technik und Geist hab'n viel erfunden,
Auto und Flugzeug, elektrischen Strom,
Ab'r was nützt uns d'schönste Erfindung
Und d'rüber z'freu'n, fehlt jede Begründung,
Wenn wir im Finstern sitzen seit Tag'n,
Z' Fuß geh'n und frier'n bei hungrigen Mag'n!

Langsam, langsam, geh'n wir zurück,
Kerz'n, Petroleum, das ist uns'r Glück
Was hast von der Elektrizität,
Wann der Strom ausbleibt und d'Tramway steht!
Auch nicht schlecht pflanz'n, tut uns das Gas,
Wie d'Funzerln brenn, das ist doch a G'spass.
Man will ja net raunz'n, ab'r i hab' das G'fühl,
Langsam, langsam wird's doch an jeden z'viel.

6 [4]
Viel Konferenzen werden gehalten,
Friede soll werden wieder auf Erden,
Wir woll'n halt nix als die Zeiten, die alten,
Arbeit und Ruah', damit hätt' ma gnu!
Seit der Verirrung so vor acht Jahren,
Haben wir so viel Böses erfahren,
Daß wir bereu'n und bitten zugleich:
Schenkt's und doch wieder ein frei's Österreich!

Aber net gar so langsam,
Lasst's Euch net so viel Zeit,
Tun wir Wiener euch gar net leid?
Wir war'n z'frieden, beliebt in der Welt,
Und unser Schilling, der war a Geld!
A Großdeutschland hab'n wir net braucht,
Wir hab'n besser 'gessen getrunken und g'raucht!
Tot is das tausendjährige Reich,
Doch neunhundertfünfzig lebt Österreich!

Slowly, slowly it goes uphill,
Who can't endure it, will bite the dust!
Raw materials are available, and coals from Poland,
Who's light on their feet can go and get them.
Railway tracks go everywhere,
If you have a car, you don't get gas.
Everyone loves us but I have a feeling that
Everyone does what he wants with us.

5
The great times are over,
I truly preferred the "small" ones,
Technology and intellect have invented much,
Cars and planes, electric power,
But what's the use of the most beautiful invention,
We have no reason to be happy about it,
When we are sitting in the dark for days,
Travel on foot and freeze with hungry stomachs!

Slowly, slowly we recede,
Candles, petroleum, that's our bliss.
What do we gain from electricity,
When the power fails and the tramway stands still!
The gas also hoaxes us considerably,
How those dim lights brun, that's frankly a joke.
One doesn't want to rant but I have the feeling that
Slowly, slowly it's getting too much for everybody.

6 [4]
Many conferences are being held,
Peace shall be on earth again,
We just want nothing but the old times,
Work and rest—that would be enough for us!
Since the aberration about 8 years ago,
We have experienced so much evil,
That we are sorry and beg at the same time:
Grant us a free Austria again!

But not quite so slowly,
Don't take so much time,
Don't you take pity on us Viennese?
We were happy, popular in the world,
And our schilling—that was a coin!
We never needed a Greater Germany,
We ate, drank, and smoked better [before]!
The thousand-year empire is dead,
But Austria lives nine hundred fifty!
Appendix 6
Operetta Premieres in Vienna from 1945 to 1970


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Premiere</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Theater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 20, 1946</td>
<td>Die Straußbuben</td>
<td>Johann &amp; Josef Strauss</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Weys</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 24, 1946</td>
<td>Schicksal mit Musik</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Karl Farkas</td>
<td>Apollo-Theater</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 20, 1947</td>
<td>Endstation</td>
<td>Jára Benes</td>
<td>Béla Szemes, Josef Petrak</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 22, 1947</td>
<td>Wiener Musik</td>
<td>Edmund Eysler</td>
<td>Peter Herz, Martin Kosta</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 5, 1948</td>
<td>Der gestohlene Walzer</td>
<td>Jára Benes</td>
<td>Fritz Eckhardt</td>
<td>Wiener Künstlertheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 19, 1948</td>
<td>Ein Lied aus der Vorstadt</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Dora Maria Brandt, Georg Fraser</td>
<td>Deutsches Volkstheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 2, 1948</td>
<td>Miss Austria</td>
<td>Fritz Eckhardt</td>
<td>Fritz Eckhardt</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 10, 1948</td>
<td>Die Walzerkönigin</td>
<td>Ludwig Schmidseder</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Aldo Pinelli</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 7, 1949</td>
<td>Entweder—Oder</td>
<td>Alex Steinbrecher</td>
<td>Hans Weigel</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 16, 1949</td>
<td>Sebastian, der Seitenspringer</td>
<td>Jára Benes</td>
<td>F. Schwarz, Peter Neumann</td>
<td>Theater “Auge-Gottes”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 18, 1949</td>
<td>Bel Ami</td>
<td>Rudolf Kattnigg</td>
<td>Fritz Eckhardt</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 4, 1949</td>
<td>Der Florentiner Hut</td>
<td>Werner Kruse</td>
<td>H. Budjuhn, Hans Weigel</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 1, 1949</td>
<td>Die kleine Schwindlerin</td>
<td>Jára Benes</td>
<td>Alfred Maria Willner</td>
<td>Theater “Augen-Gottes”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 23, 1949</td>
<td>Aber Ninette</td>
<td>Hermann Kind</td>
<td>Michael Howard</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 30, 1949</td>
<td>Ich mach dich glücklich</td>
<td>Erwin Halletz</td>
<td>Gabor von Vaszari</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep. 8, 1949</td>
<td>Abschiedswalzer</td>
<td>Ludwig Schmidseder</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Österreich</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 22, 1949</td>
<td>Frühling im Prater</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Ernst Marischka</td>
<td>Stadttheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1, 1951</td>
<td>Das Glücksrezept</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Raoul Martiné, Hugo Wiener</td>
<td>Bürgertheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr. 4, 1952</td>
<td>Wirbel im Hochhaus</td>
<td>J.G. Bayer</td>
<td>Stefan Wagner</td>
<td>Stadttheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1, 1953</td>
<td>Ballade vom lieben Augustin</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>U. Becher, Peter Preses</td>
<td>Arkadenhof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Production Title</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Cast</td>
<td>Venue</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 28, 1954</td>
<td>Tauben für die Kaiserin</td>
<td>Eric Werba</td>
<td>Carl Nästberger, Carola Koblitz</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 23, 1955</td>
<td>Liebesbriefe</td>
<td>Nico Dostal</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Oesterreicher</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 14, 1956</td>
<td>Kiss me, Kate</td>
<td>Cole Porter</td>
<td>Bella Spewack, Samuel Spewack, Cole Porter</td>
<td>Volksoper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 1956</td>
<td>Rendezvous um Mitternacht</td>
<td>Rudolf Kattnigg</td>
<td>Otto Emmerich Groh</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 9, 1956</td>
<td>Wonderful Town!</td>
<td>Leonard Bernstein</td>
<td>Betty Comden, Adolph Green, Joseph Fields, Jerome Chodorov</td>
<td>Volksoper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 27, 1957</td>
<td>Annie Get Your Gun!</td>
<td>Irving Berlin</td>
<td>Herbert Fields, Dorothy Fields, Irving Berlin</td>
<td>Volksoper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 1, 1958</td>
<td>Hallo, das ist die Liebe</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Hugo Wiener, Bruno Hardt-Warden, Robert Bodanzky</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 31, 1958</td>
<td>Deutschmeister-kapelle</td>
<td>Carl Michael Ziehrer</td>
<td>Hubert Marischka, Rudolf Oesterreicher</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 3, 1958</td>
<td>Madame Scandaleuse</td>
<td>Peter Kreuder</td>
<td>Ernst Nebhut, Josef Maria Frank</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 11, 1959</td>
<td>Wirbel um Rasi</td>
<td>Erwin Halletz</td>
<td>Kurt Nachmann, Rolf Olsen</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 25, 1960</td>
<td>Bel Ami</td>
<td>Peter Kreuder</td>
<td>Therese Angeloff, Franz Gribitz</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 5, 1963</td>
<td>Ein schöner Herbst</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Hans Weigel</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 25, 1964</td>
<td>Frühjahrsparade</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Hugo Wiener, Ernst Marischka</td>
<td>Volksoper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 22, 1964</td>
<td>Lady aus Paris</td>
<td>Peter Kreuder</td>
<td>Karl Farkas</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 1, 1965</td>
<td>The Fantasticks</td>
<td>Harvey Schmidt</td>
<td>Tom Jones</td>
<td>Neues Theater am Kärntner Tor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 21, 1965</td>
<td>How to Succeed In Business Without Really Trying</td>
<td>Frank Loesser</td>
<td>Abe Burrows, Jack Weinstock, Willie Gilbert, Frank Loesser</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 4, 1968</td>
<td>Man Of La Mancha</td>
<td>Mitch Leigh</td>
<td>Joe Darion, Dale Wasserman</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 4, 1968</td>
<td>Wohl dem, der lügt</td>
<td>Robert Stolz</td>
<td>Hans Wigel</td>
<td>Theater in der Josefstadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 19, 1969</td>
<td>Die Jungfrau von Paris</td>
<td>Friedrich Schröder</td>
<td>Günther Schwenn</td>
<td>Raimund Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 14, 1970</td>
<td>Cabaret</td>
<td>John Kander</td>
<td>Fred Ebb, Joe Masteroff</td>
<td>Theater an der Wien</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GLP = German-language Premiere; AP = Austrian Premiere

*705 As the German-language premiere of this work was in Frankfurt in November 1955, Kiss me Kate's Vienna premiere is not mentioned in Jansen's list in spite of its impact.*