Censorship of Literature in Austria

Censorship of Literature in Austria 1751–1848

By

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With chapters by

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Author's Foreword

When dealing with the history of censorship in 2020, one quickly finds numerous links to the present since censorship is still practiced in many areas of the world today:[1] Libraries remove certain books like the writings of Darwin or *Harry Potter* from their holdings, representations or simulations of violence in video games give rise to vehement discussions, and caricatures and satire can trigger diplomatic disputes—and in some cases even physical violence. Cases like the reactions to Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* thankfully represent rare exceptions, but even in the largely censorship-free "West," one cannot truly speak of unrestricted freedom of art and expression. The surveillance of citizens—which has reached previously unimaginable levels with the help of modern technology—is closely related to censorship as well.

In surveillance societies, explicit prohibitions are no longer necessary since the most important systems of communication are permanently monitored anyway. The focus of governments and potentates has shifted from the print media that held a central role in previous centuries to private communication and the semi-public social media. The motives for monitoring communication have not changed significantly, however: The purpose of such measures was and still is to guard the state and its political system against terrorism and upheaval, to protect religions and individuals against various forms of slander and insult, and to preserve (sexual) moral principles. The notion that texts and images elicit imitation—that they are in some way infectious—likewise seems to have persisted throughout the centuries: Nothing is too trivial or unrealistic to be seen as a potential threat and persecuted. Finally, as an inescapable consequence of norms and censorship pressure, self-censorship also continues unabated. Beyond caution applied in the context of private communication, one sixth of all authors participating in a 2014 PEN survey stated that they avoided "touchy" subjects in the texts they published.[2]

The main difference between the current circumstances and the situation in previous centuries presumably lies in the much greater efficiency of modern-day "communication control."[3] Although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

1 See Derek Jones (ed.): Censorship: A World Encyclopedia. 4 vols. London, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn 2001. Current cases are listed in the journal *Index on Censorship*; see https://www.indexoncensorship.org (last accessed on 12/13/2021).

2 Ilija Trojanow: Wissen und Gewissen. In: Der Standard (Vienna), 10/11/2014.

3 This term is used by Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (ed.): Deutsche Kommunikationskontrolle des 15. bis 20. Jahrhunderts. Munich, New York, London, Paris: Saur 1982.

censorship provoked severe resistance from contemporaries and earned Austria the reputation of being the "European China" during the *Vormärz* (pre-March) period according to a frequently cited statement ascribed to Ludwig Börne,[4] the historical provisions for the review, editing, and prohibition of manuscripts and printed matter seem comparatively harmless. The monitoring and filtration of the products of the book industry began very soon after the onset of the Gutenberg galaxy—that is, the medial transition to printing with movable letters that not only allowed a previously unheard-of dissemination of thoughts and scientific findings but also dramatically changed many aspects of human perception and thinking. That the medium of printing fundamentally stimulated the permeation of the efforts of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and especially of new research in the field of natural science, is a commonplace of historiography. An apparatus of repression was naturally assembled in parallel to these developments.[5] Up until the Enlightenment period, however, censorship was linked to specific occasions or sources and usually the result of arbitrary decisions. It was only within the framework of Maria Theresa's reforms that it was systematically and comprehensively organized in Austria. The monitoring network established in 1751 was intensified and perfected until well into the nineteenth century—and in fact it functioned in more or less unchanged fashion until 1848, namely by way of preventive censorship of manuscripts and critical review of imported print publications prior to their distribution by the Austrian booksellers, by officials appointed specifically for the purpose. The revolution of 1848 abolished this system of censorship; it was replaced by a legally founded and regulated scheme that approached a modern constitutional setting. The period between 1751, the year of the appointment of the first Censorship Commission, and 1848 is thus a relatively homogeneous one from the perspective of censorial practice.

It may come as a surprise considering this fact that no comprehensive study on censorship spanning the eras within this timeframe has hitherto been conducted. There is, of course, research on individual periods and dominant protagonists like Gerard van Swieten, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, or Metternich, and the most important of these studies will be mentioned or cited with gratitude

4 Ludwig Börne: Schüchterne Bemerkungen über Oestreich und Preußen (1818). In: Gesammelte Schriften. 3. Teil. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe 1829, 68–77, here 71.

5 Among the extensive literature available on these topics, mention should be made of Elisabeth L. Eisenstein: The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe. 2 vols. Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1979, especially Chapter 8: Sponsorship and Censorship of Scientific Publication. Vol. 2, 636–682.

in this book. However, older censorship research has largely focused on the organization and ideological thrust of censorship, with its consequences for literature and literary life discussed only rarely. This may have to do with the fact that only fragmentary information on the declared bans and obstructions to dissemination was hitherto available. This gap has recently been closed by the database "Verdrängt, verpönt—vergessen? Eine Datenbank zur Erfassung der in Österreich zwischen 1750 und 1848 verbotenen Bücher" (Suppressed, scorned—forgotten? A database collecting the books forbidden in Austria between 1750 and 1848), however.[6] The study presented in this book is based primarily on analysis of this database and the extensive archival studies undertaken in the course of its compilation. Besides the frequency of prohibitions and the ratio of forbidden to allowed books, the affected languages, types of literature, authors, and publishers as well as the breakdown into disciplines can now be continuously traced and interpreted for the first time. Changes in censorship practices over time and their connections to historical events and developments—along with the respective impacts on literary practice—can thus be reconstructed in detail. As explained in the first chapter, this study represents an attempt to paint the most comprehensive picture possible of censorship, its historical backdrop, and its consequences from the perspective of sociology of literature. The appendices offer selected examples of censorship records, including individual reports by censors as well as excerpts from the guidelines and ordinances stipulating the principles and regulations applying to the censorship process.

The study is focused on Vienna as the "nerve center" of the Habsburg Monarchy, but glances will also be cast onto the situation in Bohemia and Lombardy-Venetia. Although censorship was theoretically performed identically in all the Habsburg-ruled lands following the centralization decreed by Joseph II at the latest, the practice reveals frequent deviations from this rule—the various countries apparently knew how to secure certain special privileges and competencies. The original German version of this study[7] was edited and slightly abbreviated for publication in English: Some case studies were omitted, and statistics as well as the appendices were abbreviated. Readers interested in administrative details of the censorship processes for further research are therefore referred to the German version. The German version of this

6 See http://univie.ac.at/zensur (last accessed on 12/13/2021). The database was compiled in the course of two projects funded by "FWF—Der Wissenschaftsfonds" (project numbers P 13220 and P 22320).

7 Norbert Bachleitner: Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848. Mit Beiträgen von Daniel Syrovy, Petr Píša und Michael Wögerbauer. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau 2017.

book also contains the full texts of the documents in the appendix, some of which have been abridged here.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 On the Theory of Censorship Research: "Old" or "New" Censorship?

In the Roman Empire, *census* respectively *censura* referred to the assessment of the wealth of citizens performed every five years by two *censores* with a view to the *tributum* to be paid as well as the general situation in the households and the males' fitness for military service. The term "Zensur" (censorship) along with its derivatives first appeared in German in connection with the monitoring of book production in the sixteenth century. As explained by Klaus Kanzog in his seminal dictionary entry, the term encompasses a wide variety of measures designed to limit or prevent the generation and dissemination of texts: This spectrum ranges from self-censorship by authors and methods of informal censorship—like economic pressure or leverage by interest groups—to formal censorship by way of institutions established specifically for the purpose of determining whether certain works may or may not be published and/or read.[1] An important feature of formal and institutionalized censorship is the fact that it is applied to the act of publication rather than to the stages of development of a manuscript before that point—that is, it controls an "expression of opinion intended for publication or published by the author."[2] This form of censorship doubtless corresponds to the core meaning of the term: Censorship serves to control opinions, with its ideological thrust depending on the society or authority exercising it. In general, the practice seeks a conservative effect of maintaining the status quo, although it can also be used to facilitate "progress"—like the Enlightenment in Austria during the final third of the eighteenth century, or the development towards a classless society in Communist regimes.

In the Anglo-Saxon area, a new point of view under the catchword "New Censorship" has recently established itself, extending the definition of censorship beyond even the broad spectrum described by Kanzog. Here the term incorporates the processes of selection and suppression of possible statements

1 Klaus Kanzog: "Zensur, literarische." In: Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. 2. Aufl. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1984. Vol. 4, 998–1049, here 999 and 1001.

2 Dieter Breuer: Geschichte der literarischen Zensur in Deutschland: Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer 1982, 9: "[…] vom Autor zur Veröffentlichung bestimmte oder veröffentlichte Meinungsäußerung."

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that are essential for the translation of thoughts into language.[3] From this perspective, censorship is no longer considered an authoritarian intervention but a phenomenon that is necessarily present in any society and ultimately productive. Self-censorship consequently becomes the primary focus of interest within this new field, which views the process of censoring as being inherent in every speech act, invariably involved whenever speech or text is produced: Speech acts imply a choice between alternatives and are therefore based on restrictions and exclusions.[4] Censorship also works even in the absence of agents or institutions—an observation that Judith Butler acuminates even further by shifting the power of censorship to language itself respectively to discourse, the "domain of speakability" that allows the formation of subjects for communication. It is for this reason that she also recommends using the term "foreclosure" instead of censorship.[5] In his collection of contributions to the topic, Michael Holquist likewise advocates a broadly based definition of censorship commensurate to present-day pluralist societies. Censorship is a "context" of writing that does not simply equate to oppression but maintains a dynamic relationship with the individuals affected by it and can exert positive-productive influence as well. In analogy to criticism, censorship thus appears as a special form of reading, as a force that can bring about censorial effects while simultaneously assisting in the process of text production.[6] Fredric Jameson assumes a veritable accompliceship between censorship and the transgression of norms when he explains that desire requires repression in order to become perceptible at all, and that the collective political unconscious likewise requires repressive norms and laws, which it constantly affirms in return—like blasphemy affirms "the sacred quality of the divine name."[7]

Pierre Bourdieu viewed censorship similarly, namely as an effect of the literary field. A specific position within the field implies certain positive requirements as well as certain exclusions:

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3 On the differences in range and content of the definition of 'censorship' depending on perspective, see also Wilhelm Haefs: "Zensur." In: Handbuch Europäische Aufklärung: Begriffe—Konzepte—Wirkung. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 2015, 558–567, here 558–560.

4 Cf. Robert C. Post (ed.): Censorship and Silencing: Practices of Cultural Regulation. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute 1998.

5 Judith Butler: Ruled Out: Vocabularies of the Censor. In: Post (ed.): Censorship and Silencing, 247–259, here 249 and 253. Butler refers to the work of psychoanalysts Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis.

6 Michael Holquist: Corrupt Originals: The Paradox of Censorship. In: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 109, No. 1, January 1994, 14–25.

7 Fredric Jameson: The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press 1982, 68.

> It is not some legal authority specifically responsible for the detection and punishment of violations of some kind of language lawbook regulating expression, it is the structure of the field itself—through control over the contents and the form of expression at the same time. This structural censorship is conducted with the help of the sanctions of the field, which functions like a market for determining the prices of the various ways of expression [...].[8]

A compromise is struck between the author striving for expression and censorship by way of specific discursive positions, with special emphasis on euphemization. Specific forms of perception and expression are internalized in the habitus.

> Censorship is the most perfect and the least visible when every social agent has nothing to say except what they are objectively allowed to say: In this case, they do not even have to perform self-censorship, for with the internalized forms of perception and expression asserted in every expression, they are effectively censored once and for all.[9]

For this reason, Bourdieu also refers to the term "censorship" as a metaphor.

The interlacing of censorship and discourse goes back to Michel Foucault, who pointed out in *L'ordre du discours* that discourse is societally controlled and contested as "the power that one seeks to seize" ("le pouvoir dont on cherche à s'emparer").[10] He considered procedures of exclusion (taboos, insanity, fallacies), discourse-internal procedures of control (comments, the author

8 Pierre Bourdieu: Censure et mise en forme. In: Langage et pouvoir symbolique. Paris: Éditions Fayard, Éditions du Seuil 2001, 343–377, here 344: "C'est la structure même du champ qui régit l'expression en régissant à la fois l'accès à l'expression et la forme de l'expression, et non quelque instance juridique spécialement aménagée afin de désigner et de réprimer la transgression d'une sorte de code linguistique. Cette censure structurale s'exerce par l'intermédiaire des sanctions du champ fonctionnant comme un marché où se forment les prix des différentes sortes d'expression [...]."—Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of citations from works in other languages in this book are by the author in cooperation with Mr. Stockinger.

9 Bourdieu: Censure et mise en forme, 345: "La censure n'est jamais aussi parfaite et aussi invisible que lorsque chaque agent n'a rien à dire que ce qu'il est objectivement autorisé à dire: il n'a même pas à être, en ce cas, son propre censeur, puisqu'il est en quelque sorte une fois pour toutes censuré, à travers les formes de perception et d'expression qu'il a intériorisées et qui imposent leur forme à toutes ses expressions."

10 Michel Foucault: L'ordre du discours. Paris: Gallimard 1971, 12.

principle, and the organization of knowledge production into disciplines), and the restriction of access to discourses themselves to be among the control mechanisms of discourses.

Roland Barthes presumably expands the definition of censorship the furthest by viewing any speech act that is conformist in terms of content or conventional in terms of form as a product of preceding censorship.

> True censorship, however, consists not in forbidding (in abridging, omitting, starving out) but in excessively nourishing, preserving, keeping, suffocating, and immersing in (intellectual, romantic, erotic) stereotypes, only administering the recognized words of others, the rehashed substance of familiar opinion as the only sustentation. The true instrument of censorship is not the police, it is the commonplaces. In the same way a language defines itself better by way of what it compels one to say (its compulsory rubrics) than by way of what it forbids one to say (its rhetorical rules), societal censorship exists not where one prevents from saying, but instead where one forces to say.[11]

Hence the true escape from the pathway of the conventional is the invention of something new:

> The most profound subversion (the counter-censorship) therefore does not necessarily consist in saying that which shocks opinions, morality, the law, the police, but in conceiving a paradoxical (devoid of any doxa) discourse: The invention (not the provocation) is a revolutionary act: Only in the establishment of a new language can it be accomplished.[12]

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11 Roland Barthes: Sade, Fourier, Loyola. In: Œuvres complètes. Tome II (1966–1973). Édition établie et présentée par Éric Marty. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1994, 1039–1177, here 1131: "La vraie censure, cependant, la censure profonde, ne consiste pas à interdire (à couper, à retrancher, à affamer), mais à nourrir indûment, à maintenir, à retenir, à étouffer, à engluer dans les stéreotypes (intellectuels, romanesques, érotiques), à ne donner pour toute nourriture que la parole consacrée des autres, la matière répétée de l'opinion courante. L'instrument véritable de la censure, ce n'est pas la police, c'est l'endoxa. De même qu'une langue se définit mieux par ce qu'elle oblige à dire (ses rubriques obligatoires) que par ce qu'elle interdit de dire (ses règles rhétoriques), de même la censure sociale n'est pas là où l'on empêche, mais là où l'on contraint de parler."

12 Barthes: Sade, Fourier, Loyola, 1131: "La subversion, la plus profonde (la contre-censure) ne consiste donc pas forcément à dire ce qui choque l'opinion, la morale, la loi, la police, mais à inventer un discours paradoxal (pur de toute doxa): l'invention (et non la provocation) est un acte révolutionnaire: celui-ci ne peut s'accomplir que dans la fondation d'une nouvelle langue."

If censorship serves the assertion of "power of interpretation within an increasingly indeterminate field,"[13] then even activities and comments by nineteenth-century authors and publicists that seem inconspicuous from a present-day perspective possess significance, since they explained the world in an alternative manner. From the point of view of Metternich and his officials, they disturbed the stately authority over discourse and made prohibitions appear requisite.

> They were part of the "nefarious fraternization" because they publicly argued against the power of the "eternal law," as Metternich called the status quo; because they made the historicity of the alleged "eternal validity" apparent in their criticism. The form of expression—whether as a speech, poem, novel, or newspaper article—was [...] rather irrelevant.[14]

The term 'censorship' is also greatly expanded when it is employed for mechanisms of canon generation. By definition, the establishment of canons is based on selection and aims to stabilize certain traditions while simultaneously excluding works that seem unsuitable. "The censors are the 'gatekeepers' of tradition," as Jan and Aleida Assmann put it.[15] But canons are generated not only by institutions like ministries or schools; they are also shaped by numerous individual decisions—for example at publishing houses, libraries, and museums, or by individuals in educational systems—and are never as binding or directly linked to authoritarian measures as the prohibition of a work of writing.

Transitions can be traced from the discourse-analytical definition of censorship to its psychoanalytical concept. In psychoanalysis, censorship refers to a mental authority that decides whether unconscious wishes controlled by

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13 Ralf Klausnitzer: Poesie und Konspiration: Beziehungssinn und Zeichenökonomie von Verschwörungsszenarien in Publizistik, Literatur und Wissenschaft 1750–1850. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2007, 219, on the recourse of representatives of the late Enlightenment in Berlin to conspiracy theories: "[...] Deutungsmacht innerhalb eines zunehmend unübersichtlichen Feldes."

14 Literarische Geheimberichte: Protokolle der Metternich-Agenten. Band II: 1844–1848. Ed. Hans Adler. Cologne: informationspresse—c. w. leske 1981, 13: "Sie gehörten mit zu der 'verruchte[n] Verbrüderung,' weil sie öffentlich gegen die Macht des 'ewigen Rechts,' wie Metternich den Status quo nannte, auftraten; weil sie in ihrer Kritik die Geschichtlichkeit der angeblichen 'Ewiggültigkeit' deutlich machten. Die Form der Äußerung—ob als Rede, Gedicht, Roman oder als Zeitungsartikel—war dabei [...] recht unerheblich."

15 Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann: Kanon und Zensur. In: Assmann and Assmann (eds.): Kanon und Zensur: Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation II. Munich: Fink 1987, 7–27, here 11: "Die Zensoren sind die 'Grenzposten' der Überlieferung."

drives and the libido are permitted to reach the surface of consciousness and—if they are deemed unallowable—transforms or encodes the forbidden contents. Here too, however, censorship pressure by way of self-censorship functions as a productive and style-establishing influence, as Michael G. Levine emphasizes using the example of Heinrich Heine: "[…] the anticipated intervention of censorship not only exerted an inhibitory pressure on his writing, it also exercised a direct formative influence on the style of his texts."[16] Moreover, when Levine compares censorship to stuttering—that is, to a form of permanently effective self-interruption—repression becomes an unbetrayable factor of all writing and speech.

Literary censorship can likewise be interpreted as the repression of disagreeable "truths" perceived to threaten a social or religious system. A special form of stylistic censorship is the already mentioned technique of euphemization, meaning the replacement of objectionable or tabooed words (those reserved for the sacral sphere, for instance) with paraphrases. Censorship can thus produce a compromise under certain circumstances; psychoanalytical considerations applying to self-censorship by authors seem especially pertinent in this context. From the perspective of rulers and censors, the ideal state is total self-censorship: automatic congruence between the writing individual and the state respectively the society. Complete absorption into a higher order, into the will of the state and its ruler—especially if the latter, as was the case with the emperor in Austria, presented himself as a father figure and superego—can practically elicit a sensation of happiness: The writer secures the higher joy of obedience to the patriarchal order through the approval of the censor.[17] Here the institutions of the state imitate the example of the Catholic Church, which subjugates the faithful—led by the father figure of the pope—to its doctrine, with the possibility of this submission being relished and turning into love, as Freud noted. After all, the reward promised for such obedience is eternal bliss.[18]

The expansion of the definition of censorship to processes of selection, impediment, or restriction of text production and reception as well as to acts of speech and instruction, as exemplified on the preceding pages, makes the term nearly devoid of meaning and definitely inoperable in the scientific context. As

16 Michael G. Levine: Writing Through Repression: Literature, Censorship, Psychoanalysis. Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1994, 1.

17 Cf. Waltraud Heindl: Der "Mitautor": Überlegungen zur literarischen Zensur und staatsbürgerlichen Mentalität im habsburgischen Biedermeier und Vormärz. In: Péter Hanák, Waltraud Heindl, Stefan Malfèr, and Éva Somogyi (eds.): Kultur und Politik in Österreich und Ungarn. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau 1994, 38–60, here 40–41.

18 See Pierre Legendre: L'amour du censeur. Essai sur l'ordre dogmatique. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1974.

Biermann puts it very pointedly but not unjustifiably, such expansion makes "'censorship' identical with 'society'" ("'Zensur' mit 'Gesellschaft' identisch").[19] Robert Darnton follows the same reasoning when he asserts that "to identify censorship with constraints of all kinds is to trivialize it."[20] The mentioned broadening only makes sense when referring to the curtailment of communication in modern, democratic societies organized around the rule of law. Even a proponent of New Censorship like Robert C. Post points to the historic developments that brought about a "remarkable disintegration of traditional political alignments" and led to the impression that "the state holds no monopoly of power."[21]

It is doubtless important to remember that censorship is possible not only by way of prohibitions and interventions by institutions specifically established for the purpose, but that the obstruction and distortion of statements effectively occurs on many levels. Nevertheless, investigation of the type of censorship enforced by authoritarian governments—as represented by absolute monarchies in the eighteenth and nineteenth century—definitely requires an "old" definition of censorship.[22] The decisive factors for this form of censorship are "public relevance and authoritarian heteronomy" ("Öffentlichkeitsrelevanz und autoritäre Fremdbestimmung").[23] Here one might apply the words of Wolfram Siemann, who interprets censorship as an "element of active regulation of social life [...] embedded within the modern problem area of 'public opinion,' opinion control, and 'propaganda,' that is, as a governmental reaction to a sweeping process of societal transformation accelerated since the French Revolution" and as a "governmental, increasingly bureaucratically conveyed manner of dealing with information acceleration."[24] As a consequence, we understand

19 Armin Biermann: "Gefährliche Literatur"—Skizze einer Theorie der literarischen Zensur. In: Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte 13 (1988), 1–28, here 3.

20 Robert Darnton: Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature. New York, London: Norton 2014, 17.

21 Robert C. Post: Censorship and Silencing. In: Post (ed.): Censorship and Silencing: Practices of Cultural Regulation. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute 1998, 1–12, here 1.

22 For a representative selection of recent studies working with the traditional definition of censorship, see: Herbert G. Göpfert and Erdmann Weyrauch (eds.): "Unmoralisch an sich ...": Zensur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1988; John A. McCarthy and Werner von der Ohe (eds.): Zensur und Kultur zwischen Weimarer Klassik und Weimarer Republik mit einem Ausblick bis heute. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1995; Beate Müller (ed.): Zensur im modernen deutschen Kulturraum. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003; and Beate Müller: Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age. Amsterdam: Rodopi 2004.

23 Beate Müller: Über Zensur: Wort, Öffentlichkeit, Macht. Eine Einführung. In: Müller: Zensur im modernen deutschen Kulturraum. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003, 1–30, here 6.

24 Wolfram Siemann: Ideenschmuggel: Probleme der Meinungskontrolle und das Los deut-

censorship as an instrument of rule that attempts to keep presumptively harmful or threatening thoughts away from a society and prevent mental, political, and social "aberrations." In doing so, it oscillates between the guarantee of security and instructions for a happier life respectively enlightenment (in the view of the censors and their principals) on the one hand and the intellectual disciplining of the subjects, who are considered irresponsible (in the view of the persons subjected to processes of censorship), on the other.

2 The Historical-Sociological Definition of Censorship: Exercise of Political Power versus the Autonomy of Literature

From a sociological perspective, the purpose of censorship is the self-defense of a political system. "Every viable social fabric ultimately endeavors to defend, secure, and extend as far as possible its intellectual and material existence. By its very nature, it must therefore seek to fight its enemies, ward off damage, and guard against potential dangers in time."[25] Censorship functions as an instrument of rule and serves to protect the interests of the elite. As Ulla Otto says, it seeks "the normative integration of the subjects via the system of values that underlies the respective authority and safeguards its existence."[26] In this sense, censorship can also be understood as a permanent struggle between rulers and subjects in which the boundaries of the permissible are continually explored. The differentiation between educated subjects and the reading "masses" commonly made by the controllers of censorship corroborates its social character: While firmly scientific and/or substantial works are generally considered less dangerous since they are directed at small target audiences, far less tolerance is applied to popular writing. The otherwise very strict Carlsbad Decrees of 1819,

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scher Zensoren im 19. Jahrhundert. In: Historische Zeitschrift 245 (1987), 71–106, here 80 and 82: "[…] Moment aktiver Steuerung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens […] eingebettet in das neuzeitliche Problemfeld von 'öffentlicher Meinung,' Meinungssteuerung und 'Propaganda,' also als staatliche Antwort auf einen übergreifenden, seit der Französischen Revolution beschleunigten gesellschaftlichen Wandlungsprozeß;" "[…] staatliche, zunehmend bürokratisch vermittelte Bewältigung von Informationsbeschleunigung."

25 Ulla Otto: Die literarische Zensur als Problem der Soziologie der Politik. Stuttgart: Enke 1968, 71: "Jedes lebensfähige soziale Gebilde ist letztlich bestrebt, seinen geistigen und materiellen Bestand zu verteidigen, zu sichern und nach Möglichkeit auszubauen. Daher muß es seiner Natur nach bemüht sein, Gegner zu bekämpfen, Schäden abzuwehren und eventuellen Gefahren rechtzeitig vorzubeugen."

26 Ibid., 109: "[…] die normative Integration der Beherrschten über das der betreffenden Herrschaft zugrunde liegende und deren Bestand sichernde Wertsystem."

for example, exempted all printed matter exceeding 20 sheets (320 pages) from precensorship. In Austria, special permissions (so-called *Scheden*) to purchase forbidden books were already being granted to socially elevated readers (nobility, scholars, higher officials) during the eighteenth century, with the practice becoming more frequent during the first half of the nineteenth century. This differentiation into educated elites and "masses" confirms the class-related character of censorship: The privileged ruling classes were qualified even for questionable reading since they had sufficiently internalized the system of norms in force and could be assumed, at least in their vast majority, to have no interest in radical changes to the social order. The uneducated and poorer parts of the population, on the other hand, had to be trained—or forced—to adhere to the norms.

Pierre Bourdieu was introduced above as a proponent of New Censorship. However, his field theory also offers a model of the sociohistorical development aimed especially at the autonomization of the individual fields including literature, which unfetters itself from political and religious or moral exploitation as well as from commercial requirements. With a view to the control exercised by the Catholic Church and the state, there was certainly no autonomy of literature whatsoever in the Habsburg Monarchy. It is characteristic in this context that Austrian censorship made hardly any difference between fiction and scientific literature, which should have been assigned to separate fields in the nineteenth century at the latest. Creative writing was, of course, generally suspected of being useless; under application of the old, extensive definition of literature, however, which encompassed all written or printed matter, scientific studies and poetic fabrications were thought to have the same harmful potential since the readership was considered incapable of telling the difference between fact and fiction. Science likewise fulfilled only a serving function, remaining dictated by the field of power as was fiction. When Emperor Francis stated in a speech in 1823 that "I need no scholars, only well-behaved and righteous citizens,"[27] he was emphatically affirming the subordination of all domains of society to the power of the state embodied by the monarch.

In his seminal study on literary field theory, Bourdieu refers to censorship only once, namely in the context of the field of power ("champ du pouvoir"),

27 Cited in Michael Wögerbauer: Die Zensur ist keine Wissenschaft, sondern bloß eine Polizeianstalt: Zum Verhältnis von Sozialsystem Literatur und staatlicher Intervention 1780–1820 am Beispiel Prag. In: Alexander Ritter (ed.): Charles Sealsfield: Lehrjahre eines Romanciers 1808–1829. Vom spätjosefinischen Prag ins demokratische Amerika. Vienna: Praesens 2007, 105–124, here 106: "[…] ich brauche keine Gelehrten, sondern brave rechtschaffene Bürger."

in which the balance of power between the different fields and types of capital ("espèces de capital") is negotiated.[28] Without a doubt, there were oppositional, centrifugal forces at work within the Habsburg Monarchy that attempted to "negotiate" the balance of power and promote the autonomization of literature, but most of these forces had external origins. The matter-of-factness with which the Austrian government influenced literature by way of censorship is a sign of the high degree of heteronomy one can assume for a state that defined itself as absolutistic.[29]

The state of literature in Austria during the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century can probably be described most appropriately as a "field before it becomes a field" ("'champ' d'avant les champs").[30] Even the new literary genres like the novel were dedicated much less to aesthetic aspects than to the conveyance of political messages. The censors assessed them in terms of their potential usefulness or harmfulness, thereby

28 Cf. Pierre Bourdieu: Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1992, 298–310.

29 Bourdieu obviously is not taking into account the nearly unlimited possibilities of censorial intervention existing in nineteenth-century Austria when he writes: "[…] un haut degré de contrainte et de contrôle—à travers par exemple une censure très stricte—n'entraîne pas nécessairement la disparition de toute affirmation d'autonomie lorsque le capital collectif de traditions spécifiques, d'institutions originales (clubs, journaux, etc.), de modèles propres est suffisamment important." (Les règles de l'art, 307)—"[…] a high degree of coercion and control—for example by way of very strict censorship—does not necessarily lead to the drying up of all expression of autonomy, as long as the collective capital of specific traditions, independent institutions (associations, periodicals, etc.) or internal exemplars is substantial enough." Such traditions and institutions existed at best in the underground in Austria (e.g. the *Ludlamshöhle* club in Vienna) or—during the 1840s, i.e. towards the end of the era of precensorship—in almost extraterritorial cells like the *Wiener Juridisch-Politischer Leseverein*, which was reserved for the intellectual elite.

30 Roger Chartier: Discours de la méthode (review of Pierre Bourdieu: Les règles de l'art). In: Le monde, 09/18/1992, 37. The particularities of the Austrian literary "field" are discussed with a special focus on the Josephinist decade by Norbert Christian Wolf: Aloys Blumauers Beobachtungen über Oesterreichs Aufklärung und Litteratur: Ansätze zur Literatursoziologie eines regionalen Ausgleichsprozesses. *Magister* thesis (typewritten), Vienna 1994; cf. also Wolf: Der Raum der Literatur im Feld der Macht: Strukturwandel im theresianischen und josephinischen Zeitalter. In: Franz M. Eybl (ed.): Strukturwandel kultureller Praxis: Beiträge zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Sicht des theresianischen Zeitalters. (Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts 17). Vienna: WUV-Universitäts-Verlag 2002, 45–70; referring to censorship, see also Wolf: Von "eingeschränkt und erzbigott" bis "ziemlich inquisitionsmäßig": Die Rolle der Zensur im Wiener literarischen Feld des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Wilhelm Haefs and York-Gothart Mix (eds.): Zensur im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung: Geschichte—Theorie—Praxis. Göttingen: Wallstein 2007, 305–330.

negating their autonomy in two separate ways: through the censorial intervention itself and through their heteronomous reading. These circumstances are similar to those described by Alain Viala for the 'pre-autonomous' field of French literature in the seventeenth century, where censorship was "one of the most brutal forms of heteronomy, of direct intervention by state and religious power."[31] This field is also pre-autonomous in the sense that the expansion of censorship indicates an increase in the "power" and importance of literature, which was now seen as a serious challenge and made the public authorities uneasy. When censorship is viewed as a reaction to liberties taken by literature,[32] then these liberties were primarily ones observed with concern by the Austrian rulers in literature produced in other states and regions (especially in the German states and in France).

The establishment of a literary field requires the existence of free authors, or more precisely the author function in Foucault's sense. In particular, the attribution of texts to responsible authors represents a necessity for efficient censorship. The Austrian police was always keen to determine the names of the actual authors of writings published anonymously or pseudo-anonymously, so that they could be persecuted if they were Austrian citizens or denounced to their respective governments if they were foreigners. In the case of anonymous texts, the authorities lacked the ability to hold the guilty parties to account and prevent further production of "heretic" or undesirable treatises. As early as 1781, Joseph II demanded the naming of authors in his censorship decree—referring in particular to political criticism and personal controversies:

> Critiques, unless they are libels, may they be aimed at whomever they wish, from the sovereign down to the lowest subject, shall not be forbidden, especially if the author has his name printed alongside, thereby presenting himself as warrantor for the truth of the matter [...].[33]

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31 Alain Viala: Naissance de l'écrivain: Sociologie de la littérature à l'âge classique. Paris: Les éditions de minuit 1985, 115: "[...] une des formes les plus brutales de l'hétéronomie, de l'intervention directe du pouvoir d'État et du pouvoir religieux."

32 "[...] l'instauration d'une censure organisée apparaît comme un indice supplémentaire de la formation du champ littéraire: l'extension et l'autonomisation croissante de celui-ci ont suscité là aussi, en réaction, un renforcement des contraintes imposées par les autorités politiques et religieuses." (Viala: Naissance de l'écrivain, 122)—"The establishment of organized censorship is an additional indication of the development of the literary field: Here, too, the increasing expansion and autonomization of this field have caused the reaction of an increase in the compulsions imposed by the political and religious authorities."

33 Censorship decree by Joseph II issued on June 1, 1781. In: Handbuch aller unter der

Foucault defines the desire to have access to the persons responsible for deviationist texts as a prerequisite for the emergence of the author function. The tendency towards autonomization (and the associated transgression of external norms) and state censorship mutually elicit each other. Due to their political or religious poignancy, certain statements only become possible under cover of anonymity. At the same time, anonymity itself represents "a statement about what could or could not be said in what way and under which legal, economic, and discursive circumstances."[34] The author function was not established all of a sudden in the eighteenth century, but rather over the course of a lengthy process incorporating factors such as the development of textuality and letterpress printing as well as copyright and personal liability. Foucault says this about property in texts in the sense of the author function:

> It must be noted that this property came later than what one might call unlawful appropriation. Texts, books, and speeches began to have actual authors (that are different from mythical persons and the great sacred and sanctifying figures) to the extent to which those authors could be punished or the speeches could violate laws.[35]

Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung. Enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1780 bis 1784. Erster Band: Vienna: Moesle 1785, 517–524, here 518–519: "Kritiken, wenn es nur keine Schmähschriften sind, sie mögen nun treffen, wen sie wollen, vom Landesfürsten an bis zum Untersten, sollen, besonders wenn der Verfasser seinen Namen dazu drucken läßt, und sich also für die Wahrheit der Sache dadurch als Bürge darstellt, nicht verboten werden."

34 Stephan Pabst: Anonymität und Autorschaft: Ein Problemaufriss. In: Pabst (ed.): Anonymität und Autorschaft: Zur Literatur- und Rechtsgeschichte der Namenlosigkeit. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter 2011, 1–34, here 7: "eine Aussage darüber […], was wie unter welchen rechtlichen, ökonomischen und diskursiven Bedingungen gesagt beziehungsweise nicht gesagt werden konnte."

35 Michel Foucault: Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? In: Dits et écrits 1954–1988. I: 1954–1969. Édition établie sous la direction de Daniel Defert et François Ewald avec la collaboration de Jacques Lagrange. Paris: Gallimard 1994, 789–821, here 799: "Il faut remarquer que cette propriété a été historiquement seconde, par rapport à ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'appropriation pénale. Les textes, les livres, les discours ont commencé à avoir réellement des auteurs (autres que des personnages mythiques, autres que de grandes figures sacralisées et sacralisantes) dans la mesure où l'auteur pouvait être puni, c'est-à-dire dans la mesure où les discours pouvaient être transgressifs." Cf. Roger Chartier: The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press 1992, 25–59 (chapter "Figures of the Author").

From the perspective of authors, the situation is a form of countertrade: The awarding of property rights to a text brings personal renown and/or financial profit, but simultaneously subjects the author to persecution if the boundaries of the permissible are transgressed.

> As if the author, ever since he was inducted into the property system of our society, compensated the status thus achieved by returning to the old bipolarity of speech, through systematic transgression, through reestablishment of the danger of a writing to which, on the other hand, the benefit of property was guaranteed.[36]

3 Modalities of Censorship over Time

The range of measures subsumed under the term 'censorship' is wide. The simplest and original method of preventing publication consists of measures against authors, beginning with forbidding them to write and imprisoning them and ranging all the way to exile and murder. Measures against the co-producers (publishers) and distributors (booksellers and book lenders) include the banning of individual works or entire catalogs of books as well as the forced closing of businesses and informal censorship activities like curtailment of paper allocations.

Placing our focus on individual texts or books, we can differentiate between bans, destruction (burning), court-ordered seizure, restriction of dissemination (for example by relegating books to limited-access departments of libraries), and the requirement to omit, rephrase, or make other changes to manuscripts. Censorial intervention in literary life generally leads to self-censorship and adaptation on all levels, or to so-called "smuggling of ideas"[37] through the development of suitable writing strategies for encryption ("Aesopian" writing).[38] In this case, censorship can in fact have aesthetically productive consequences; a specific censorship aesthetic has been determined in

36 Foucault: Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?, 799: "Comme si l'auteur, à partir du moment où il a été placé dans le système de propriété qui caractérise notre société, compensait le statut qu'il recevait ainsi en retrouvant le vieux champ bipolaire du discours, en pratiquant systématiquement la transgression, en restaurant le danger d'une écriture à laquelle d'un autre côté on garantissait les bénéfices de la propriété."

37 This term "Ideenschmuggel" was coined by Karl Gutzkow: Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe 1832, 190.

38 Cf. among others Lev Loseff: On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature. Munich: Sagner 1984. On Gutzkow, see the recent summary

the case of Heinrich Heine, for example.[39] Since the curiosity of the reading audience is piqued by bans, the impact of reduced dissemination is accompanied by a complementary effect of increased attention that provokes attempts to obtain the forbidden writings illegally. The mentioned pressure to adapt is therefore likely the primary actual effect of prohibitions. Their impact is particularly doubtful if they are issued from far away and/or with considerable delay—as was the case with the Vatican Index, for example. We can hardly assume any influence on reading behavior in this case, with the Index likely representing more of a symbolic gesture, "a demarcation from the evil and condemnable" that also meant a "self-reassurance of the own system of values."[40]

Depending on the moment of intervention, we can differentiate between preventive, prohibitive, and revoking censorship. Preventive censorship means that expressions are reviewed prior to their publication; in the case of prohibitive censorship, a written work is examined for permissibility after being published, usually due to a complaint or—as in the case of the Austrian book review—when it is imported; revoking censorship means the special case of repeated review of a previously approved work. Alternative terms for these three forms are precensorship, postcensorship, and recensorship.

As stated before, censorship in a narrower sense means the examination of written works according to certain rules by an authority established for that purpose; such formal censorship generally transitions fluidly into various forms of informal censorship, meaning the suppressing or impeding of expressions through economic, political, or social coercion. Publishers decide what will be printed, booksellers order certain books, libraries only purchase selected works, parents control their children's reading, the state awards prizes to certain works and ignores or expresses its displeasure with others. Here we are

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by Joachim Grimm: Karl Gutzkows Arrivierungsstrategie unter den Bedingungen der Zensur (1830–1847). Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, Brussels, New York, Oxford, Vienna: P. Lang 2010, 139–147.

39 According to Reiner Marx: Heinrich Heine und die Zensur: Der Dichter als ihr Opfer und geheimer Nutznießer. In: Gabriele B. Clemens (ed.): Zensur im Vormärz: Pressefreiheit und Informationskontrolle in Europa. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2013, 249–258, here 251.

40 Dominik Burkard: Repression und Prävention: Die kirchliche Bücherzensur in Deutschland (16.–20. Jahrhundert). In: Hubert Wolf (ed.): Inquisition, Index, Zensur: Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit. Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, Zurich: Schöningh 2001, 305–327, here 306: "Abgrenzung vom Bösen und Verwerflichen […] Selbstvergewisserung des eigenen Wertesystems."

faced once again with the question of what the term 'censorship' comprises; the broad, structural definition encompasses all of these informal ways of limitation and attempted obstruction of unwelcome works.

The most atavistic form of preventing objectionable writings is the elimination of authors by killing them or locking them away. A related but more moderate—and ultimately only symbolic—measure is the "execution" of books by way of burning. Austria, too, witnessed cases of the use of such force against authors and their works; examples will be provided in the following chapter. The burning of books is a ritual and thus likewise atavistic form of censorship. That a book must be physically destroyed signalizes its power: It is not viewed as a collection of "dead" letters but instead as an active intellectual entity that can produce positive (physical or spiritual healing) or negative (afflictions of the body and/or the soul) effects. The fire is the adequate means of obliterating evil, and book burnings appear as "purposive acts of magical-superstitious character."[41] This magical-religious character of the ritual is apparent in its similarity to other sacrificial activities intended to cleanse humans of guilt and appease gods. In times of widespread illiteracy, book burnings represented a drastic warning to their audiences not to imitate aberration from the norms. On the other hand, they can also be viewed as an expression of helplessness indicating that the contents of the affected books cannot be refuted nor their author(s) apprehended or, in absence of the general permeation of the author function, identified.

In very general terms, a tendency leading away from the use of physical force against authors and books and towards more subtle methods is observable within the history of censorship. According to Norbert Elias, this development can be understood as a process of civilization over the course of which its precepts regarding socially conforming behavior are more and more internalized and thus automatized. Censorship is largely or completely replaced by education and self-censorship.

Self-censorship is sometimes recognizable in historical-critical editions that show discarded or rewritten passages of a text. It is usually hard to differentiate between changes owed to the pressure of prevailing norms and the reworking of a text due to aesthetic or other considerations, however. In general, self-censorship makes external censorship superfluous; the latter is superseded by successful socialization. The employment of physical force requires personal

41 Hermann Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen: Die öffentliche Hinrichtung von Schriften im historischen Wandel. Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau 1988, 54: "Zweckhandlungen magisch-abergläubischen Charakters."

interaction, which becomes increasingly improbable and difficult to achieve in larger societies with a more complex organization—not least because the targets of such measures are not necessarily easily apprehended. Over the course of history, the exertion of power has thus gradually shifted from physical to symbolic force. In differentiated modern societies, power is depersonalized and transferred to roles and institutions; it is ultimately a medium of communication. The individual is increasingly determined socially, yet subjectively perceives itself as increasingly free. From this perspective, resorting to explicit measures of censorship appears like a step backwards—a symptom of a power crisis. "Where 'power' works, censorship is unnecessary," as Armin Biermann states laconically.[42]

A closer look at the history of censorship confirms the impression that censorship accompanies crises of power: Its appearance always coincides with the questioning of old certainties and norms. In Europe, this first occurred during the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; the earliest documented censorship processes in the German-speaking area began around 1475. In 1521, the Edict of Worms banned the writings of Martin Luther and all other works opposing the prevailing doctrine and the persona of the pope. In 1564, the Vatican issued the first extensive *Index librorum prohibitorum*, which would remain in force until 1966 while being continually updated and revised. The new medium of the printed book expanded the circles of communication dramatically, extending their reach to non-scholars and thus giving rise to censorship. The swift propagation of written and printed communication dismantled old truths that had seemed set in stone and provided ample space for subjective and particular opinions. Fictions—deviant fabrications of the belles lettres—gained ground and established themselves as a discreet sector of book production. The transition from the intensive reading of a scant few canonic works to extensive consumption of numerous different written sources implied a pluralization of "truth."[43]

A further example for the connection between crises of behavioral norms and the appearance of censorship is the realm of erotic literature and its persecution. Sexually explicit writings only attracted public interest once the pretension of the Church to the mediation of salvation had become seriously challenged and the moral responsibility was imposed on the individual—that is, during the course of the eighteenth century. (Sexual) morals now became

42 Biermann: "Gefährliche Literatur," 11: "Wo 'Macht' funktioniert, erübrigt sich Zensur."

43 Cf. Rolf Engelsing: Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit: Das statistische Ausmaß und die soziokulturelle Bedeutung der Lektüre. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 10 (1970), cols. 945–1002.

a matter on which the self-determined citizens had to come to a consensus, with the newly acquired freedom quickly leading to a raising of the threshold of shame—and simultaneously to a heyday of pornography. As Jürgen Schläger writes:

> The increasing self-responsibility of the civic individual produces an awareness of identity that wants the boundaries between the self and the world, between inside and outside, between publicity and familial intimacy to be much more strictly defined. It was as though the growing civic self-confidence was directly related to the individual's heightened capability for shame, like Adam and Eve, after exhibiting their own initiative for the first time by disrupting the paradisiacal abandon, suddenly became aware of their own nakedness and could bear it no longer. The obscene as an anti-individualistic principle, as an expression of general human animality thus becomes a threat to the individualistic social order based on the ideal of self-chastity.[44]

This self-control was now also demanded and monitored by the state—in Austria, Maria Theresa felt responsible for assuring the morality of her subjects from around the middle of the eighteenth century—and this circumstance found expression in sanctions against authors of erotic literature attempting to separate sexuality from intimacy and make it explicit. Since individual (sexual) morals formed the basis of the new, rather more bourgeois social order, state censorship likewise took an interest in them.

With politics, religion, and morals, we have already mentioned the most important motives for censorship that remained constant throughout the centuries. In more recent times, we might add the protection of individuals against

44 Jürgen Schläger: Herméneutique dans le boudoir. In: Manfred Fuhrmann, Hans Robert Jauß, and Wolfhart Pannenberg (eds.): Text und Applikation: Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Literaturwissenschaft im hermeneutischen Gespräch. Munich: Fink 1981, 207–223, here 209: "Die zunehmende Eigenverantwortlichkeit des bürgerlichen Individuums erzeugt ein Identitätsbewußtsein, das die Grenzen zwischen Selbst und Welt, innen und außen, Öffentlichkeit und familiärer Intimität sehr viel stärker konturiert wissen will. Es ist, als ob das wachsende bürgerliche Selbstbewußtsein in direkter Relation zur gesteigerten Schamfähigkeit des Einzelnen stand, so wie Adam und Eva, nachdem sie im Durchbrechen paradiesischer Selbstvergessenheit zum ersten Mal Eigeninitiative bewiesen haben, sich plötzlich ihrer Blöße gewahr werden und diese nicht mehr ertragen konnten. Das Obszöne als ein anti-individualistisches Prinzip, als Ausdruck allgemein-menschlicher Animalität wird so zu einer Gefahr für eine individualistische, auf dem Ideal der Selbstzucht fußende Gesellschaftsordnung."

putative calumny. This latter motive occasionally still raises the question of the freedom of art and its possible privileges. Article 5 of the German constitution includes the passages "art and science, research and teaching are free [from limitations]" and "censorship does not take place",[45] thereby precluding the judging of art by the judiciary as a matter of principle. Referred to as "Kunstvorbehalt" (art exception) in juristic language, this circumstance nevertheless does not prevent other values from occasionally being placed above art. This applies in particular to privacy protection, as in the case of the forbiddance of the novel *Esra* by Maxim Biller in the Federal Republic of Germany in 2003.[46]

Reinhard Aulich emphasizes that censorship must not be viewed once and for all as a force of repression, as a system-conformant and reactionary instrument of rule, but instead represents a changeable entity for the monitoring of (literary) communication in a historically definable society, a "subsystem of social control" that adheres to a likewise changing and developing set of norms.[47] Between ca. 1760 and 1790, for example, promotion of the Enlightenment and simultaneous suppression of obscurantism represented the prevalent policy in Austria, making censorship appear as a downright progressive force during this period. The more this modernization advanced, the more self-determined and responsible citizens who made their own decisions within certain gradually expanding boundaries rather than submissive subjects were in demand. Following the experience of the French Revolution, however, censorship attempted to preserve the status quo and prevent any form of change. A further shift in censorship norms is linked to the protection of reputation: While initially only rulers or members of the upper classes enjoyed protection against insult and slander, a form of civic reputation protection was slowly established over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well,

45 "Kunst und Wissenschaft, Forschung und Lehre sind frei," "Eine Zensur findet nicht statt."

46 Cf. the controversy between Remigius Bunia: Fingierte Kunst: Der Fall Esra und die Schranken der Kunstfreiheit. In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 32 (2007), H. 2, 161–182, and Christian Eichner and York-Gothart Mix: Ein Fehlurteil als Maßstab? Zu Maxim Billers *Esra*, Klaus Manns *Mephisto* und dem Problem der Kunstfreiheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 32 (2007), H. 2, 183–227; with contributions on recent disputes and texts considered offensive for various reasons: Tom Cheesman (ed.): German Text Crimes: Writers Accused, from the 1950s to the 2000s. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi 2013.

47 Reinhard Aulich: Elemente einer funktionalen Differenzierung der literarischen Zensur: Überlegungen zu Form und Wirksamkeit von Zensur als einer intentional adäquaten Reaktion gegenüber literarischer Kommunikation. In: Herbert G. Göpfert and Erdmann Weyrauch (eds.): "Unmoralisch an sich …": Zensur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1988, 177–230, here 183: "Subsystem der sozialen Kontrolle."

which corresponded to the growing influence of the middle class as a stratum of entrepreneurs for whom a good reputation could be essential, for example in terms of their creditworthiness.[48]

4 How Dangerous Is Literature?

If we accept Stephen Greenblatt's postulate that texts effect a "cultural circulation of social energy,"[49] then the goal of censorship is to prevent that circulation. Communication by way of reading enables the dissemination of thoughts—or, as seen from the negative point of view, the infection of thinking that leads to imitation and thus to actions considered corruptive to the individual or to society. Attempts to prevent such "contagion" appeared in other areas as well during the eighteenth century—in the fight against epidemics, for instance, but also in the approaches to insanity and crime. Invariably, internment and prevention of contact were the measures used to localize and contain any evil.[50] As early as the sixteenth century, in fact, book censorship was being handled at the same organizational level as the infection regulations for meat, flour, and other foodstuffs.[51] Books were considered fundamentally dangerous. The fact that works of literature and other objects of art were listed in next-to-last position—between "ignition items" and "refuse"—in the trade statistics of the pre-March period is indicative of this long-standing appraisal of the book industry.[52] According to the comparatively liberal trading regulations of 1859, booksellers still had to obtain a license—as did other "sensitive" businesses like innkeepers or vendors of fireworks and poison.[53] In the nineteenth century, written (press, leaflets) as well as direct communication by suspicious

48 Cf. ibid., 208–209.

49 Stephen Greenblatt: Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press 1988, 13.

50 Cf. Michel Foucault: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique. Paris: Gallimard 1972; Michel Foucault: Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison. Paris: Gallimard 1975.

51 Cf. Grete Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der Zensur in der theresianischen Reform. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1970, 45.

52 See Norbert Bachleitner, Franz M. Eybl, and Ernst Fischer: Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2000, 191.

53 Kaiserliches Patent vom 20. December 1859, womit eine Gewerbe-Ordnung für den ganzen Umfang des Reiches, mit Ausnahme des venetianischen Verwaltungsgebietes und der Militärgrenze, erlassen, und vom 1. Mai 1860 angefangen in Wirksamkeit gesetzt wird. In: Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich, Jahrgang 1859. Vienna: K. k. Staatsdruckerei 1859, 619–650.

groups of persons was impeded, the latter for example by way of an assembly ban, monitoring and at times dissolvement of associations and secret societies (like the *Ludlamshöhle* in Vienna or various Masonic lodges), and the prohibition of journeyman years for craftsmen.

Metternich himself—effectively the highest censorial authority besides the emperor in pre-March Austria—supported the theory that subversive thoughts were capable of functioning like a plague in a memorandum written in 1830. While every person was free to think, the act of writing embodied thoughts and printing ultimately turned them into merchantable products; consequently, it had to be monitored.

> Treatment of the printing of thoughts as a free art is akin to free trade in hazardous substances or the practice of medicine bound by no conditions, and in its effects, the harmfulness of intellectual goods certainly exceeds that of all purely material ones.[54]

In a statement to Anastasius Grün in 1838, Metternich made a similar differentiation: "Writing is free as is thinking, it is merely a recording of the thoughts. But the putting to print is an entirely different matter, and here the state must apply the narrow boundaries that we call censorship."[55] In Metternich's view, preemptive measures were the only effective strategy for preventing the dissemination of dangerous ideas—and even repressive measures like punishment ex post could have a preventive effect with regard to the future. The press—widely read and agile, reacting daily to developing events—was considered particularly perilous: "The press works by way of contagion; in this sense it offers similarities with diseases, to which a contagium fixum adheres. Preventive regulations are the only ones applicable to such diseases. Here the assimilation of means is mandated."[56] As early as 1793, police commissioner Count Pergen

54 Cited in Ludwig August Frankl: Erinnerungen. Ed. by Stefan Hock. Prague: Calve (Josef Koch) 1910, 200: "Das Drucken der Gedanken wie eine freie Kunst behandeln, steht dem freien Handel mit gefährlichen Stoffen und der an keine Bedingungen gebundenen Praxis der Heilkunde in nichts nach und in ihren Wirkungen überwiegt die Schädlichkeit der geistigen Ware gewiß jene aller rein materiellen."

55 Cited in Frank Thomas Hoefer: Pressepolitik und Polizeistaat Metternichs: Die Überwachung von Presse und politischer Öffentlichkeit in Deutschland und den Nachbarstaaten durch das Mainzer Informationsbüro (1833–1848). Munich, New York, London, Paris: K.G. Saur 1983, 50: "Schreiben ist frei wie das Denken, es ist nur ein Festhalten der Gedanken. Aber anders und eine ganz eigene Sache ist es mit dem Druckenlassen, da muß der Staat die engen Schranken ziehen, die wir Zensur nennen."

56 Cited in Frankl: Erinnerungen, 201: "Die Presse wirkt auf dem Wege der Contagion; sie

had spoken of writings "through which ideas are propagated and attitudes of the citizens receive their direction"[57] to justify why censorship should be the police's responsibility in analogy to hygiene measures in the strict sense.

It is evident that the mentality of the censorship authorities in Austria remained heavily influenced until well into the nineteenth century by the confessional conflicts going back many hundreds of years. The confessionalization of the Habsburg Monarchy beginning in the first third of the seventeenth century had crowded out Protestantism and relegated it to the underground. Propaganda for the Augsburg Confession—or more generally speaking, the "transmission of forbidden knowledge"[58]—henceforth primarily occurred via clandestinely distributed pamphlets. Within this realm of pragmatic text types, which were obviously "based in life," writings generally seem to have had immediately convincing effects and triggered corresponding reactions. "The 'cultic' or 'heretic' books were the centerpiece of the Austrian Protestants in the underground, they were the undisputed carriers of the Protestant movement in the eyes of the subjects as well as those of the authorities."[59] Especially where direct communication was largely inhibited, for example between preachers and their followers, edifying literature in the shape of dogmatic and catechetic works for reading at home along with joint singing and praying became the key vectors for the mediation and performative reinforcement of matters of faith. On the side of the Catholic authorities, these practices rekindled old prejudices relating to the reading of clerical literature by laypersons and its pernicious consequences. "They initially read such [texts] only out of curiosity, but are then carried away as if by a clandestine poison to faithlessness and subsequently to complete vitiation of the soul by the principles contained therein

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bietet hier Aehnlichkeit mit Krankheiten, welchen ein contagium fixum anklebt. Gegen solche Krankheiten sind präventive Maßregeln die allein anwendbaren. Die Assimilation der Mittel ist hier gegeben."

57 Cited in Anna Hedwig Benna: Organisierung und Personalstand der Polizeihofstelle (1793–1848). In: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 6 (1953), 197–239, here 221: "[…] womit ideen fortgepflanzt werden und gesinnungen der staatsbürger ihre richtung erhalten."

58 Cf. Martin Mulsow: Die Transmission verbotenen Wissens. In: Ulrich Johannes Schneider (ed.): Kulturen des Wissens im 18. Jahrhundert. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 2008, 61–80.

59 Martin Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern vertreibt die Finsternis: Verbotene Werke bei den österreichischen Untergrundprotestanten. In: Martin Mulsow (ed.): Kriminelle—Freidenker—Alchemisten: Räume des Untergrunds in der Frühen Neuzeit. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau 2014, 321–351, here 324: "Die 'sectischen' oder auch 'ketzerischen' Bücher waren das Herzstück der österreichischen Protestanten im Untergrund, sie stellten sich unwidersprochen sowohl für die Untertanen als auch für die Behörden als Träger der evangelischen Bewegung dar."

that advise them to lead a free life."[60] Possession and reading of heterodox literature were the decisive criteria for the identification of "heretics" during ecclesiastic and governmental investigations. Oral blasphemy could be overlooked as a one-time transgression, but a hidden book stash or even merely transitory contact with unauthorized works by way of reading them automatically constituted heresy.

> The men and women sentenced by the Court of Appeals and the suspects who were only interrogated usually shared a trait: they had read, listened to a reading of, possessed, sold, bought, exchanged, lent, or even simply praised books that their parish priest had not expressly permitted them. Their relation to books was often a determinant factor in the pursuits and the surveillance to which they were subjected. In this sense, the book was a sign of heresy.[61]

Contact with heretic brothers was corruptive, and nobody was immune to infection with evil thoughts and erroneous faith. Clerical pedagogues in Salzburg likewise assumed an epidemic effect of heterodox confessions in 1747. "The other confession is interpreted as a disease phenomenon; no remedy is considered to help in the case of members of the older generation 'once infected with the heretic spirit'; one can only try to keep them from unsettling the youth."[62] The power to change confessional affiliation was attributed in particular to the written word, and the key to this view may well have been the widespread engagement in intensive reading, meaning the repeated reading of the same texts until they had been effectively memorized, which caused their contents to become deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the

60 Cited in ibid., 345: "Solche lesen sie zwar anfänglich nur aus Neugierde, werden aber dann durch die darin enthaltenen, zu einem freien Leben anleitenden Grundsätze wie durch ein heimliches Gift in eine Glaubenslosigkeit, folgsam in ein gänzliches Seelenverderben hingerissen."

61 Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux: Reading unto Death: Books and Readers in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia. In: Roger Chartier (ed.): The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1989, 191–229, here 199.

62 Klaus Heydemann: Abwehr schädlicher Bücher: Zu Buchhandel und Zensur im Erzstift Salzburg im 18. Jahrhundert. In: Wolfgang Frühwald and Alberto Martino (eds.; with cooperation by Ernst Fischer and Klaus Heydemann): Zwischen Aufklärung und Restauration: Sozialer Wandel in der deutschen Literatur (1700–1848). Festschrift für Wolfgang Martens zum 65. Geburtstag. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1989, 131–160, here 149: "Die andere Konfession wird als Krankheitsphänomen gedeutet; bei Angehörigen der älteren Generation, die vom 'kchözerischen geist ein mahl inficirt' seien, helfe kein Mittel richtig; man könne nur sehen, daß sie die Jugend nicht verunsicherten."

readership. Based on such assumptions concerning the effects of reading, the Catholic clergy attempted to reply in kind and propagate its own orthodox literature as a salubrious "antidote": "In the same way heresy in the Austrian lands was connected to books, conversion likewise seemed inextricably linked to books."[63] Catholic books—along with rosaries, brotherhood scapulars, and similar products—were disseminated among the Protestant population not only by way of travelling colporteurs but also via the regional branches of the regular bookselling industry.

The connections between individual types of literature that were considered "dangerous" are also apparent in the lists of books prohibited in Austria. Their examination reveals numerous thematic groups of publications that are the result of "complex, ceaseless borrowing and lending"[64] between the individual texts—evidence of the "contagion" at the authorial level. From the point of view of literary studies, it is simple intertextuality leading to the formation and delimitation of discourses. Among the many examples of such "banned clusters" are texts about belief in the devil or suicide;[65] also encountered are writings dealing with various political questions and events, or with religious movements like Jansenism or the German Catholics. In other words, the publications on the prohibition lists provide abundant proof that the circulation of ideas abhorred by the censors did in fact occur.

But the circulation of texts and ideas takes place not only between their producers, a generally relatively small class of scholars or at least educated persons. In a period like the one between 1750 and 1850, in which the book market and the reading audience grew rapidly as a middle-class public sphere as defined by Jürgen Habermas developed, the transfer of ideas could indeed reach an epidemic scale. In addition, the epochal threshold of 1750 is commonly considered the beginning of the secularization of knowledge, which not only entailed a previously unheard-of diversity and dissemination of ideas but also sparked a countermovement that can be called the "bureaucratization of knowledge" and relied on the "shutting away of information in a government bureau instead of making it public." The result was a clash between two conflicting principles: "transparency versus opacity," or accessibility of knowledge to everyone versus restriction to the *happy few*.[66]

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63 Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern, 348: "Ebenso wie die Häresie in den österreichischen Ländern mit Büchern verbunden war, schien umgekehrt die Bekehrung auch mit Büchern untrennbar verbunden."

64 Greenblatt: Shakespearean Negotiations, 7.

65 Cf. Chapter 6.3. in this book.

66 Peter Burke: A Social History of Knowledge Revisited. In: Modern Intellectual History 4,3 (2007), 521–535, here 532.

Essentially, censorship can take effect at any of the links of the communication chain from the author to the reader. Reinhard Aulich breaks these links down as follows:

> [...] writing down of thoughts, correcting, abridging if required; self-publishing or publishing by others, with all implications including the marketable design of the printed work; the technical processes of duplication and the organizational ones of distribution, with the inclusion of sales-boosting measures like pricing, advertising, reviews; the decision by the consumer to purchase the respective product, or to rent it or view it at a library; finally, processing the reading against the background of predisposed utilization intentions.[67]

Censorship can intervene in the layout and design of texts and books, for example in the shape of illustrations, prevent their printing or sale as required, and restrict advertising revenues as well as distribution by way of colportage, circulating libraries, or reading clubs. In short, it attempts to limit the impact of contemptible books as much as possible. Because the producers of texts naturally tried to evade censorship by using unsuspicious or unpredictable media for their messages, graphics, musical notes, playing cards, medallions, drinking vessels, and other objects adorned with writing or images were likewise subjected to censorship. On occasion, politically agitative texts were even distributed on exceedingly unusual media like the packaging of baked goods or inserts in packets of tobacco.[68]

The at times almost paranoid warnings of the censors and their principals beg the question of the true impact potential of literature and art. For the most part, censorship—and subsequently the judiciary as well—follow the theory of learning respectively imitation, which assumes that fictionally demonstrated

67 Aulich: Elemente einer funktionalen Differenzierung, 215: "[...] Niederschrift der Gedanken, Korrigieren, ggf. Kürzen; Selbst- und Fremdverlag, mit allen Implikationen, einschließlich der marktgängigen Ausgestaltung des Druckwerks; die technischen Abläufe der Vervielfältigung und die organisatorischen des Vertriebes, unter Einschluß absatzfördernder Maßnahmen wie Preisgestaltung, Reklame, Rezensionen; die Entscheidung des Konsumenten, sich das betreffende Produkt zu kaufen, oder aber nur auszuleihen bzw. in einer Bibliothek einzusehen; schließlich die Auseinandersetzung mit der Lektüre auf dem Hintergrund prädisponierter Verwertungsabsichten." A detailed "matrix" of the parameters of censorship is delineated in Haefs: "Zensur," 559–560.

68 Cf. Wolfram Siemann: Fahnen, Bilder und Medaillen: Medien politischer Kommunikation im 19. Jahrhundert. In: Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen für Studium und Unterricht 15 (1986), 17–27.

behaviors and appeals lead to emulation. According to the ancient theory of catharsis through art going back to Aristotle, on the other hand, the affects of the observers of theater performances are "cleansed" when they witness fictitious acts and scenes of violence or sorrow. Art is thus considered to serve as an outlet of sorts for emotions. Modern literature and art psychology generally assumes attitude changes to be extremely unlikely, however—especially as a result of the consumption of individual works. At most, reading experiences are thought to be impactful as individual pieces of a mosaic of influences—and even then only in the long term.[69] On the other hand, censors and judges generally believe that the representation of successful aggression, criminality, or revolution incites mimicry, and that children and youths in particular should thus remain untroubled by "filth and smut." A dangerous power of persuasion is apparently ascribed to texts and fictitious portrayals in literature and other media—and as we have seen, this view has a very long tradition.[70] A contemporary example from Austria is the censorship report on Moritz Hartmann's collection of poems *Kelch und Schwert* (Chalice and Sword, 1845) by lyricist and censor Johann Gabriel Seidl, in which the latter explains his apprehension regarding the impact of the texts in detail:

> The author not only lends words to his own dreams of freedom, not only reveals his inner Hussite nature with incautious frankness, not only gushes forth his reluctance towards the existing without reserve, which one could perhaps give a young, imaginative, volcanically rampant poetic spirit credit for as an initial eruption—he also steps outside the sphere of subjectivity and sets out to revolutionize, to entrain, to inflame, which will likely not be difficult for him with the force of his expression and the liveliness of his words where elements of dissatisfaction already exist.[71]

69 Hans Kreitler and Shulamith Kreitler: Psychology of the Arts. Durham: Duke University Press 1972, 357–358.

70 The transfer of fictions into reality as feared by the censors also forms the basis for the decoding reading of romans a clef. On this genre, cf. Gertrud Maria Rösch: Clavis Scientiae: Studien zum Verhältnis von Faktizität und Fiktionalität am Fall der Schlüsselliteratur. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2004.

71 Johann Gabriel Seidl: Gutachten über Moritz Hartmanns "Kelch und Schwert": In: Jung Österreich: Dokumente und Materialien zur liberalen österreichischen Opposition 1835–1848. Ed. by Madeleine Rietra. Amsterdam: Rodopi 1980, 57: "Der Verfasser leiht nicht nur seinen eigenen Freiheitsträumen Worte, verrät nicht nur sein inneres Hussitentum mit unvorsichtiger Offenheit, sprudelt nicht nur seinen Unwillen gegen das Bestehende rückhaltlos heraus, was man allenthalben einem jungen, phantasievollen, vulkanisch-tobenden Dichtergeiste als erste Eruption zu Gute halten könnte—sondern er tritt auch

The potential impact of literature very much appears a matter of opinion, and the crucial question seems to be whether literature is a symptom or a factor of societal developments.[72] Literary texts generally do not contain an unambiguous message; solidarization and (e.g. revolutionary or religion-critical) activation of readers requires the respective texts to mesh with corresponding dispositions that already exist. With regard to the efficacy of texts, censorship research can perhaps borrow from the repertoire of research into social movements. Not only did the beginnings of modern social movements in the Enlightenment period—"the civic-emancipatory movements that rebelled against the regime of absolutism and thereby initiated the departure from religiously legitimized authorities"[73]—coincide precisely with the systematization of the surveillance of literary circulation by way of censorship in Austria; the collective action frames are also of fundamental interest to censorship research. Such action frames offer an interpretation of the world as well as solution options for problems; their intent is "to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists. […] Thus, collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO)."[74] Iniquities, with their origins often linked to the state, are seized and the respective categories like victims and perpetrators, good and evil, guilt and its consequences are assigned. Particularly interesting are the factors determining the resonance of a frame: the consistency of the construct of ideas, the plausibility based on congruence with actual events, the credibility of the articulators, and the salience, which in turn depends on three factors—namely on "centrality, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity."[75] Narrative fidelity refers to the ability of the frame to be linked to cultural circumstances, narratives, myths, and discourses. "Hypothetically, the greater the narrative fidelity of the proffered framings, the greater their salience and the

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aus der Sphäre der Subjektivität heraus und legt es darauf an, aufzustacheln, mitzureißen, zu entflammen, was ihm, wo Elemente der Unzufriedenheit vorhanden sind, bei der Kraft seines Ausdruckes und der Lebhaftigkeit seines Wortes nicht allzu schwer werden dürfte."

72 See Biermann: "Gefährliche Literatur," which assigns only a symptomatic role to literature from the perspective of systems theory.

73 Thomas Kern: Soziale Bewegungen: Ursachen, Wirkungen, Mechanismen. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2008, 13: "[…] die bürgerlich-emanzipatorischen Bewegungen, die gegen die Herrschaftsordnung des Absolutismus rebellierten und damit die Abkehr von religiös legitimierten Autoritäten einleiteten."

74 Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow: Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. In: Annual Review of Sociology 26 (2000), 611–639, here 614.

75 Ibid., 621.

greater the prospect of mobilization."[76] The conclusion is that "activists are not able to construct and impose on their intended targets any version of reality they would like."[77] This means that while texts do not possess immediate and irresistible imitational appeal, they do shape the world view, connect to existing impressions and stances, and fight antagonistic frames—that is, they strive to become master frames.[78]

Although the collective action frame theory negates the possibility of simple inducement, it makes plausible the notion that ideas, instructions for action, and their propagation are capable of changing awareness and indirectly initiating social changes. It also follows from this theory, however, that individual acts of reading have significantly less impact than collective reception that is potentially accompanied by exchange, discussion, and the development of action concepts (for example in a reader circle, salon, or theater).

Censorship apparently expects literary communication to work without problems, meaning that readers realize the meaning of a text intended by the author (and/or assumed by the censors) and react to it appropriately. In other words, it assumes the worst possible interpretation and impact as seen from its own perspective. Furthermore, by anticipating the harmful effects of a text, censorship invariably asserts its own ability to unambiguously determine the precise meaning of that text; on the other hand, however, it has to constantly live with the possibility of having overlooked hidden meanings and references.

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As explained at the end of Section 1.1., this study deals with formal, institutional censorship authorized by the state and the Catholic Church. The more recent approaches to censorship in the disciplines of literary studies and cultural studies as represented by Foucault, Barthes, Butler, Jameson, and others mentioned in our overview of theoretical concepts will therefore only play a marginal role in the following. These scholars' models, which view censorship as an inescapable concomitant phenomenon of all linguistic expression, are primarily geared to modern, democratic-pluralistic societies. The concept of censorship encountered in sociology and political science, however, is largely appropriate when referring to conscious monitoring and prohibition, to institutionally organized and state-mandated interventions into free speech and artistic expression. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Austria, censorship

76 Ibid., 622.
77 Ibid., 625.
78 Cf. Kern: Soziale Bewegungen, 149–152.

served to discipline subjects and preserve the old monarchic order along with its political, religious, and moral principles and norms. The reconstruction of the main lines of historical development of censorship institutions and procedures will therefore be followed by a delineation of the imposed prohibitions of printed works and interventions in plays, along with the motives for these proscriptions. Furthermore, the employed instruments and modalities of censorship, the guidelines for the censors in comparison with the writings that were actually banned (with the latter being broken down statistically), the impacts on the affected authors and publishers, and the resulting restriction of international literary transfer will likewise be scrutinized in detail.

CHAPTER 2

In the Service of the Enlightenment: Censorship between 1751 and 1791

The beginning of this epoch of Austrian censorship history is denoted by the pioneering establishment of a permanent Censorship Commission by Empress Maria Theresa in 1751, an act that lastingly institutionalized and codified censorship for the first time. The accession of Emperor Francis II in 1792 marked the start of a new era with principles of previously unheard-of strictness and a massive increase in the number of proscriptions. The period of roughly forty years discussed in this chapter can in turn be divided into a phase of comparatively stern censorship and frequent banning of works during the reign of Maria Theresa followed by the Josephinian decade and the brief annex of the government of Emperor Leopold II, which lasted not quite two years and saw a considerable easing of pressure and a more liberal censorial approach. In keeping with the categories used by Wögerbauer et al. for censorship in Bohemia, we may thus speak of a shift from a paternalistic to a liberal system of censorship. The latter was subsequently slowly transformed back into a paternalistic-authoritarian system whose foundations were laid in 1792 and which was fully implemented around 1795.[1]

1 What Went Before: Censorship in the Early Modern Period

The first proscription of a book in the German-speaking area appears to have been declared by the bishop of Würzburg in 1482. The archbishop of Mainz Berthold von Henneberg introduced ecclesiastic precensorship in 1486, and in November 1487 the pope promulgated a bull "contra Impressores Librorum Reprobatorum." Represented by its bishops, the Catholic Church also controlled the trading of books by booksellers and colporteurs as well as individual book ownership by means of regular visitations.[2] The first known banning of

1 Michael Wögerbauer, Petr Píša, Petr Šámal, Pavel Janáček et al.: V obecném zájmu: Cenzura a sociální regulace literatury v moderní české kultuře 1749–2014 (In the Public Interest: Censorship and the Social Regulation of Literature in Modern Czech Culture, 1749–2014). 2 vols. Prague: Academia—Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR 2015, here vol. 2, 1555.

2 On the early history of censorship, cf. Ulrich Eisenhardt: Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buch-

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a book by an emperor occurred in 1512 and applied to a work by Johannes Reuchlin, the second was the proscription of the writings of Martin Luther in 1521.[3] In the same year, in an edict dated May 8, Emperor Charles V tasked the governments of the individual lands with the precensorship of all writings to be put to print—a provision that would remain in place until the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Archduke Ferdinand issued a prohibition on the reproduction and trafficking of the treatises of Luther and his followers for the Austrian lands in 1523; this decree is considered the first genuinely Austrian censorship measure.[4] It was amended in 1527 and extended to other heretical movements—especially the Anabaptists. In the following year, three "heretics" were burned at the stake for violations. Visitations, usually by clerics, remained the primary monitoring instrument; since the corresponding state authorities were still not fully developed, however, all citizens were called upon to be vigilant regarding heretical propaganda and denounce wrongdoers.[5] Starting in 1528, printing presses could only be established in state capitals; the production and dissemination of heretical writings was punishable by drowning.[6] Lampoons and libelous writings became a focus of censorial interest in 1559, with a separate decree forbidding their production and distribution.[7] Following a period of greater clemency under Maximilian II, Archduke Ernest tightened the censorial screws once more, leading to numerous book burnings during the late sixteenth century. 10,000 Lutheran books are said to have been incinerated in Graz in the year 1600.[8]

The foundation of the imperial authority in matters of books and the press was the so-called *Bücherregal* (regalian right regarding books), a monopoly the emperor later shared with the territorial rulers. It included the right to grant printing privileges (Privilegia impressoria) protecting authors and/or publishers against unauthorized reproductions. In 1597, a permanent Imperial Book Commission was established in Frankfurt, the site of the semiannual book fair.

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druck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1496–1806). Karlsruhe: Müller 1970; for Vienna, cf. also Theodor Wiedemann: Die kirchliche Bücher-Censur in der Erzdiöcese Wien. Nach den Acten des Fürsterzbischöflichen Consistorial-archives in Wien. In: Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen 50 (1873), 215–520.

3 Cf. Fischer: Deutsche Kommunikationskontrolle, 24.

4 Cf. mandate relating to "Sectischer Bücher-Verbott" issued by Archduke Ferdinand of Austria on 3/12/1523. Cited in Adolph Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur vom Zeitalter der Reformazion bis auf die Gegenwart. Stuttgart: Krabbe 1847, 22–24.

5 Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 22–34.

6 Cf. ibid., 38.

7 See ibid., 46.

8 Cf. Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 58.

This commission was responsible for the censorial monitoring of new publications by inspecting bookstores and fair booths, verifying the assigned privileges, listing suspicious books, and requesting statutory copies for examination. The booksellers objected to this surveillance, however, and refused to enter their books into the fair catalogues and submit depositary copies.

The *Sanctio pragmatica* of 1623 delegated censorship in (Lower) Austria to the University of Vienna. Since the Jesuits occupied most of the chairs of religion and philosophy in the Catholic lands, they handled the censorship of manuscripts and books in these disciplines, which translated into extreme rigor regarding Protestant writings. The Church and the secular governments thus began to share the task of censorship; religious treatises dominated the book market until well into the eighteenth century anyway, and the most important political concern was maintaining the religious peace. In Austria, this primarily meant the prevention or obstruction of "sectarian"—meaning Protestant—writings.

The measures to prevent the dissemination of Protestant treatises, which continued until the end of Maria Theresa's reign as did the deportations of Protestants, included monitoring of the colporteurs ("book carriers"), who had to obtain permission from the *Religionskonzess*, an agency of the territorial government, and have their goods approved for sale; violations resulted in seizure and/or incarceration, with denunciations being rewarded.[9] At least in Bohemia, with its original share of 80 to 90 percent Protestants among the population and accordingly radical forced reconfessionalization following Ferdinand II's victory in the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, trade in forbidden books was punishable by death until the issuance of Joseph's Patent of Toleration in 1781. The death penalty was likely not applied often, however.

> In 1726, a rescript of Emperor Charles VI codified penalties for heresy, which had become a crime against the state in 1627. Such sanctions ranged from death for the seller of books (a "seducer" of the conscience) to forced labour, most commonly on the lands of the local lord or in the city holding the prisoner, or exile, or service in the galleys.[10]

In 1752 and 1754, all Upper Austrian households were prompted to have their books authorized by way of the local parish priest's signature under threat of

9 These regulations were confirmed in 1759 and 1761; cf. Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern, 341.

10 Ducreux: Reading unto Death, 197–198.

fines, detention, or forced labor for every forbidden book found.[11] As mentioned in Section 1.4., inheritance inventories were also examined for banned literature, with any discovered "sectarian" works usually being publicly burned—or occasionally subjected to other drastic gestures of disdain and damnation, like whipping in the church pulpit.[12]

Since systematic surveillance of the distribution of books could be assured neither in the religious nor in the political segment, the state's measures were limited to the symbolic burning of a single copy of banned writs, destroyed as a proxy for the author respectively the spirit of his work. The first known "book execution" by a headsman, an act indicating that the author was being burned in effigy, was the incineration of a pamphlet offending the honor of the officers involved in the Battle of St. Gotthard and Mogersdorf against the Ottomans (especially that of Count Raimondo Montecuccoli) and considered untruthful. When Montecuccoli's reputation reached a low point in 1668 owing to suspicions of embezzlement of war funds, threatening the conferral of the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece on him by the court in Madrid, the pamphlet was banned in order to "shut the people's mouths quickly" ("den Leuten das Maul bald stopfen") in the words of Emperor Leopold I.[13]

Sometimes a book and its author were burned together to increase the effectiveness of the measure. The Moravian preacher and visionary Mikuláš Drabík, a former companion of Jan Amos Comenius and an aged man of 84 years at the time, was executed in Pressburg in 1671 for blasphemous prophesying and anti-Habsburg apocalyptic visions together with the volume *Lux in tenebris* he had co-authored with Comenius, Christoph Kotter, and Christina Poniatowska. In effect, Drabík had expressed his hope for an Ottoman victory over Austria with a subsequent partitioning of the empire and deliverance of the Protestants from the Catholic yoke, which was interpreted as high treason. The drastic details of the execution were that "his right hand (with which he dared to write the abovementioned blasphemous ungodly subterfuge and skullduggery) shall be cut off besides his head, thereafter his blasphemous tongue torn out and tacked to the pillory, the torso, head, and hand taken out to the place of execution and burned there with his blasphemous writings and books, and thus taken from life to death, so that his memory might be erased from the world—

11 See Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern, 343. Similar measures were taken against underground Protestant literature in the territory of the Prince-Bishopric of Salzburg, which was not part of the Habsburg Monarchy during the 18th century (cf. Heydemann: Abwehr schädlicher Bücher).

12 Cf. the evidence in Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern, 344.

13 Cited according to Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 161.

for him as his deserved punishment, and for others who would commit similar misdeeds as a horror and spectacle."[14] The pathos implied in the destruction by fire and the notion of a direct connection to higher powers manifest therein are visualized in the frontispiece of the 1711 edition of the Roman Index: In it, the Holy Spirit sends the clerics serving as censors energy, which reflects off them to ignite the fire that destroys the books carrying evil (see Figure 1).

A further book burning in the eighteenth century is documented for Teschen in Silesia, where a consignment of 52 Protestant books sent by bookseller Weidmann in Leipzig and destined for the Lutheran community was seized and incinerated in 1714. In keeping with the Altranstädt Agreement of 1707, in which the emperor had guaranteed the Silesian Protestants freedom of faith, tolerance should have been applied in regard to Protestant literature—but the Jesuit experts tasked with assessing the books had considered them disgraceful and scandalous, whereupon the governor Count Tenczin had them picked up from the town hall, examined, and counted "on 14 August 1714 as his birthday." The report goes on to state that Tenczin "had [them] carried by 4 executioners to the pillory and a fire piled up around five steps from it, thereupon the executioner burned first the small books, then the larger ones, each on a wooden fork, But before this all manner of ceremonies with executioner's patter, tearing off of the frontispieces of the Lutheran Christians and abusive behavior by the spectators, which execution lasted from 10 until 2 o'clock, and the Lord Count attended from beginning to end, Whereby much mockery was practiced and the bibles, Formula Concordiae were heavily ridiculed especially by the Jesuit students. The executioner finally took the ashes to the knackeryard and poured them into the water flowing nearby, the school beadle Mevius, who had ordered the books, after having to witness the execution, was banished from the Imperial lands together with his family."[15] The objectionable writings were col-

14 "[S]eine rechte Hand (womit er obengemeldete gotteslästerliche gottlose list und betrügereyen zu schreiben unterstanden hat) nebenst dem kopff abgeschlogen [werden] soll, darnach seine gotteslästerliche zunge ausreissen, und dieselbe an den gack hefften, den rumpff, haupt und hand zu dem hochgerichte ausführen, und allda mit seinen gotteslästerlichen schrifften und büchern verbrennen, und also vom leben zum tode bringen, auf daß seine gedächtniß von der welt mag vertilget werden, ihm zu seiner verdienten straffe, und andern zum schrecken und schauspiel, die dergleichen übelthaten begehen möchten." Cited according to Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 170.

15 "4 Henkers Knechte an den Pranger bey einem ohngefähr fünf Schritte von demselben gemachten Feuer schleppen ließ, da denn der Henkers-Knecht erstlich die kleinen Bücher jedes auf einer hölzernen Gabel, hernach die größeren verbrannt, Zuvor aber allerley Ceremonien mit Henkers Sprüchen, Abreißung derer Kupferstiche derer Lutherischen Christlichen und schimpfliche Art derer Zuschauer gemacht, welche execution von 10 bis 2 Uhr gewähret, und der Herr Graff von Anfang bis zu Ende beygewohnet, Dabey

FIGURE 1 Frontispiece of the papal *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1711

insonderheit von den Jesuiter Schülern viel Gespött getrieben und die Bibeln, Formula Concordiae sehr verhöhnet worden. Der Henker habe endlich die Asche auf den Schinder Anger geführet und selbige in das dabey fließende Wasser geschüttet, der Schulbediente Mevius, so die Bücher verschrieben, da er erstlich der execution beywohnen müssen, sey mit seiner Familie der Kayserlichen Lande verwiesen worden". [Friedrich] K.[app]: Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Bücherpolizei. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels 8 (1883), 303–309, here 304–305. Cf. also Friedrich Her-

lections of sermons, postils, edifying literature, bibles, prayer books, and the like as well as several works whose authors the contemporary commentator classified as "controversists."

The regular book trade was not the only source of forbidden "sectarian" literature, however. Visitations of illegal colporteurs and Protestant households by pastors and missionaries also routinely revealed standard works that had often been handed down over multiple generations. These books were likewise seized and burned at the place of execution, in front of the town hall, on markets or in cemeteries, or—particularly tauntingly from the Protestants' perspective—outside the Church after Sunday mass.[16] It is only in an imperial edict of 1715 that political writings and pasquinades attacking the government and the laws of the Holy Roman Empire or individual persons are mentioned for the first time.[17] The fact that theology was beginning to lose ground on the book market and secular authority was being discussed more and more frequently entailed a shift in censorship competencies in favor of the state. In addition, the worldly rulers increasingly felt competent regarding the salvation of their subjects. Since the spiritual authorities—primarily the pope, the bishops, and the Jesuits at the universities—had no intention of giving up this responsibility voluntarily, however, a dispute about the power of censorship ensued that would last the entirety of the eighteenth century. The prevailing jumble of duties and competencies meant that this conflict was fought in various settings. The mentioned ecclesiastic entities were opposed by the emperor and the territorial rulers, respectively in Vienna by the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancellery and the Lower Austrian government.

The examination of manuscripts associated with the bestowal of printing privileges was still in the hands of the university, while the monitoring of the book trade in the shape of visitations of stationary bookstores and markets as well as the inspection of book imports at the borders were shared between the university and the state. The state governments established book auditing commissions for this purpose, beginning with the ones for Bohemia in Prague in 1723 and for Inner Austria in Graz in 1732.[18]

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mann Meyer: Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Bücherpolizei III. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels 14 (1891), 366–370.

16 See Scheutz: Das Licht aus den geheimnisvollen Büchern, 344; Scheutz provides a compact overview of the Protestant canon of literature frowned upon by censorship: ibid., 330–340.

17 See Fischer: Deutsche Kommunikationskontrolle, 38, and Siemann: Ideenschmuggel, 85.

18 In 1772, Van Swieten also mentions censorial offices in cities like Innsbruck, Olmütz, Brünn, and Linz in his report to the empress; cf. Gerard van Swieten: Quelques remarques sur la censure des livres (February 14, 1772). Cited in August Fournier: Gerhard van

The starting point for the long-standing conflict between state and university was a decree issued by Emperor Charles VI in 1725 that required the university censors to submit their verdicts concerning political writings to the court for final judgment. The decree of January 11, 1730 prescribing the general precensorship of books and especially of "newspapers," meaning all forms of news communication, was similarly diffuse. Furthermore, the printer's shops and the book trade were to be monitored by book inspectors in the service of the state governments (postcensorship) in the sense of review of all books found on location, respectively of catalogues of books to be compiled by the booksellers. The court was to be informed and asked for advice in all cases of doubt.[19] Interpreting this as an outright abolishment of censorship by the university would be excessive, but it was certainly a first massive step in shifting censorial power to the state. The convoluted competencies still needed to be disentangled, however.

In late 1729, the *Österreichischer Schreib-Calender auf das Jahr 1730* (Austrian Writing Calendar for the Year 1730), produced in Krems by printer Johann Jakob Kopitz, appeared at the Viennese St. Catherine's Fair. An addendum to this calendar entitled "von Hungarischen und Sübenbürgischen Geschichten" (Of Hungarian and Transylvanian Affairs) contained indiscreet reports about conflicts between the estates and the Viennese court concerning tax privileges for the nobility. These texts cast the Transylvanian estates in an unfavorable light, claiming that they had behaved unbecomingly and disrespectfully towards their territorial ruler. As the Palatine of Hungary stated in his complaint, this had besmirched the honor of the entire nation.[20] The responsible printer's shop was closed down in punishment, and copies of the calendar were publicly burned by executioners in Vienna, Krems, and Pressburg on January 28, 1730 to restore the damaged honor.[21]

The system of censorship was not prepared for such problems. The university as well as the state government and the court each considered writings pertaining to the "politicum" to fall into its respective competency, with the Lower Austrian government's interpretation of the situation in fact being that

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Swieten als Censor. In: Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 84 (1876), 3. Heft. Vienna: Gerold 1877, 387–466, here 466.

19 Censur der Bücher. In: Sammlung Oesterreichischer Gesetze und Ordnungen, wie solche von Zeit zu Zeit ergangen und publiciret worden, so viel deren vom Jahr 1721. Bis auf Höchst traurigen Tod-Fall Der Römisch-Kayserlichen Majestät Caroli VI. aufzubringen waren. Gesammlet, und in diese Ordnung gebracht, von Sebastian Gottlieb Herrenleben. Vienna: Trattner 1752, 615–617.

20 Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 394.

21 Cf. Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 191–197.

it had to inspect all written matter.[22] Without concrete suggestions for a reorganization of censorship, however, the distribution of agendas between the university and the state government remained unchanged for the time being.

A further treatise causing some commotion appeared in Prague in 1748: the *Historische und Geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Böheim* (Historical and Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Freiburg 1742; 2nd edition Frankfurt and Leipzig 1746) published under the pseudonym Rochezang von Isecern.[23] It included a critical examination of the awarding of the Bohemian vote for the election of Emperor Charles VII to Maria Theresa, whose franchise was a point of much contention, as well as reports on the ongoing war activities. Since the atmosphere in Bohemia was already heated and the government feared an eruption of peasant revolts, the book was burned in Vienna in November 1749 and its author's name displayed on the gallows.[24] Shortly thereafter, a book entitled *Lettres d'un Seigneur Hollandois à un de ses amis* (Letters from a Dutch Lord to One of His Friends) and challenging Maria Theresa's right of succession turned up in Vienna.[25] Each of these cases had to be treated individually and the respective verdict proclaimed by way of a decree, which meant a very cumbersome process; the need to introduce an efficient system of censorship increased. Furthermore, the establishment of modern administrative structures was observable in all the European absolute monarchies during the mid-eighteenth century—for example in France and the German states. Such modern bureaucracies commonly included a censorial surveillance apparatus characterized by professionality and division of labor, as well as by regulations codifying the censorship process and a system of record documentation. The ousting of the ecclesiastical institutions from the censorship procedure as witnessed in Austria was an integral part of these bureaucratic reforms and the path to development of modern statehood.[26]

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22 Carl von Gebler: Zur Censurgeschichte in Oesterreich. In: Literaturblatt (Wien) 1 (1877), no. 11, October 22, 145–150, here 146, claims that a first censorship commission headed by Count Türheim was established as early as 1730, with the university tasked with employing clerical and secular censors and submitting their verdicts to the state authorities. There is no further evidence or information regarding this commission, however.

23 Fournier mentions Johann Ehrenfried Zschackwitz as the author; the jurist Johann Jakob Moser from Frankfurt/Oder is also a possible candidate (cf. Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 220 and 224).

24 See Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 223.

25 Cf. Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 403–404.

26 Cf. Christine Haug: "Literatur aus dem Giftschrank"—Kontexte und Mythen. Buchmarkt und zensurpolitische Strategien im literarischen Untergrund im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Ein Forschungsbericht. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 71 (2016), 185–226, here 187–188 and 193.

2 The Censorship Commission under Maria Theresa

A new central agency for the political administration of the Habsburg Monarchy was created in 1749: the *Directorium in Publicis et Cameralibus*, which also assumed responsibility for organizing censorship. The Directorium's recommendation was to establish a new *Bücher-Censurs-Hofcommission* (Court Book Censorship Commission), which would leave the power of censorship concerning theological and philosophical books with the university while assigning the remaining disciplines to secular censors. This suggestion reflected the fact that theology still dominated the book market and the production of political, historical, and juridical literature was marginal in Austria in contemporary assessments: According to the printers, there were "no other writers besides five or six clerical and roughly a few secular ones" ("außer fünf oder sechs Geistlichen und etwa ein paar Weltlichen keine anderen Scribenten") in Vienna in 1751.[27]

Gerard van Swieten, who coordinated and implemented these recommendations, can be considered the originator of Maria Theresa's censorship reform. He represents the archetype of the Austrian censor belonging to the old genus of polyhistors that was dying out at the end of the eighteenth century. The first president of the Censorship Commission was Count Franz Josef Saurau, who was soon succeeded by Count Johann Chotek. The fields of theology and philosophy were handled by the Jesuits as designated; two professors of the Faculty of Law, Ignaz Aigner and Johann Adam Penz, were assigned to jurisprudence; Van Swieten himself, who also assumed the Commission presidency in 1759, censored in the discipline of medicine; and the historical and political writings as well as public law were covered by professors of the Savoyan and Theresian Academies (Christian August Beck, Paul Joseph Riegger, and Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi).[28] Van Swieten was soon able to wrest the areas of philosophy

27 Cf. Grete Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der Zensur in der theresianischen Reform. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1970, 144. Presumably based on the same source, Pezzl assumes only "five or six authorially active citizens" ("fünf oder sechs schriftstellerisch tätige Bürger") within the city in the year 1751; Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien: Ein Kultur- und Sittenbild aus der josefinischen Zeit mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Register hg. v. Gustav Gugitz und Anton Schlossar. Graz: Leykam 1923 (1st edition 1786–1790), 61.

28 Cf. Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 161, and Franz Hadamowsky: Ein Jahrhundert Literatur- und Theaterzensur in Österreich (1751–1848). In: Herbert Zeman (ed.): Die Österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert (1750–1830). Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1979. Part 1, 289–305, here 290.

and the *materies mixtae* (roughly: belles-lettres) from the competency of the Jesuits. In addition, he successfully derided the Jesuit practice of objecting to "nudity" in books on anatomy[29] and subsequently also took over the censorship of natural science treatises. The last remaining Jesuit was eliminated from the Commission in 1764. Although the Jesuit members were replaced by subordinates of the archbishop of Vienna, the secular state faction had won an important victory in the fight for censorial dominance. As Van Swieten emphasized, the archbishop could suggest the clerical members of the Commission, but the empress had to confirm them.[30]

The censorship reform represented part of Maria Theresa's well-known sweeping administrative and constitutional reforms that established a modern state administration. In keeping with Enlightenment ideals, censorship was primarily intended to counter ignorance and superstition. Moreover, "[t]he old forms of mores and customs, which appeared profane and coarse in the eyes of the proponents of the Enlightenment, could also be altered with the help of censorship." Censorship thus served for "the diffusion of modern, more rigorous morals and the refinement of manners."[31] What may sound like pure idealism in the sense of improvement of humanity also promoted more concrete interests, however: The modern state required responsible, independent, and above all well-informed citizens and economic subjects. A moderate reform Catholicism (that is, Jansenism) was therefore tolerated or even facilitated, while Jesuit writings were forbidden beginning in 1759—especially as they were said to condone regicide.[32] The scandal surrounding Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* (1748) is characteristic for the waning influence of the Jesuits: The latter had forbidden the book in 1750 and continued to fight it in the Censorship Commission, but the majority of the Commission's members supported its approval. Even Montesquieu himself, who maintained close contacts with influential Viennese figures since his visit to the city, intervened on his own behalf. He wrote to the French envoy in Vienna that a prohibition there would heavily damage the impact of his work considering the great prestige of the Viennese court

29 Cf. Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 172.

30 Cf. Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 462.

31 Grete Klingenstein: Van Swieten und die Zensur. In: Erna Lesky and Adam Wandruszka (eds.): Gerard van Swieten und seine Zeit. Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau 1973, 93–106, here 104: "Auch konnten mit Hilfe der Zensur die alten Formen von Sitten und Gebräuchen verändert werden, die in den Augen der Aufklärer derb und roh schienen. […] der Verbreitung einer modernen, rigoroseren Moral und der Verfeinerung der Umgangsformen."

32 Cf. Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 106–115.

under Maria Theresa.[33] After some delay, the empress eventually decided in favor of the book's approval in 1752.[34]

The reorganization of censorship also put an end to official book burnings. Nevertheless, books were occasionally burned on imperial orders, for example in Frankfurt in 1766 in the case of a blasphemous work by Henri-Joseph Laurens entitled *Chandelle d'Arras*[35] or in the Austrian Netherlands.[36] In Pressburg, i.e. in Hungary, a work by the title of *Vexatio dat intellectum* was burned in 1765 at the instigation of the Viennese court. The book was a response to a treatise by Franz Adam Kollár in which the author had made unwelcome suggestions to the Hungarian estates concerning the curtailment of their privileges.[37]

Non-public burnings are also reported, for instance in 1769 on order of Joseph II[38] or within Van Swieten's Censorship Commission, where seized books were usually torn up; whether one or the other volume perhaps ended up in the fireplace of the prefecture in the court library or in Van Swieten's apartment[39] instead made no significant difference. One henceforth only spoke very matter-of-factly of the "eradication" ("Vertilgung") of books. Since paper was still rarely being reused—at most as packaging material or maculature—there was no practical reason not to burn a book from time to time. The times of ritual public incineration by the executioner, however, were brought to an end by the advancing Enlightenment and the associated rationalization of all areas of life.

In his memorandum *Quelques remarques sur la censure des livres* (Some Remarks on the Censorship of Books) of 1772, Van Swieten listed the most important motives for censorship. His point of departure was the diagnosis that "pernicious books" ("livres pernicieux") had proliferated quickly. In the area of religion, deism had gained ground, the Protestants challenged the pope's authority, indulgence was being preached, superstition abounded, and the Jesuits were proclaiming the absolute power of the pope over all the faithful and their property, including that of the secular rulers. Scientific books

33 Cf. Justus Schmidt: Voltaire und Maria Theresia. Französische Kultur des Barock in ihren Beziehungen zu Österreich. In: Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 11 (1931), 73–115, here 83–84.

34 Cf. Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 177–178.

35 Cf. Rafetseder: Bücherverbrennungen, 229 and 238.

36 See ibid., 252–257.

37 Cf. ibid., 247–250.

38 See Eisenhardt: Die kaiserliche Aufsicht, 115.

39 Friedrich Nicolai reports on the burning of books by the Viennese censors: Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781. Vol. 4. Berlin, Stettin: Nicolai 1784, 858–859.

written by Protestants, on the other hand, could be of great use and should be tolerated despite occasional anti-Catholic invectives. A staunchly faithful Catholic audience could not be made to waver by such contumeliousness, and in any case, the appropriate answers were delivered promptly by controversial theology. "Immoral books" ("livres impudiques") and images naturally had to be suppressed categorically, however—one of Van Swieten's primary concerns was the protection of the youth. His statements are an expression of the contradictions between apology and condemnation as well as of the associated self-contrariety that proponents of the Enlightenment entangled themselves in when they spoke about censorship; they are encountered in similar fashion in the works of Enlightenment figureheads like Leibniz, Wolff, Gottsched, and Kant.[40]

Until 1772, the Commission consisted of seven individuals. In 1767, it was composed of three clerics (Simon Ambros Stock, consistorial counselor to the archbishop; Anton Bernhard Gürtler, prelate of St. Stephan's; and Johann Peter Simen, capitular of St. Stephan's) and four secular members (Gerard van Swieten, president; Karl Anton Martini, professor of natural law at the University of Vienna; Johann Baptist de Gaspari, professor of history at the University of Vienna; and Johann Theodor von Gontier, licentiate of law).[41] Van Swieten remained president of the Commission until his death in June 1772, and besides publications from the fields of natural science and history, he also censored all fiction. Works by famous authors like Ariosto, Machiavelli, Lessing, Wieland, Fielding, Crébillon, Rousseau, and Voltaire did not meet with his approval. He is even said to have called Rousseau a "nasty individual" ("mauvais sujet") with reference to the novel *Émile* in a conversation with Friedrich Nicolai.[42] Voltaire retaliated for the numerous bans of his works with derisive verses aimed at Van Swieten that were printed in the *Épitre au roi de Danemarck Christian VII. sur la liberté de la presse accordée dans tous ses états* (1771). He described Van Swieten as a charlatan who had abandoned Hippocrates and, while very capable of killing patients, could never do the same to good books.

40 Cf. Haefs: Article "Zensur," 561.

41 Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 158.

42 Nicolai: Beschreibung einer Reise. Vol. 4, 854. Critical statements concerning Rousseau can be found in various sources, cf. the diaries of Count Zinzendorf (4/8/1763), who considered *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to be "more dangerous" ("plus dangereux") than Marmontel's *Contes moraux*; cited in Bachleitner, Eybl, and Fischer: Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich, 150.

A certain charlatan who has gained some credit
pretends that he alone possesses esprit.
This you will not achieve, apostate of Hippocrates;
you would sooner heal the exhalations of my spleen.
Go; cease torturing the living and the dead;
tyrant of my thinking, murderer of my body,
you may well prevent your sick from living,
you can kill them all, but not a good book;
you burn them, Jérome, and the flame of these condemned,
while illuminating me, blackens your villainous nose.[43]

Van Swieten despised creative writing, finding aesthetic literature useless, often even "evil, scandalous and godless" ("vilains, scandaleux, impies"),[44] a phrasing that may have been aimed directly at Voltaire. He therefore bemoaned the effort he had to put into reading such works, especially since he thought there was no lasting benefit to be reaped from doing so.

His censorship reports, which formed the foundation for the appraisals of the Commission, are collected in a codex written in difficult-to-decipher shorthand. Thanks to the efforts of E.C. van Leersum, they have been at least partially accessible since the early twentieth century.[45] The reason for Van Swieten's use of shorthand may have been to keep his comments secret from the other members of the Commission—especially the clerical ones. His notes cover a total of 3,120 works, of which 595 (or roughly one fifth) received the verdict "damnatur." Part of the huge amount of reading required for this workload was done by assistants, in particular by Johann Gottfried Quandt, the second curator of the court library from 1758, who perused 761 of the titles.[46] At Joseph von Sonnenfels' instigation, the censoring of theater plays was included in the Commission's agenda in 1770. Initially performed by Sonnenfels himself, this

43 Cited according to Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 425: "Un certain charlatan, qui s'est mis en crédit, / Prétend, qu'à son exemple, on n'ait jamais d'esprit. / Tu n'y parviendras pas, apostat d'Hippocrate: / Tu guérirais plutôt les vapeurs de ma rate. / Va, cesse de vexer les vivans et les morts; / Tyran de ma pensée, assassin de mon corps, / Tu peux bien empêcher les malades de vivre, / Tu peux les tuer tous, mais non pas un bon livre. / Tu les brûles, Jérôme; et de ces condamnés / La flamme en m'éclairant, noircit ton vilain nez."

44 See Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 464.

45 E.C. van Leersum: Gérard van Swieten en qualité de censeur. In: Janus. Archives internationales pour l'Histoire de la Médecine et la Géographie Médicale 11 (1906), 381–398, 446–469, 501–522, and 588–606.

46 Ibid., 395 and 397.

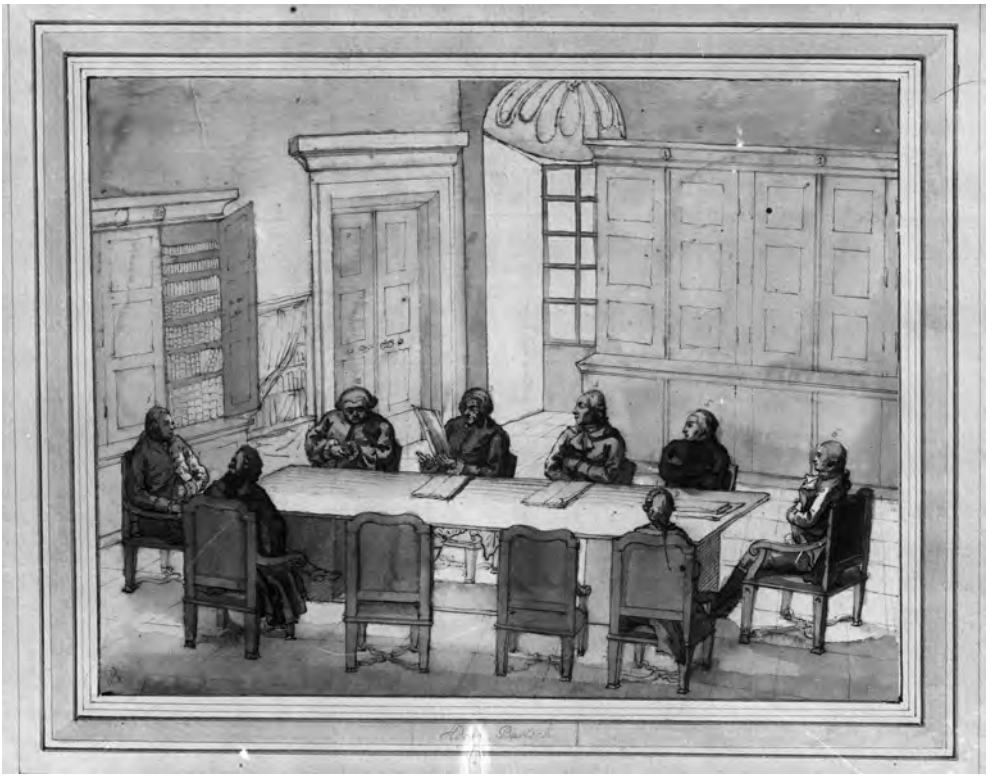

FIGURE 2 A session with Gottfried van Swieten in the Camera praefecti
DRAWING BY ADAM BARTSCH

field was later taken over by the Lower Austrian government councilor Franz Karl Hägelin, who also drafted detailed guidelines for the censorship of drama in 1795.[47]

The Commission met once a month, or more frequently if necessary, in Van Swieten's office (cf. Figure 2). The members reported on the new books that had been sent to them for review after having been delivered to the *Bücherrevisionsamt* (Book Review Office) via the customs authorities. Occasionally, certain relevant passages from individual works were read aloud before a vote was taken on the verdict. If the vote was unanimous, the case was closed and a decision in favor of prohibition forwarded to the empress (effectively, to the

47 Memorandum by Franz Karl Hägelin, intended as a guideline for the censorship of theater in Hungary (1795); cited in Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 7 (1897), 238–340, here 298–340.

Court Chancellery) for confirmation. In the case of a divided vote, the respective case was deferred so that all censors could read the work in question and make up their minds. If the subsequent vote was still not unanimous, the individual opinions were documented and passed on to Maria Theresa for her final decision. Lists of banned titles were compiled roughly every month and sent to the provinces; at the end of the year, they were collectively amended to the *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*. The Commission sessions also included a strange ritual in which the banned books seized from private individuals were "immediately torn to pieces and destroyed by all of the censors and himself [the Commission Secretary]."[48] Only theological and political literature was incorporated into the imperial respectively archiepiscopal library if it was not already included in the holdings. According to one of the many anecdotes on censorship circulating in the Protestant sphere, "half-forbidden books" ("halb verbotne Bücher")—presumably meaning works available to educated readers with appropriate Scheden—were not burned, but instead merely "singed" ("angebrannt") by the Viennese censorial authorities. Unsurprisingly, there is no proof of such activities.[49]

The secretary held an important position with extensive responsibilities. He spent most of his time in the Book Review Office, where the books arriving from abroad were stacked and checked for prohibited volumes. Unknown titles were likewise sorted out and assigned to the corresponding specialist censor for review. This task required proficiency in as many languages as possible. Van Swieten confirmed knowledge of German, French, Latin, English, Spanish, and Italian for secretary Grundner, who worked for the Commission in 1762.[50] The secretary was also involved in the approval of manuscripts: He received the two submitted copies of each work, passed one on to the censor and, in the event of a positive verdict by the latter, kept the second until the printing run was done in order to verify that the printed version corresponded to the approved manuscript.

Until the establishment of the Censorship Commission, information about the prohibition of individual writings had been propagated in the shape of a separate decree for each title. This process was protracted and inevitably led to

48 From a report to the Styrian government entitled "Kurze Nachricht von Einrichtung der hiesigen Hofbüchercommission"; cited in Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 419: "[…] von sammentlichen denen Censoribus und ihme [dem Sekretär der Kommission] sogleich in Stücke zerrissen und vertilget."

49 Jean Paul: Siebenkäs. In: Werke. Vol. 2. 4th ed. Munich: Hanser 1987, 18. Jean Paul's source is most likely Nicolai: Beschreibung einer Reise, vol. 4, 859. See below on the granting of Scheden.

50 Cf. Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 420.

errors and information gaps; it had been adequate only while the book market remained small and manageable. To eliminate its weaknesses, the continuously amended and updated *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum* was introduced in 1754. A total number of 4,701 prohibitions have been determined for the period from 1751 to 1780, equivalent to an average of 157 titles banned each year.[51] That the *Catalogus* itself was forbidden, as many claimed,[52] is not documented anywhere and should thus be considered doubtful.

The practice of distinguishing between the upper or educated classes and the mass audience went back to the 1760s. Special permissions or *Scheden* are first mentioned in Van Swieten's remarks on the organization of the Censorship Commission in 1762.[53] On October 4, 1766, a court decree stated that books containing only a few objectionable sentences should henceforth be allowed for use by educated readers.[54] In the same year, Christian Thomasius' work *Institutiones juris divini* was banned for the general public but remained accessible to scholars. "Professors are given just about everything," as Sonnenfels wrote to Christian Adolph Klotz in December 1768.[55] Similarly, C.M. Wieland's *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Natur und Bildung des menschlichen Herzens* (Contributions to the History of Nature and the Formation of the Human Heart) were not included in the *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum* but could be handed out by

51 Cf. Chapter 2.4. on statistics. The source is the database "Verdrängt, verpönt—vergessen?" (http://univie.ac.at/zensur).

52 The prohibition of the *Catalogus* was alleged by contemporaries, e.g. in Anton Friedrich Büsching's periodical Wöchentliche Nachrichten von neuen Landcharten, geographischen, statistischen und historischen Büchern und Schriften 5 (1777), 302: "Censorship has forbidden the catalogum librorum prohibitorum so that those who seek good books cannot use it as orientation." ("Die Censur hat den catalogum librorum prohibitorum verboten, damit diejenigen, welche gute Bücher suchen, sich nicht nach demselben richten mögen.") Friedrich Nicolai refers to this source in his travelogue (Beschreibung einer Reise, vol. 4, 858); references to it also appear in Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 421, in Heinrich Hubert Houben: Verbotene Literatur von der klassischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart: Ein kritisch-historisches Lexikon über verbotene Bücher, Zeitschriften und Theaterstücke, Schriftsteller und Verleger. Vol. 1. Berlin: Rowohlt 1924 (reprint Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Olms 1992), 97, in Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität, 201, and many others.

53 "Kurze Nachricht von Einrichtung der hiesigen Hofbüchercommission," February 1762. In: Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 418–420; see appendix, pp. 365–366.

54 Mentioned and paraphrased in Jean-Pierre Lavandier: Le livre au temps de Marie-Thérèse: Code des lois de censure du livre pour les pays austro-bohémiens (1740–1780). Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang 1993, 90.

55 Cited in Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 423: "Professoren wird so ziemlich alles in die Hand gegeben." The quote goes back to: Briefe von Sonnenfels: Als Beitrag zu seiner Biographie. Ed. Hermann Rollett. Vienna: Braumüller 1874, 11.

booksellers only to scholars or to persons showing a corresponding permit.[56] Members of the highest social circles generally did not even need to apply for Scheden; they used informal channels instead. Count Karl Zinzendorf, for example, noted in his diary how he had boxes full of forbidden books delivered from Frankfurt, Leipzig, and by ship from Marseille during his time as governor of Trieste, that is between 1777 and 1780.

> Austrian and foreign diplomats brought new publications in their messenger baggage, while very strictly forbidden books like the pamphlets against Marie Antoinette were given to him by Head Chamberlain Rosenberg, who had gotten them from the emperor himself. Even during the war against France, in November 1792, Zinzendorf received a box with revolutionary literature directly from Paris.[57]

After his death in 1772, Van Swieten was succeeded as president of the Commission by court counselor Gottfried von Koch. The office was subsequently taken over by Count Lanthieri in 1773 and by Count Leopold Clary in 1778. Since Sonnenfels had also been dismissed again quickly, a relatively conservative spirit dominated in the Commission during the final years of Maria Theresa's rule. On March 21, 1772, the old "Bücher-Censur-Commission" made up of members of the university, the magistrate, and the episcopal consistory and respecting the will of the archbishop of Vienna was dissolved, and a new Censorship Commission conceived as a pure council of public officers was established. This new body, which would remain active until 1781, consisted of twelve members.[58] Even theological manuscripts now had to undergo the secular, state-regulated censorship process. The archbishop protested, but he was ignored and sub-

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56 Cf. Friedrich Walter: Die zensurierten Klassiker: Neue Dokumente theresianisch-josephinischer Zensur. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 29 (1930), 142–147, here 144.

57 Cited according to Hans Wagner: Historische Lektüre vor der Französischen Revolution—aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf. In: Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 71 (1963), 140–156, here 148: "Österreichische und ausländische Diplomaten brachten Neuerscheinungen im Kuriergepäck mit, ganz streng verbotene Bücher wie etwa die Pamphlete gegen Marie Antoinette ließ ihm der Oberstkämmerer Rosenberg, der sie vom Kaiser selbst bekommen hatte. Noch mitten im Krieg gegen Frankreich, im November 1792, hat Zinzendorf eine Kiste mit Revolutionsliteratur direkt aus Paris erhalten."

58 According to the court schematics of 1774, the new members were: Johann Michael von Birkenstock, Johann Böhm, Franz Karl von Hägelin, Karl Kaspar, Constantin Franz von Kauz, Johann Caspar Graf von Lanthieri, Carl Anton von Martini, Werner Joseph Praitenacher von Praitenau, Anton Störck, Joseph Stromayr, Joachim Bernhard Wilkowitz, and Marx Anton Wittola.

sequently practiced "postcensorship and always submitted the results of his efforts in the most extensive fashion to the government, generally to the cabinet."[59] The archives of the Archdiocese of Vienna contain numerous protests against the approval of irreligious or non-dogmatic works—and vice versa against the prohibition of literature that the archbishop considered suitable.[60]

Under Koch's presidency, the office of censor was professionalized, ending the practice of censors fulfilling their role purely voluntarily and unsalaried. The members of the Commission henceforth received allowances respectively remuneration in the amount of 300 to 500 guilders.[61] Like most of the reforms of the censorial organization, however, this plan can also be traced back to its *spiritus rector* Van Swieten: In a letter to the empress on February 24, 1772, he had emphasized the huge effort required for censorship and suggested appropriate recompense for the censors.[62]

3 The Josephinian-Leopoldinian Era

Josephinism has been defined as the Austrian variant of enlightened absolutism. The young and ambitious monarch continued the reforms begun by his mother, but his measures for restricting the influence of the Church and the religious orders were far more radical: Whereas Maria Theresa had carefully facilitated Jansenist reform Catholicism, her son attempted to completely secularize the state. One of the problems encountered by the reform plans was the antagonism between the impeding forces among the nobility and the estates on the one hand and the emerging middle classes on the other, who demanded the liberalization of the administration and economy, asserting freedom and equality as inherent rights. Joseph supported these demands and occasionally used wordings like the following that are astonishing coming from an eighteenth-century monarch:

59 Cited according to Wiedemann: Die kirchliche Bücher-Censur, 296: "[…] Nachcensur und legte das Resultat seiner Mühe stets in der umfangreichsten Weise der Regierung, in der Regel dem Cabinete vor."

60 That the secularization of censorship was the principal thrust of the censorship reforms implemented by Maria Theresa and especially Joseph is evidenced inter alia by the fierce resistance of the Ultramontanists to Van Swieten's censorship reforms in the Austrian Netherlands; cf. André Puttemans: La censure dans les pays-bas autrichiens. Brussels: Palais des académies 1935.

61 Cf. Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 446.

62 Printed in ibid., 457–466, here 464.

> We inherit from our parents only the animalistic life, in which there is not the slightest difference between king, count, burgher, and peasant. The talents and intellectual gifts we receive from our Creator, the vices or virtues can be attributed to good or bad upbringing and to the examples that we observe.[63]

Further Josephinian achievements were the abolition of torture as well as reforms of the university, the theaters, the regulations for church services and funerals, and many more. The individual's sense of duty and responsibility was to be strengthened—not least for the benefit of the state itself and its performance potential. Specialist knowledge and private initiative within the economy were to be fostered and privileges and monopolies dismantled so as to safeguard the state's economic independence against external influences in the spirit of mercantilism. Feudalism, old institutions such as guilds designed to protect certain industries or trades against overpopulation, and paternalism by the Church had no place in this concept. On the other hand, new publishing houses, printer's shops, and booksellers were welcomed as promoters of the Enlightenment and contributors to the state's income. Joseph viewed the book industry as a branch of commerce like any other, notoriously comparing it to trade in cheese:

> Whosoever purchases letters, ink, paper, and a press can print, like knitting stockings, and whosoever manufactures or purchases printed books can sell them, but all must conform most precisely to the public police and censorship laws. […] But in order to sell books, he needs no other knowledge than to sell cheese, namely that each man must procure the types of books or cheese that are most sought after, and tease and captivate the desire of the audience through his prices.[64]

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63 Memorandum by Emperor Joseph about the state of the Austrian monarchy [1765]. In: Maria Theresia und Joseph II.: Ihre Correspondenz sammt Briefen Joseph's an seinen Bruder Leopold. Ed. Alfred Ritter von Arneth. Vol. 3: August 1778–1780. Vienna: Gerold 1868, 335–361, here 354: "Nous n'héritons en naissant des nos parents que la vie animale, ainsi roi, comte, bourgeois, paysan, il n'y a pas la moindre différence. Les dons de l'âme et de l'esprit, nous les tenons du créateur, les vices ou les qualités nous viennent par la bonne ou mauvaise éducation, et par les exemples que nous voyons."

64 Cited according to Carl Junker: Zum Buchwesen in Österreich. Gesammelte Schriften (1896–1927). Ed. Murray G. Hall. Vienna: Praesens 2001, 93: "Wer sich Lettern, Farbe, Papier und Presse einschaft, kann drucken, wie Strümpf stricken, und wer gedruckte Bücher sich macht oder einschaft, kann selbe verkauffen; jedoch haben alle den öffentlichen Polizey- und Censurs Gesetzen genauestens zu unterliegen. […] Um aber Bücher zu verkauffen,

The school reform initiated by Maria Theresa began to bear fruit, causing literacy to increase and the audience and demand for books to grow. Nevertheless, the reform package remained an instructional and disciplinary measure that upheld the principle of absolutism despite its endorsement of liberalism in certain details. According to Ulla Otto, the concessions made to freedom during the late eighteenth century must be "viewed less as an expression of a real creed driven by the notions of the Enlightenment and preceding the Zeitgeist than first and foremost as a strategy oriented towards obvious political necessities, which by no means abandoned the absolutist claim to exclusive rule over the public sphere, but quite on the contrary was prepared to once again change guises for a new adversary."[65] This Enlightenment "from above"—that is, governmental safeguarding of the common good—even implied "the danger of reversal into its opposite in that it ultimately entailed an 'intensification of the principle of authority' through the abundance of power of an officialdom exerting uncontrolled rule."[66]

As Wilhelm Haefs notes, even Enlightenment censorship was characterized by a specific dialectic: "While it stabilizes power relations and serves to repress all forms of deviance, it is also employed for the purpose of overall societal modernization specifically in the eighteenth century."[67] The Josephinian practice of censorship was Janus-faced: Liberality and surprising strictness were equally present in its repertoire. Joseph initially wanted to centralize censorship as much as possible, and the corresponding measures were one of many attempts to modernize the monarchy and restrict the autonomy of the individ-

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braucht es keine mehrere Kenntnisse, als um Käß zu verkauffen: nämlich ein jeder muß sich die Gattung von Büchern oder Käß zeitlich einschaffen, die am mehresten gesucht werden, und das Verlangen des Publikums durch Preise reitzen und benützen."

65 Otto: Die literarische Zensur, 43: "[…] weniger als Ausdruck einer echten, von den Gedanken der Aufklärung getriebenen, dem Zeitgeist voraneilenden Konfession angesehen werden als vielmehr zunächst und vor allem als eine an augenfälligen, politischen Notwendigkeiten orientierte Strategie, die die absolutistische Forderung nach ausschließlicher Beherrschung der Öffentlichkeit keineswegs aufgab, sondern im Gegenteil bereit war, mit dem Kontrahenten unter Umständen auch wieder die Maske zu wechseln."

66 Bodo Plachta: Damnatur—Toleratur—Admittitur: Studien und Dokumente zur literarischen Zensur im 18. Jahrhundert. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1994, 55: "[…] die Gefahr der Verkehrung in ihr Gegenteil, indem sie letztendlich eine 'Verschärfung des Obrigkeitsprinzips' durch die Machtfülle einer unkontrolliert herrschenden Beamtenschaft mit sich brachte."

67 Haefs: Article "Zensur," 560: "Stabilisiert sie einerseits Machtverhältnisse und dient der Repression aller Formen von Devianz, so wird sie gerade im 18. Jh. auch zum Zwecke der gesamtgesellschaftlichen Modernisierung eingesetzt."

ual lands.[68] The censorship commissions in the lands had decided on the prohibition or approval of manuscripts and books at their own discretion and subsequently often arrived at disparate results. Already practiced since the 1760s, the transmission of the central prohibition decisions to the lands represented a first step towards standardization. In January 1780, monthly notification of the provinces about the Viennese censorship decisions (the lists of forbidden and allowed books)[69] had been decreed anew.[70] Upon assuming power, Joseph went significantly beyond these measures by simply abolishing the commissions in the individual lands. The decree of June 11, 1781—frequently known as Joseph's "Censorship Patent"—established a central *Büchercensurshofkommission* in Vienna that was responsible for manuscripts and books within the entire monarchy. Bans could subsequently only be declared in Vienna, while the still existing local Book Review Offices were only allowed to approve unobjectionable books and manuscripts on their own. Manuscripts "of some importance" for scholarship or religion had to be sent to Vienna for review without exception. Simultaneously, the exclusivity of the secular lists of banned books over prohibitions pronounced by the Church was repeatedly asserted. A court decree issued in October 1781, for example, declared all indices published by the archbishops of Prague and Königgrätz null and void.[71]

Joseph's abovementioned Censorship Patent[72] stated that popular literature (especially containing "incongruous ribaldry") was to be treated more strictly than scientific works, which only reached a small, educated readership anyway. In keeping with the Patent of Toleration issued in the same year, Protestant books were to be allowed for professed Protestants—as were writings critical of religion in general, so long as they did not systematically challenge the Catholic faith. The same applied to criticism of objects and persons, "from the sovereign

68 See Michael Wögerbauer: Welche Grenzen braucht das Buch? Die Regulierung des Buchwesens als Mittel der Selbstkonstruktion der Habsburgermonarchie (1750–1790). In: Cornova 3 (2013), 2, 11–29.

69 In the archives available to us, monthly lists of banned books ("Consignationen") can only be found for the period from 1763 to 1779 (in the Styrian Provincial Archive) and then again starting in 1784; cf. also Chapter 2.4. on statistics.

70 Cf. Oskar Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II.: Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte der habsburgischen Länder. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1958, 17.

71 Cf. Jean-Pierre Lavandier: Le livre au temps de Joseph II. et de Leopold II: Code des lois de censure du livre pour les pays austro-bohémiens (1780–1792). Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang 1995, 60–61.

72 Zensurverordnung Josephs II., ausgegeben am 1. Juni 1781. In: Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung. Enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1780 bis 1784. Erster Band. Vienna: Mösle, 517–524; see appendix, pp. 370–372.

to the lowest subject," provided the author was identified by name. Furthermore, neither self-contained works nor periodicals were to be banned due to individual questionable passages. The special privileges (Scheden) were done away with; any book was to be either forbidden or accessible to everyone. In practice, however, they appear to have still been granted: Lutheran theologian and historian Friedrich Münter, for example, reported having obtained Johann Pezzl's recently published *Marokkanische Briefe* by way of a Scheda in 1784.[73] The different degrees of approval ("admittitur," "permittitur," and "toleratur") had significance only in terms of potential reprints of foreign works in Austria. Works declared "admittitur" could be reprinted without restrictions, "permittitur" meant that the original or a fictitious location had to be specified for the reprint owing to problematic passages,[74] and "toleratur" precluded any reprinting as well as translation into any of the languages of the hereditary lands. This was the case, for instance, with a complete edition of the works of Voltaire originally published in Berlin that the Viennese publishing house Wallishausser had begun to reprint in 1789.[75] The greater caution applied to reprints as compared to mere reading was owed to the fact that books printed in locations in Austria might have been construed as having been authorized by the state. As Joseph II stated unequivocally in a letter to Count Kolowrat with specific reference to the Voltaire edition:

> As I see that the works of Voltaire are published here in a German translation and the volumes sold for 36 kreuzers each, you shall notify me whether all unreligious and immoral pieces contained so frequently in this work likewise appear therein or to what extent this collection is subject to an appropriate purification, as it would be most unbeseeming for one to attempt to propagate the poison contained frequently in the orig-

73 Friedrich Münter in a letter to his father on 10/1/1784; cited in Bachleitner, Eybl, and Fischer: Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich, 114.

74 The phrasing of this formula is reminiscent of the censorship formula of the permission tacite (tacit permission) used in France throughout the 18th century, which required a publication to state a fictitious printing location abroad so as to prevent its identification with the French state; cf. Hans-Christoph Hobohm: Roman und Zensur zu Beginn der Moderne: Vermessung eines sozio-poetischen Raumes, Paris 1730–1744. Frankfurt, New York: Campus 1992, 150–154. The decree was based on a memorandum previously written by Joseph and entitled "Grund-Regeln zur Bestimmung einer ordentlichen künftigen Bücher Censur" (printed in Hermann Gnau: Die Zensur unter Joseph II. Strasbourg, Leipzig: Singer 1910, 139–154); several liberal suggestions from the draft were absent from the published decree.

75 Cf. Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 117.

> inal by way of a translation, which could never attain the value of the original phrasing anyway, intentionally in my lands as well. Wherefore introducing and selling the German translation already undertaken in Berlin here must likewise be forbidden, since with such gewgaw the witticism evaporates in translation in any case, and the platitudinous alone becomes all the more detrimental to religion and morals.[76]

The review of newly arriving books still occurred at the local Book Review Offices. The Viennese office was located next to the customs agency; two inspectors (known as *Revisoren*) went through the arriving books, sorting out banned titles and forwarding as yet unknown works to the Censorship Commission. The inspectors were also responsible for maintaining alphabetical lists of banned and allowed books. The task of the police was to help with any necessary official acts while taking no action of its own accord. Ignaz von Born, for instance, the Worshipful Master of the Viennese Masonic lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" (True Harmony), had an alleged pasquinade of State Grand Master Count Dietrichstein—and thus indirectly of all Freemasons—seized in 1786. The police destroyed the typeset in the workshop of printer Johann Martin Weimar and confiscated the manuscript. The emperor reacted by reprimanding the Chief of Police, reminding him that anyone was free to print without censorship and that only the distribution of uncensored works would have warranted the measures which had been taken.[77] The decree of 1786 allowing manuscripts to be printed without censorship—e.g. for sale abroad—obviously facilitated the production and dissemination of forbidden literature.

Joseph had the *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*, which had grown considerably since the 1750s, revised and titles whose prohibition was no longer warranted deregulated. The updated catalog entitled *Verzeichniß aller bis 1-ten*

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76 Cited in Schmidt: Voltaire und Maria Theresia, 99–100: "Da ich ersehe, dass die Werke des Voltaire in einer deutschen Übersetzung hier aufgelegt und der Band zu 36 Kreuzer verkauft wird, so werden sie mir anzeigen, ob hierin alle die in diesem Werke so häufig enthaltenen religionswidrigen und sittenverderblichen Piecen ebenfalls vorkommen oder wieweit etwa diese Sammlung einer angemessenen Läuterung unterliege, weil es höchst unschicklich wäre, daß man das häufige, in dem Original enthaltene Gift noch durch eine Übersetzung, die doch nie den Werth des Original-Ausdruckes erreichen könnte, absichtlich auch in Meinen Provinzen verbreiten wolle. Wornach dann auch die in Berlin bereits veranstaltete deutsche Übersetzung hier einzuführen und zu verkaufen verboten werden muss, weil bei derlei Flitterwerk allemal in einer Übersetzung das Geistreiche verfliegt und nur das Platte der Religion und den Sitten umso nachteiliger wird."

77 Cf. Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 84–85, resp. Michael Winter: Georg Philipp Wucherer (1734–1805): Großhändler und Verleger. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 37 (1992), 1–98, here 56.

Jäner 1784 verbottenen Bücher contained only 1029 works, of which 184 were new writings that had never been banned before. This means that the catalogs accumulated under Maria Theresa, which had included 4,701 works as mentioned above, were reduced to only 845 titles. The decisive change concerned the perception of the impact of printed matter: An inevitable "mechanical" affectation of the reader's mind and behavior was no longer assumed—and if such an influence did occur, it was no longer viewed as a matter for the police.

> If poets and novels are to be judged solely by the impression they could make on fiery temperaments, then none of them could be tolerated, and in fact following such a precept, few books and especially no form of drama could escape rejection; but public prudence need not stoop to the anxious caution of the warden, nor exceed the boundaries within which an effective vigilance remains possible.[78]

Besides ideological aspects, shorter lists and catalogs of banned books also meant less censorship effort, and therefore less personnel and reduced government expenditure. In 1784, the number of censors was determined at nine under the assumption of around 2,700 works to be reviewed each year, and thus of a workload of 300 titles per censor. Salaries of 500 guilders each were reserved for four censors, while three men received 400 guilders each and two others 300 each.[79] These modest sums were intended as supplementary pay for public officials who already held other salaried positions. When censors resigned, their positions were not reassigned, which meant that there were only six active censors by 1788.[80] This reduction in personnel was doubtless a result of the fact that the general precensorship of manuscripts had been temporarily abolished in 1787. In the area of book inspections, Joseph planned in his "Grund-Regeln zur Bestimmung einer ordentlichen künftigen Bücher Censur" (Basic Rules for the Determination of an Orderly Future Book Censorship) to abandon the searching of travelers' baggage at the borders as well as the

78 Cited in Plachta: Damnatur—Toleratur—Admittitur, 65, according to Hermann Gnau: Die Zensur unter Joseph II. Straßburg, Leipzig: Singer 1911, 200: "Wenn Dichter und Romane allein nach dem Eindruck den sie auf feurige Temperamente machen können, sollten beurtheilet werden, so wäre deren keiner zu dulden und nach einer solchen Richtschnur würden überhaupt wenig Bücher und besonders keine Art des Schauspiels der Verwerfung entgehen; die öffentliche Sorgfalt muß aber nicht bis zur ängstlichen Vorsicht des Hausvaters herabsinken, und die Gränzen, binnen welchen eine wirkende Wachsamkeit möglich bleibt, nicht überschreiten."

79 Cf. Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 52.

80 Ibid.

visitations of private libraries; only smuggling and the sale of forbidden writings were to be punished. This measure was intended to emphasize individual responsibility, which Joseph promoted in other areas as well: As long as the general public was not damaged or aggrieved, the state did not care what individuals did.

> Hence every private person, especially a foreigner, who carries only a single copy shall be allowed to pass with it, for the ruler is not obligated to monitor the individuals but only the community. […] The freedom inherent to man shall be granted to him as far as possible, and the ruler must neither punish where there is no complainant, nor must he fight evil of which he is not aware.[81]

The easement regarding international travel was ultimately not included in the decree following the "Basic Rules." Nevertheless, even stern Friedrich Nicolai, who reported in sarcastic tones about literary life and censorship in Austria in his 1781 travelogue, seemed surprised at his courteous treatment at the Austrian border and the polite demeanor of the officers there. Upon entering the country aboard a ship on the Danube, his books were duly sealed by a customs officer at the border station outside Passau since they had to be reviewed by the responsible book inspector in Linz. A document entitled "Kaiserl. Königl. Oesterreichisches Consummo Anweisungs-Pollet, von Amts Englhartszell an die Ober-Zoll-Leeg-Stadt Linz" (Imperial Royal Instruction Notification from the Office at Engelhartszell to the Main Toll Levy City of Linz) was issued, but the officer apparently performed his duties with great care and courtesy. Nicolai experienced his contact with the officer in Linz as similarly pleasant, praising the censorship agent named Cremeri and the unbureaucratic, "very polite and friendly manner" in which he "freed my poor books from the prison."[82]

On February 8, 1781, the new Censorship Commission headed by Count Chotek was appointed. Political and philosophical writings were henceforth

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81 Memorandum by Emperor Joseph. In: Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Vol. 3, 352–353: "Ainsi tout particulier, mais surtout étranger, qui n'apporterait qu'un exemplaire, il faudrait le lui laisser passer, puisque le souverain n'est pas obligé de veiller aux consciences particulières, mais bien au général. […] la liberté innée à l'homme doit lui être accordée autant que possible, et le souverain ne devrait même rien vouloir savoir de tout ce qui se passe, n'étant point obligé de chercher lui-même à punir, quand il n'y a point d'accusateur, ni d'empêcher le mal qu'il ignore."

82 Friedrich Nicolai: Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781. Vol. 2. Berlin, Stettin: Nicolai 1783, 485–486 and 532–533: "[…] sehr höfliche und freundliche Art […] meine armen Bücher aus dem Gefängnisse befreyte."

censored by Baron Aloysius von Locella, economic and military titles by court councilor Johann von Birkenstock, and juridical and historical works by Konstantin von Kauz. Franz Karl Hägelin, who had already been entrusted with plays and weeklies since 1770, retained those duties until 1795. After lengthy discussions, the censorship reform entered into force on June 8, 1781.[83] The Censorship Commission, now officially called the *Studien- und Zensurhofkommission* (Court Study and Censorship Commission) to emphasize the educational mandate of censorship, was directed by Gottfried van Swieten. Besides the office, Gerard van Swieten's son had also taken over the court library from his father; he dedicated himself entirely to the Enlightenment as interpreted by the emperor and maintained close contacts to the Viennese literary scene. It therefore comes as no surprise that authors like Aloys Blumauer or Joseph von Retzer were likewise employed as censors, at least intermittently. Sources say that Joseph II appointed the unremitting critic and clamorer for freedom Retzer as censor out of spite, allegedly triggered by the poem "Auf die verstorbene Kaiserin, Beschützerin der Wissenschaften" (To the Deceased Empress, Protector of the Sciences). Retzer describes the process as follows: "Joseph said to a minister, like the French Academy took revenge on Montesquieu for the mockery in the Persian Letters by making him a member, so I will appoint Retzer as censor."[84] In his poem, Retzer had complained:

> In some poor German lands
> Sciences blossom unrewarded,
> And unheeded by the princes,
> Lovelier, grander still than here.
> Did fate perhaps deny
> Our nation high genius?
> Ungrateful were such grievance:
> Only freedom, freedom alone we lack.[85]

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83 Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 23 and 27.

84 Cited according to Ernst Wangermann: Die Waffen der Publizität: Zum Funktionswandel der politischen Literatur unter Joseph II. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag 2004, 36: "Joseph […] sagte zu einem Minister, wie sich die französische Akademie über die Spötterey in den Persischen Briefen an Montesquieu rächte, dass sie ihn zu ihrem Mitgliede wählte, so will ich […] den Retzer zum Censor ernennen."

85 Joseph von Retzer: Auf die verstorbene Kaiserinn, Beschützerinn der Wissenschaften. Vienna: Gräffer 1780, 4r: "In manchem armen deutschen Lande / Blühn Wissenschaften unbelohnt, / Und von den Fürsten nicht geachtet, / Noch schöner, herrlicher als hier. / Ver-

On April 8, 1782, the Study and Censorship Commission was suspended, meaning that the censors could henceforth decide independently and simply send a report with a brief justification of their verdict on each reviewed work to the president of the Commission; the plenary body itself had to convene only in difficult cases. In 1784, the verdict of "typum non meretur" (not deserving of being printed) was introduced, which was aimed at light fiction and indicated meaninglessness in terms of content rather than style.

Publications by Jansenists, Jesuits, and Freemasons as well as works about them were permitted; as mentioned above, the Church was excluded from the censorship process. What was more, the secular censorship occasionally banned writings by the Vatican, including papal bulls, breviaries, missals, and regulation books for Catholic orders, thereby perpetuating the conflict with the archbishop of Vienna. That this conflict was in fact a power struggle for control over the state is evidenced by the fact that a decree issued in 1774 had ordered "the instruction by Gregory VII about the power of the pope to depose monarchs 'to be pasted over with a paper'" in the breviaries.[86] Such prescriptions to cover up passages in ecclesiastical writings became quite frequent during the 1780s: Lavandier mentions a decree from 1787 forbidding the instruction by Gregory II on the deposition of Emperor Leo III as well as that on Zachary's dismissal of Childeric III, Gelasius' statements about the papal right to excommunicate, and finally the instruction on Gregory VII's deposition of Henry IV, who had to take the famous Walk to Canossa.[87] Although all of these events had occurred between the fifth and eleventh century, the Austrian authorities were concerned about parallels to and bearings on the currently ruling emperor. Pius VI's visit to Vienna in 1782 in reaction to Joseph's church reforms represented the culmination of the power struggle between the Holy See and the Holy Roman Emperor. It ended in a stalemate of sorts.[88] Some of Joseph's censorship decisions were also rather inconsistent: Whereas he allowed religion-critical writings by Enlightenment proponents like Blumauer and Alxinger, he intervened when a treatise entitled *Allgemeines Glaubensbekenntnis aller Reli-*

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sagte etwa unserm Volke / Das Schicksal hohen Genius? / Undankbar wäre diese Klage: / Nur Freyheit, Freyheit fehlt' uns nur."

86 Cited in Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 33: "[…] die Lektion Gregors VII. über die Macht des Papstes, Monarchen abzusetzen, 'mit einem Papiere zu verpicken'."

87 Court decree of April 29, 1787; referenced and summarized in Lavandier: Le livre au temps de Joseph II et de Léopold II, 140–143.

88 The mentioned events have been portrayed by numerous authors; cf. e.g. Ernst Wangermann: Die Waffen der Publizität, 72–82.

gionen (General Profession of Faith of All Religions, 1784), which preached indifferentism in religious questions, was permitted by Van Swieten. According to the conservative state councilor Hatzfeld, the incriminated book accepted "the veneration for the creator of nature and human kindness as the only beliefs appropriate for reasonable men."[89] Joseph likewise reacted sensitively in the case of the work *Ode an Joseph den Zweyten* (Ode to Joseph the Second, 1782) by Lorenz Leopold Haschka, which had been dedicated to him without approval and printed in Vienna. Haschka had praised Joseph exceedingly for his anti-papal policy while deriding the pope as "You greedy, bloody, haughty monk!" ("Gieriger, blutiger, stolzer Mönch, du!") and describing him as a "windy symbolic majesty" ("windige Symbolische Majestät") who imposed his laws on the entire world and "sold blessings and indults" ("verkaufte Segen und Indulte").[90] In the year of the papal visit to Vienna and attempts to reach an amicable agreement in the dispute between pope and emperor, such an attack seemed very inopportune. Although freedom from censorship was the official policy at the time, the publisher was sentenced to a fine of 100 ducats and Haschka was prohibited from publishing in Austria from September 1782 until February 1784.[91]

The last two clerics serving in the Censorship Commission were Franz de Paula Rosalino and Athanasius Szekeres, with the latter successfully petitioning in 1786 for the removal of the proscription of Goethe's *Werther*, which had been banned for many years.[92] The state even interfered in the house rules of monasteries, where monks who read "heretical books" like the works of Wieland, Gellert, or Rabener were confined. In February 1782, for instance, an imperial commission liberated a member of the Capuchins imprisoned for this reason at the order's Viennese convent and suspended the guardian who had ordered the man's detainment.[93] Even the archbishop himself was forced to submit his public news bulletins to censorship prior to posting them. On the occasion of Pius VI's presence in Vienna, Archbishop Migazzi announced by public notice on March 27, 1782 that the pope's visit would grant full indulgence as per the usual customs of the Church. The Censorship Commission deemed this to be interpretable as remission of all sins, which was not commensurate with Catholic doctrine. This seemingly marginal issue gave rise to

89 Ibid., 113: "[…] die Verehrung für den Urheber der Natur und die Menschenliebe als einzige vernünftigen Menschen zumutbare Glaubensinhalte."

90 Cited in Gustav Gugitz: Lorenz Leopold Haschka. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 17 (1907), 32–127, here 66–67.

91 See ibid., 69–70.

92 See Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 49.

93 Cf. ibid., 69.

lengthy discussions about special permissions that the Church still claimed for itself but that Joseph II's state—or in this case its Censorship Commission—was no longer prepared to grant.[94]

On the other hand, a poem by Johann Baptist von Alxinger advocating a very secular morality was not approved by the censors and consequently had to be published in Leipzig in 1784. One of its passages went as follows:

> Only where in every good man
> One honors the sacred imprint of God,
> Of anyone who cannot have faith,
> Never demands that he should believe,
> Chastens him who, as a tyrant,
> Teaches men by means of the whip,
> Punishes not faithlessness, and rewards not faith,
> There it is where toleration lives.[95]

Tolerance was not experienced by the bookseller Georg Philipp Wucherer, who had been printing radical oppositional literature by authors from Vienna (like Johann Jakob Fezer, Franz Kratter, and Joseph Richter) as well as from elsewhere (Karl Friedrich Bahrdt) since 1784 and had also been convicted of selling banned books.[96] Wucherer sometimes had books printed on his behalf sent to Viennese booksellers by other foreign traders in order to cover his tracks and prevent the censors from taking action. When he was eventually also identified by the bookseller, author, and Freemason Johann Joachim Christoph Bode from Weimar as the Viennese executive member ("Diözesan") of the radical *Deutsche Union* founded by Bahrdt—a secret society in the spirit of the Illuminati whose primary goal was to facilitate correspondence between radical authors—the police decided to use an *agent provocateur* posing as a "Hungarian cavalier" to end the bothersome publisher's activities. The covert agent persuaded Wucherer to sell him a book prohibited by censorship, namely the

94 Cf. Gnau: Die Zensur unter Joseph II. (1910), 84–95.

95 Cited according to Ernst Wangermann: Von Joseph II. zu den Jakobinerprozessen. Vienna, Frankfurt, Zurich: Europa-Verlag 1966, 26–27: "Nur dort, wo man in jedem guten Mann / Der Gottheit heil'gen Abdruck ehret, / Von jedem, der nicht glauben kann, / Nie, dass er glauben soll, begehret, / Den züchtiget, der als Tyrann / Die Menschen mit der Geißel lehret, / Unglauben nicht bestraft, und Glauben nicht belohnt, / Dort ist es, wo die Duldung wohnt."

96 Cf. Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 123–124; the best overview of Wucherer's publishing activities, including a bibliography, can be found in Winter: Georg Philipp Wucherer.

anonymous pamphlet *Die Gesunde Vernunft, oder die übernatürlichen Begriffe im Widerspruch mit den natürlichen* (Healthy Reason, or the Supernatural Concepts in Contradiction to the Natural Ones, London 1788). Wucherer thus committed an offense, even though it was only a minor infraction punishable with a fine of 50 guilders; the printing and possession of banned books alone did not represent a violation since it was permissible, for example, to sell them abroad. The police were merely tasked with monitoring and preventing the circulation of prohibited writings. Wucherer was subsequently arrested, and the police searched his business premises, discovering a large number of forbidden and uncensored books including works by Bahrdt, Richter, and Aloys Blumauer.[97] Although possession of these books did not constitute an offense in itself as mentioned above, Wucherer was sentenced to a blanket fine of 1000 ducats at the emperor's behest. In addition, his stores of books were destroyed and his company dissolved, and he and his family were expelled from the country.[98]

Wucherer was naturally not the only bookseller offering proscribed works. The business connections of the *Société typographique de Neuchâtel*, which specialized in *livres philosophiques*, with Viennese enterprises show that between 1786 and 1790, books were ordered by Rudolph and August Gräffer, Johann David Hörling, Joseph Stahel, Christian Friedrich Wappler, a company named Doll und Schwaiger, the famous Johann Thomas Trattner, and one Jean-Baptiste Mangot acting from the underground. The Viennese readership apparently primarily sought pornographic writings (*La fille de joie*, *Thérèse philosophe*, *Histoire de dom Bougre*, Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orléans*) as well as the materialist philosophy of Baron d'Holbach (*Système de la nature*, *Christianisme dévoilé*).[99]

The Illuminati and Bahrdt's *Deutsche Union* were the first associations to not only elicit suspicion from the conservative powers but also provoke theo-

97 *Uiber Aufklärung, Geschichte seines Lebens*, and *Das Religionsedikt* (Bahrdt), *Kaiser Joseph's Gebetbuch*, *Das Affen Land*, and *Taschenbuch für Grabennymphen auf das Jahr 1787* (Richter), *Glaubens-Bekenntniß eines nach Wahrheit ringenden Catholicken*, and *Joseph der Zweyte, Beschützer des Freymaurerordens* (Blumauer). The entire list of seized items is printed in Johannes Frimmel: Geheimliteratur im josephinischen Wien: Akteure und Programm. In: Christine Haug, Franziska Mayer, and Winfried Schröder (eds.): Geheimliteratur und Geheimbuchhandel in Europa im 18. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011, 203–216, here 211–214.

98 Wangermann: Von Joseph II. zu den Jakobinerprozessen, 53–55; cf. also Winter: Georg Philipp Wucherer. Wucherer was pardoned by Leopold II and allowed to return to Vienna before being expelled for good in 1791 following further violations of censorial regulations (see Winter: Georg Philipp Wucherer, 72–73).

99 Cf. Jeffrey Freedman: Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2012, 277.

ries about conspiracies to effect a revolutionary elimination of the old order.[100] In fact, Wucherer's case indirectly caused the reintroduction of precensorship. After it had been possible since a decree issued on February 24, 1787 to print manuscripts in Vienna without permission from the Censorship Commission (although the resulting books did have to be censorially approved after their printing), preventive censorship came into force again on November 24, 1789.[101] The corresponding regulation was published in a patent on January 20, 1790 that focused attention on "works which are capable of undermining the principles of all religion and morality, of all societal order, of dissolving the ties of all states, all nations […]." Anyone printing such writings without permission and then sending them abroad not only had to pay the customary fine of 50 fl. per copy but could "also in particular be subjected to physical punishment."[102] Joseph II was by no means prepared to give up his control over the population and its reading, and even his more enlightened advisors and allies were not consistently liberal. Sonnenfels, for example, had argued in favor of continuing secret police activities in the shape of informers and espionage in 1786, writing that a state of internal security could only be achieved if "the state had nothing to fear from its citizens."[103] According to Sonnenfels, the English Revolution and the activities of the Ligue in France had been the result of rebellious writings and printed sermons. In good absolutist tradition, he viewed the government and the sovereign on the one hand and the public on the other as antagonists.

As decrees forbidding the printing of manuscripts without censorial permission under threat of punishment are preserved even for the phase of putative "freedom of the press" under Joseph II frequently asserted in research, this ter-

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100 This association found its continuation in the *Tugendbund* (1808–1809), in Ernst Moritz Arndt's *Deutsche Gesellschaften* (1814–1815), and in the fraternities all the way to the Wartburg Festival and the murder of Kotzebue. Cf. George Williamson: "Thought Is in Itself a Dangerous Operation": The Campaign Against "Revolutionary Machinations" in Germany, 1819–1828. In: German Studies Review 38 (2015), no. 2, 285–306.

101 According to Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 125, based on State Council documents.

102 Hofdekret vom 20., kundgemacht in Mähren den 28., in Innerösterreich den 30. Jäner, in Gallizien den 3. Februar 1790. In: Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung. Enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze von [!] Jahre 1789. Vol. 18. Vienna: Mösle 1790, 572: "[…] Werke, welche die Grundsätze aller Religion und Sittlichkeit, aller gesellschaftlicher Ordnung untergraben, die Bande aller Staaten, aller Nazionen aufzulösen fähig sind […] auch noch insbesondere mit einer körperlichen Strafe belegt werden."

103 Cited in Benna: Organisierung und Personalstand der Polizeihofstelle, 214: "[…] der staat von seinen bürgern nichts zu fürchten hatte."

minology cannot be upheld. First of all, the cited decree of 1787 exempting manuscripts from censorship applied only to Vienna. For Bohemia, reminders of the obligation to censor written by the central office in Vienna in January, February, and March 1788 are preserved, with the phrasing of at least the last of these memoranda applying to the entire monarchy.[104] The reminders may have had to do with the fact that Bohemia had not complied with the centralization of censorship decreed by Joseph in 1781, instead continuing to perform its own censorship of manuscripts and periodicals via the local Book Review Office. The veritable flood of pamphlets inundating Vienna as a consequence of the "freedom of the press" according to various commentators, including Aloys Blumauer in *Beobachtungen über Österreichs Aufklärung und Litteratur* (Observations on Austria's Enlightenment and Literature) and Johann Pezzl in his *Skizze von Wien* (Sketch of Vienna),[105] was more myth than fact. Although Wernigg's thorough *Bibliographie österreichischer Drucke zwischen 1781 und 1795* (Bibliography of Austrian Prints between 1781 and 1795)[106] comprises roughly 6,300 entries, it should be noted that the author extends the phase of "freedom of the press" to 1795—thereby making it at least three years longer than it actually was, since the reaction already began during the reign of Leopold II. In addition, Wernigg found it sensible to include the entire oeuvre of the most important authors, including many works published before or after the period stipulated in the title. Various random samples[107] show that the total number of entries in the *Bibliographie* needs to be reduced by at least several hundred. Furthermore, only some of the entries in the sections "Cultural History," "Vienna and the Viennese," "Battleground of Theology," and "History" (around 2,900 titles in total) as well as a portion of the nearly 1,200 works collected in the second volume can be considered "pamphlets." Ultimately, this means that the "flood of pamphlets" amounts to between 2,000 and 3,000 titles at most, distributed across an entire decade.

A further argument produced to corroborate the rise in publishing activity as a result of the "freedom of the press" is the allegedly phenomenal increase in book exports between 1773 and 1792—specifically from 135,000 talers to

104 Cf. Lavandier: Le livre au temps de Joseph II et de Leopold II, 113–116.

105 The corresponding passages are cited e.g. in Wolf: Von "eingeschränkt und erzbigott," 323–324.

106 Ferdinand Wernigg: Bibliographie österreichischer Drucke während der "erweiterten Preßfreiheit" (1781–1795). 2 vols. Vienna, Munich: Jugend und Volk 1973–1979.

107 Some examples: More than half the 22 titles by Kornelius Hermann von Ayrenhoff appeared outside of the period of alleged press freedom; the same applies to 21 of the 26 listed works by Denis, 48 of 84 by Karl Friedrich Hensler, 53 of 86 by Joachim Perinet, and 37 of 59 by Joseph Richter, the author of the *Eipeldauerbriefe*.

3,260,000 talers,[108] a gain of more than 2,300 percent. A source for these numbers is rarely provided, however. The initial source on which all later citations are based seems to be Johann Goldfriedrich, who writes with a striking vagueness: "In any case, however, the Josephinian freedom of the press had a very noticeable beneficial influence on the Austrian book trade. According to information from 1793, the Austrian book exports, after amounting to e.g. 135,000 fl. in 1773, rose to 3,260,000 fl. as a result."[109] A reliable other source places the book exports at a value of 146,000 guilders in 1792 and 142,000 guilders in 1793, only insignificantly higher than the base value of 135,000 mentioned by Goldfriedrich for 1773.[110]

It would be absurd to assume that pamphlets tailored to local problems and circumstances would have been met with considerable interest in foreign countries. The lion's share of Austrian book exports were reprints of expensive works produced in Protestant Central and Northern Germany, which were successfully marketed in large volumes by Trattner and other publishers since the 1760s. While Joseph continued this policy of reprinting, he hardly intensified it. The censorship of newspapers was also stepped up in 1790, after a tax of a half kreuzer on each newspaper copy and a whole kreuzer on each copy of pamphlets and individual printings of comedies had been levied in 1789 in order to limit their dissemination.[111]

Leopold II initially continued Joseph's ostensibly liberal course, for example by allowing anti-aristocratic writings that challenged the nobility's claims with

108 Wernigg: Bibliographie österreichischer Drucke, vol. 1, 17; cf. also Sashegyi: Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II., 89 and many others, e.g. Hans Wagner: Die Zensur in der Habsburger Monarchie (1750–1810). In: Gerda Mraz (ed.): Joseph Haydn in seiner Zeit. Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung 1982, 211–220, here 215.

109 Johann Goldfriedrich: Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels vom Beginn der klassischen Litteraturperiode bis zum Beginn der Fremdherrschaft (1740–1804). (Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels 3) Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler 1909, 357: "Auf jeden Fall aber war die Josephinische Preßfreiheit auf den österreichischen Buchhandel von sehr spürbarem günstigen Einfluß. Nach einer Angabe aus dem Jahre 1793 soll der österreichische Bücherexport, nachdem er z. B. im Jahre 1773,135 000 fl. betragen hatte, infolge derselben auf 3,260,000 fl. gestiegen sein."

110 Cf. Gustav Otruba: Der Außenhandel Österreichs unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Niederösterreichs nach der älteren amtlichen Handelsstatistik. Vienna: Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte in Niederösterreich 1950, 43–46; see also Bachleitner, Eybl, and Fischer: Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich, 180. The erroneous substitution of "taler" for "guilders" by Sashegyi, Wernigg, and many others inflates the supposedly exorbitant increase even further.

111 This newspaper tax was abolished from 1792 to 1802 before being reintroduced and remaining in effect until 1818.

reference to the French Revolution and were characterized by "a satirical, sometimes caustic tone" ("ein satirischer, manchmal bissiger Ton") to be published under circumvention of censorship.[112] He also defended the citizens' right to form corporate bodies as well as the peasants' demands for liberation from feudal burdens. On the other hand, he returned to stricter censorship principles of the kind that had been in place under Maria Theresa. Leopold's court decree of September 1, 1790 stipulated the maintenance of general calm within the state and prohibited anything that diminished obedience to the sovereign or caused "skepticism in spiritual matters" ("Zweifelsucht in geistlichen Sachen").[113] Foreigners suspected of revolutionary agitation were monitored by the police. In this sense, Leopold paved the way for the reaction under his successor Francis II.

4 Commented Statistics of Prohibition Activity between 1754 and 1791

4.1 *Prohibitions 1754–1791*

The following table consolidates all available lists of forbidden books; its purpose is to precisely reconstruct for the first time the development of book prohibition throughout the reporting period.[114] The subtotals specify the total number of prohibited works per decade, with the sum of the first three subtotals together representing the era of Maria Theresa and the fourth subtotal that of Joseph II and Leopold II. Only minor differences are discernible between the first three decades depicting Maria Theresa's rule; specifically, there is a small backlog in the early 1750s as well as a slight decline during the 1760s followed by a stable phase until 1780 (the subtotal for the third decade spans nearly eleven years, since Maria Theresa died at the end of November 1780). The Josephinian-Leopoldinian era saw a reduction in prohibitions by nearly two thirds, with only about 37 percent of the number of books compared to each of the preceding three decades being banned.

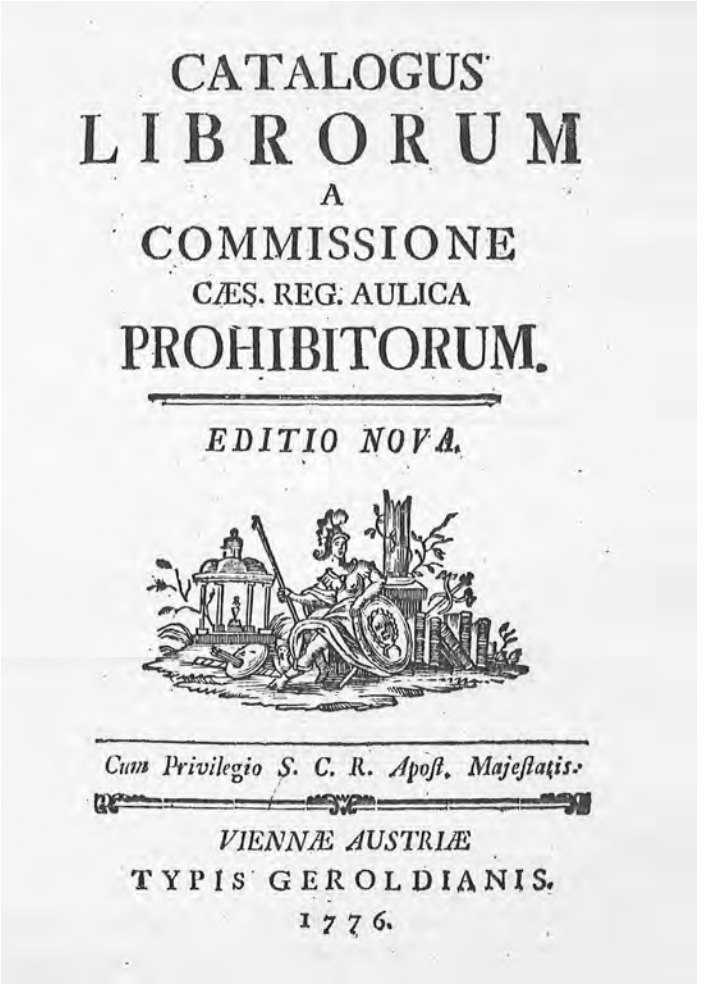
112 Helmut Reinalter: Die Französische Revolution und Mitteleuropa: Erscheinungsformen und Wirkungen des Jakobinismus. Seine Gesellschaftstheorien und politischen Vorstellungen. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1988, 97.

113 Cited in Ursula Giese: Studie zur Geschichte der Pressegesetzgebung, der Zensur und des Zeitungswesens im frühen Vormärz. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 6 (1966), cols. 341–546, here col. 385.

114 The basis for these statistics is the database created within a research project funded by FWF—Der Wissenschaftsfonds and accessible via the URL http://univie.ac.at/zensur (last accessed on 12/13/2021).

TABLE 1 Number of book prohibitions 1754–1791

Year	Prohibitions	Subtotals
1754	669	
1755	393	
1756	197	
1757	191	
1758	118	
1759	158	1726
1762	411	
1763	150	
1764	118	
1765	166	
1766	146	
1767	94	
1768	122	
1769	188	1395
1770	132	
1771	196	
1774	578	
1776	164	
1777	132	
1778	155	
1780	223	1580
1783	5	
1784	267	
1785	47	
1786	36	
1787	42	
1788	37	
1789	54	
1790	68	
1791	85	641
Total	5342	5342


CATALOGUS
LIBRORUM
A
COMMISSIONE
CÆS. REG. AULICA
PROHIBITORUM.

EDITIO NOVA.

Cum Privilegio S. C. R. Apoſt. Majeſtatis.

VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ
TYPIS GEROLDIANIS.
1776.

FIGURE 3 Title page of the frequently cited, 360-page final compilation of book prohibitions decreed during the rule of Maria Theresa, published in 1776

These numbers and their sources require some explanation. The catalog for 1754 extends back to the beginning of the activity of the Censorship Commission instated by Maria Theresa in 1751. The banned titles listed for 1754 thus include all the prohibitions enacted during the preceding three or four years. Annual catalogs exist for the remainder of the 1750s. A similar caveat applies to the volume for 1762: It contains all prohibitions decreed between 1760 and 1762. Annual supplements were once again issued for the years until 1771. The two volumes published in 1774 and 1776 (cf. Figure 3) are overall catalogs of all

previously issued bans, of which only the respective new entries were included in the above statistics; they are spread out across the preceding three (1772–1774) respectively two (1775–1776) years. With the exception of 1779, for which no catalog was produced, the years from 1777 to 1780 were once again covered by supplementary volumes.[115] In addition, several prohibitions not listed in other sources were taken from the abovementioned "Consignationen" sent to the state censorship offices roughly once per month.[116]

As noted, the number of prohibitions basically stagnated during the three decades of Maria Theresa's rule. That the strictness of censorship diminished over the course of time becomes apparent when one considers that the German book production roughly doubled in volume between 1760 and 1780: The book fair catalogs list 1,296 titles for 1750, 1,284 for 1755, 1,198 for 1760, 1,517 for 1765, and 1,807 for 1770; in 1775, the number of new publications was as high as 2,025, and it continued to grow to 2,642 by 1780.[117]

Neither catalogs nor monthly lists of forbidden books seem to have been issued from 1781 to 1783; it was only from January 1784 that monthly summaries of prohibited publications were once again sent to the crown lands.[118] They are available only intermittently for the period between 1784 and 1791,[119] however—and since a considerable number of archives were consulted for this study, it seems unlikely that lists for the existing gaps were ever published. This assumption is controverted only by the circumstance that Joseph Petzek's cata-

115 The individual catalogs are listed in the bibliography under "Prohibition lists and catalogues."

116 They bore a slightly adapted title: Consignation der von der allhiesigen Bücher-Revisions-Commission neuerlich für verwerflich angesehenen Bücher (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz, shelfmark: LAA Archivum Antiqum VIII, K. 13–15, H. 46–52).

117 Numbers according to: Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae bisecvlaris. Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zur Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765. Mit einer Einleitung von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1850, as well as: Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae continvatvs. Der Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels Fortsetzung die Jahre 1766 bis einschließlich 1846 umfassend. Vorwort von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1877.

118 With minor variations, these lists bear the following title: Verzeichniß Derjenigen Bücher, welche nach dem Antrage der Studien, und Bücher Censurs Hof-Commission im verflossenen Monate Januar 1784 mit allerhöchster Genehmigung verbothen worden.

119 The following months are missing: For 1784, months 5 and 7–10; for 1785, months 11 and 12; for 1786, months 3 and 9–12; for 1787, months 1–3 and 11; for 1788, months 5 and 8–10; for 1789, months 1, 2, 4, and 11; for 1790, months 4–5; for 1791, months 2 and 4.

log,[120] which covers the period from 1783 to 1794 and was likewise analyzed, contains 61 titles that are not included in the preserved monthly lists.[121]

In addition to the prohibitions mentioned in the monthly listings, the database and the above statistics also include the 185 works retroactively banned in the course of the Josephinian recensorship performed during the years 1780/81–1783 and filed under the year 1784.[122] While these bans entered into force in 1784, they must be assigned statistically to the three preceding years. The monthly prohibition lists for 1784 contain only 51 titles; adding to this the 26 titles from an estate inventory examined by the censors in the same year as well as five books from the Petzek catalog, we arrive at a number of 82 rather than the specified 267 works. Of the 185 "new" titles not included in the *Catalogus* issued under Maria Theresa, 180 had been published in the four years between 1780 and 1783/84—specifically, 17 in the year 1780, 27 in the year 1781, 50 in the year 1782, and 53 in the year 1783 (with three of the latter stating 1784 as their year of appearance, since publishers were accustomed to printing the subsequent year on title pages for the Christmas sale).

The analysis of the prohibition numbers shows that the first years of Joseph II's rule were by no means devoid of censorship—in fact, they saw more bans than the years 1785 to 1790. Overall, however, the impression that censorship under Joseph II was somewhat less strict than during the periods before and after is confirmed. This is further corroborated by the fact that German book production increased by around 40 percent during the 1780s: After the 2,025 titles for 1775 and 2,642 titles for 1780 mentioned above, the book fair catalogs included 2,853 works for 1785 and 3,560 for 1790.[123]

4.2 *Prohibitions 1754–1780, by Language*

Together with the listing of publishers following in a further section below, the breakdown of banned books by language provides insights into international connections within the book trade and cultural transfer during the period under investigation.

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120 Katalog der von 1783 bis 1794 in Oesterreich von der hochlöblichen Hofbücherzensurkommission verbothenen Bücher. Zur Warnung der Herren Leser, Buchhändler, und Buchdrucker. Herausgegeben von Joseph Petzek. Freyburg im Breisgau 1794.

121 These 61 titles were distributed evenly across the registered annual volumes, with five titles added to each of the years 1783 to 1787 and six titles added to each of the years 1788 to 1792.

122 They were taken from Verzeichniß aller bis 1ten Jäner 1784 verbottenen Bücher, n. p., n. d.

123 Numbers according to: Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae continvatvs (1877).

TABLE 2 Prohibited books 1754–1780, by language

German	2203 (= 46.8%)
French	1506 (= 32.0%)
Latin	619 (= 13.2%)
Italian	164 (= 3.5%)
English	111 (= 2.4%)
Other	98 (= 2.1%)
Total	4701 (= 100%)

What is striking here is that French was at least close to German in terms of significance. The fact that Latin as the language of learning and the Church was still very present is expected, while it is quite surprising that English—which provided essential Enlightenment literature together with French—played such a subordinate role, ranking well behind Italian.[124]

4.3 *Most Frequently Banned Authors 1754–1780*

The great importance of French is confirmed upon examining which authors were most frequently affected by prohibitions. There are six Frenchmen among the top ten names in the list along with three Germans—one of whom (Frederick II) likewise often wrote in French—and one Italian. Voltaire claiming the top spot is unsurprising, although the huge margin of his lead is somewhat astonishing. The Marquis d'Argens, a long-term guest at the Prussian court like Voltaire who fit the Enlightenment scenario well with his philosophical and fictional works, is in second place. Their "employer," the Prussian philosopher king, comes in a close third with his philosophical, historical, and fictional writings—tied with Georg Friedrich Meier, a further philoso-

124 There are occasional reports of interest in English literature and English language teaching, among others by Rudolph Sammer's publishing house, which specialized in English literature. Quantitatively, however, this interest was likely marginal; cf. e.g. Reinhard Buchberger: Tristram Shandy am Kärntnertor, oder: Der Wiener Verleger Rudolph Sammer und seine englischsprachige Produktion. In: Norbert Bachleitner and Murray G. Hall (eds.): "Die Bienen fremder Literaturen." Der literarische Transfer zwischen Großbritannien, Frankreich und dem deutschsprachigen Raum im Zeitalter der Weltliteratur (1770–1850). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012, 173–189. Also noteworthy in this context is the fact that Van Swieten mentions in his 1772 report to the empress that no one in the Censorship Commission besides himself was able to read books in English (Quelques remarques sur la censure des livres; see appendix), pp. 367–370.

pher focused on aesthetics and criticism of religion. Claude Joseph Dorat with his plays and works of prose stands out in the ranking as a conservative and anti-Enlightenment figure. Rousseau, most likely the best-known proponent of French Enlightenment thinking in the German-speaking area alongside Voltaire, along with the authors of satirical and frivolous-libertine prose and epics Rétif de la Bretonne, Crébillon fils, and Wieland round off the group of Enlightenment notables in the top ten. Italian-born Gregorio Leti made his career as a historian at the French and English courts; his writings criticizing the pope and the Catholic Church were all included in the Roman Index, and he was rightfully considered an extremely unreliable historiographer by his peers. The remaining names on the list of most frequently banned authors were likewise largely spearheads of the Enlightenment, be it in the realm of philosophy and criticism of religion or that of belles lettres and satire. A few exceptions trace back to the seventeenth century (among them Martin von Cochem, Ferrante Pallavicino, Johannes Praetorius, Johann Beer, or Jakob Böhme) and were frowned upon as Protestants, satirists, or adherents of superstition. Aretino from the realm of Renaissance literature and Ovid from classical antiquity secured their places in the roster owing to their erotic writings. While censorship during the period under scrutiny supported the Enlightenment in general terms, the list of most frequently prohibited authors clearly shows the limits of tolerance for the more radical offshoots of the movement.

TABLE 3 Most frequently prohibited authors 1754–1780

1.	Voltaire	92
2.	Argens, Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'	24
3.	Dorat, Claude Joseph	17
	Frederick II.	17
	Meier, Georg Friedrich	17
6.	Rétif de La Bretonne, Nicolas-Edme	16
	Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	16
	Wieland, Christoph Martin	16
9.	Crébillon, Claude Prosper Jolyot de	15
10.	Leti, Gregorio	13
11.	Hume, David	11
12.	Chevrier, François-Antoine	10
	Holberg, Ludvig	10
	La Mettrie, Julien Offray de	10
	Martin von Cochem	10
	Pallavicino, Ferrante	10

TABLE 3 Most frequently prohibited authors 1754–1780 (*cont.*)

	Praetorius, Johannes	10
18.	Behrisch, Heinrich Wolfgang	9
	Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von	9
	Loen, Johann Michael von	9
	Poiret, Pierre	9
22.	Bastide, Jean-François de	8
	Bolingbroke, Henry St. John	8
	Boureau-Deslandes, André-François	8
	Castillon, Jean-Louis	8
	Petit Du Noyer, Anne Marguerite	8
	Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim	8
	Marchand, Jean-Henri	8
	Miller, Johann Peter	8
	Ovid [P. Ovidius Naso]	8
	Thomasius, Christian	8
32.	Fidler, Ferdinand Ambrosius	7
	Jurieu, Pierre	7
	Mandeville, Bernard de	7
	Nougaret, Pierre Jean Baptiste	7
	Pilati, Carlo Antonio	7
	Rosoi, Barnabé Farmian de	7
	Zschackwitz, Johann Ehrenfried	7
39.	Basedow, Johann Bernhard	6
	Beer, Johann	6
	Böhme, Jakob	6
	Bussy-Rabutin, Roger de	6
	Caylus, Anne Claude Philippe de	6
	Courtilz de Sandras, Gatien de	6
	Defoe, Daniel	6
	Diderot, Denis	6
	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang	6
	Holbach, Paul Henri Thiry d'	6
	La Beaumelle, Laurent Angliviel de	6
	La Croze, Maturin Veyssière	6
	Lyttelton, George	6
	Mairobert, Mathieu François Pidanzat de	6
	Marino, Giambattista	6
	Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper of	6

TABLE 3 Most frequently prohibited authors 1754–1780 (*cont.*)

	Toussaint, François-Vincent	6
	Fusée de Voisenon, Claude Henri de	6
	Zanović, Stjepan	6
58.	Aretino, Pietro	5
	Bayle, Pierre	5
	Brusoni, Girolamo	5
	Desing, Anselm	5
	Du Laurens, Henri-Joseph	5
	Falques, Marianne Agnès	5
	Fielding, Henry	5
	Freschot, Casimir	5
	Godard d'Aucour, Claude	5
	Hall, Joseph	5
	Helvétius, Claude Adrien	5
	Hommel, Carl Ferdinand	5
	Iselin, Isaak	5
	Rochette de La Morlière, Charles Jacques Auguste	5
	La Solle, Henri François de	5
	Lamberg, Maximilian Joseph von	5
	Maubert de Gouvest, Jean Henri	5
	Mauvillon, Éléazar de	5
	Mercier, Louis Sébastien	5
	Meusnier de Querlon, Anne-Gabriel	5
	Oehme, Johann August	5
	Pufendorf, Samuel von	5
	Richter, Christoph Gottlieb	5
	Schröckh, Johann Matthias	5
	Sterne, Laurence	5
	Vitringa, Campegius	5
	Wezel, Johann Carl	5
	Zachariae, Justus Friedrich Wilhelm	5

N.B.: Author names are only provided for 3,273 of the 4,701 works banned between 1754 and 1780; the remaining prohibitions pertained to periodicals and anonymous publications.

4.4 *Prohibitions 1783–1791, by Language*

The breakdown of the prohibitions from 1783 to 1791 by language reveals a slightly different picture than that for the years 1754 to 1780.

TABLE 4 Prohibitions 1783–1791, by language

German	491 (= 76.6 %)
French	126 (= 19.7 %)
Latin	15 (= 2.3 %)
Italian	1 (= 0.15 %)
English	1 (= 0.15 %)
Multi-language	7 (= 1.1 %)
Total	641 (= 100 %)

German-language publications clearly dominate during this period, with French dropping from almost one third to merely one fifth of the prohibitions; the shares of the other languages are more or less unchanged. It is difficult to determine whether the decline in French titles by more than a third of the overall total is owed more to the increase in domestic book production or to a greater tolerance applied to French literature, but both factors presumably played a role.

4.5 *Most Frequently Banned Authors 1783–1791*

The list of the most frequently prohibited authors in the Josephinian era contains mostly new names.

TABLE 5 Most frequently prohibited authors 1783–1791

1.	Bahrdt, Karl Friedrich	15
2.	Güntherode, Karl von	6
	Trenck, Friedrich von der	6
4.	Berger, Christian Gottlieb	5
	Desmoulins, Camille	5
	Friedel, Johann	5
	Großinger, Joseph	5
8.	Knoblauch, Karl von	4
	Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti	4
	Riem, Andreas	4

TABLE 5 Most frequently prohibited authors 1783–1791 (*cont.*)

	Schulz, Johann Heinrich	4
	Weissenbach, Joseph Anton	4
13.	Albrecht, Johann Friedrich Ernst	3
	Billardon de Sauvigny, Louis Édme	3
	Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre	3
	Büschel, Johann Gabriel Bernhard	3
	Cranz, August Friedrich	3
	Geiger, Carl Ignaz	3
	Großing, Franz Rudolph von	3
	Klinger, Friedrich Maximilian von	3
	Nougaret, Pierre-Jean-Baptiste	3
	Reimarus, Hermann Samuel	3
	Richter, Joseph	3
	Spinoza, Benedictus de	3
	Steinsberg, Karl Franz Guolfinger von	3
	Vulpius, Christian August	3
	Winkopp, Peter Adolph	3
	Zaccaria, Francesco Antonio	3

The prolific writer of popular Enlightenment texts, Karl Friedrich Bahrdt—who seems to have embodied the *bête noire* of the Josephinian era—takes the top spot. The former Augustine father Karl von Güntherode was a like-minded author who increasingly devoted himself to religious satire. Friedrich von der Trenck was presumably targeted by censorship as a thorny case in the diplomacy between Prussia and Austria, while Joseph Großinger was a historian and brochure author with a propensity for sensationalism—titles like *Babylon, oder das große Geheimnis der europäischen Mächte* (Babylon, or the Great Secret of the European Powers, 1784) were characteristic for his work. The writings of Johann Friedel took a similar tack; among his banned works was *Galanterien Wiens auf einer Reise gesammelt, und in Briefen geschildert von einem Berliner* (Gallantries of Vienna Collected on a Journey and Described in Letters by a Berliner, 1784), whereas Christian Gottlieb Berger was dedicated to philosophy and pseudo-religious speculation. The only two Frenchmen near the top of the list are the revolutionaries Camille Demoulins and Mirabeau.

4.6 *Prohibitions 1754–1791, by Discipline or Genre*

TABLE 6 Prohibitions 1754–1780 respectively 1783–1791, by discipline or genre

Discipline/genre	**1754–1780**	**1783–1791**
Religion	1,132 (24.1%)	244 (38.1%)
Philosophy	611 (13.0%)	52 (8.1%)
Historiography	313 (6.7%)	78 (12.2%)
Literature, language, art, pedagogy	51 (1.1%)	1 (0.2%)
Geography	25 (0.5%)	11 (1.7%)
Natural science (incl. medicine)	85 (1.8%)	5 (0.8%)
Political and military science, law	134 (2.9%)	20 (3.1%)
Economy and technology	9 (0.2%)	1 (0.2%)
Advisory literature, guidebooks	99 (2.1%)	11 (1.7%)
Humor	52 (1.1%)	8 (1.2%)
Poetry	303 (6.4%)	16 (2.5%)
Narrative prose	1,461 (31.1%)	135 (21.1%)
Theater	137 (2.9%)	12 (1.9%)
Music	23 (0.5%)	1 (0.2%)
Fine art, maps	1 (0%)	–
Other	57 (1.2%)	13 (2.0%)
Periodicals	208 (4.4%)	33 (5.1%)
Total	4,701 (100%)	641 (100%)

Religion had a much greater significance in the list of banned books during the Josephinian era than during the preceding decades. This can be attributed to the fact that the other disciplines were no longer considered to pose great potential threats. Only historiography and political science—that is, political questions in the broadest sense—have a slightly larger share than during the era of Maria Theresa. Philosophy and fiction were only of marginal interest to the censors, with only literary prose still notably represented with around one fifth of the prohibitions.

4.7 *Most Frequently Prohibited Publishers 1754–1791*

TABLE 7 Publishers appearing most frequently in the prohibition lists, 1754–1791

1.	Marteau (Cologne)	70
2.	La Compagnie (Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Cologne, Lausanne, London)	60
3.	Weygand (Leipzig)	45
4.	Weidmann (17), Weidmanns Erben & Reich (22) (Leipzig)	39
5.	Voß (Berlin)	32
6.	Rey (Amsterdam)	29
7.	Hemmerde (Halle)	27
8.	Rieger (Augsburg)	25
9.	Duchesne (Paris)	21
10.	Nicolai (Berlin, Stettin)	20
	Nourse (London)	20
	Schwickert (Leipzig)	20
13.	Dyck (Leipzig)	18
	Gebauer (Halle)	18
	Haude und Spener (Berlin)	18
16.	Breitkopf (Leipzig)	17
	Felsecker (Nuremberg)	17
	Gleditsch (Leipzig)	17
19.	Decker (Berlin)	16
	Fritsch (Leipzig)	16
	Orell (Zurich)	16
22.	Himburg (Berlin)	15
	Lankisch (Leipzig)	15
24.	Fleischer (Frankfurt, Leipzig)	14
	Wetstein (Amsterdam)	14
26.	Dieterich (Göttingen)	13
	Martini (Hamburg, Leipzig)	13
	Mylius (Berlin)	13
	Waisenhaus (Halle)	13
30.	Cramer (Geneva)	12
	Delalain (Paris)	12
	Hechtel (Frankfurt, Leipzig)	12
	Korn (Breslau)	12
	Meyer (Lemgo)	12
	Richter (Altenburg)	12

TABLE 7 Publishers appearing most frequently in the prohibition lists, 1754–1791 (*cont.*)

36.	Andreae (Frankfurt)	11
	Changuion (Amsterdam)	11
	Hilscher (Leipzig)	11
	Rüdiger (Berlin)	11
	Sommer (Leipzig)	11
41.	Crusius (Leipzig)	10
	Gosse (The Hague)	10
	Junius (Leipzig)	10
	Meyer (Breslau)	10
	Mortier (Amsterdam)	10
	Neaulme (The Hague)	10
	Wever (Berlin)	10
	Wolff (Augsburg, Innsbruck)	10
49.	Crätz (Munich)	9
	Dodsley (London, Frankfurt, Leipzig)	9
	Endter (Nuremberg)	9
	Knoch und Esslinger (Frankfurt)	9
53.	Arkstee & Merkus (Amsterdam)	8
	Bartholomäi (Ulm)	8
	Ettinger (Gotha)	8
	Garnéry (Paris)	8
	Gerlach (Dresden)	8
	Grund (Hamburg)	8
	Hartknoch (Riga)	8
	Iversen (Altona)	8
	Liebezeit (Hamburg)	8
	Mayr (Salzburg)	8
	Rothe (Copenhagen, Leipzig)	8
	Scheurleer (The Hague)	8
	Varrentrapp (Frankfurt)	8

It is noteworthy that the name "Pierre Marteau" in Cologne heads this list; it was a well-known fictitious brand that stood for politically controversial as well as erotic literature. The Elzevier publishing house in Amsterdam was allegedly the first to use this name, which exuded a certain aggressiveness, to protect itself from prosecution. A host of German publishers employed it as well, sometimes translated to "Peter Marteau" or "Peter Hammer." Even

renowned houses such as Nicolai, Voß, Cotta, Fleischer, and Hartknoch are said to have used the false label.[125]

The formula "Aux dépens de la Compagnie" ("At the expense of the Compagnie") was found almost equally as often on the title pages of treatises written in French and largely belonging to the realm of "philosophical" (meaning religion-critical and pornographic) literature. The places of publication specified for these works were Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Cologne, London, and Lausanne—the traditional locations for French literature attempting to avoid prohibition in its home country. A long list of French authors also availed themselves of the extensive freedom enjoyed by the press in the Netherlands to publish their works there without risk. Like "Cologne: Marteau," however, the formula primarily served to disguise French publishers wishing to obscure the true place of printing. Amsterdam in particular was often used as a fictitious printing location for French literature.[126]

"Real" Dutch publishers frequently issuing French editions of literature forbidden in Austria were Rey (6th position in the list), Wetstein (24th), Changuion (36th), Mortier (41st), and Arkstee und Merkus (53rd), all of which were located in Amsterdam, as well as Gosse, Neaulme (both 41st), and Scheurleer (53rd) in The Hague. The Netherlands had a long tradition of internationalized book production, traceable to a considerable extent to a sizable colony of French emigrants and refugees. Gosse, Neaulme, and especially Rey were important players in the Dutch publishing industry. Marc Michel Rey is considered *the* producer of "philosophical" Enlightenment literature[127] and maintained close contact with Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot. Between 1755 and 1764, he published the first editions of Rousseau's works, then numerous books by Voltaire from 1766 to 1778[128]—albeit not exclusively, which led to tensions

125 Cf. Heinrich Hubert Houben: Verbotene Literatur von der klassischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Ein kritisch-historisches Lexikon über verbotene Bücher, Zeitschriften und Theaterstücke, Schriftsteller und Verleger. Vol. 2. Bremen: Schünemann 1928, 251–255.

126 Cf. Anne Sauvy: Livres contrefaits et livres interdits. In: Histoire de l'édition française. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830. Sous la direction de Roger Chartier et Henri-Jean Martin. Paris: Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie 1990 (first edition 1984), 128–146, here 135 and 139.

127 Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck: L'édition française en Hollande. In: Histoire de l'édition française. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830. Sous la direction de Roger Chartier et Henri-Jean Martin. Paris: Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie 1990 (first edition 1984), 403–417, here 413 (Annexe by Jeroom Vercruysse) describes him as "[…] le grand provéditeur des livres philosophiques de langue française."

128 Jeroom Vercruysse: Voltaire et Marc Michel Rey. In: Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 58 (1967): Transactions of the Second international congress on the Enlightenment IV, 1707–1763.

with the authors.[129] As confidant and publishing voice of the "philosophers," Rey was viewed as a circulator of poison by the French potentates.[130]

Besides the works printed abroad by French publishing houses, a certain share of the Dutch publications in French were likely reprints. Prohibition and reprints were intimately connected in the French-speaking area, since only works allowed by way of a royal privilege were formally protected against reprinting while others—including all tacitly tolerated writings—were legally free game. The specification of "Amsterdam" as place of publication is nearly as common on the lists of banned titles as "London" and "Leipzig"—with the latter representing the leading book-producing city in the German-speaking world and thus unsurprisingly the most frequent provider of literature forbidden in Austria. The only designation encountered even more often is "Frankfurt and Leipzig"; especially when used without the name of a publisher, this was usually a disguise.

There is also a single London-based publishing house near the top of the list, namely John Nourse (10th position), which printed English-language works as well as a considerable amount of French and some German literature.[131] The location "Londres" in the case of French literature was likely another guise for one or more Parisian publishers; in addition, it is said that Nourse published on behalf of Voß (Berlin)—or, which seems more likely, that the latter simply used the former's name. The name "Jean Nourse" was placed on title pages in France as a jest, which is indicative of its general familiarity as a pseudonym: "Toujours à Londres, chez l'éternel Jean Nourse."[132] The number of books overtly issued by Parisian publishers is small: Only Duchesne (9th position), Delalain (30th), and Garnéry (53rd) appear in the list. As the provided examples will have made plain by now, however, the specified locations were not always the real places of printing, and the many fictitious declarations likely disguised a large number of publications that were, in fact, produced in France.

The share of French "exile publishers" in Switzerland in the titles on the Austrian prohibition lists was small compared to those in the Netherlands and London. Only Gebrüder Cramer in Geneva (30th position), which published many

129 Cf. Raymond Birn: Rousseau et ses éditeurs. In: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 40, no. 1 (1993), 120–136.

130 See Berkvens-Stevelinck: L'édition française en Hollande, 414.

131 Cf. John Feather: John Nourse and His Authors. In: Studies in Bibliography 34 (1981), 205–226.

132 Sauvy: Livres contrefaits et livres interdits, 139.

of Voltaire's works between 1756 and 1775,[133] plays a significant role here—unlike the Société typographique de Neuchâtel, for instance, which was famous for its editions of French literature.

The majority of publications forbidden in Austria came from the Central German states, produced by Weidmann respectively Weidmanns Erben und Reich (4th position), Dyck (13th), Breitkopf, Gleditsch (both 16th), and Fleischer (24th) in Leipzig, Voß (5th), Nicolai (10th), Haude und Spener (13th), and Decker (19th) in Berlin, or Hemmerde (7th) and Gebauer (13th) in Halle. All of these were renowned publishers of scientific and fictional Enlightenment literature who engaged in "the business of the Enlightenment in an unspectacular but successful manner."[134] Johann Friedrich Weygand (3rd) and Engelhard Benjamin Schwickert (10th), on the other hand, were early representatives of the "speculative" book trade who exploited their authors. Schwickert did not shy away from producing reprints and established the fictitious company Dodsley & Co. for this purpose,[135] which also makes it into the ranking of most frequently prohibited publishers in 49th position. Only three publishing houses on the list were located in Northern Germany: Dieterich (26th) from Göttingen as well as Martini (26th) and Grund (53rd) from Hamburg. The largely Catholic Southern German book industry likewise only played a marginal role with Rieger (8th, Augsburg), Felsecker (16th, Nuremberg), and Wolff (41st, Augsburg and Innsbruck), as did Switzerland with Orell (19th, Zurich).

133 Bernard Lescaze: Commerce d'assortiment et livres inderdits: Genêve. In: Histoire de l'édition française. Le livre triomphant 1660–1830. Sous la direction de Roger Chartier et Henri-Jean Martin. Paris: Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie 1990 (first edition 1984), 418–428, here 422.

134 Reinhard Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Ein Überblick. Munich: C.H. Beck 1991, 136: "das Geschäft der Aufklärung auf unspektakuläre, aber erfolgreiche Weise […]."

135 Cf. ibid., 135–136.

CHAPTER 3

Censorship as an Instrument of Repression: The Era of Napoleon and the *Vormärz* Period (1792–1848)

The first five years of the period discussed in this section form the transition phase between the instructionally oriented and Enlightenment-focused censorship regime to the strictly prohibitive system instituted by Emperor Francis II in the post-revolutionary era. By 1795, this system was largely established and chartered by way of a new censorship directive, and the number of book prohibitions was climbing to new record heights. The Enlightenment from above had bred an authoritarian state, and the unity between the sovereign's decisions and the will and interests of his subjects, which had formed the basis for the Habsburg Monarchy under Joseph II, turned out to be an illusion.[1] While the focus of censorship during the previous decades had been placed on enlightening the citizens and promoting their happiness, it now explicitly served to maintain the "peace of the state" and suppress any ideas that "confound its interests and its good order," as Metternich explained.[2]

Johann Ludwig von Deinhardstein, a head ideologist of the Metternich era who was also active as a censor during the 1840s, added that the task of censorship was to prevent the publication of material that was "detrimental to the state" and thus disturbed "the peace of the majority" for the benefit of an individual.[3] The phase from 1805 to 1815, meaning the period of the Napoleonic Wars with temporary French occupation and government of parts of the Habsburg Monarchy until the Congress of Vienna, is highly inhomogeneous and complex in terms of its censorship history. There followed a comparatively uniform phase with consolidated and strict censorship from 1821 to 1848, with an increasing loss of control occurring during the 1840s as a result of the rapid growth of the book market—as will be demonstrated at the end of this chapter.

1 Reinhart Koselleck: Kritik und Krise. Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1979 (first edition 1959), 132–157, explains this process using Rousseau's concept of the *volonté générale* of society and its relationship to the decisions of the king, i.e. of the state. In Austria, however, the sovereign authority was not replaced by a democratic collective like in France but instead by a renewal of the absolute monarchy.

2 Quoted in Heindl: Der "Mitautor," 42: "[…] Frieden des Staates […] seine Interessen und seine gute Ordnung verwirren."

3 Quoted in ibid.: "[…] dem Staate Nachteiliges […] die Ruhe der Mehrzahl."

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1 Between the French Revolution and Student Unrest: Censorship from 1792 to 1820

1.1 *The Establishment of the System of Police Censorship*

Following a court decree issued on February 10, 1792, the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancellery inherited the censorship agendas from the discontinued *Studien- und Zensurhofkommission*. This meant the end of collegiate treatment of censorship questions; censors now submitted their individually compiled reports, based on which an official at the Court Chancellery made the final decision regarding permission or prohibition. Books written by revolutionary French and Italian emigrants became the subject of more intensive inspection. A further court decree issued in February 1793 reminded the censors that books painting the French Revolution in a positive light were to be allowed neither for printing nor for import. French newspapers like *Moniteur* and *Journal de Paris* could only be read with special permission from the court censorial authorities.[4] Gazettes like the *Straßburger Courier* and the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* were likewise prohibited for transporting undesirable political contents.[5]

The police force was upgraded under the leadership of Count Pergen, who viewed science in general as a threat to peace and order in the state.[6] A conservative publishing movement headed by Leopold Alois Hoffmann developed simultaneously. In 1792—by order of Leopold II—Hoffmann had founded the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, which existed until 1793 and pursued the goal of uncovering conspiracies and all forms of subversion.[7]

A General Censorship Ordinance subsuming the previous partial enactments was issued on 22 February 1795.[8] Manuscripts could not be printed, nor books produced abroad be sold, without prior approval. Two copies of every

4 Reinalter: Die Französische Revolution und Mitteleuropa, 102.

5 Wangermann: Von Joseph II. zu den Jakobinerprozessen, 126.

6 Cf. Helmut Reinalter: Österreich und die Französische Revolution. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag 1988, 82–83.

7 See ibid., 86.

8 Hofdekret an sämmtliche Länderstellen vom 22. Februar, und an die Niederöstreichische Regierung vom 30. Mai, kundgemacht durch die Regierung ob der Enns unter dem 24., durch das Tiroler Gubernium den 27., durch das Gubernium in Steiermark und Krain unterm 28. März, durch das Böhmische den 15., durch das Mährische Gubernium unter dem 16. Mai, durch die Niederöstreichische Regierung unter dem 3. das Gubernium in Triest unterm 7. Junius 1795. In: Sammlung der Gesetze welche unter der glorreichen Regierung des Kaisers Franz des II. in den sämmtlichen K.K. Erblanden erschienen sind in einer Chronologischen Ordnung von Joseph Kropatschek. Fünfter Band enthält die 1te Hälfte des Jahres 1795. Vienna: Mösle n.d., 182–194; see appendix, pp. 372–374.

manuscript had to be submitted so that one of them, which remained with the Book Review Office after having been read by the censor, could be compared to the printed version after its production. In the case of manuscripts, a censor could require deletions (the final decision would then be "admittitur omissis deletis") or the specification of a printing location abroad ("admittitur absque loco impressionis"). The Book Review Office decided which censor a manuscript was assigned to, and contact between censor and author respectively publisher was to be avoided. Reprints and translations had to be submitted for censorship like manuscripts, and the same applied to catalogs of books offered for sale or auction. Particularly objectionable or scurrilous writings found in such stocks were now no longer sent back to the publishers or book merchants outside the monarchy they had originated from, as had previously been customary, but were instead simply destroyed without further ado. Sending manuscripts prohibited in Austria to other countries for printing was forbidden. Most of the paragraphs in the General Censorship Ordinance were obviously designed to put an end to misuse in the book production and distribution process. The censorial screws were also tightened noticeably during the years following its issuance, and as a result the prohibition numbers reached a level that would remain unmatched even at the end of the pre-March period despite the massive increase in literary production.[9] As early as 1798, satirical observers commented sarcastically on the frenetic prohibition activity in Austria: "With horror one sees that the number of books over which the Messieurs in Vienna declare the interdiction becomes so much more sizable each time that one must almost fear they will, in a few years' time, prohibit the fair catalog lock, stock, and barrel."[10] Due to its strictness, the Austrian censorship apparently continued to be considered exemplary among likeminded rulers. Tsar Paul I of Russia, for instance, decreed in 1799 that works forbidden "by the Viennese or other ruling lords' censorship" should be proscribed in Russia as well.[11] Conversely, a prohibi-

9 Cf. The information in the statistical section below.

10 Jacob Pickharts Peregrinationen. 2 vols. Leipzig: Supprian 1798. Vol. 1, 43–44; quoted in Dirk Sangmeister: Erkundungen in einem wilden Feld. Clandestine und subversive Literatur Erfurter Autoren und Verlage im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. In: Dirk Sangmeister and Martin Mulsow (eds.): Subversive Literatur. Erfurter Autoren und Verlage im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution (1780–1806). Göttingen: Wallstein 2014, 7–70, here 28: "Mit Schrecken sieht man, daß die Zahl der Bücher, über welche die Herrn zu Wien das Interdikt aussprechen, jedesmal um so vieles ansehnlicher wird, daß schier zu befürchten steht, sie werden in wenig Jahren den Meßkatalogus über Bausch und Bogen verbieten."

11 Quoted in Dirk Sangmeister: Vertrieben vom Feld der Literatur. Verbreitung und Unter-

tion in St. Petersburg also constituted an argument for banning a play in Austria.[12]

While lists of forbidden books had been published only irregularly during the Josephinian decade, they were consistently compiled and dispatched to the responsible bureaus in the entire monarchy every month starting in 1792. Since misuse regarding these lists was apparently also not uncommon, they were only sent to the Book Review Offices, the regional authorities, and the customs offices beginning in March 1797, with all other interested parties having to apply for a Scheda to obtain them.[13] Because they were also much sought-after as reading lists, the Prague censor Amand Berghofer published a volume entitled *Verbothene Schriften* (Forbidden Writings) in Bavaria in 1805 that was reprinted in a second edition in 1808. When Berghofer, who had already attracted attention as an oppositional author with other activities in the past, was identified as the author by the authorities, he was dismissed from public service.[14] The confidentiality of the prohibition lists excluded booksellers in particular, which made it difficult for them to even determine which works were forbidden.

In 1801, responsibility for censorship was transferred to the *Polizeihofstelle* (Court Police Section) established in 1792. It was presided over until 1804 by Count Johann Anton Pergen, who had been urging for censorship to be included in the Section's duties for a long time, since he was of the opinion that written words caused "ideas to be propagated and attitudes of the citizens to receive their orientation"[15]—in other words, that the surveillance of literature represented a facet of national security. His successor until 1808, Baron Thaddeus von Sumerau, argued that censorship was "a simple police institution."[16] This statement was presumably intended to underline that rather than specialized knowledge, nothing but knowledge of the police guidelines and the mood among the audience was required to assess the danger inherent in a book. The

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drückung der Werke von Friedrich Christian Laukhard. Bremen: edition lumière 2017, 33, according to *Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 1799, Intelligenzblatt, no. 34, 280: "[…] von der Wiener oder andern regierenden Herren Censur."

12 Cf. Zensurprotokolle des Jahres 1805 (Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle H11/1805).

13 Cf. Madl and Wögerbauer: Censorship and Book Supply, 82. Partial holdings of the lists are also available at major libraries; in Vienna, at the Austrian National Library and the University Library.

14 Cf. Wögerbauer: Die Zensur ist keine Wissenschaft, 118–121.

15 Benna: Organisierung und Personalstand der Polizeihofstelle, 221: "[…] ideen fortgepflanzt werden und gesinnungen der staatsbürger ihre richtung erhalten."

16 Quoted in Wolfram Siemann: "Deutschlands Ruhe, Sicherheit und Ordnung." Die Anfänge der politischen Polizei 1806–1866. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1985, 48: "eine bloße Polzeianstalt."

Court Police Section was subsequently headed by Baron Franz von Hager zu Allentsteig until 1816 and finally, until 1848, by Count Joseph Sedlnitzky, who was infamous for being a narrow-minded fanatic.[17]

1.2 *The Censors*

The censors reported to the Court Police Section and were listed as being on its staff in the court schematics. They were to combine the abilities of a good official accustomed to following regulations with the qualities of a scholar; ideally, this meant they should be educated clerks who actively published their own writings and kept abreast of one or more fields of knowledge by way of systematic reading. In addition, they were expected to be proficient in as many languages as possible and possess political intuition—or as Section head Sumerau put it in 1806, "administrative knowledge" ("Geschäftskenntnisse") and "a certain tact."[18] This "administrative knowledge" and intuition were susceptible to failure when an author's intention was unclear, however. The book *Peter Sultan, der Unaussprechliche und seine Veziere, oder politisches A.B.C. Büchlein zum Gebrauch der Königskinder von Habessinien* (Peter Sultan the Unspeakable and his Viziers, or Political ABC Booklet for Use by the Royal Children of Abyssinia, 1794) by Ernst August Anton von Göchhausen was recommended for prohibition by its censor in 1795 because it contained a "portrayal of the reprehensible activity of the so-called Illuminati" that served only to "make known the disprovable abuse aimed at the divine service, regents, etc." The State Chancellery, on the other hand, found the intention of the author unquestionable and the book to be useful as a "counterpart against the socially revolutionary writings." The consulted privy councilor Eger brushed this view aside by classifying Göchhausen's work as one of the many writs masked as defenses of the Ancien Régime: "precisely under this mask, whereby Voltär [sic] and consorts ridiculed the sultans and church dignitaries, they have also striven to make abhorred the heads of our Monarchy."[19]

"Genuine" censors were distinguished from temporary ones, with differences existing not only in regard to wages but also in terms of status: The former

17 Cf. Hadamowsky: Ein Jahrhundert Literatur- und Theaterzensur, 301.

18 Quoted in Friedrich Wilhelm Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur und Druckförderung in der Napoleonischen Zeit. Eine Dokumentation auf Grund der Akten der Obersten Polizei- und Zensurhofstelle. Vienna 2010 (https://fedora.phaidra.univie.ac.at/fedora/get/o:62678/bdef:Book/view [last accessed on 12/13/2021]), 32.

19 Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Abschriften nach Akten des Ministeriums des Inneren, Bücherzensur Bd. 2 (1793–1797), fol. 214–215: "Darstellung des Unwesens der sogenannten Illuminaten", "die zu widerlegenden Ausfälle gegen Gottesdienst, Regenten, etc. bekannt werden zu lassen", "Gegenstück wider die sozialen revolutionären Schriften",

were permanently employed while the latter could be dismissed at any time.[20] The number of censors fluctuated between eight and ten in the period from 1792 to 1803 before being increased to 13 in 1804, most likely due to the extensive recensoring campaign described below. Only five to eight genuine censors were employed in the twelve designated positions from 1826 to 1840, with the remaining posts filled by temporary staff. The period from 1841 to 1848 likewise saw between ten and thirteen censors active at any given time, with the majority of the work once again being performed by temporary employees.

Scholars represented one of the major groups among the censorial staff. In Vienna, this category included the jurists Johann Bernhard Fölsch (1798–1820),[21] professor of constitutional law, Anton Gustermann (1807–1823), professor of ecclesiastical law, Anton von Plappart (1838–1847), court councilor of the Supreme Judiciary Section and praeses of the Faculty of Law of the University of Vienna, orientalist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (1811–1825), philosopher and natural scientist Cassian Hallaschka (1833–1847), the professor of aesthetics Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein (1842–1848), the professor of Slavic studies Bartholomäus Kopitar (1812–1844), the physicians Andreas Joseph von Stifft (1804–1836) and Johann Nepomuk von Raimann (1840–1847), both of whom were personal physicians to the emperor, the independent scholar Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach (1841–1847), and the classical philologist as well as tutor and librarian at the princely Schwarzenberg house, Emerich Hohler (1841–1846). Among the theological censors were Mathias Dannenmayer (1797–1804), Anton Karl Reyberger (1808–1811), Augustin Braig (1812–1817), Thomas Joseph Powondra (1823–1828), and Joseph Scheiner (1841–1848), all of them professors of theology, as well as Jacob Ruttenstock (1818–1830), provost in Klosterneuburg and delegate of the Lower Austrian Estates, Andreas Wenzel (1816–1831), abbot of Schottenstift Abbey in Vienna, and Franz Zenner (1841–1848), adjunct of theological studies at the University of Vienna and canon of St. Stephen's.

A second group of censors was formed by government officials, most of whom were themselves authors in a scientific field or of works of fiction. As

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"eben unter dieser Maske, da Voltär und Consorten die Sultane und Bonzen lächerlich machten, haben sie auch die Häupter unserer Monarchie verhasst zu machen sich bestrebet."

20 Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 394. Details on salary demands and raise increments of the censorship officers around 1800 can be found in Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur.

21 The numbers in parentheses specify the period during which the respective person was employed as a censor according to the court schematics. I would like to thank Daniel Syrovy for perusing the schematics.

has often been noted, public officials as authors dominated the literary scene in Austria, and some of these men also worked as censors at least temporarily. Examples of such personal unions in Vienna were Johann Christian Engel (1797–1813), secretary of the Transylvanian Court Chancellery and an expert on the history of Southeastern Europe, Johann Gabriel Seidl (1841–1848), custodian of the Imperial Royal Coin and Antiques Collection, and Leopold Chimani (1841–1844), who worked first as a teacher and then in the distribution of official schoolbooks besides writing numerous pedagogic texts and other literature for children and adolescents. Further officials and censors who were occasionally active as authors were the Lower Austrian state councilors Baron Aloysius von Locella (1793–1800) and Franz Karl von Hägelin (1793–1808), while censor Peter Joris (1816–1825) seems to have otherwise been employed only in the Supreme Judiciary Section and the directorate of the imperial porcelain manufactory. Joseph Schreyvogel (1817–1825) was not a public official at all, but nevertheless effectively in the service of the court as dramaturg at the Imperial Court Theater (*Burgtheater*). Their dual capacity as authors and censorship officials brought this group of state-loyal writers into disaccord with their literary colleagues who defended the freedom of speech, regularly causing the censors to feel psychologically conflicted.[22]

Another writing public clerk involved with censorship was Johann Michael Armbruster from Württemberg; he had previously served as police commissioner in Freiburg im Breisgau, issued antirevolutionary and anti-French writings, and made a name for himself in Vienna as publisher of a newspaper and operator of a lending library. Armbruster committed suicide in 1814. Among the staff of the Book Review Office were Franz Sartori, likewise journalistically active and the Office's director from 1814, and the poet Johann Mayrhofer, best known today as a friend of Franz Schubert, who set several of his texts to music. Mayrhofer's suicide is notorious: He jumped out of a window of the Book Review Office in 1836—presumably less as a result of the mental stress of his work as a censor than owing to a severe attack of hypochondria related to the cholera epidemic sweeping Vienna at the time.[23]

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22 Cf. Waltraud Heindl: Zensur und Zensoren, 1750–1850. Literarische Zensur und staatsbürgerliche Mentalität in Zentraleuropa. Das Problem Zensur in Zentraleuropa. In: Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux and Martin Svatoš (eds.): Libri Prohibiti. La censure dans l'espace habsbourgeois 1650–1850. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2005, 27–37; Waltraud Heindl: Der "Mitautor"; on Seidl and the attacks against him, see Julius Marx: Johann Gabriel Seidl als Zensor. In: Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 15/16 (1959/60), 254–265.

23 Cf. Karl Kasper: Schuberts Freund Mayrhofer als Bücherrevisor. In: Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, no. 198, August 25, 1928, 950–953.

Disregarding the representatives of scientific disciplines—usually professors—who could hardly refuse such a post, the majority of censors working in subordinate positions fulfilled their duties with the ulterior motive of earning merit in order to advance in the administrative hierarchy. One such longtime censor was Abbé Ignaz Pöhm (1793–1827), a secular priest and doctor of theology who worked his way up from assistant librarian at the Viennese court library to custodian of the institution and imperial royal councilor.

Another long-serving censor who likely viewed his job primarily as a way of forging useful contacts was the imperial court secretary and versatile author, publisher, and translator Baron Joseph Friedrich von Retzer (1782–1824), who was assigned specifically to foreign-language literature. Some of the books censored by him contained slips of paper proving that he had not actually read the books himself, instead passing them on to his friend Joseph Richter, author of the popular *Eipeldauerbriefe* (Eipeldau Letters) among many other works. Accosted with regard to this matter, Retzer claimed to have wanted to help the financially troubled author, adding that the handing off of books to be censored to collaborators had a long tradition: He mentioned Abbé Rosalino, who allegedly read for Hägelin as a young man, and asserted that Blumauer had employed an assistant as well; he, Retzer, had previously perused hundreds of books for Locella and court councilor von Birkenstock; and even the great Gerard van Swieten had availed himself of the aid of others.

It was not the first time Retzer had worked with a contributor; he had previously cooperated with *Feldkriegskanzlei* (Army Field Office) secretary Mayer, who had been recommended to him by the emperor's brother-in-law, the Prince of Württemberg. This had not been an entirely selfless recommendation, since it gave the prince access to newly published works that had been subjected to censorship and were oftentimes considered risqué. Their proximity to the forbidden section of the book market seems to have lent socially high-ranking censors like Retzer a certain attractiveness in the eyes of ladies as well. In 1811, for example, Countess Wolkenstein requested Retzer to lend her the censorship copy of the new novel by Pigault-Lebrun, which was allegedly salacious.[24]

1.3 *The Recensoring Campaign 1803–1805*

Between 1803 and 1805, the Josephinian prohibition catalog was revised and many previously approved titles were forbidden—2,552, to be precise.[25] Only

24 Cf. Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 172–175, according to records of the Court Police Section.

25 Cf. Hadamowsky: Ein Jahrhundert Literatur- und Theaterzensur, 302.

the writings of the now tolerated Protestants were treated with more indulgence compared to the catalog published during the reign of Maria Theresa, with far more strict standards applied to all other disciplines and genres. Auction and estate catalogs were retroactively censored according to the new evaluation criteria. Joseph II's educational policy, which had promoted book production and distribution, was oppugned in all its aspects. The previously mentioned Police Director Pergen described the measures as follows in 1803 in connection with the need for recensorship:

> It was part of the plans for immodest promotion of an unconditional and inappropriate enlightenment of the populace under the government of the most blessed Emperor Joseph to increase the number of book printers and satisfy the addiction to reading, once excited, everywhere in the easiest and most inexpensive fashion. The fruits show what befuddlement of ideas has developed therefrom, how true rigorous scholarship and intellectual culture have declined, and how unbounded know-allness and passionate taste for boring novels and vacuous brochures have increased.[26]

The recensoring campaign was not only extremely laborious, it also engendered a host of problems. The libraries of private book collectors suddenly contained forbidden books, and booksellers and antiquarians had likewise relied on the continued admissibleness of various titles while establishing their inventories. The Viennese booksellers' board submitted a petition in January 1804 asking for permission to continue selling books that had been rightfully purchased in the past. In the event that their motion should be denied, they sought compensation for their damages from the Lower Austrian government.[27] Both requests were refused, since the authorities did not wish to make any exceptions to the ban on sales, and financial redress for the considerable stores of unsellable books would have been too costly.

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26 Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 69–70: "Es gehörte zu den Plänen unbescheidener Beförderung einer unbedingten und ungemessenen Volksaufklärung unter der Regierung des höchstseligen Kaisers Joseph, die Anzahl der Buchdrucker zu vermehren und die einmal gereizte Lesesucht überall auf die leichteste und wohlfeilste Art zu befriedigen. Die Früchte zeigen, welche Verwirrung der Ideen hieraus entstanden sei, wie wahre gründliche Gelehrsamkeit und Geisteskultur abgenommen und bodenlose Vielwisserei und leidenschaftlicher Geschmack an faden Romanen und geistlosen Broschüren zugenommen habe."

27 Archiv der Korporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1804, 5 (January 9, 1804).

The publishing houses that had recently produced books that were suddenly prohibited were particularly heavily affected. This was especially noticeable in the case of complete editions of the works of an author, where certain titles or volumes had to be dropped. One such author was C.M. Wieland, whose works had been printed by Schrämbl, respectively his successor Christian Krotz, in Vienna. The first challenge was actually obtaining the relevant information: Since the publishers and booksellers did not have access to the prohibition lists—which naturally also applied to the results of the recensoring campaign—the titles forbidden by the campaign were gradually posted in the Book Review Office for information. As this procedure likewise involved the risk of booksellers copying the lists, the titles of banned works were oftentimes only read out loud, and the retailers or their assistants had to trust their ability to memorize them. Nevertheless, the booksellers were required to submit lists of the now prohibited books included in their stocks.

The indemnity claims by publishers constituted a massive problem. The 29,000 volumes of the abovementioned Wieland edition alone represented an estimated value of 21,750 guilders, a loss no publishing house would likely survive. The debates concerning possible compensation payments thus ended in 1807 with the very reasonable decision to allow stocks of now forbidden books to be sold, albeit without announcements in catalogs or periodicals[28] or other commotion—and only to persons from whom "no misuse is likely to be expected due to their upbringing, status, or character,"[29] meaning in a process similar to the granting of Scheden.

In the course of the recensoring campaign, a guideline stipulating the procedure for censorship and the rules for evaluating individual genres of books was compiled in 1803.[30] It included the following provisions: All manuscripts including new publications, books designated for reprinting, and translations were to be forwarded to the censors responsible for the respective area of expertise, who could decide to allow a work, reject it, or prescribe changes respectively recommend a degree of prohibition to be confirmed by the Court Police Section; in the case of works touching on important matters of domestic or foreign policy, the Court Police Section had to be involved prior to their admis-

28 Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 79 and 87; on this case, cf. also Otto Rauscher: Der Wiener Nachdruck und die Zensur von Wielands Werken. In: Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 39 (1934), 39–41.

29 Archiv der Korporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1807, 42 (October 10, 1807).

30 "Zensur-Vorschrift vom 12. September 1803. Anleitung für Zensoren nach den bestehenden Verordnungen." Prior to the fire at the Palace of Justice, this instruction was included in files of the Court Police Section that a clerk had compiled; cf. Heribert Nagler: Regierung,

sion even if the censor's verdict was positive. The defined degrees of approval for manuscripts as well as for works imported from abroad were "admittitur" (meaning unconditional allowance) and "transeat" (meaning that the respective title could be sold but not announced or advertised). The degrees of prohibition were "erga schedam conceditur" and "damnatur." In the former case, the local Book Review Office could grant educated and trustworthy persons special permission to obtain a book, whereas in the latter case it was only the Court Police Section that could grant Scheden—which it generally only did in response to applications from scholars and diplomats. Manuscripts considered worthless and superfluous, which "are sloppily hustled in a supremely wretched tone or without correctness and order of the thoughts, or in any other manner entirely without content,"[31] were to be disposed of with the verdict of "typum non meretur," a process specifically intended for the areas of belles lettres and light fiction, pamphlets, and brochures.

The listed reasons for prohibition were: attacks on religion (especially from the realms of deism, Socinianism, and materialism[32]), the clergy, the monarchistic form of government, the regent, or the administration that "could provoke a spirit of inebriation, disregard for the state administration, disorder, disquiet, mistrust, dissatisfaction, or even revolt,"[33] as well as violations of morality and personal insults. Periodicals containing listings of the books prohibited in Vienna were now also forbidden.[34] Protestant writings, on the other hand, were fundamentally allowed as long as they did not maliciously attack the Catholic faith or the Church. Also designated for prohibition were treatises lauding the Freemasons,[35] Rosicrucians, Illuminati, and similar groups, works

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Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung in den Jahren 1809–1815 in Österreich. Diss. Vienna (typewritten) 1926, 16–17 and 67–72; see appendix, pp. 382–385.

31 Quoted in Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, V: "[…] in einem ausgezeichnet elenden Ton oder ohne Richtigkeit und Ordnung in den Gedanken hineingehudelt, oder auf eine andere Weise ganz ohne Gehalt sind."

32 Deists and Socinians were Hussite groups in the broadest sense that appeared in Bohemia during the decade of Joseph II. They were persecuted even by this relatively tolerant monarch and banished—preferably to Transylvania—if they could not be converted to Catholicism; cf. Wangermann: Die Waffen der Publizität, 103–107.

33 Cf. Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, VII: "[…] Schwindelgeist, Geringschätzung der Staatsverwaltung, Unordnungen, Unruhe, Misstrauen, Missvergnügen oder sogar Aufstand erregen könnten."

34 For example, the *Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* reprinted the lists of books forbidden in Vienna starting in 1793.

35 The prohibition of Masonic writings was introduced in 1797 and remained in effect unchanged into the pre-March period; cf. Archivio di stato, Milano, Atti di governo, Studi p. m. 87, letter from Sedlnitzky to Saurau on 10/4/1816 (thanks to Daniel Syrovy for the friendly hint).

about quackery intended for reading by "the people," instructions on how to win the lottery or forbidden games, and the formula fiction burgeoning in the late eighteenth century—especially stories revolving around knights, bandits, ghosts, and secret societies, which "excite and occupy the imagination, fill it with adventurous ideals, or even lend crime the luster of greatness."[36]

As early as January 16, 1800, all such tales featuring secret societies, knights, ghosts, and swindlers had been forbidden along with chivalry plays so that "the heads are not filled with ideas from the realm of novels, the imagination not overexcited, and the mind not given a wrong direction."[37] The head of the recensoring campaign, university professor and censor Johann Bernhard Fölsch, had encouraged the emperor not to give in to the "indolent tastes" ("indolenter Geschmack") of the audience and the economic interests of the book industry.[38] Part of the strategy to fight trivial literature was the closure of all lending libraries, which had quickly become the key institutions for the distribution of light fiction, in 1798. They were only allowed to reopen in 1811. The censorship guideline pointed to the existing "reading mania" ("Lesewut"), and accordingly recommended a special focus on literature designed to appeal to a large audience while stating that learned discourse could be treated with more leniency. The fear of a vulgarization of the reading public's tastes was undoubtedly exaggerated: An inordinate production of chivalry and horror novels is bibliographically not verifiable, and the number of banditry tales being published was likewise relatively insignificant.[39]

Noteworthy in terms of the history of mentality is the final paragraph of the guideline, which bespeaks a pseudoreligious worldview strongly oriented around the Manichaean principle, in which censorship defends the side of good:

> The main considerations are always according to the highest will of His Majesty: Promotion of religion, morality, the serious sciences, and of all

36 See Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, VII: "[…] die Einbildungskraft spannen und beschäftigen, sie mit abenteuerlichen Idealen füllen, oder gar dem Verbrechen den Anstrich von Grösse geben."

37 Quoted in Madl and Wögerbauer: Censorship and book supply, 79: "[…] die Köpfe nicht mit Ideen aus der Romanenwelt angefüllt, die Einbildungskraft nicht überspannt, und dem Geiste eine falsche Richtung gegeben werde."

38 Julius Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Zensur im Vormärz. In: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 11 (1958), 412–466, here 418.

39 See Dirk Sangmeister: Zehn Thesen zu Produktion, Rezeption und Erforschung des Schauerromans um 1800. In: Lichtenberg-Jahrbuch 2010, 177–217, here 179–181. On bandit novels,

> that is truly good, true, beautiful, and for the public benefit; suppression as best possible of all that can lead to irreligion, to immorality, to dissatisfaction, to philosophism, to enlightenment.[40]

Regarding the contents to be prohibited, the guideline prefigured the wording of the Censorship Regulation of 1810.

1.4 *The Years of Napoleonic Occupation and the Censorship Regulation of 1810*

In the course of his military campaigns, Napoleon conquered large areas of the Habsburg Monarchy and even occupied its capital twice for several months, once in late 1805 and then again from May to November 1809. These occupations—especially the one in 1809—left noticeable traces in literary life. The French administration abrogated censorship altogether, at most prosecuting anti-French propaganda, and the Book Review Office immediately ordered its stores of confiscated books to be returned to their owners.[41] Several publishers promptly began marketing books that had previously been prohibited: Pichler published Blumauer's poems along with his book *Virgils Aeneis travestirt* (Virgil's Aeneid Travestied; 1784), a bitter satire on the Catholic religion and papal power, as well as an uncensored edition of the works of Schiller. Wallishausser, another renowned Viennese publishing house, announced an edition of Voltaire's strictly forbidden *Pucelle d'Orléans*. This caused none other than Friedrich Schlegel to call for stern censorship that had previously prevented the publication of texts suitable for "making the male German national character flaccid and capable of some debasements occurring in the most recent history." The French had granted freedom of the press, he said, but only for writings acceptable to them, and the propagation of the *Pucelle d'Orléans*, the "dirtiest product that French literature has to offer in this genre," served their interests because it paralyzed "the driving forces of true honor and a manly sense of freedom."[42]

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cf. Holger Dainat: Abaellino, Rinaldini und Konsorten. Zur Geschichte der Räuberromane in Deutschland. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1996, 43, who identified only roughly 320 such novels for the time between 1795 and 1850.

40 See Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, XIV: "Die Hauptrücksichten sind immer nach dem a. h. Willen Sr. Majestät: Beförderung der Religion, der Sittlichkeit, der ernsten Wissenschaften und alles dessen, was wirklich gut, wahr, schön und gemeinnützig ist; möglichste Unterdrückung alles dessen, was zur Irreligion, zur Sittenlosigkeit, zur Unzufriedenheit, zum Philosophismus, zur Aufklärerei hinführen kann."

41 Cf. Franz Hadamowsky: Schiller auf der Wiener Bühne 1783–1959. Vienna: Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft 1959, 18.

42 Über die neue Wiener Preßfreiheit (first published in: Österreichische Zeitung 1809,

A considerable number of books traditionally frowned upon in Austria were immediately banned again following the withdrawal of the French forces. The sale of already printed editions was sometimes permitted, but in such cases the booksellers were obligated to compile lists of purchasers and submit them to the police.[43] Not only had various publishers and booksellers compromised themselves during the period of occupation, but the head of the Book Review Office, Karl Escherich, had also maintained friendly relations with the French. He was sent into retirement immediately after the Habsburgs regained control.[44] On the other hand, many anti-French propaganda texts—including Archduke Johann's appeal to the Tyroleans to resist—were likewise destroyed following the termination of hostilities.[45]

In January 1810, a relatively liberal patent entitled *Vorschrift für die Leitung des Censurwesens und für das Benehmen der Censoren* (Regulation for the Administration of Censorship and for the Behavior of Censors) was issued.[46] Soon after assuming power, Napoleon had introduced relatively strict control of the press—first in France, then in the occupied territories. Censorship was continually intensified during his reign, reaching a culmination with the rigorous decrees of 1810 and 1811.[47] Austria hoped to increase its international prestige by issuing comparatively mild censorship rules. As Friedrich von Gentz wrote in a letter, such a measure surely had to "increase the popularity and the moral credit of the Austrian government immensely." He also added: "We must seek to fight our new friend with such weapons from now on."[48] The surveil-

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107–108). In: Friedrich Schlegel: Studien zur Geschichte und Politik. Eingeleitet u. hg. v. Ernst Behler. (Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe, vol. 7) Munich, Paderborn, Vienna: Schöningh, Zurich: Thomas Verlag 1966, 96–99, here 97 and 98: "[…] den männlichen deutschen Nationalcharakter zu erschlaffen und zu manchen in der neuesten Zeitgeschichte vorkommenden Erniedrigungen fähig zu machen […] schmutzigsten Produkt, welches die französische Literatur in dieser Gattung aufzuweisen hat […] die dem neuen System so verhaßten Triebfedern der wahren Ehre und eines männlichen Freiheitssinnes."

43 Cf. Karl Glossy: Schiller und Österreich. In: K.G.: Kleinere Schriften. Vienna, Leipzig: Fromme 1918, 18–37, here 20.

44 Cf. Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 39–41.

45 Cf. Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, 102.

46 See appendix, pp. 388–390. There exists a draft of this 1810 regulation written by the president of the Court Censorship Section, Hager, that was more liberal than the final product (printed in Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, XV–XXI). For example, Hager had called for complete freedom for scientific works and serious fiction ("classics").

47 Cf. Pierre Horn: Vom autokratischen Kaiserreich zur konstitutionellen Monarchie: Zensur und Emanzipation der französischen Presse im Vormärz (1804–1848). In: Gabriele B. Clemens (ed.): Zensur im Vormärz. Pressefreiheit und Informationskontrolle in Europa. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2013, 23–38, here 26.

48 Quoted in Fischer: Deutsche Kommunikationskontrolle, 66: "[…] die Popularität und den

lance system established by Metternich over the coming years, on the other hand, was part of a toughened response to political opponents and agitators: Napoleon's suppression of revolt with military force was effectively considered good practice by the Austrian restoration as well.[49] The ostensible mildness announced by the censorship regulations served in part to strengthen Austrian journalism, which—as Metternich explained in a speech in November 1809—could prove very useful for fending off enemies.[50]

That the primary goal of the *Vorschrift* of 1810 was not to grant freedom but rather to establish a perhaps well-intended but nevertheless paternalistic regimen is already apparent in its preamble announcing a "purposively guided freedom of reading and writing." The "supreme regental and fatherly obligations" required protecting "with a cautious hand […] the hearts and minds of the immature from the corruptive monstrosities of a hideous fantasy, from the poisonous exhalation of selfish debauchers, and from the dangerous pipe dreams of eccentric minds."[51] Like in the guidelines of 1803, tolerance was promised to serious and innovative scientific contributions, while worthless light fiction would be met with the full severity of censorship. Not just objectionable texts but useless ones as well—like the "endless mass of novels that revolve exclusively around flirtations as their eternal axis" and sought only to "cradle the sensuality"—were to be kept from the population: "It should therefore in all seriousness be endeavored to put an end to the so detrimental literature of novels."[52] The motives for censorship (protection of the monarch and his dynasty, of foreign governments, of religion and morality as well as the honor of

moralischen Kredit der österreichischen Regierung ungeheuer heben […]. Mit solchen Waffen müssen wir unseren neuen Freund forthin zu bekämpfen suchen."

49 Wolfram Siemann: Metternich. Stratege und Visionär. Eine Biografie. Munich: C.H. Beck 2016, 319.

50 Cf. ibid., 322.

51 Quoted in Julius Marx: Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1959, 73: "[…] zweckmäßig geleitete Lese- und Schreib Freyheit […] obersten Regenten- und Vaterpflichten […] mit vorsichtiger Hand […] Herz und Kopf der Unmündigen vor den verderblichen Ausgeburten einer scheußlichen Phantasie, vor dem giftigen Hauche selbstsüchtiger Verführer, und vor den gefährlichen Hirngespinnsten verschrobener Köpfe."

52 Quoted ibid., 74: "[…] endlose Wust von Romanen, welche einzig um Liebeleyen als ihre ewige Achse sich drehen […] die Sinnlichkeit zu wiegen […]. Es soll daher allen Ernstes getrachtet werden, der so nachtheiligen Romanen-Lektüre ein Ende zu machen." To conclude herefrom that the censors arrogated competence for literary criticism, as Wiesner (Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 225 and 228) claims, would be a mistake; rather, it was about evaluating the contents of light fiction in terms of their putative effect.

individuals against defamation) and its degrees as defined in 1803 were reconfirmed.

Theological writings were still reviewed by the secular governmental censors, although the bishops were entitled to lodge appeals if they were dissatisfied with individual verdicts. The emperor himself as the highest authority had the final say in such cases. A decree issued by the Court Chancellery on July 21, 1814 stipulated an additional assessment by a bishop for theological literature; this act partly repealed the transferal of censorship into the hands of the state implemented by Joseph II.

The book reviewers commissioned two expert opinions—respectively more often only one starting in 1810—from the staff of censors.[53] Even though there were specialists for various areas of expertise among the official censors, scientific literature in the strict sense as well as textbooks and other teaching materials were handled by high-ranking faculty members (*Oberstudiendirektoren*) in the respective discipline, who censored the works themselves or passed them on to appropriate specialists in a process known as faculty censorship. In any case, such faculty censors merely did the groundwork for the genuine censors, who ultimately decided on the individual cases.

The reports compiled by the censors (known as *vota*) were to provide a comprehensible argumentation for their superiors up to the emperor with the goal of facilitating assignment to one of the verdicts "admittitur," "transeat," "erga schedam," and "damnatur." Especially desirable were references to noteworthy passages, with the censors expected to highlight the page numbers and/or text passages relevant for the verdict in the censorial copy or manuscript for hurried readers—or even more comfortably for their busy superiors, to simply quote them in the report.[54]

The *Vorschrift* remained in force until 1848 and represented the only guideline for the censors during this period. It was reaffirmed and distributed to the censors throughout the monarchy in lithographed form as late as 1840.

1.5 *The Censorship Reports: Examples from the Years 1810/11*

Preserved censorship reports are rare, as the majority of them were apparently destroyed by the fire in the Vienna Palace of Justice in 1927. In addition, the reports were summarized in log journals, which are only preserved for certain

53 On the procedure, cf. Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 266–298; a similar description is offered by Thomas Olechowski: Die Entwicklung des Preßrechts in Österreich bis 1918. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Medienrechtsgeschichte. Vienna: Manz 2004, 168.

54 Cf. Giese: Studie zur Geschichte der Pressegesetzgebung, 410–411.

periods.[55] A total of 90 works were banned between November 1810 and October 1811, of which 62 were in German, 26 in French, and two in Polish. Compared to the total production of the German book trade (1810: 3,864 titles) and the prohibition activity during the 1790s and 1820s, this number is diminutive.

Thirty of the printed works forbidden in 1810/11 (26 of them in German and two each in French and Polish) can be considered nonfiction. They were mostly from the fields of theology, philosophy, political science, and history (especially military history) along with a few legal, economic, geographical, and statistical texts. The remaining 60 works included novels (22, of which 11 in French), various anthologies of short stories, poems, anecdotes, or humorous texts (24, of which 7 in French), periodicals (7, of which 1 in French), books for youths (5), and two volumes of drama. This second group was thus largely composed of works that the *Vorschrift* of 1810 defined as suitable for dissemination.

Sixty of the 90 banned texts received the stricter verdict of "damnatur," while 30 were marked as "erga schedam." This assignment in the prohibition lists conforms roughly, though not entirely, to the *Vorschrift*'s aim of treating the sciences with more tolerance (meaning "erga schedam") while applying the utmost severity (meaning "damnatur") to the fundamentally "useless" belles lettres.

Let us first look at a few examples of attacks on the Christian faith or the clergy. It is readily apparent that a treatise like G. Ch. Cannabich's *Kritik der practischen christlichen Religionslehre* (Criticism of the Practical Christian Doctrine, 1811) provoked a host of objections that need not be discussed here. No less exceptionable in the eyes of the responsible censor was L.P.G. Happach's *Ueber die Beschaffenheit des künftigen Lebens nach dem Tode* (On the Nature of the Future Life after Death, 1811), which describes the earth's atmosphere as the living environment of the souls, who nevertheless need food and shelter like the living. As proof of his theory, the author mentions the phenomenon of the fata morgana, which he considers a reflection of the celestial dwellings. In keeping with the censorship regulations, the censor differentiated between educated and immature readers and forbade the text because "such notions of the future life may appear entertaining to educated readers; [but] they do not conform to the Christian fundamental tenets and might mislead unpracticed thinkers to new fallacies."[56]

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55 The records cited in the following are accessible at the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle, under the shelfmark 97k/1811.

56 "solche Vorstellungen vom künftigen Leben gebildeten Lesern wohl unterhaltlich scheinen", "sie aber dem christlichen Lehrbegriffe nicht entsprechen, und ungeübte Denker zu neuen Irrthümern verleiten könnten".

Roguish cleric or monk figures in novels were frequently rejected, for example an abbot named Hilarius in *Geschichte zweyer Frauen aus dem Hause Blankenau. Eine Sage aus der Vorzeit* (A Tale of Two Women from House Blankenau: A Myth from Times Past, 1811), whose character was "a mixture of bigotry, craftiness, pride, unfaithfulness, fanatism, and so on"[57] according to the censor. A periodical like the *Neue Oberdeutsche Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* was withdrawn from circulation for a single article—a review of the treatise *Ueber das Bedürfniss einer Reformation des Priesterstandes* (On the Need for a Reformation of the Priesthood, 1811), which was assessed as containing "grave insults to a profession which, once dispossessed of its dignity and its repute, is no longer able to do good."[58]

Even Austrian public officials like Friedrich Schlegel, who served as court secretary in Vienna during this period, could not expect to be spared by the censors. Schlegel's Lessing commentary *Lessings Geist aus seinen Schriften* (Lessing's Spirit from His Writings, 1810) was forbidden because of a perceived "offensiveness against Vienna" ("Ausfall gegen Wien") and in particular because of attacks against religion in the essays on fatalism, Christianity, reason, and the Freemasons. Besides the Masons, mention of the Rosicrucians and the Templars was likewise not acceptable, and Schlegel's supposed trivialization of suicide can also be assigned to the area of theologically motivated reasons for prohibition.[59]

The most important political reason for book bans were attacks on the imperial family. In this regard, even a novel like Mme. Barthélemy-Hadot's *Clotilde de Hasbourg ou le tribunal de Neustadt* (Clotilde of Habsburg or the Tribunal of Neustadt, 1810), a family saga set in the fourteenth century and revolving around Rudolf the Founder, was considered insulting because it presented "some of them [the members of the Habsburg Austrian House] as unnaturally dissolute and deplorable while the others, the oppressed, are portrayed as virtuous and likeable."[60] The censor found it "unbecoming to introduce such execrable characters and persons as the alleged Clotilde and the alleged Casimir as the oldest siblings of Emperor Rudolph are as being among the forebears and

57 "ein Gemisch von Bigotterie, Schlauheit, Stolz, Treulosigkeit, Fanatism, und so weiter".

58 "grobe Beleidigungen gegen einen Stand vorkommen, welcher, sobald er um seine Würde und sein Ansehen gebracht wird, nichts Gutes mehr zu wirken vermag".

59 In the cases of Achim von Arnim: Halle und Jerusalem. Studentenspiel und Pilgerabentheuer (Heidelberg 1811) and W. Blumenhagen: Freia. Romantische Dichtungen (Erfurt 1811). On this, cf. also Chapter 6.3. below.

60 "die einen [der Mitglieder der habsburgischen Dynastie] ebenso unnatürlich lasterhaft und verabscheuungswürdig, als die andern, die unterdrückten, tugendhaft und liebenswürdig".

relatives of the Habsburg House, and to let them circulate as such among the audience."[61]

Nor was shade allowed to be cast on any other legitimate dynasties. An issue of the journal *Europäische Annalen* was forbidden because of "the continued portrayal of the battles on the Champ de Mars, then because of the offensiveness to the Bourbons in Spain [and] to clergy and nobility in general"[62] (referring to *Europäische Annalen*, 1810, 10th issue). Descriptions of the amorous adventures of kings in novels were also considered objectionable (for example in M. de Faverolle's *Le Parc aux cerfs, ou histoire secrète des jeunes Demoiselles qui y ont été renfermées* [The Parc aux cerfs, or Secret History of Two Young Ladies Who Were Imprisoned There], 1809).

Another frequent reason for prohibition during this period were narrations of the military successes of the Napoleonic forces, since they implied defeats of the Austrians and their emperor. A censor accused the author of one such military history account of insulting the Austrian people by claiming that they had begged Napoleon for mercy and by presenting the Battle of Essling as a French victory (René Perin: *Vie militaire de J. Lannes, Duc de Montebello* [The Military Life of J. Lannes, Duke of Montebello], 1809).

As stipulated by the *Vorschrift*, special attention was paid to the feared subversion of patriotism during the censorship of popular writings and publications for the youth: The censor of *Herzensgüte und Seelengröße. Eine Beyspielsammlung für Kinder* (Kindness of the Heart and Greatness of the Soul: A Collection of Examples for Children, n.d.) reported that "the contents of this writ for young people, which on pp. 68–89 is a portrayal of military heroics of the French military, which therein are not rarely compared to the heroes of antiquity, are not proper reading for children who should honor and love their fatherland: Austria, their Sovereign, and their defenders."[63]

It may come as a surprise that even criticism of the state finances constituted a reason for prohibition. In September 1811, the book *Handels- und Finanz-Pandora der neuesten Zeiten* (Trade and Finance Pandora of the Most

61 "unschicklich, solche gräßliche Charaktere und Personen, wie die angebliche Clotilde, und der angebliche Casimir als die ältesten Geschwister des Kaisers Rudolph sind, als zu den Voreltern und Verwandten des Habsburgischen Hauses gehörig vorzustellen, und als solche im Publicum cursiren zu lassen".

62 "[w]egen der fortgesetzten Darstellung der Schlachten auf dem Marsfelde, dann wegen der Ausfälle auf die Bourbons in Spanien auf Clerus und Adel überhaupt".

63 "Der Inhalt dieser Jugendschrift, welche von S. 68–89 eine Darstellung militärischer Heldenthaten des französischen Militärs ist, welche darin nicht selten mit den Helden des Alterthums verglichen werden, ist keine anständige Lectüre für Kinder, welche ihr Vaterland: Oesterreich, ihren Fürsten und ihre Vertheidiger achten und lieben sollen".

Recent Times, 1810) by Georg Christian Otto Georgius was banned. The censor stated that while the author illuminated the condition of the European states' finances, he wrote with a presumptuous tone that insulted the courts, especially that of Austria. An issue of the periodical *Der Verkündiger* (The Proclaimer, 1811, no. 31) was forbidden because the Austrian paper money was "demeaned with profane humor" ("mit derbem Witz herabgewürdigt") within it. The background in this case were the financial problems resulting from the lost wars against Napoleon, which led to national bankruptcy and devaluation of the bills, the so-called *Bancozettel* (bank slips), in 1811.

As far as questions of morality were concerned, the censorial system exhibited a particular sensitivity to French writings, with national stereotypes occasionally being incorporated in the verdicts: "Even though no actual obscenities occur in this lyrical anthology, some passages due to the national frivolousness and due to French plays on words give enough cause […] to forbid it"[64] (*Anthologie lyrique, deuxième édition de Momus en délire* [Lyrical Anthology, Second Edition by Momus in Delusion], 1810). Even a reference to a scorned author's name was sometimes enough to elicit a ban: "Is an excerpt from Louve's [sic] Faublas [Louvet de Couvray: Les amours du chevalier Faublas], and thus […] to be forbidden"[65] (*Pariser Nächte* [Parisian Nights], 1811).

Not even Heinrich von Kleist was immune to accusations of immorality. The first volume of his collected *Erzählungen* (Stories, 1810), which included "Michael Kohlhaas," "Die Marquise von O …," and "Das Erdbeben in Chili" was rated "damnatur" in January 1811 by censor Baron Retzer, who specialized in belles lettres, owing to two relatively unremarkable passages in the latter story:

> Though these stories are not without any value, their content can nevertheless not make one forget the immoral passages, which appear especially in the tale "The Earthquake in Chile" pp. 307 and 308. A young Spaniard, whose girl of his heart had been put in a convent by her father, seeks an opportunity to see her, and by an unfortunate coincidence he meets with her in a secretive night, and makes the convent garden the witness of his fullest carnal bliss. The girl is pregnant, and goes into labor precisely at the moment in which the ceremonial Corpus Christi proces-

64 "Obschon in dieser lyrischen Anthologie keine eigentlichen Obscönitäten vorkommen, so geben doch einige Stellen durch die nationelle Frivolität und durch französische Witzspiele Anlaß genug dieselbe […] zu verbiethen."

65 "Ist ein Auszug aus Louves [sic] Faublas [d. i. Louvet de Couvray: Les amours du chevalier Faublas], und daher […] zu verbiethen."

> sion of the nuns begins, which the novices are to follow. The outcome of this narration is most dreadful.[66]

The argument of a "dreadful, outrageous, and inhumane" ("gräßlich[en], empörend[en] und unmenschlich[en]") ending was also applied to Kotzebue's drama *Adelheid von Wülfingen. Ein Denkmal der Barbarey des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Adelheid of Wülfingen: A Memorial to the Barbarism of the 13th Century, 1810). The censor was apparently afraid that such an ending might engender doubts regarding the world order among readers.

When the following paragraphs mention several of the many forbidden novels, it is worth remembering that chivalric romanticism, horror stories modeled on the English gothic novel, and bandit tales about the likes of Rinaldo Rinaldini were in the late stage of their heyday at this time. Besides indecent scenes, it was therefore frequently the density of the adventures and the portrayed criminality that censors took offense at. One adventure novel presented a "scum of humanity" ("Abschaum der Menschheit") as its hero (*Le Capitaine subtle, ou l'intrigue devoilée* [Captain Subtle, or the Unveiled Intrigue], 1810), another was characterized as "pervaded by robbers' and lovers' adventures"[67] (Legay: *La roche du diable* [The Devil's Rock], 1809), a third eliminated as "a very ordinary tale of libertines and rascals"[68] (*Jean Clergeot, ou le danger* [*de changer*] *de nom* [Jean Clergeot, or the Danger of (Changing) One's Name], an 7 de la république).

Besides specific objectionable passages, the censors rarely neglected to mention the inferior literary quality of reviewed novels as well to justify a recommendation of "damnatur." A further corroboration for proscription were derogatory remarks about the author like "The Abbé Sabatier is not one of the most exquisite authors of France"[69] (*Les Caprices de la fortune* [The Whims of Fortune], 1809). The production of another novel writer was described as

66 "Wenn diese Erzählungen auch nicht ohne allen Werth sind, so kann ihr Gehalt doch die unmoralischen Stellen [nicht] vergessen machen, welche besonders in der Erzählung "das Erdbeben von Chili" S. 307 und 308 vorkommen. Ein junger Spanier, dem der Vater das Mädchen seines Herzens in ein Kloster gegeben hatte, sucht Gelegenheit sie zu sehen, durch einen unglücklichen Zufall kommt er mit ihr in einer verschwiegenen Nacht zusammen, und macht den Klostergarten zum Zeugen seines vollensten körperlichen Glückes. Das Mädchen ist schwanger, und bekommt eben in dem Augenblick die Mutterwehen, als die feierliche Frohnleichnahmsprocession der Nonnen beginnt, welcher die Novizinnen folgen sollen. Der Ausgang dieser Erzählung ist in höchstem Grade gräßlich."

67 "mit Räuber- und Liebesavanturen durchflochten".

68 "eine ganz gewöhnliche Libertin und Spitzbubengeschichte".

69 "Der Abbé Sabatier ist keiner von den vorzüglichsten Schriftstellern Frankreichs."

"the unprincipled babble of an inexhaustible French aesthete"[70] (*Agathe d'Entragues. Roman historique de l'auteur d'Irma* [Agathe d'Entragues: Historical Novel by the Author of *Irma*], 1807). This occasionally went so far as to doubt a writer's mental faculties, for example when a censor berated "excrescences of a half-insane mind"[71] (*Der Todesbund* [The Death Alliance], 1811).

The renowned orientalist and later president of the Academy of Sciences, Hammer-Purgstall, offered up an exaggerated rhetorical analysis of the abovementioned novel *Clotilde de Hasbourg* when he wrote: "This work has no value from the perspective of imagination, arrangement, expression, and the other features that constitute the nature and the merits of an epic poem."[72] Similarly, the report about Sabatier de Castres stated that "neither his ingenuity, nor the execution of his works, nor his style"[73] could be lauded (*Les Caprices de la fortune*, 1809). Phrasings assigning works to certain sociological or literary history categories, for example "a product of the writing-excited period of Austria [i.e. Josephinism]"[74] also served as abbreviated assessments (*Der deutsche Diogenes oder der Philosoph nach der Mode* [The German Diogenes or the Philosopher Following Fashion], 1792).

As should be apparent from these examples, the Censorship Regulation of 1810 caused the censors to gauge the usefulness of literature and even employ stylistic deficiencies as additional arguments for prohibition besides the determination of objectionable contents. Long before the disputes about "Schmutz und Schund" (roughly: "filth and rubbish") towards the end of the nineteenth century, this represents a systematic attempt to keep the emerging popular culture under control.

1.6 *The Book Review Offices*

The oldest Book Review Offices in the crown lands were the ones in Prague (1723) and Graz (1732); after 1792 and the transfer of the censorship agendas to the competency of the Court Police Section, the network of offices in the capitals of the provinces was expanded. In the 1830s and 1840s, mirroring the ongoing development of the book industry itself, there existed a total of 13

70 "das prinziplose Gewäsch eines nie sich erschöpfenden französischen Schöngeistes".

71 "Geburten eines halb verrückten Gehirns".

72 "Dieses Werk hat von Seite der Erfindung, der Anordnung, des Ausdruckes und der übrigen Eigenschaften, die das Wesen und die Vorzüge eines epischen Gedichtes ausmachen, keinen Werth".

73 "weder seine Erfindungsgabe, weder die Ausführung seiner Werke, noch sein Vortrag gerühmt werden".

74 "ein Product aus der schreibseligen Periode Oesterreichs [d. i. des Josephinismus]".

Book Review Offices in Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, Graz, Innsbruck, Laibach/Ljubljana, Triest/Trieste, Prague, Brünn/Brno, Lemberg/Lviv, Zara/Zadar, Milan, and Venice.[75] In addition, the lists of allowed books occasionally mention administrative bureaus in Pest, Pressburg/Bratislava, Klagenfurt, and Ragusa/Dubrovnik that fulfilled the function of book review as well. The prohibition lists were accordingly produced for distribution in large editions of 165 copies during this period.[76] Hungary and Transylvania possessed a special status in this regard, with their respective court chancelleries involved in the censorship decisions.

The Book Review Offices respectively the local censors were allowed to apply the assessments of "admittitur" and "transeat" to shorter, obviously unproblematic—and in particular, non-political—manuscripts and books of their own accord, thereby clearing them for printing, and to request minor changes or omissions in the case of manuscripts. A brief perusal was generally enough to determine the innocuousness of book announcements and other adverts and notices, the catalogs of publishers, antiquarians, auctions, and lending libraries, and even many regular printed works of minor importance. The book reviewers in the crown lands were not permitted to impose prohibitions, however—these had to be issued by the Court Police Section in Vienna. After all, the monthly or semi-monthly prohibition lists were ultimately approved by the emperor himself, at least by form. In addition to the above, the Book Review Offices were responsible for censoring local newspapers (but not periodicals), necessitated not least by the significant loss of time their dispatch to Vienna would have entailed, and they also organized the assignment of Scheden for books with the corresponding verdict. Exceptions to these limited competencies of the Book Review Offices in the capitals of the crown lands were the offices in Lemberg, Milan, and Venice, where all manuscripts for works to be published as well as books in Polish respectively Italian arriving from abroad were assessed. The lists of forbidden and permitted books reveal that this approach suggested itself due to the sheer quantity of works published in these languages.

The Book Review Offices also formed relay stations within the censorial process, and this function entailed various tasks to be fulfilled by the reviewers

75 Cf. Oesterreichische National-Encyclopädie, oder alphabetische Darlegung der wissenswürdigsten Eigenthümlichkeiten des österreichischen Kaiserthumes. In sechs Bänden. Erster Band. Vienna: In Commission der Friedrich Beck'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung 1835, 418; Hof- und Staatshandbuch des österreichischen Kaiserthumes. Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerey 1844, 571–572.

76 Cf. Giese: Studie zur Geschichte der Pressegesetzgebung, 411; Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten, 416.

(only three reviewers were active at the Viennese Book Review Office in 1810) and their clerks: They accepted the submitted manuscripts along with books slated for reprinting and passed them on to suitable censors in case of concerns.[77] They also issued the imprimaturs for obviously unobjectionable works as well as those cleared by the censors before returning them to their respective authors and publishers. All books arriving from abroad (as part of orders by booksellers or simply for review) and as yet unknown and therefore neither allowed nor banned in Austria had to be submitted to the censorship process. This often required extensive proficiency in the languages spoken within the monarchy as well as those used outside it: Besides works in French and English, many Italian, Polish, Ruthenian, Czech, and Hungarian writings were received.[78] The censorial reports on foreign books had to be forwarded to the Court Police Section for the final decision on their verdict. It was also the duty of the Book Review Offices to request the opinion of the State Chancellery in the case of politically controversial literature, of the Court Chancellery in the case of legal subject matters, of the Court Education Commission in the case of textbooks, of the Imperial War Council in the case of military writings, and of the episcopal consistory in the case of religious literature.[79] In addition, they had to inspect the baggage of travelers, libraries forming parts of estates, the catalogs of booksellers, antique dealers, and auctions as well as sheet music, maps, and artworks.

> Every written or printed matter from epitaphs to encyclopedias, every image from cufflinks to copper engravings was examined. For pictures on rings, bosom pins, or pipe heads, the ambition to prevent any symbols of secret societies was also involved. In the case of music, texts and drawings had to be paid heed to, revolutionary or political songs were frowned upon; sometimes even dedications were disapproved of.[80]

77 Two censors were usually assigned to each manuscript, with a third censor consulted in the event that their opinions conflicted, see Marx: Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz, 18. Individual cases like that of Grillparzer's poem "Campo vaccino" in the almanac *Aglaja* (see below) show, however, that this time-consuming procedure was not followed consistently. In any case, only one expert opinion was required for the review of already printed books.

78 Cf. the detailed listings of censored manuscripts and books by language in the section on statistics.

79 Cf. Olechowski: Die Entwicklung des Preßrechts, 169.

80 Marx: Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz, 55: "Von der Grabinschrift bis zum Lexikon wurde alles Geschriebene oder Gedruckte, vom Manschettenknopf bis zum Kupferstich jede Abbildung geprüft. Bei Bildern auf Ringen, Busennadeln oder Pfeifenköpfen war

This listing by Julius Marx could be expanded to include the ostensibly unsuspicious genre of dictionaries, which nevertheless faced censorial problems.[81] As a complete catalog of forbidden titles did not exist, excellent bibliographical knowledge—especially regarding new publications—and an outstanding memory concerning previously assessed writings were requirements for working as a reviewer. Beginning in 1815, there were at least printed overall listings of the prohibited books in German, French, and Italian, which were subsequently supplemented by hand to include newly banned titles.[82] In addition, the reviewers maintained handwritten cumulative thesauruses; for example, the Book Review Office in Graz had a list of all foreign newspapers, an index of musical works and lithographs (1780–1840), and a catalog of permitted books from 1770 to 1837 in 31 volumes.[83] It would have been far too laborious to look up each individual title during the inspection of auction catalogs or the listings of booksellers and lending libraries, however; for this task, a reviewer had to use his experience and develop a certain intuition for problematic titles.

Furthermore, all activities had to be documented and report forms submitted weekly to the superordinate entity. The processing of the many periodicals and newspapers entailed considerable effort, particularly since every item that underwent review had to be inventoried in lists: In addition to the lists of forbidden writings to be compiled and issued in numerous copies every month (respectively every two weeks from 1822), a regulation issued in 1796 required even more extensive lists of permitted writings and manuscripts to be created (cf. Figures 4, 5, and 6).[84] Contact also had to be maintained with the customs authorities regarding the return of imported prohibited books to their sources abroad, and the review officers cooperated with the local police forces to perform visitations at booksellers and private households. Last but not least, the Book Review Offices also accepted and processed the applications for Scheden.

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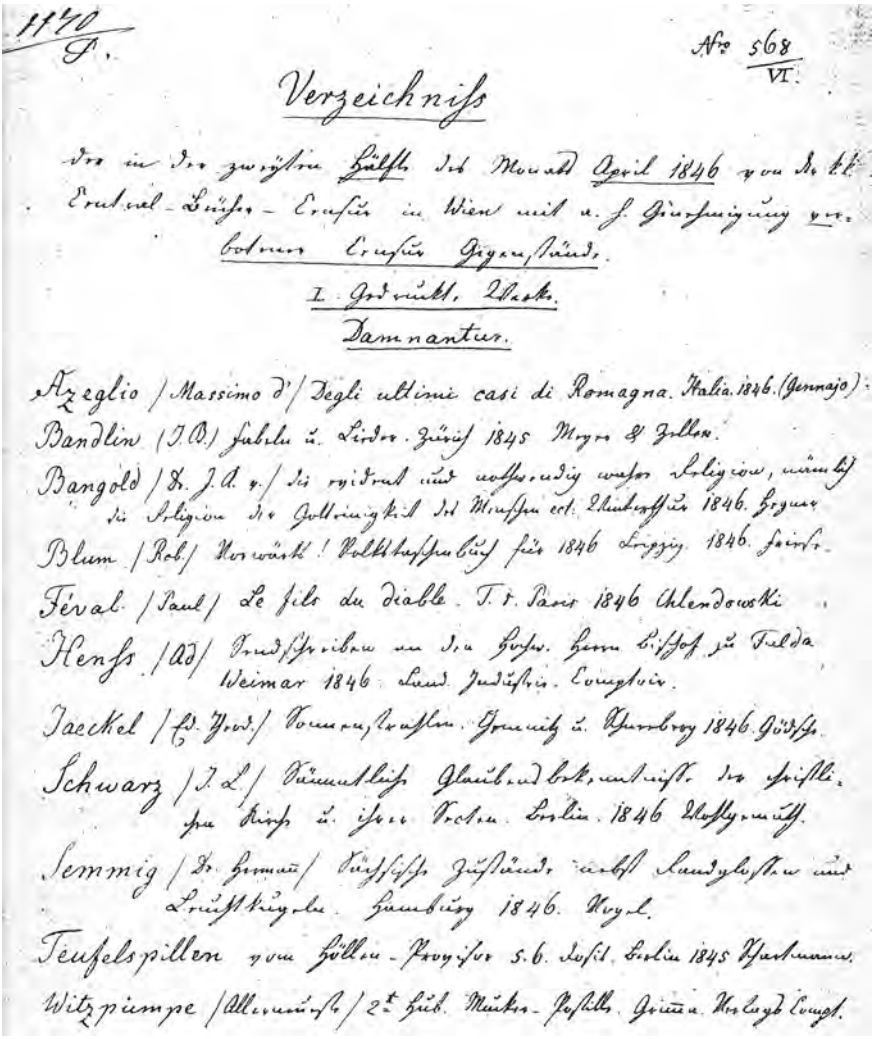
auch das Bestreben, jedes Abzeichen geheimer Gesellschaften zu verhindern, mitbeteiligt. Bei der Musik waren Texte oder Zeichnungen zu beachten, revolutionäre oder politische Gesänge waren verpönt; manchmal beanstandete man Widmungen."

81 Cf. Daniel Syrovy: Das Wörterbuch muss verboten werden! Niccolò Tommaseos Synonymwörterbuch der italienischen Sprache und die Zensur im habsburgischen Mailand. In: Zibaldone—Zeitschrift für italienische Kultur der Gegenwart 61 (2016), 9–21.

82 Neu durchgesehenes Verzeichniss der verbothenen deutschen Bücher. Vienna 1816; Catalogue revue et corrigée des livres prohibés, françois, anglois et latins. An 1816; Catalogo de' libri italiani o tradotti in italiano proibiti negli stati di sua maestà l'imperatore d'Austria. Venezia 1815.

83 Friedrich Wilhelm Kosch: Das Grazer Bücherrevisionsamt 1781–1848. In: Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark 60 (1969), 45–84, here 83–84.

84 Hadamowsky: Ein Jahrhundert Literatur- und Theaterzensur, 302.


1170
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Nr. 568
VI.

Verzeichniss

der in der zweyten Hälfte des Monats April 1846 von der k.k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien mit a. h. Genehmigung neu-verbotenen Censur Gegenstände.

1 Gedruckt. 2 Bände.

Damnantur.

Azeglio / Massimo d' / Degli ultimi casi di Romagna. Italia. 1846. (Gennajo).

Bandlin (J.B.) Fabeln u. Lieder. Zürich 1845 Meyer & Zeller.

Bangold / A. J. A. v. / Die reine Moral und vollständige wahre Religion, nämlich die Religion der Gottseligkeit des Menschen auf das Jahr 1846. Leipzig

Blum / Rob. / Vorwärts! Volksbuchausgabe für 1846 Leipzig 1846. Jenisch.

Féval / Paul / Le fils du diable. T. 1. Paris 1846 Ackermann'sche

Henfs / Ad / Druckschreiben an Se. Hochw. Herrn Bischof zu Fulda Weimar 1846 Land. Industrie. Comptoir.

Jaeckel / Ed. Jos. / Vollständiges Gesangbuch z. Gebrauche in d. Diöcese Osnabrück 1846 Göbhardt.

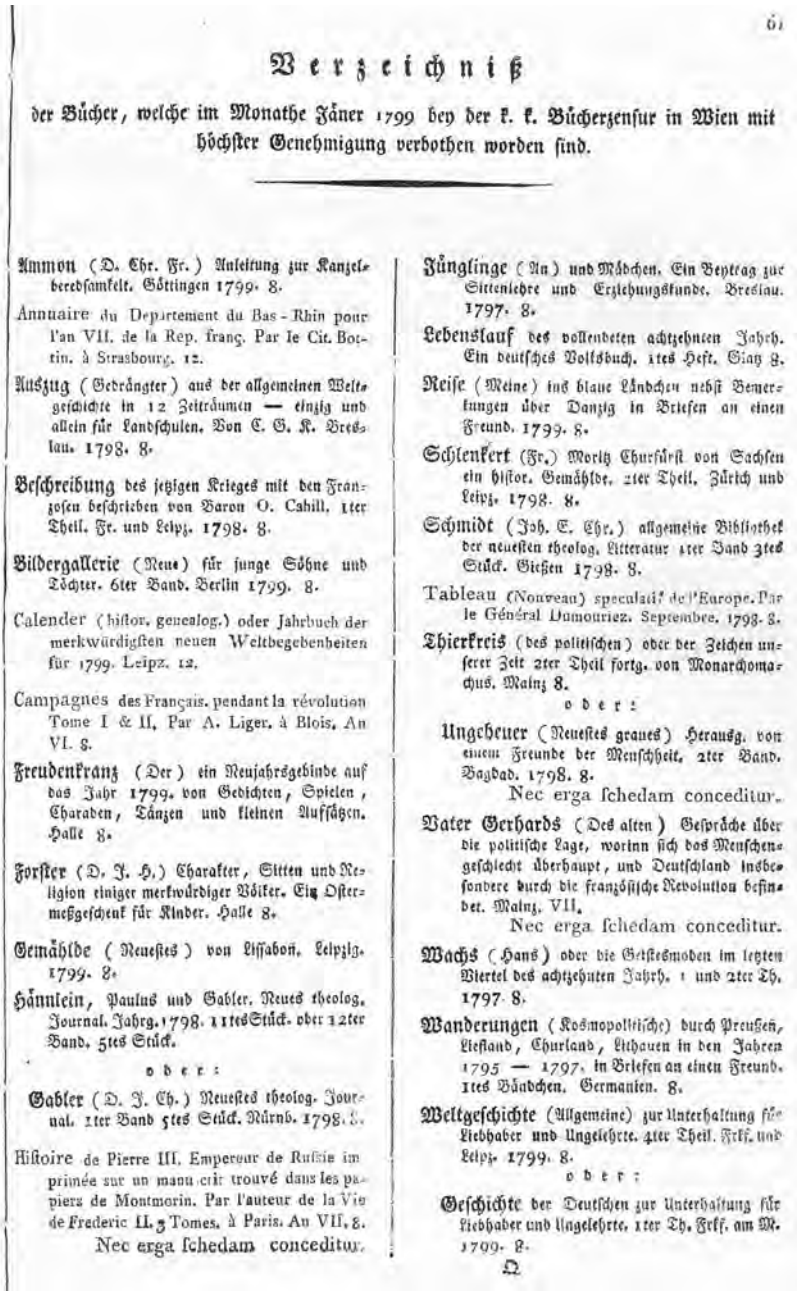
Schwarz / J. L. / Vernunftliche Glaubens- und Sittenlehre des Christenthums für Kinder u. ihre Freunde. Berlin. 1846 Oehmigke.

Semmig / Dr. Hermann / Deutsches Lesebuch für Landschulen und Privatanstalten. Hamburg 1846. Vogel.

Teufelspillen von Hillen-Provisor s.d. Basel. Berlin 1845 Hasselmann.

Witzpiumpe / Allermann / 2te Lief. Münster-Theile. Grimm. Kurzes Lexicon.

FIGURE 4 List of books forbidden in the first half of April 1846, in lithographed form



61

Verzeichniß

der Bücher, welche im Monathe Jäner 1799 bey der k. k. Bücherzensur in Wien mit höchster Genehmigung verbothen worden sind.

Ammon (D. Chr. Fr.) Anleitung zur Kanzelberedsamkeit. Göttingen 1799. 8.

Annuaire du Departement du Bas-Rhin pour l'an VII. de la Rep. franç. Par le Cit. Bottin. à Strasbourg. 12.

Auszug (Gedrängter) aus der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte in 12 Zeiträumen — einzig und allein für Landschulen. Von C. G. K. Breslau. 1798. 8.

Beschreibung des jetzigen Krieges mit den Franzosen beschrieben von Baron O. Cahill. 1ter Theil. Fr. und Leipz. 1798. 8.

Bildergallerie (Neue) für junge Söhne und Töchter. 6ter Band. Berlin 1799. 8.

Calender (histor. genealog.) oder Jahrbuch der merkwürdigsten neuen Weltbegebenheiten für 1799. Leipz. 12.

Campagnes des Français. pendant la révolution Tome I & II. Par A. Liger. à Blois. An VI. 8.

Freudenkranz (Der) ein Neujahrsgebinde auf das Jahr 1799. von Gedichten, Spielen, Charaden, Tänzen und kleinen Aufsätzen. Halle 8.

Forster (D. J. H.) Charakter, Sitten und Religion einiger merkwürdiger Völker. Ein Ostermeßgeschenk für Kinder. Halle 8.

Gemählde (Neuestes) von Lissabon. Leipzig. 1799. 8.

Hännlein, Paulus und Gabler. Neues theolog. Journal. Jahrg. 1798. 11tes Stück. oder 12ter Band. 5tes Stück.

oder:

Gabler (D. J. Ch.) Neuestes theolog. Journal. 1ter Band 5tes Stück. Nürnb. 1798. 8.

Histoire de Pierre III. Empereur de Russie imprimée sur un manuscrit trouvé dans les papiers de Montmorin. Par l'auteur de la Vie de Frederic II. 3 Tomes. à Paris. An VII. 8.

Nec erga schedam conceditur.

Jünglinge (An) und Mädchen. Ein Beytrag zur Sittenlehre und Erziehungskunde. Breslau. 1797. 8.

Lebenslauf des vollendeten achtzehnten Jahrh. Ein deutsches Volksbuch. 1tes Heft. Glatz 8.

Reise (Meine) ins blaue Ländchen nebst Bemerkungen über Danzig in Briefen an einen Freund. 1799. 8.

Schlenkert (Fr.) Moritz Churfürst von Sachsen ein histor. Gemählde. 1ter Theil. Zürich und Leipz. 1798. 8.

Schmidt (Joh. E. Chr.) allgemeine Bibliothek der neuesten theolog. Litteratur 1ter Band 3tes Stück. Gießen 1798. 8.

Tableau (Nouveau) speculatif de l'Europe. Par le Général Dumouriez. Septembre. 1798. 8.

Thierkreis (des politischen) oder der Zeichen unserer Zeit 2ter Theil forts. von Monarchomachus. Mainz 8.

oder:

Ungeheuer (Neuestes graues) Herausg. von einem Freunde der Menschheit. 2ter Band. Bagdad. 1798. 8.

Nec erga schedam conceditur.

Vater Gerhards (Des alten) Gespräche über die politische Lage, worinn sich das Menschengeschlecht überhaupt, und Deutschland insbesondere durch die französische Revolution befindet. Mainz. VII.

Nec erga schedam conceditur.

Wachs (Hans) oder die Geistesmoden im letzten Viertel des achtzehnten Jahrh. 1 und 2ter Th. 1797. 8.

Wanderungen (Kosmopolitische) durch Preußen, Liefland, Churland, Lithauen in den Jahren 1795 — 1797. in Briefen an einen Freund. 1tes Bändchen. Germanien. 8.

Weltgeschichte (Allgemeine) zur Unterhaltung für Liebhaber und Ungelehrte. 4ter Theil. Frkf. und Leipz. 1799. 8.

oder:

Geschichte der Deutschen zur Unterhaltung für Liebhaber und Ungelehrte. 1ter Th. Frkf. am M. 1799. 8.

Ω

FIGURE 5 List of books forbidden in January 1799, in printed form

Verzeichniß

der

im Militär-Jahre 1816

bey der

k. k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien

zugelassenen

in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Musikalien u. s. w.

Wien,

gedruckt bey B. Ph. Bauer, k. k. Universitäts-Buchdrucker und Buchhändler.

1816.

FIGURE 6 List of works permitted during the military year 1816 (November 1815–October 1816), title page

Marx quotes a regulation on inquiries to be made in the case of an application for a Scheda: The required information included the "rank and employment of this Scheda applicant," his "personal and family circumstances," his "previous moral and political stance," the "degree and orientation of his intellectual education"; in short, the extent of his "trustworthiness."[85] Beginning

85 Julius Marx: Vormärzliches Schedenwesen. In: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staats-

in 1803, the emperor perused the list of persons applying for Scheden for forbidden books and decided personally on each one. This naturally led to huge delays in the handling of these applications, and the Court Police Section feared that booksellers would shirk the process on behalf of their customers and smuggle books instead. The emperor eventually agreed to let the police handle the granting of Scheden in 1809; he still insisted on reviewing the records on permissions and rejections, however. Lists were to be kept not only of the names of trustworthy persons who were allowed to obtain prohibited books, but also of the names of individuals whose applications had been denied.

Not even members of the imperial family enjoyed the right to read forbidden writings at will. As proven by various objectionable works ordered by Archduke Johann, for example on scandals at various courts (Die geheime Geschichte des Hofes von St. Cloud [The Secret History of the Court of St. Cloud]; Vertraute Briefe über die inneren Verhältnisse am preußischen Hofe [Confidential Letters on the Internal Affairs at the Prussian Court]) or matrimony (Die reinmenschliche Ansicht der Ehe [The Purely Human View of Marriage; by Jakob Salat]), the emperor's brother had a keen interest in literature considered taboo and therefore maintained close contact with the Book Review Office. When he was given the book *Napoleon Buonaparte wie er leibt und lebt, und das französische Volk unter ihm* (Napoleon Buonaparte in Real Life, and the French People under Him, Petersburg: Hammer 1806) without approval from Francis I, the emperor chastised Police Chief Sumerau:

> It is not rightly done that you have given the mentioned book to my brother without obtaining my prior permission. You shall henceforth know to abide by my orders without consideration of the person and demand the granted book back from my brother.[86]

It is said that even the books of Francis I' deceased wife Maria Ludovica were seized by the police and searched for forbidden titles.[87]

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archivs 16 (1963), 453–468, here 459: "Stand und die Beschäftigung dieses Schedenwerbers […] seine persönlichen und Familienverhältnisse […] seine bisherige moralische und politische Haltung […] Grad und die Richtung seiner intellektuellen Bildung […] Vertrauenswürdigkeit."

86 Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 98: "Es ist nicht recht geschehen, dass Sie das angeführte Buch Meinem Herrn Bruder, ohne vorläufig Meine Begnehmigung einzuholen, ausgefolgt haben. Sie werden künftig Meinen Befehlen ohne Rücksicht der Person nachzuleben wissen und das ausgefolgte Buch von Meinem Herrn Bruder zurückfordern."

87 Cf. Wagner: Die Zensur in der Habsburger Monarchie, 218.

On the other hand, the emperor would write indignant handbills when prohibited books that were important for his ministers were delayed by the customs and censorship authorities, as was the case with *L'an mille sept cent quatre vingt quinze* (The Year Seventeen Ninety-Five) by Maurice Montgaillard, which Foreign Minister Thugut was eagerly expecting but was being retained at the main customs office. Francis complained that the officers there should have recognized that the book was destined not for sale but for official use. In future, he demanded, "all parcels containing printed or unprinted writings and arriving by mail addressed to my Minister of the Exterior Baron of Thugut" were to be waved through.[88]

1.7 *The State Chancellery*

The State Chancellery was involved in all constitutional and delicate political questions—especially concerning day-to-day diplomatic affairs—and therefore also held sole responsibility for the official press (*Wiener Zeitung*, *Österreichischer Beobachter*). State Chancellor Metternich sometimes even intervened in person, for example in the infamous case of Grillparzer's poem on the Campo Vaccino. On the occasion of a journey through Italy, the not yet 30-year-old Austrian poet had written verses on the ruins at the Roman Forum (also known as Campo Vaccino, a former cow pasture) that included an expression of his incomprehension at the "new ecclesiastic [character] or rather the priestliness imposed on things of old."[89] The two incriminated stanzas were:

Kolosseum, Riesenschatten
Von der Vorwelt Machtkoloß!
Liegst du da in Tods-Ermatten,
Selber noch im Sterben groß?
Und damit verhöhnt, zerschlagen,
Du den Martertod erwarbst,
Mußtest du das Kreuz noch tragen,
An dem, Herrliche[r]! du starbst!

(Coliseum, giant shadow
Of the Old World's hulking power!
Lie you there in death's exhaustion,
Grand still in your final hour?
And to earn your death as martyr,
Mocked and shattered far and wide,
You were forced to bear the cross,
O glorious one, by which you died!

88 Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Abschriften nach Akten des Ministeriums des Inneren, Bücherzensur Bd. 2 (1793–1797), fol. 239: "[…] alle Pakete, die gedruckte, oder ungedruckte Schriften enthalten, und unter der Aufschrift meines Ministers der auswärtigen Geschäfte Frh. v. Thugut auf Postwegen ankommen."

89 Franz Grillparzer: Selbstbiographie. In: Grillparzers Werke in sechs Bänden. Vol. 5. Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei n.d., 193: "neue Kirchliche oder vielmehr dem Alten aufgedrungene Pfäffische."

Thut es weg dieß heil'ge Zeichen!	Take away this holy symbol!
Alle Welt gehört ja dir!	All the world at your command!
Ueb'rall, nur bey diesen Leichen,	Anywhere but by these corpses,
Ueb'rall stehe, nur nicht hier!	Anywhere but here to stand!
Wenn ein Stamm sich losgerissen	If a branch has broken free
Und den Vater mir erschlug,	And put to death the father mine,
Soll ich wohl das Werkzeug küssen,	Must I kiss this tool of killing
Wenn's auch Gottes Zeichen trug?[90]	Just because it bears God's sign?)

The cross installed on the Coliseum in honor of the Christian martyrs made the venerable site itself a "martyr" in the poet's eyes. Grillparzer's condemnation of the erection of the cross was interpreted as criticism of the reigning Pope Pius VII:

> As Pope Pius VII, under whom the restoration of the Coliseum began, was still reigning (1800–1823), the attack against the cross [...] could be construed as a personal insult to the Pope, and indeed one later spoke regularly of this "matter with the Pope" [...].[91]

According to Grillparzer's verses, the Church should respect (pagan) antiquity and its merits as well as its ruins. This notion was also visible in a comparison between Titus and the first Christian emperor Constantine:

Über Roma's Heldentrümmern	(Over Rome's heroic ruins
Hobst du deiner Meinung Thron;	You raised your opinion's throne;
In der Meinung magst du schimmern,	In opinions you may shimmer,
Die Geschichte spricht dir Hohn.[92]	History offers scorn alone.)

90 Quoted according to August Sauer: Proben eines Commentars zu Grillparzers Gedichten. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 7 (1897), 1–170, here 40. This is the version that appeared in *Aglaja*; other editions and manuscripts read "Herrlicher" instead of "Herrliche."

91 Franz Grillparzer: Gedichte, erster Teil (Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe. Hg. v. August Sauer fortgeführt von Reinhold Backmann. Erste Abtheilung, vol. 10). Vienna: Anton Schroll, Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk 1932, 279: "Da Papst Pius VII., unter dem die Herstellung des Kolosseums begann, noch regierte (1800–1823), konnte der Angriff gegen das Kreuz [...] als eine persönliche Beleidigung des Papstes aufgefaßt werden, und in der Tat sprach man später immer wieder von dieser 'Geschichte mit dem Papste' [...]."

92 Sauer: Proben eines Kommentars, 39. In other versions, the word "Meinung" (opinion) is replaced with "Kirche" (church). On the context, namely Grillparzer's anti-clerical stance

The poem appeared in 1819 in the 1820 volume of the almanac *Aglaja* published by Wallishausser, and official censorship in the person of Grillparzer's friend, the director of the Imperial Court Theater and *Aglaja* editor Joseph Schreyvogel, had raised no objection. 400 copies of the almanac had already been consigned when conservative Catholic circles complained about the poem. Grillparzer himself writes that the overeager publisher had given a copy of the almanac to "the wife of the crown prince of a neighboring court known for his enlightened views on art as well as for his stern religiousness,"[93] which could only refer to the court of Bavaria. The crown prince had subsequently inquired with the emperor as to why the almanac had been approved by censorship in Vienna. Catholic romanticist poet Zacharias Werner is also mentioned as having denounced Grillparzer in this context.[94] According to Julius Marx, Police Chief Sedlnitzky quickly read the verses himself and issued a prohibition, decreeing the pages with the incriminated poem to be torn out of all copies of the almanac discoverable in Vienna[95]—which unsurprisingly resulted in interested readers who were unable to get their hands on a printed copy making handwritten transcriptions of "The Ruins of Campo Vaccino" from several circulating intact issues of the book. Sedlnitzky reported to the emperor, justifying the removal of the poem from the printed copies of *Aglaja* by stating that "several passages of this poem violate sanctums of the Christian and especially the Catholic religion crudely and obviously."[96] Summoned by the police to explain himself, Grillparzer pointed to his restrained phraseology in the poem and attempted to protect Schreyvogel from being reprimanded for negligence in his concomitant roles as editor and censor. Since the poem indirectly attacked the pope for his "occupation" of the Forum with the Christian cross, the case was (also) a political one and hence fell into the competency of the State Chancellery besides that of the police. With assistance from two

in the tradition of the Enlightenment, cf. Ritchie Robertson: Poetry and Scepticism in the Wake of the Austrian Enlightenment: Blumauer, Grillparzer, Lenau. In: Austrian Studies 12 (2004), 17–43.

93 Grillparzer: Selbstbiographie, 194: "der Gemahlin des ebenso wegen seiner erleuchteten Kunstansichten als wegen seiner strengen Religiosität bekannten Kronprinzen eines benachbarten Hofes zugeeignet."

94 Cf. Gedichte, erster Teil (Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 10), 278.

95 Julius Marx: Metternichs Gutachten zu Grillparzers Gedicht "Campo vaccino." In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge 2 (1942), 49–69, here 59.

96 Quoted in Sauer: Proben eines Kommentars, 131: "mehrere Stellen dieses Gedichtes gegen Heiligthümer der christlichen und besonders der katholischen Religion grell und offenbar verstossen."

high-ranking clerks, Metternich wrote the corresponding expert opinion that sought to justify the ban. He confirmed that the poem was "written against the Christian religion as the alleged cause of the decline of the Roman Empire" and reproached the "assault on the erection of the cross in this day on the ground so many thousands of martyrs fertilized with their blood" in particular.[97] This constituted the final decision against Grillparzer, Schreyvogel, and Wallishausser in this censorship case.

In another case, it was "chief ideologist" Friedrich von Gentz who became active as the State Chancellery's censor. The text in question was Franz Julius Schneller's manuscript *Oesterreichs Einfluß auf Deutschland und Europa, seit der Reformation bis zu den Revolutionen unserer Tage* [Austria's Influence on Germany and Europe, from the Reformation to the Revolutions of Our Time], which the professor of history had submitted to the censorship authorities. An admirer of Joseph II and Napoleon, Schneller had already been under police observation for some time and had repeatedly come into conflict with the censorial apparatus.

> The manuscript by the professor of history slated for printing was submitted to the publicist of the State Chancellery for censorship, who furnished it with very characteristic notes and marginalia, and in doing so, entirely in the spirit of the censorship instruction of 1810, united the office of the political judge with that of the literary critic. Piqued and offended to the marrow, the Austrian professor of history reached for his walking staff and put his work to press "abroad," illustrated with Friedrich von Gentz's censorial notes. It is well known what extraordinary sensation these marginalia by the great diplomatic censor elicited in Germany.[98]

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97 Quoted in Marx: Metternichs Gutachten, 63: "gegen die christliche Religion, als die angebliche Ursache des Verfalls des Römischen Reiches geschrieben […] Ausfall auf die Aufstellung des heute auf dem Boden, den so viele Tausende von Martirer mit ihrem Blute düngten, errichteten Kreuzes." Cf. also Julius Marx: Die Zensur der Kanzlei Metternichs. In: Österreichische Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht, Neue Folge 4 (1952), 170–237.

98 Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 258: "Die zum Druck bestimmte Handschrift des Professors der Geschichte ward dem Publizisten der Staatskanzlei zur Zensur überwiesen, der es mit sehr karakteristischen Noten und Randglossen versah, und dabei, ganz im Geiste der Zensurinstrukzion von 1810, das politische Richteramt mit dem literarisch-kritischen vereinte. Gekränkt und in's Innerste verletzt, ergriff der öster. Professor der Geschichte den Wanderstab, und gab im 'Auslande' sein Werk, illustrirt durch die Zensurnoten Friedrich's von Gentz, in die Presse. Es ist bekannt, welche außerordentliche Sensazion diese Randglossen des großen diplomatischen Zensors in Deutschland hervorriefen."

Schneller left Austria for good and settled in Freiburg im Breisgau; his manuscript was ultimately published in two volumes in 1828–1829 by Franckh in Stuttgart.

2 Censorship in the Pre-March Period (1821–1848)

The (German) nationalist movements that had previously been welcome in connection with the liberation from Napoleon's occupation were increasingly being perceived as a threat by the Austrian government as well as by the rulers of other countries, since they simultaneously advanced liberal political ideas. The first conflicts concerning Austrian rule arose in Lombardy and Venetia, with Hungary and Galicia respectively Poland likewise becoming centers of nationalist independence efforts not long thereafter.

The Austrian government under Metternich made every effort to block the constitutional developments by forbidding the fraternities and assuming control over the universities and supposed revolutionary groups, but also by way of comprehensive preventive censorship within the German Confederation. The first restorative thrust occurred as early as 1815 with the German Federal Act signed at the Congress of Vienna, and the Carlsbad Decrees followed in 1819. Metternich used the assassination of Kotzebue, who had worked as a Russian spy and dared to ridicule the German nationalists, by the student Karl Sand as a reason to retract the constitutional elements of the German Confederation—which at this point were still weak anyway—and introduce a general censorship obligation for all written works under 20 sheets in length. The German Confederation subsequently split into groups of more liberal (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden) and more reactionary states (Austria, Prussia). The Carlsbad Decrees were not even published in Austria since they would have meant an easement compared to the prevailing censorship regulations. For example, the 20-sheet-rule did not apply in Austria, where all manuscripts were preventively censored regardless of their length.

The monitoring of communication by way of printed texts was now accompanied by the observation of suspicious persons; there is evidence of surveillance by police agents and informers as early as the beginning of the pre-March period. Besides France, England in particular was suspected of being a center of the efforts to revolutionize the continent. In 1819, for instance, an informer from Rome reported having heard from a high-ranking lady that "In Inghilterra e la focina della rivoluzione dell'Europa, ed ivi risiede il capo ed il direttore dei Settarij" (The source of the European revolution is in England, and there resides the leader and controller of the secret societies); a name had unfortunately not

been determinable, only that the figure was "un uomo grand" (a great man).[99] The first secret societies to attract attention were the Italian ones, with the best-known among them being the Carbonari, while the activities of the supporters of the Greek liberation movement came into focus in the 1820s.[100]

Madame de Staël was observed during her travels, which took her to Vienna among other places, as was Lord Byron during his sojourn in the Italian states. It is hardly necessary to note that numerous works by both authors are to be found in the lists of forbidden books: There are 19 entries for de Staël and 44 for Byron.

Madame de Staël came to Vienna twice—once in 1808 and once in 1812—and also visited Lombardy in 1815. On all of these occasions, her movements were monitored by agents and informers: Domestics were planted or bribed, her wastebasket was searched, and her correspondence opened or stolen; when she received visitors, spies eavesdropped at her door. A plethora of reports were compiled, with some of them addressed directly to the emperor, who took a personal interest in the famous author's activities. Her expulsion from France by Napoleon was suspected of being a pretense for espionage and conspiracy in Austria. All the greater was the disappointment when her observation resulted in nothing but harmless contacts to the Austrian nobility and politically meaningless gossip.[101] The most "explosive" outcome of the investigation was the discovery that de Staël advocated constitutionalism in salon discussions. As Count Franz Josef Saurau, governor of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, summarily confirmed on November 1, 1815, she had never done political harm of any kind:

> It is apparent that her principles, views, and statements identify her as a proponent of the constitutional forms of government and the prevailing

99 Quoted in Karl Brunner: Byron und die österreichische Polizei. In: Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen 80 (1925), vol. 148, 28–41, here 31.

100 Cf. Alfred Noe (ed.): Der Philhellenismus in der westeuropäischen Literatur 1780–1830. Amsterdam, Atlanta/GA: Rodopi 1994.

101 Examples of disappointing results: "Dans la maison qu'habite Mme de Staël on dispose d'une personne de confiance, et sur ses assurances il ne s'est rien passé de particulier à signaler." (In the house inhabited by Madame de Staël we have a confidant who assures that nothing worth communicating has happened.), 19; "On a trouvé l'occasion de se le procurer trois fois et de pouvoir le lire entièrement. Il contient surtout des essais sur la philosophie et les arts." (We managed to get hold of it [her correspondence] three times and read it entirely. It contains mainly essays on philosophy and art.), 24. Quoted from Georges Solovieff: Madame de Staël et la police autrichienne. In: Cahiers Staëliens, nouvelle série No. 41 (1989–1990), 13–54.

> ideas that wish to reshape Europe according to these new forms. But she has in no way personally compromised herself or transgressed the limits of reasonableness and caused political damage.[102]

Byron never made a secret of his disdain for the Austrian "Huns" and "barbarians" who were preventing liberal progress. It was no wonder that Metternich was convinced of the danger posed by the Englishman on the Italian peninsula. On December 25, half a year after the revolution in Naples, he reported to the emperor:

> Englishmen with such radical principles as [...] Lord Biron [sic] applies in Ravenna and as are known [...] from the Lords Kinaird and Hamilton must be viewed as the most dangerous apostles of independence and revolution and should therefore, without accepting any objections from the British Government about intolerance against its subjects, be kept away from the peninsula by way of joint measures by all Italian governorates.[103]

With some delay, the seeds of the conspiracy theories that had circulated all through the late eighteenth century were now bearing fruit: The enlighteners and rationalists (Joachim Christoph Bode, Friedrich Nicolai, and others) had prophesied "the scenario of a Jesuit-controlled conspiracy against Enlightenment and Protestantism," while more conservative voices had spoken of a "scenario of a conspiracy of Illuminati, enlightened 'philosophers,' and German Freemasons against political absolutism, revealed religion, and the regular clergy."[104] Metternich as well as Emperor Francis I were said to exhibit distinctly

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102 Quoted in ibid., 52: "Il est évident que ses principes, ses vues et déclarations la désignent comme une initiatrice des formes constitutionnelles de gouvernement et des idées dominantes devant transformer le monde européen en ces formes nouvelles. Mais elle n'a nullement donné prise sur soi ou dépassé les limites du raisonnement par quelque effet politique nuisible."

103 Quoted in Brunner: Byron und die österreichische Polizei, 32: "Engländer mit solch radicalen Grundsätzen wie sie [...] Lord Biron in Ravenna bethätigt und wie solche [...] von den Lord Kinaird und Hamilton bekannt sind, müssen als die gefährlichsten Independenz- und Revolutionsapostel betrachtet werden, und sollten daher, ohne irgend eine Reklamation der Großbrittanischen Regierung wegen Intoleranz gegen ihre Unterthanen zu besorgen durch gemeinsame Maßregeln aller Italienischer Gouvernements von der Halbinsel fernegehalten werden."

104 Klausnitzer: Poesie und Konspiration, 148–149: "das Szenario einer jesuitisch gesteuerten Verschwörung gegen Aufklärung und Protestantismus [...] Szenario einer Verschwörung von Illuminaten, aufgeklärten 'Philosophen' und deistischen Freimaurern gegen politischen Absolutismus, Offenbarungsreligion und Ordensgeistlichkeit." Klausnitzer (p. 29)

paranoid behavior, visible among other things in intensified censorship and the personal observation of all persons suspected of revolutionary machinations. Since the governments acted in arcane fashion and only publicized their decisions and actions when it seemed beneficial or advisable to do so, they assumed the same of their adversaries:

> The conclusion by analogy from their own action and confidentiality strategies to the methods of competing opponents led to causal explanations that interpreted nearly all political and cultural goings-on as connected parts of a plan and intended results of "secret" and "disguised" manipulators.[105]

Wolfram Siemann has recently argued against the image common among the contemporary liberals of a blindly reactionary Austria under a Chancellor indulging in obscurantism. Siemann corroborates the hypothesis underpinning the censorial activities during this time that violent rhetoric could indeed lead to real acts of violence. The sensational murder of Kotzebue by Karl Sand was but one of several assassinations occurring in various parts of Europe. The radical students effectively viewed the liberation from the "princely yoke" as a sacred cause, and themselves as martyrs for the future united nation. To speak of terrorism in this context does not constitute an anachronism, as the term was already used by contemporary commentators.[106] The Sand case became a huge media event, and the largely sympathetic or even enthusiastic comments on the student's bloody deed were suitable for inspiring copycat criminals. The echo of the murder stimulated a wave of nationalist mobilization. "After the assassination of Kotzebue, the media landscape was suddenly a different one. Far too little attention is given to the fact that the more or less embellished glorifications of the act in the press provoked the many-voiced call for

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describes Jean de Filleau's treatise *Relation juridique de ce qui s'est passé à Poitiers touchant la nouvelle doctrine des Jansénistes* (Juridical Treatise on What Happened at Poitiers Concerning the New Doctrine of the Jansenists, 1654) on a purported secret meeting of Jansenists in the charterhouse at Bourg-Fontaine in 1621, during which they allegedly decided to fight various Christian—and especially Catholic—dogmas as the "'birth certificate' of modern conspirationism."

105 Klausnitzer: Poesie und Konspiration, 269: "Der Analogieschluss von eigenen Handlungs- und Geheimhaltungsstrategien auf die Verfahren konkurrierender Opponenten führte zu Kausalerklärungen, die nahezu alle politischen und kulturellen Vorgänge als zusammenhängende Teile eines Planes modellierten und als intendierte Resultate 'verlarvter' und 'verkappter' Drahtzieher deuteten."

106 Cf. Siemann: Metternich, 665, a citation from the *Österreichischer Beobachter* of 12/10/1817.

censorship."[107] According to Siemann's analysis, the revolutionary propaganda appealed in particular to the "intellectual proletariat" forming in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. The legion of badly salaried journalists and commission writers, revolutionary poets, and unemployed university graduates and trainee lawyers likely also represented a large share of the authors of writings banned in Austria during this period. A further group were the professors and lawyers, whom Metternich was especially suspicious of. The sociohistorical background for this development was the protracted economic crisis beginning after 25 years of continuous wars and conflicts. Bled out by Napoleon and heavily indebted as a result, the states were forced into austerity, and one of the groups most heavily aggrieved in this regard were the public servants.

The trend towards political assassinations extended to England, France, and the Italian states as well. Particularly alarming for rulers of monarchies was the murder of the Duc de Berry, a potential French heir to the throne, by the saddler Louis Pierre Louvel in February 1820.[108] Siemann views Metternich not as a despot but instead as a politician who, while amenable to reforms and perhaps even to a constitution in principle, feared that abandoning the time-tested system would trigger nationality conflicts that could potentially be ruinous for the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire.[109]

A second restoration campaign followed after the July Revolution of 1830 in France with the overthrow of Charles X. The immediate consequences were the July Revolution in Belgium as well as uprisings in Poland, Central Italy, and various German states like Brunswick and Saxony. The Hambach Festival in May 1832 further stoked the fear of revolution, and concerns regarding a Europe-wide conspiracy against the continent's monarchs increased. In 1830, Metternich expanded his suspicion of plans for destabilization to the entire world:

> The wicked fraternization that has been working incessantly for half a century towards the downfall of the existing and even of all possible legal order and all thrones has claimed a momentous victory in 1830 in France, which by no means suffices for it, however: Its plan continues, it spans the world.[110]

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107 Ibid., 681: "Nach dem Attentat auf Kotzebue war mit einem Male die Presselandschaft eine andere. Es wird viel zu wenig beachtet, dass gerade die mehr oder weniger verbrämten Verherrlichungen der Tat in der Presse den vielstimmigen Ruf nach Zensur provozierten."

108 Cf. ibid., 715.

109 Wolfram Siemann: Metternich's Britain. London: The German Historical Institute 2012, 14–18.

110 Quoted in Dominik Burkard, Gisbert Lepper, Wolfgang Schopf, and Hubert Wolf: Die

Under the impression of the recent events, Metternich established a secret surveillance and informant service in 1833: the *Mainzer Informationsbüro*, which would exist until 1842.[111] Further spy services were installed within the monarchy in Lombardy-Venetia and Galicia in 1835 and in Hungary-Transylvania in 1837. A peculiarity of this surveillance system was the networking of data at the *Wiener Zentralinformationskomitee*, a central body established in 1834 where the various reports were consolidated in journals.[112]

The prohibition of the writers' group "Junges Deutschland" (Young Germany) in 1835 was one of the many consequences of the gathered information. The authors subsumed under this denomination were only loosely connected with one another, and the group name was an invention of the authorities that was perhaps based on confusion with another group likewise called "Junges Deutschland" and formed in analogy to the political movements of the "Young Italy" and the "Young Europe" led by Giuseppe Mazzini. On November 13, 1835, Karl Gustav Noé von Nordberg, the head of the *Mainzer Informationsbüro*, sent to Vienna a report "On the Young Literary Germany" ("Über das junge literarische Deutschland") in which he discussed dangerous activities by publisher Sauerländer and the authors Duller, Gutzkow, Menzel, Beurmann, Mundt, and Wienbarg, among others.[113] On November 14, a decree explicitly mentioning Gutzkow, Laube, Wienbarg, and Mundt banned all existing and future writings by "Junges Deutschland" in Prussia; it was annulled as early as February 1836 for lack of a legal basis. Instead, the *Geheimer Hofrat* (secret privy councilor) Karl Ernst John was appointed as special censor responsible for the works of the group in June 1836.[114] As specified in the motion to prohibit "Junges Deutschland" introduced by the president of the Confederate Diet, Münch-Bellinghausen, exception was taken to the "vilifications against religion," the "transferal of the criticism of religion to the 'literary field'," and the "intimate

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Macht der Zensur. Heinrich Heine auf dem Index. Düsseldorf: Patmos 1998, 19: "Jene verruchte Verbrüderung, welche seit einem halben Jahrhundert an dem Umsturze der bestehenden und selbst aller möglichen gesetzlichen Ordnung und aller Throne unablässig arbeitet, hat im Jahre 1830 in Frankreich einen bedeutenden Sieg errungen, welcher ihr jedoch keineswegs genügt: Ihr Plan geht weiter, er umfaßt die Welt."

111 On its establishment, cf. Fritz Reinöhl: Die österreichischen Informationsbüros des Vormärz, ihre Akten und Protokolle. In: Archivalische Zeitschrift, 3. Folge, 5 (1929), 261–288; on the activity of the *Informationsbüro*, cf. in detail Hoefer: Pressepolitik, 72–178; on the reports, cf. the editions by Karl Glossy: Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen hg. v. Karl Glossy. Vienna: Konegen 1912, as well as Adler: Literarische Geheimberichte.

112 On this, see Hoefer: Pressepolitik, 60–61 and 66–68.

113 Burkard, Lepper, Schopf, and Wolf: Die Macht der Zensur, 64.

114 Grimm: Karl Gutzkows Arrivierungsstrategie, 176.

connection of blasphemy with the excitement of sensuousness," which united into a "complete system of profanity and bawdiness."[115] The ban had been triggered by the publication of Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (Wally the Doubter, 1835). Metternich attempted to have it extended to Heine and the entire territory of the German Confederation, but he was ultimately unsuccessful. Examples were to be made of publishing houses like Löwenthal in Mannheim or Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg as well, but the Confederate Diet was only able to agree on December 10, 1835 to "bring to application in their full rigor" the criminal and police laws that were already contained in the state laws as well as the regulations against abuse of the press.[116]

Heine himself already voiced doubts concerning the effectiveness of the blanket prohibition, writing with obvious allusion to Luther about "much clamor and little wool" ("viel Geschrey und wenig Wolle").[117] Not only were numerous works by the affected authors readily available in various German states,[118] but the seizures in Prussia and Saxony came too late, with the forbidden books already shipped and gone with the wind. What was more, the ban itself promoted the politicization of literature—and especially the criticism of repressive measures by the governments—even more.

2.1 *Tightening of the Censorship Regulations and the Granting of* Scheden

The Court Police Section, which determined the course in regard to censorship, was headed from 1817 to 1848 by Count Josef Sedlnitzky, also known as the "Streicher-Graf" (roughly: Count of Deletion).[119] An overly correct public official at best, he was an excellent representative of the spirit guiding the censorial and surveillance apparatus. Similar to the emperor himself, for example, Sedlitzky assumed that "a people are in the first stage of revolution from the moment in which they begin to absorb education."[120]

115 Quoted in Burkard, Lepper, Schopf, and Wolf: Die Macht der Zensur, 81–82: "Schmähungen gegen die Religion […] Hinüberziehen der Religionskritik auf das 'belletristische Gebiet' […] innige Verbindung der Blasphemie mit der Aufregung der Sinnlichkeit […] vollständigen Systeme der Gotteslästerung und Unzucht."

116 Quoted according to Jan-Christoph Hauschild (ed.; in cooperation with Heidemarie Vahl): Verboten! Das Junge Deutschland 1835. Literatur und Zensur im Vormärz. Düsseldorf: Droste 1985, 38.

117 In a letter to Campe on January 12, 1836; quoted in Hauschild: Verboten!, 123.

118 Cf. James Brophy: Grautöne. Verleger und Zensurregime in Mitteleuropa 1800–1850. In: Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 301 (2015), 297–345, here 317.

119 Burkard, Lepper, Schopf, and Wolf: Die Macht der Zensur, 39.

120 Quoted in Inge Kießhauer: Otto Friedrich Wigand (10. August 1795 bis 1. September 1870).

His reputation among authors was disastrous, and we can assume that not all of the many complaints regarding his narrow-mindedness were made up. The academic Hammer-Purgstall referred to him as a "most limited and feeble mind" ("höchst beschränkte[r] und schwachsinnige[r] Kopf"). Hammer-Purgstall followed the tried and tested strategy likewise employed by Nestroy and others of including a few passages in his writings that would be eliminated for certain in order to slip the rest past censorship. "The fervor to delete drew his [Sedlnitzky's] fingers together spasmodically, and once he had slashed a few passages, he would allow others to pass that otherwise, had the stronger ones not been there to remove, would surely not have gone through."[121] Although this characterization likely contained some measure of intentional polemics and injured pride, it is a fact that Sedlnitzky at one point expressed the wish to censor the publications of the Academy of Sciences, an idea even Metternich voted against.[122]

In order to sharpen the tools of censorship, the verdict "damnatur nec erga schedam" that had been discontinued in 1803 was reintroduced in 1836. It meant that only the emperor himself could grant special permission to read the corresponding title. The same applied to the formula "remove from circulation" ("außer Kurs setzen"), which was usually applied to newspapers, periodicals, or continuous works like encyclopedias and amounted to a prospective *Debitverbot* (prohibition on placing an order for the work with an Austrian bookseller) or *Pränumerationsverbot* (prohibition on mail orders). In particularly turbulent times, seizures of books were also ordered more frequently, with the respective titles marked as "damnatur and to be confiscated" ("damnatur und mit Beschlag zu belegen") in the prohibition lists. The focus lay on radical liberal writings assessed as revolutionary, and seizures were applied to works published by Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg, Hoff in Mannheim, the *Literarisches*

In: Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte 1 (1991), 155–188, here 157: "[…] ein Volk vom Augenblick an, wo es anfängt, Bildung in sich aufzunehmen, im ersten Stadium der Revolution […]."

121 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: Erinnerungen und Briefe, vol. 3, part 5. Scan of the typewritten transcript of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben. Ed. Walter Höflechner and Alexandra Wagner. Graz 2011 (http://gams.uni-graz.at/context:hp [last accessed on 12/13/2021]), 22: "Die Wut zu streichen zog ihm [Sedlnitzky] krampfartig die Finger zusammen und hatte er erst ein paar Stellen gestrichen, so liess er andere hingehen, die sonst, wenn jene stärkeren nicht zum Streichen vorhanden gewesen, gewiss nicht durchgelaufen sein würden."

122 Cf. Julius Marx: Österreichs Kampf gegen die liberalen, radikalen und kommunistischen Schriften 1835–1848 (Beschlagnahme, Schedenverbot, Debitentzug). Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau 1969, 11.

Institut in Herisau/Switzerland, and several other printers. While such confiscated books were to be destroyed immediately, they appear in practice to have sometimes been sent back to the original publishers or simply stored at the Court Police Section.[123] Censorial verdicts could also be changed retroactively. Mitigations of prohibition verdicts were rare but did occasionally occur—for example in the case of extolments of Napoleon, which were tolerated from 1832. Harsher verdicts were more common, especially when multi-volume or serial works received a blanket "damnatur" instead of the previous "erga schedam" following the appearance of later volumes or issues.[124]

The number of works declared "damnatur" declined in favor of "erga schedam" verdicts during the entire period after 1792. For the Viennese Book Review Office, documentation on the number of Scheden applications is lacking. A projection for the presumably less frequented office in Graz based on fragments of the corresponding records results in an estimate of around 2,880 applications during the year 1839.[125] At any rate, it is clear that it was mostly members of higher societal strata, and occasionally middle-class individuals considered reliable, who received Scheden. This practice of allotting the special permissions can be illustrated using the example of Eugène Sue's successful novel *Le juif errant* (The Wandering Jew, 1844/45), a fantastic story about a conspiracy of the Jesuits attempting to gain control of the gigantic inheritance of a family with dishonest means. It was forbidden in Austria primarily due to its anti-clerical aspects. But besides anti-clerical and anti-monarchistic passages as well as regular frivolous scenes, Sue's novels also featured a certain political explosiveness especially visible in the descriptions of poverty in the *Mystères de Paris* (Mysteries of Paris). *Le juif errant* was printed as a series in several newspapers (including the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Frankfurter Oberpostamtszeitung*, the *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt*, the *Berliner Pfennig-Blätter*, and J.J. Weber's *Novellen-Zeitung*).[126] The *Frankfurter Oberpostamtszeitung* did not intend to relinquish the important Austrian market after the ban and proceeded to publish the novel in a separate series of booklets dispatched only to the small group of persons possessing the appropriate Scheden. As preserved applications from Prague show, permission to obtain *Le Juif errant* was granted

123 Cf. Marx: Österreichs Kampf gegen die liberalen, radikalen und kommunistischen Schriften, 13.

124 Cf. Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten, 155–156.

125 Kosch: Das Grazer Bücherrevisionsamt, 72.

126 Details on the dissemination and reception of the novel can be found in Norbert Bachleitner: Der englische und französische Sozialroman des 19. Jahrhunderts und seine Rezeption in Deutschland. Amsterdam, Atlanta/GA: Rodopi 1993, 89–192.

to the following illustrious persons: Count Auersperg, k. k. chamberlain; Anton Veith, estate owner; Baron von Wessenberg; Count Lothar von Wurmbrand, k. k. chamberlain; Count Franz von Desfour; Baroness von Hruby, née Baroness von Wintzigerode; Count Joseph Matthias Thun-Hohenstein; Countess Anna Maria von Raitzenstein, née Countess zu Salm-Reifferscheid; Count Johann zu Salm, k. k. lieutenant colonel; Countess von Salm, née Countess von Pachta; Countess Gabriele von Bouquoy; Baron Joseph von Enid; Baron de Fin, k. k. chamberlain; Baroness Anna von Geisslern; Baroness Mladota von Solofisk; Count Erwin Nostitz, k. k. chamberlain; Count Rudolph Morzin, k. k. chamberlain; Count Karl Althan, k. k. chamberlain; Ritter von Bergenthal, k. k. gubernatorial secretary; Countess Marianne von Gaisruck, dean of the k. k. lady's convent in Hradschin/Hradčany, Prague; Countess Johanna von Thun; Countess Elisabeth von Woratzicky Bissingen; Count Oktavian Kinsky; and Prince Karl zu Liechtenstein.[127] This proves convincingly, yet somewhat surprisingly, that large parts of the Austrian high aristocracy were interested in Sue's scandalous new bestseller. It is conceivable that some of the purchasers ordered the book on behalf of their domestics or other persons, but relaying as the primary motive for most of them seems highly unlikely even aside from the fact that it would have meant a violation of their Scheda.

Besides such waves of Scheda approvals, there are also examples of high-ranking individuals being denied special permission: Count Ludwig Batthyányi, for example, wanted to obtain the *Deutsche Zeitung* published in Heidelberg by Gervinus, but Sedlnitzky hesitated and consulted Metternich, who decided that the leader of the Hungarian opposition should not be allowed to read a newspaper advocating constitutionalism.[128] A certain Count Comini in Brescia likewise did not seem trustworthy enough to the Lombardian governor. Another nobleman, Lieutenant Count Kosiebrodzki in Salzburg, had his Scheda for two novels by the notoriously frivolous Paul de Kock (*Une jeune fille du faubourg* [A Young Girl from the Suburbs] and *La pucelle de Belleville* [The Virgin of Belleville]) revoked after injuring with his saber a student he had felt derided by during a parade for the emperor's birthday.[129] In these cases, the denial of certain reading material appears almost like a patriarchal disciplinary measure—there was clearly no connection between the Lieutenant's offense and Paul de Kock's flippant novels.

For members of the middle class, the prospects of receiving a Scheda were limited at best, and at times their profession prevented them from being grant-

127 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle H 146/1845.

128 Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten, 446.

129 Marx: Vormärzliches Schedenwesen, 460–461.

ed permission despite their trustworthiness. The Milanese seller of music supplies Ricordi, for example, was considered to be in the best possible repute, yet the authorities feared that he might "render information" ("Mitteilungen machen") from the periodical *L'Illustration* he had applied for to his customers in his busy salesroom—in other words, that he might display the magazine there as an attraction for his patrons.[130]

2.2 *Visitations and the Artifice of Booksellers*

Booksellers were able to obtain prohibited goods despite the efforts of the police. Raids regularly discovered forbidden writings, for example at the Viennese publishers Mösle in 1835,[131] Schaumburg in 1838,[132] and Braumüller in 1845[133]—all of which were not dubious companies, but in fact reputable purveyors of books. The renowned bookstore owned by Karl Gerold likewise attracted the authorities' attention repeatedly; 205 volumes of banned works were seized there as early as 1821, for example.[134] Gerold was widely known for being able to obtain any prohibited book.

The year 1843 seemed to finally offer the police an opportunity to make an example of the insubordinate firm. A clerk dismissed by Gerold reported a store of forbidden books on the premises that "likely may be called one of the most significant that perhaps exists in this regard in the k. k. Austrian Monarchy."[135] The informer disclosed the precise location of the hidden storeroom on two sheets of paper full of dense handwriting: From the salesroom, one had to take a spiral staircase to the first floor; through a corridor, one then reached the so-called publishing room that contained books from Gerold's own publishing company as well as—through a door hidden behind bookshelves and opened by way of a spring mechanism—the secret room that Gerold called "Elysium." Leaving nothing to chance, the denunciator even drew a sketch of the rooms in question (cf. Figure 7).

The report on the visitation performed on September 5, 1843 mentions that the authorities made their move in the early morning hours to avoid causing a commotion and that besides "our own officers and the book reviewer Janota

130 Ibid., 462.
131 Cf. Marx: Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz, 5.
132 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Akten der Polizeihofstelle, 207/1838.
133 Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten, 425.
134 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Akten der Polizeihofstelle, 10434/1821
135 Ibid., 5588/1843: "wohl eines der bedeutendsten genannt werden kann, welches vielleicht in dieser Beziehung die k. k. oesterr. Monarchie aufzuweisen hat." All following quotations pertaining to the visitation of Gerold's shop are likewise taken from this document.

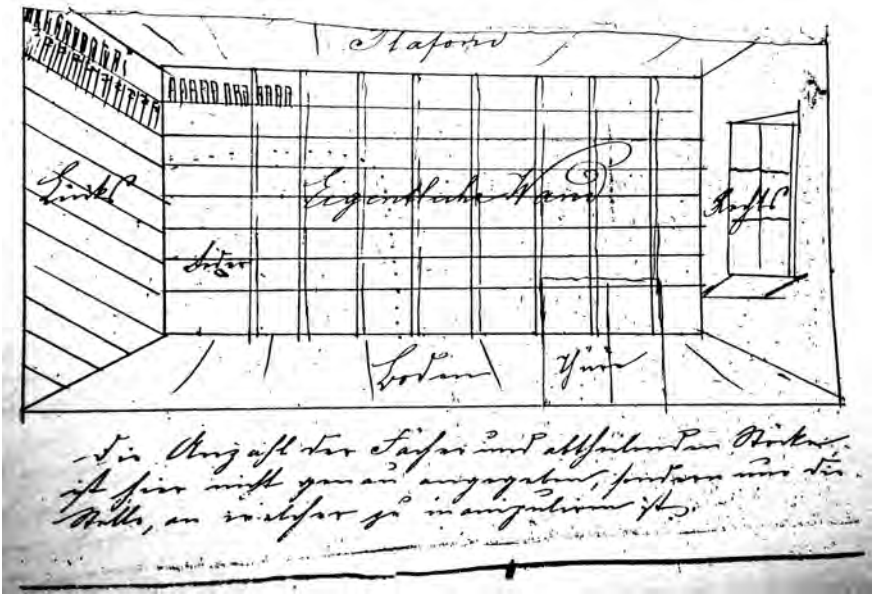

FIGURE 7 Sketch of the hidden storeroom in the Gerold bookstore

only two policemen"[136] took part in the operation. The secret storeroom was discovered without issue, but there was little in it to find fault with. However, the agents discovered numerous prohibited works hidden behind books published by Gerold on the shelves in the publishing room. The volume of seized goods was so large—1,000 books and booklets—that "three persons had to be employed to transport it to the local administration building in covered tubs and wheelbarrows."[137] Among the confiscated items were several copies of the particularly detested—and thus censorially designated for seizure—titles *Oesterreich im Jahre 1843* (Austria in the Year 1843) and *Oesterreich und dessen Zukunft* (Austria and Its Future) by Baron Victor von Andrian-Werburg as well as *Spaziergänge eines zweiten Wiener Poeten* (Promenades by a Second Viennese Poet) by Ferdinand Avist. One is almost tempted to believe Grillparzer's witty comment in his autobiography that the circulation of forbidden writings in Austria was "as common as anywhere in the world" and that he had "seen a horse carriage driver reading 'Austria's Future' on the coach box."[138] Indeed, the

136 "eigenen hierseitigen Beamten und dem Bücher-Revisor Janota nur noch zwei Polizeidiener."

137 "drey Personen zur Verschaffung derselben in das hiesige Amtsgebäude mittels bedekter Butten und Schubkarren verwendet werden mußten."

138 Grillparzer: Selbstbiographie. In: Grillparzers Werke in sechs Bänden. Vol. 5, 295: "so allge-

first edition of Andrian-Werburg's *Oesterreich und dessen Zukunft* comprising 2,000 copies was allegedly sold entirely within Austria.[139] The Viennese booksellers Tendler & Schäfer were apparently Campe's commission merchants in Vienna and, according to Andrian-Werburg's diary entries, distributed a large number of copies even though the book had been banned immediately after appearing in Vienna in December 1842.[140]

The visitation of Gerold's store was followed by an interrogation of the owner. He explained the existence of the secret storeroom with a lack of space; the forbidden books had been procured for persons possessing Scheden and subsequently not picked up or returned after having been read. The particularly objectionable titles mentioned above had been given to him for forwarding by the Brussels bookseller Cans, who was passing through. Despite these statements, the police maintained its urgent suspicion of trading in prohibited books. Simultaneously, however, the author of the report noted his resigned opinion that the well-known lax attitude of the Viennese magistrate meant a conviction was unlikely, "just like every local bookseller in most cases under the aegis of the magistrate, even in possession of the most notable stock of forbidden books, need only make sure that they do not appear too obviously earmarked for sale."[141]

These concerns would prove to be well-founded, for the magistrate in person of Mayor Ignatz Czapka showed no eagerness whatsoever to punish Gerold. After discussing the matter, the city senate decided with a vote of 13 to 9 to take the stance that "a bookseller, even if he were to keep a stock of nothing but for-

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mein als irgendwo in der Welt […] Fiaker auf dem Kutschbock 'Östreichs Zukunft' lesen gesehen."

139 Viktor Franz Freiherr von Andrian-Werburg: "Österreich wird meine Stimme erkennen lernen wie die Stimme Gottes in der Wüste." Tagebücher 1839–1858. Hg. u. eingeleitet von Franz Adlgasser. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau 2011, vol. 1, 380 (4/23/1843).

140 On 1/19/1843, he noted: "Incidentally, the book goes very quickly here [in Milano], the greater half of the copies sent here is already sold out" (ibid., vol. 1, 351: "Übrigens geht das Buch hier [in Mailand] sehr schnell ab, die größere Hälfte der hieher gesandten Exemplare ist bereits vergriffen."); on 2/11/1843, he mentions 20 copies, once again for purchasers in Milano: "Incidentally, Tendler has sold 20 copies here in no time, and many more were requested, albeit by people to whom he deemed it advisable not to give them" (ibid., vol. 1, 362: "Übrigens hat Tendler hier im Nu 20 Exemplare abgesetzt, und noch viel mehr wurden verlangt, jedoch von Leuten, denen er sie nicht zu geben für gerathen fand."); on 5/1/1843, he received a message stating that 600 copies had already been sold in Vienna (ibid., vol. 1, 382).

141 "wie denn überhaupt jeder hiesige Buchhändler in den meisten Fällen unter der Aegide des Magistrates selbst im Besitze des namhaftesten Lagers verbotener Bücher nur dafür zu sorgen braucht, daß ihr Verkauf nicht zu deutlich vorgemerkt erscheine."

bidden books, could not be punished as long as proof was not truly furnished that he had sold one of those books."[142] The chamber stood by its decision despite protestations by the Lower Austrian government,[143] and the police and state authorities thus lost out to a book trader once again.

Another case illustrating the difficulty of convicting booksellers of possession of or trade in prohibited books is that of the Santini bookstore in Venice, where around 100 volumes of banned works were discovered in June 1837. Among the seized items were several historical books along with Boccaccio's *Decameron* and contemporary novels by Victor Hugo, George Sand, Honoré de Balzac, Alphonse de Lamartine, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, and several others. The works had been delivered to Venice from the Rusconi bookstore in Padua, where the police confiscated a further eleven forbidden books in July. During the investigation of the case, it turned out that the local censor, who also fulfilled the duty of a book reviewer, had cleared the works in question for Santini because—as he initially claimed—he had simply overlooked them among the large number of books arriving for review from abroad. He did recall, however, having turned a package from Brussels over to the ostensibly trustworthy Rusconi under the condition that the latter return the prohibited books to the sender. Rusconi, on the other hand, stated that the censor's order had been to sell the books with circumspection ("con circospezione").[144] The trader was ultimately acquitted due to the fact that the censor's instructions had been unclear and no date for the return shipment of the books had been specified, and because Rusconi himself was not in possession of a copy of the catalogue of forbidden books that would have permitted verification of the titles in question.[145]

Although police operations like those against Gerold and Rusconi remained without immediate consequences, they do at times offer insight into the artifice and tricks employed by the booksellers. Gerold's denunciator, for instance, pointed out the existence of a flaw in the police's control system. His statements apparently included indications that "two people at the Gerold bookstore were practically instructed to secrete away forbidden goods under the eyes of the

142 Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Präsidiumsakten, 377/1844 on 3/4/1844: "[…] ein Buchhändler und wenn er selbst ein Lager von blos verbothenen Büchern halten sollte, so lange nicht gestraft werden könnte, bis nicht der Beweis wirklich vorliegt, ob er auch ein Buch verkauft hat."

143 Ibid., 549/1844 on 3/29/1844.

144 Quoted in Marco Callegari: Produzione e commercio librario nel Veneto durante il periodo della Restaurazione (1815–1848). Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Udine 2013, 344.

145 On the case in general, cf. ibid., 343–345.

officials in the course of sorting during the collection of books from the Review Office, wherein Gerold's domestic in particular allegedly proves to be an experienced prestidigitator, so that every load from the Review Office is always accompanied by a handsome quantity of such contraband."[146]

The details of this process are elucidated in letters written to the bookseller Josef Sigmund in Klagenfurt by his assistant Eduard Liegel. Liegel spent the year 1831 in training at the Viennese bookstore owned by Johann Georg Mösle's widow, where he had the opportunity to witness firsthand the goings-on at the Viennese Book Review Office. Although Elisabeth Mösle was Sigmund's Viennese commission merchant, the shipments of books arriving for him from abroad were not reviewed in Vienna but instead in the Carinthian provincial capital. The books were "forwarded unopened from the censorship office building to the province under inclusion of the domestic articles."[147] This circuitous and effectively illegal procedure is indicative of an overburdening of the Viennese office and enabled the involved bookstore personnel to access the shipments. The spatial circumstances at the office appear to have been beneficial for these activities as well:

> The Review Office is a rather large hall, in the middle of which two long tables are positioned in a row several steps apart. No more than two booksellers are allowed to open their bales at the same time. A censorship servitor stands between the two tables or skulks around so that nothing is stolen.* Once the bale is open, all the packages are placed on the table; one unpacks everything comfortably, confers, signs, and puts the unbound sheets, the brochures, and the journals in proper order, each separately; what is not to come under the reviewer's gaze, however, is not unpacked but set aside. Once all this is done, the domestic takes the forbidden material, wraps it with the package that is dispatched to you and sews it up immediately (which is according to regulations), and has it sealed by the officials. [...] The forbidden news or unused serials are

146 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Akten der Polizeihofstelle, 5588/1843: "[...] zwei Leute aus der Gerold'schen Buchhandlung förmlich instruirt seyen, bei Bücherabholungen aus dem Revisionsamte jederzeit verbotene Waare während des Sortirens unter den Augen der Beamten bei Seite zu schaffen, wobey sich besonders der Gerold'sche Hausknecht als routinirter Escamoteur erweisen soll, so daß bei jeder Fracht aus dem Revisionsamte immer auch eine hübsche Quantitaet solcher Paschwaare mitgeht."

147 Die Censur vor siebzig Jahren. Aus den Briefen Eduard Liegel's an seinen ehemaligen Lehrherrn Josef Sigmund in Klagenfurt. In: Österreichisch-ungarische Buchhändler-Correspondenz, Nr. 46 vom 14. November 1900, 618–619: "[...] vom Censuramtslokale aus uneröffnet unter Beipackung der inländischen Artikel nach der Provinz spedirt."

> put in the large cupboard allotted to the Mösle store. Gerold, Schaumburg, and Schalbacher even have two such cupboards each. One may root around among one's books unimpeded under the pretext of seeking out that which has been dealt with, and then pack up for the province whatever one needs …
> * "Stealing" was the customary expression for "saving from the hands of the censors."[148]

A similar trick consisted of disguising packages from abroad as domestic shipments:

> For one can either simply walk out the door with the packages under one's arm, or one takes along to the censorship office prepared address labels made out to us, attaches them to the packages with forbidden books there, and throws the latter on the floor in front of the cupboard since they supposedly come from a bookseller in the province. The house servant will occasionally show them to the officials as domestic packages, which are never opened, and then calmly takes his spoils home …[149]

Such purloining was possible not only at the Book Review Offices but also on the way there, during transfer from the Main Customs Office. The head

148 Ibid.: "Das Revisionsamt ist ein ziemlich großer Saal, in dessen Mitte in einer Linie zwei lange Tafeln stehen, die mehrere Schritte voneinander entfernt sind. Es dürfen nicht mehr als zwei Buchhändler zu gleicher Zeit ihre Ballen öffnen. Ein Censurdiener sitzt zwischen den beiden Tafeln oder schleicht herum, damit nichts gestohlen* werde. Ist der Ballen geöffnet, so kommen alle Pakete auf die Tafel; man packt hier bequem aus, conferirt, zeichnet und legt das Rohe, Broschirte und die Journale, jedes besonders, in schöne Ordnung; was aber nicht unter die Augen des Revisors kommen soll, wird nicht ausgepackt, sondern beiseite gelegt. Ist das alles geschehen, so nimmt der Hausknecht das Verbotene, packt es zu dem Pakete, das an Sie abgeht und näht es allsogleich ein (was der Vorschrift gemäß ist) und läßt es vom Amte versiegeln. […] Die verbotenen Neuigkeiten oder nicht verbrauchten Fortsetzungen kommen in den großen Schrank, der für die Möslesche Handlung bestimmt ist. Gerold, Schaumburg und Schalbacher haben sogar jeder zwei solche Schränke. Man kann ungehindert unter seinen Büchern herumbohren, unter dem Vorwande, das Erledigte herauszusuchen und dann, was man eben braucht, für die Provinz verpacken … * 'Stehlen' war der gebräuchliche Ausdruck für 'aus den Händen der Censoren erretten'."

149 Ibid.: "Man kann nämlich entweder die Pakete theilweise unter dem Arm zur Thüre hinausspazieren lassen, oder man nimmt vorbereitete Adressen, welche an uns lauten, auf die Censur mit, steckt sie dort auf die Pakete mit verbotenen Büchern und wirft diese, weil sie angeblich von einem Buchhändler aus der Provinz kommen, vor dem Kasten auf den Boden. Der Hausknecht zeigt sie dann gelegentlich dem Beamten als inländische Pakete vor, welche nie geöffnet werden, und trägt dann seine Beute ruhig nachhause …"

of the Book Review Office, Sartori, complained that books were not being inspected at the Main Customs Office but that instead for some time

> Most books in bales and crates coming from the Rhenish Confederate States or from France are inspected in the warehouse on the pediment between the Main Customs Office and the Theresientor gate. There the book crates are torn open, the books strewn about and brought to the Review Office in complete disorder, partly in crates, partly wrapped in cloth. The booksellers are thus offered the easiest opportunity to take away whatever they want on the way from the pediment to the Review Office and abstract it from review, especially since the inspectors do not accompany the books on the way to the Review Office for lack of time or out of laziness.[150]

At the same time, the misbehavior documented here shows only one side of the coin. The occasional "stealing" of books was in fact a form of revenge for the constant harassment many booksellers had to endure. They were regularly convicted of violations of prohibitions, for example when antiquarian Ignaz Klang was sentenced to a fine of 200 guilders C.M. and one month of house arrest in September 1847 for offering Eugène Sue's novels *Der ewige Jude* (The Wandering Jew) and *Die Geheimnisse von Paris* (The Mysteries of Paris) as well as Karl Gottlob Cramer's *Lilli von Arenstein* for sale in a catalog.[151] On the whole, the regulations were strict, but their application in practice was usually difficult. The virulent "conflict of interest between censorship and the state economy"[152]

150 Schembor: Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur, 57: "[…] die meisten Bücher in Ballen und Kisten, welche aus den Rheinischen Bundesstaaten oder aus Frankreich kommen, in dem Magazin auf dem Glacis zwischen der Hauptmaut und dem Theresientor beschaut werden. Die Bücherkisten werden da aufgerissen, die Bücher umhergestreut und in vollkommener Unordnung teils in Kisten, teils in Tüchern auf das Revisionsamt gebracht. Den Buchhändlern wird so die leichteste Gelegenheit dargeboten, auf dem Wege von dem Glacis bis auf das Revisionsamt davon wegzunehmen und der Revision zu entziehen, was ihnen beliebt, besonders, da oft die Beschauer aus Mangel an Zeit oder aus Bequemlichkeit die Bücher nicht auf das Revisionsamt begleiten."

151 Cf. Jacques Eisenstein: Der Antiquarbuchhandel in Österreich und Ungarn. In: Österreichisch-ungarische Buchhändler-Correspondenz 1910, Festnummer anläßlich des 50jährigen Bestehens, 1, 62–69, here 66.

152 Ernst Fischer: "Immer schon die vollständigste Preßfreiheit?" Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Zensur und Buchhandel im 18. Jahrhundert. In: Wilhelm Haefs and York-Gothart Mix (eds.): Zensur im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung. Geschichte—Theorie—Praxis. Göttingen: Wallstein 2007, 61–78, here 70: "Interessenkonflikt zwischen Zensur und Staatsökonomie."

existing since the eighteenth century made itself felt time and time again. Most notably, the local authorities—like the Viennese magistrate in Gerold's case mentioned above—attempted to protect the businesses within their sphere of influence from the grasp of central power.

2.3 *Complaints and Protests by Booksellers*

The booksellers regularly complained to the authorities that censorship and the police were severely interfering with their business. Indeed, it was not just their stocks of books that were inspected but also the display cases set up on the sidewalks outside the salesrooms since—as mentioned before—works flagged as "transeat" were allowed to be sold but not displayed. Furthermore, the advertisements posted on street corners were not to be worded too clamorously.[153] Another permanent bone of contention was the circumstance that although the prohibition lists were not issued to the booksellers for reasons of confidentiality and to avoid commotion, every book merchant and antiquarian had to be aware of all the current as well as the many previous bans. The Censorship Regulation of 1795 stipulated a fine of 50 guilders for the sale of forbidden books in the case of a first offense; repeat offenders were threatened with the loss of their license. The same punishment was prescribed for the printing of prohibited manuscripts or their shipment abroad, as well as for failure to incorporate changes or deletions mandated by censorship.

It was only in the years 1840, 1845, and 1848 that the booksellers eventually jointly submitted applications to the court in which they listed the following grievances:

- the strict application of censorship, which kept many printed works from abroad out of Austria and tempted the booksellers to engage in book smuggling;[154]
- the massive delays caused by the cumbersome processing of the bales of books arriving from foreign publishers;
- the costs for return to the original publisher or bookseller incurred when already distributed works were banned;
- the protracted procedure for the granting of Scheden and the fees associated with it;

153 Cf. Archiv der Corporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1821, 28 and 1820, 34.

154 Cf. e.g. the list of more than 1,000 English and French novels prohibited between 1815 and 1848 in Norbert Bachleitner (ed.): Quellen zur Rezeption des englischen und französischen Romans in Deutschland und Österreich im 19. Jahrhundert. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1990, 60–93.

- the increase in costs for personnel required for the interaction with the Book Review Office;
- the revenue-reducing prohibition on the announcement and advertisement of books labeled "transeat";
- the losses incurred by publishers in the crown lands when the Viennese central office passed a stricter verdict after local authorities had cleared a manuscript for printing;
- the bad reputation of Austrian books, which diminished sales;
- the detrimental delay in the production of new releases, for example when translations of fashionable novels could only be printed in Austria several months later than they could by German publishers located in Leipzig or Stuttgart;
- the discouragement of Austrian writers and journalists, who were tempted to have their works printed abroad despite the fact that this was strictly forbidden.

In April 1840, the book merchants suggested unifying the entire process of censorship within a single authority that would also accept and handle complaints. Their most humble plea was supported, received, and transmitted to the emperor by Count Kolowrat.[155] The petition's only result, however, was that the emperor called for delays during the censorship process to be avoided as far as possible; in addition, Sedlnitzky had the Censorship Regulation of 1810 lithographed and distributed to the responsible offices in the crown lands for observance, and the emperor approved additional personnel for book reviewing.[156] In a handbill dated October 15, 1840, Ferdinand I also repealed all of the directives issued since the *Vorschrift* of 1810, with processing to be expedited in particular by the fact that the Court Police Section was now empowered to decide on manuscripts and books without consulting with any other entities.[157] The Austrian authorities came under increasing pressure during the 1840s because even close allies were reforming and slackening their procedures in terms of censorial strictness. Prussia, for example, introduced the 20-sheet-clause as late as 1842 and a High Censorship Court in 1843, thereby giving

155 On Kolowrats attempts to exert influence on the censorship process, cf. most recently Isabella Schüler: Franz Anton Graf von Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky (1778–1861). Der Prager Oberstburggraf und Wiener Staats- und Konferenzminister. Munich: Utz 2016, 241–243.

156 Anna Hedwig Benna: Die Polizeihofstelle. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Österreichischen Zentralverwaltung. Diss. Vienna (typewritten) 1942, 211.

157 Cf. the corresponding report in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 307, November 2, 1840, 3409, and the transcription in the Archiv der Corporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1840, 45.

censorship a juridical foundation.[158] What was more, the publishers and booksellers had the argument of the need for profitable business development on their side: Strict censorship was irreconcilable with the at least equally important goal of economic prosperity.

In 1846, Jakob Dirnböck, the director of the Viennese bookseller's association, composed an exposé entitled "Ansichten und Notizen über Buchhandel und Censur in Oestreich" (Opinions and Notes about the Book Trade and Censorship in Austria),[159] with the censorial activity naturally one of its primary topics. Dirnböck calculated that according to the list of allowed books, only roughly one quarter (2,289) of all titles (around 10,000) produced in Austria and Germany in 1845 had been approved. His suggestion was to convert the verdict "damnatur" into "transeat" while at the same time controlling the granting of Scheden more strictly. He repeated his appeal for moderation of censorship in 1848, this time addressed to the emperor directly and phrased in a subservient and overly dramatic tone that caused liberal commentators to mock it as "Dirnböck's prayer." The letter began with the salutation "In God's name, Most Gracious Emperor! Our Father! Our Lord!" and ended with the invocation "Protect us, o Father! Us, your innocent children, legal citizens, faithful subjects until death. Yours is the empire! Yours is the power! We cannot despair. Amen!"[160] This "prayer" would be answered not by the emperor but instead by the revolutionaries only a few days later.

2.4 *Censorship and the Authors*

The censors seemed to be the author's natural enemies, and a plethora of quotations could be furnished as evidence. Let us content ourselves with a passage from a letter by Gustave Flaubert to Louise Colet on December 9, 1852 in which he described the censorship of thoughts as an "insult to the soul" in analogy to lèse-majesté: "Censorship, in whichever form it appears, is a monstrosity worse than murder. The attack on thought is an insult to the soul."[161]

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158 See Bärbel Holtz: Staatlichkeit und Obstruktion—Preußens Zensurpraxis als politisches Kulturphänomen. In: Acta Borussica. Neue Folge, 2. Reihe: Preußen als Kulturstaat. Abteilung II: Der preußische Kulturstaat in der politischen und sozialen Wirklichkeit. Vol. 6: Preußens Zensurpraxis von 1819 bis 1848 in Quellen. 1st half volume. Berlin: de Gruyter Akademie Forschung 2015, 1–105, here 87–93, and the documents ibid., 2nd half volume, 761–782.

159 Archiv der Corporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1846, 1.

160 Archiv der Corporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1848, 8: "Im Namen Gottes, Allergnädigster Kaiser! Unser Vater! Unser Herr! […] Schütze uns o Vater! Uns, deine schuldlosen Kinder, rechtliche Bürger, bis in den Tod getreue Unterthanen. Dein ist das Reich! Dein ist die Macht! Wir können nicht verzagen. Amen!"

161 Gustave Flaubert: Correspondance. Vol. 2 (juillet 1852–décembre 1858). Ed. par Jean

The relationship between the vast majority of Austrian writers and the censorship authorities was understandably very strained, but direct punitive measures against authors were nevertheless rare. Silvio Pellico was among the writers—with fellow campaigners including Ugo Foscolo and Alessandro Manzoni—who fought vehemently for liberation of the Italian states from the Austrian administration. On suspicion of being a member of the Carbonari, Pellico was sentenced to death in 1824 and initially interned in the Leaden Chambers in Venice. After being pardoned by the emperor, he was eventually transferred to Spielberg/Špilberk Castle in Brünn/Brno; despite being originally condemned to 15 years in prison, he was released in 1830.

A curious episode is the arrest of Josef Rank, a Bohemian-born writer of short stories and novels casting a critical light on the Austrian administration. The young author put his writings (the first of which was a collection entitled *Aus dem Böhmerwalde* [From the Bohemian Forest], 1843) to print with publisher Einhorn in Leipzig by way of precaution. As such circumvention of censorship through printing abroad was illegal, Rank was sternly reproved. In the same year, however, he published another novel with the title *Vier Brüder aus dem Volke* (Four Brothers from the Folk), again with Einhorn. Among other things, this book criticized "that the education of the people lay in the hands of the rural clergy and the latter proved unfit for this demanding task, that the bureaucracy acted far too arbitrarily, and that the long military obligation distressed the people excessively."[162] When this book received the verdict "damnatur" in Vienna, the police began searching for Rank. Heeding the advice of friends, he went into hiding in Vienna and Pressburg/Bratislava, but ultimately made the mistake in July 1844 of attempting to travel back to Leipzig without a passport in order to enjoy the freedom of publication offered there. He was arrested in Teplitz/Teplice and taken to Prague, where he was to await his trial in detention. The authorities in Prague showed no ambition to pass sentence on him, however, despite the fact that Sedlnitzky personally lobbied for his conviction, and he was released after twelve days. In April 1845, Rank even received a passport for the German Confederate States and proceeded to continue his provocations: He wrote a polemic report about his experience for the Leipzig periodical

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Bruneau. Paris: Gallimard 1980, 202: "La censure, quelle qu'elle soit, me paraît une monstruosité, une chose pire que l'homicide. L'attentat contre la pensée est un crime de lèse-âme."

162 Anton Ernstberger: Josef Rank in Zensurhaft. Prag 1844. In: Stifter-Jahrbuch 7 (1962), 113–130, here 120: "[…] daß der Volksunterricht in Händen der Landgeistlichkeit lag und diese sich der hohen Aufgabe nicht gewachsen zeigte, daß die Bürokratie viel zu eigenmächtig verfuhr und daß die lange Militärpflicht das Volk allzu stark bedrücke."

Die Grenzboten[163] under the title "Zwölf Tage im Gefängnis" (Twelve Days in Jail) and, in the same year, put a further offensive novel entitled *Waldmeister* to print with Georg Wigand, a publisher in Leipzig. Rank's undertakings benefited from the fact that the police codex knew only violations of the Censorship Regulation by printers and booksellers—but not by authors. Only if writings endangered the public peace and order could the respective author be persecuted.[164]

Likewise in 1845, the Austrian writers finally bestirred themselves to follow the example of the book merchants and draft a petition with suggestions for censorship reforms. Around 90 authors—among them Grillparzer, Stifter, Zedlitz, Pyrker, Bauernfeld, Castelli, and Frankl—as well as notable representatives of various scientific disciplines signed the request for

- quicker processing of manuscripts, which—especially if multiple authorities were involved in their evaluation—sometimes took years to complete;
- independent censors who did not have to be concerned about their careers;
- a censorship law governing the criteria and principles for the appraisal of manuscripts and books and defining clear rules for what was allowed and forbidden for censors and authors alike;
- a regulated procedure for appeals against censorial verdicts, which in turn implied the notification of authors regarding the reasons for a prohibition—something that occurred only sporadically in the established practice;[165]
- the right to publish manuscripts in German states that likewise exercised censorship.

In short, the authors were asking for legal standardization of the censorship process—a demand voiced a decade and a half too early. It would eventually

163 Zwölf Tage im Gefängniß. (Aus einem Privatschreiben Josef Rank's). In: Die Grenzboten 4 (1845), 1. Semester, vol. 1, 158–181.

164 Cf. Primus-Heinz Kucher: Herrschaft und Protest. Literarisch-publizistische Öffentlichkeit und politische Herrschaft in Oberitalien zwischen Romantik und Restauration 1800–1847. Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau 1989, 126.

165 The authors complained that it was incomprehensible "that the author in his most holy right of thought should be less protected than the lowliest craftsman in that of his daily business, than even the criminal in his right to his defense" ("weshalb der Schriftsteller in seinem heiligsten Rechte des Gedankens minder beschützt sein sollte, als der letzte Handwerker in dem des täglichen Erwerbes, als selbst der Verbrecher in dem Rechte seiner Verteidigung"). Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Österreich (1845). In: Eduard von Bauernfelds Gesammelte Aufsätze. In Auswahl hg. und eingeleitet v. Stefan Hock. Vienna: Verlag des Literarischen Vereins in Wien 1905, 1–27, here 24.

be realized in the shape of the *Pressgesetz* (Press Act) of 1862. In reaction to the exposé, Metternich stated with allusion to the Marquis Posa and with reference to the writers' invocation of § 17 of the Civic Code of 1811, which guaranteed every human being their innate natural rights, that while thoughts were free, "the spoken and written ones are subject to moral law."[166] Nevertheless, the organization of censorship was simplified over the course of the following two years and—as suggested by the booksellers—conflated into a single entity, the newly created *Zensuroberdirektion* (Supreme Censorship Directorate), which handled all censorial and book review matters in the first instance. The only authority above it was the *Zentralkolleg* that handled appeals. The new structure was implemented in February 1848 and was thus in force for only one month. In the course of the revolution in March 1848, all police agendas were transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. The authors' relief at the (temporary) discontinuation of censorship became visible in a host of satirical texts. Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, for example, versed the following in "Der todte Censor" (The Dead Censor):

Wohl ihm er ist heimgegangen
Wo die Presse frei nicht ist,
Und der Tod mit Censor-Zangen
Uns den freien Mund verschließt.
Wo die Würmer "Deleatur"
Fressen ein in das Gebein,
Und die Hölle ihr "damnatur"
Mitgibt als Geleiteschein!
Bringet her die Federgaben,
Stimmet an die Todtenklag',
Alles sei mit ihm begraben,
Was ihn dort erfreuen mag.[167]

(Farewell to him, now gone home
Where the press is never free,
And where Death with censors' forceps
Shuts our mouths, free though they be.
Where the worms a "deleatur"
Into bones do bite and drill,
And where hell its own "damnatur"
Adds as a consignment bill!
Bring here now the gifts of feathers,
And intone the death lament,
Bury with him in the nethers
What may there make him content.)

166 Benna: Die Polizeihofstelle, 214: "die gesprochenen und geschriebenen unterliegen dem Sittengesetz."

167 Excerpt from Moritz Gottlieb Saphir: Der todte Censor. In: Der Wiener Parnaß im Jahre 1848. Hg. v. Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert. Wien: Manz 1882, 60–61.

3 Commented Statistics of Prohibition Activity between 1792 and 1848

The first section examines the development of the numbers of book and manuscript prohibitions in comparison to the total book production in German and the number of books approved in Austria. This is followed as before by listings of the prohibitions by language and of the most frequently banned authors. These statistics will be split into a set for the period from 1792 to 1820 (Tables 8–10) and one for the period from 1821 to 1848 (Tables 11–13) to avoid overly long and unwieldy columns of numbers. The subsequent Tables 14–16, however, which offer a classification by scientific discipline as well as statistics on the most frequently affected publishers, span the entire period discussed in this chapter. This is because comparisons across the decades seem significant in the case of the disciplines—and in the case of the publishers, the continuum of the production by important enterprises like Cotta, Brockhaus, and others would otherwise have been arbitrarily fragmented.

3.1 *Prohibitions and Approvals 1792–1820*

TABLE 8A Prohibitions ("damnatur" or "erga schedam") and approvals ("admittitur" or "transeat") of printed works between 1792 and 1820, compared to the total book production of the German states as per the Leipzig book fair catalog[168]

Year	Printed works						Fair catalog
	Damnatur	Erga schedam	Prohibitions total	Admittitur	Transeat	Approvals total	
1792	179	–	179				3,397
1793	224	2	226				3,719
1794	447	73	520				3,456
1795	606	173	779				3,368

168 The prohibition numbers in tables 8A and 8B are based on analysis of the database "Verpönt, Verdrängt—Vergessen?" (http://univie.ac.at/zensur [last accessed on 12/13/2021]). Manuscripts are only specified on the prohibtion lists beginning in 1808.—The data on the total German book production ("Fair catalog") follow the Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae bisecvlaris. Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zur Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765. Mit einer Einleitung von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1850, as well as the Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae continvatvs. Der Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels Fortsetzung die Jahre 1766 bis einschließlich 1846 umfassend. Vorwort von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1877.—The numbers of approved printed works and manuscripts are based on analysis of Verzeichniß der im Militär-

TABLE 8A Prohibitions and approvals 1792–1820 of printed works (*cont.*)

Year	Printed works						Fair catalog
	Damnatur	Erga schedam	Prohibitions total	Admittitur	Transeat	Approvals total	
1796	558	186	744				3,422
1797[a]	320	171	491				3,711
1798	641	198	839				3,904
1799	557	235	792				3,739
1800	513	212	725				4,012
1801	501	253	754				4,008
1802	431	310	741				4,010
1803	400	276	676				4,016
1804	353	245	598				4,049
1805	188	187	375				4,181
1806	127	127	254				3,381
1807	86	114	200				3,057
1808	127	128	255				3,733
1809	46	56	102				3,045
1810	76	82	158				3,864
1811	62	32	94	2,387	251	2,638	3,287
1812	39	44	83				3,162
1813[b]	96	34	130				2,323
1814	60	58	118				2,861
1815	22	35	57	985	174	1,159	3,225
1816	153	101	254				3,231
1817	131	109	240				3,291
1818	150	100	250				3,945
1819	207	107	314	2,008	600	2,608	3,622
1820	290	179	469				3,772
Total 1792–1820	7,590	3,827	11,417				102,791

a The prohibition list for the month of August is missing for this year.

b The prohibition list for the month of November is missing for this year.

jahre 1810 bis 1811 bey der k. k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staats-Druckerey 1810 (= Nov. 1810 to Oct. 1811); Verzeichniß der im Militär-Jahre 1816 bey der k. k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: B.Ph. Bauer 1816 (= Jan. to Dec. 1815); and Verzeichniß der im Militär-Jahre 1819 bey der Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: B.Ph. Bauer 1819 (= Nov. 1818 to Oct. 1819).

TABLE 8B Prohibitions ("damnatur") and approvals ("admittitur" or "omissis deletis" / "correctis corrigendis") between 1792 and 1820

Year	Manuscripts			
	Damnatur	Admittitur	Omissis del., corr. corr.	Approvals total
1808	78			
1809	106			
1810	181			
1811	126	835	101	936
1812	118			
1813[a]	123			
1814	132			
1815	88	1,439	156	1,595
1816	106			
1817	117			
1818	73			
1819	131	2,161	245	2,406
1820	127			
Total	1,506			

a The prohibition list for the month of November is missing for this year.

Among the most significant information provided by Table 8 is the clearly visible surge in the number of prohibitions of printed works in 1794 and 1795 to around three-and-a-half times the value for 1793, which cannot be explained by a proportional rise in German book production (1790: 3,560 titles, 1795: 3,368 titles). Rather, what we see here is the phase of revolutionary *terreur* in Paris with the execution of the royal couple, as a consequence of which the fear of revolution increased dramatically in other areas as well—leading to the persecution of the "Jacobins" in the German states and Austria among other activities. The massive increase in prohibitions also brought with it the first issuance of the verdict "erga schedam" in 1793—which did not represent an easement in terms of censorship but instead served to make even comparatively harmless literature less accessible.[169]

169 Scheden had already been issued previously, albeit without a group of works having been specifically earmarked for them.

The high rate of prohibitions reached in 1795 was maintained until 1802 before quickly dropping to less than a tenth of the value for 1802 until 1815, the year of the Congress of Vienna (1802: 741, 1815: 57). This decline was consistent with the recessive development of the book market caused by the disturbance of Napoleon's campaigns affecting large areas of Europe—and not least the German states and Austria. German book production shrank by a quarter between 1800 and 1809, and eventually reached a long-time low in 1813. The ratio between works designated "damnatur" respectively "erga schedam" is also indicative of the attenuation of censorship during this period: While the ratio had been around 3:1 in 1795/96, the numbers had roughly evened out at a low level by 1805.

Manuscripts were reported in the prohibition lists beginning in 1808. This included manuscripts of any length submitted for printing in Austria; part of the category was represented by books slated for reprinting or translation. The annual number of forbidden manuscripts remained around 100 until 1820, while the fact that the number of approved manuscripts increased by 150 percent between 1811 (936) and 1819 (2,406) suggests that submitted works were being treated more leniently. The works that were prohibited or not approved for printing were mostly religious and nonfiction books as well as medical self-help literature, but also included smaller formats like one-off prints of songs, brochures, and the like. Among the most frequently encountered submitters of manuscripts is the imperial royal councilor Franz Xaver Sonnleithner, who—while also active as an author himself—presumably mostly turned in works written by others, at least during the years 1808/09. One may assume he cooperated with his brothers Joseph and Ignaz and perhaps even submitted manuscripts written by friends in his role as magistrate official in Vienna and imperial royal councilor in order to improve their chances of approval. If the latter was the case, however, his attempts failed miserably. The range of works submitted by Sonnleithner included humor, anecdotes, poems, a language learning series, pseudotheology, and self-help literature such as instructions for fast calculating, the nutriment of man, and writings on physical phenomena, e.g. "Die Kunst, sich unverbrennbar zu machen" (The Art of Making Oneself Non-Combustible).

Prohibition activity stagnated between 1815 and 1818, after which a marked increase can be observed. The reason is clear: Following the Wartburg Festival, the start of the student uprisings, and especially the murder of Kotzebue, the political climate became tense once again. The Carlsbad Decrees passed in reaction to Kotzebue's assassination called for comprehensive monitoring of all written communication. Austria had been the primary driving force behind the Decrees and intended to be a role model for their implementation as

well. The resulting increase in prohibitions marks the beginning of the pre-March period in Austria. Austrian writers were forced to adapt their activity by effectively practicing self-censorship, and literature published outside the monarchy had to be treated equally strictly. The ratio between prohibitions and approvals of submitted manuscripts was 1:18 in 1815 and 1819, then dropped to 1:4 in 1823; the ratio between prohibitions and approvals of foreign printed works shifted analogously from 1:20 in 1815 to 1:8 in 1819 and finally to 1:4 in 1823.

3.2 *Prohibitions 1792–1820, by Language*

TABLE 9 Number of prohibitions 1792–1820 (books and manuscripts), by language

Year	German	French	Italian	English	Polish	Latin	Multi-language	Other	Total
1792	105	64	2	2		4	2		179
1793	160	54		7		4		1[a]	226
1794	430	75	1	2		6	3	3[b]	520
1795	663	96	9	8	1	2			779
1796	620	99	1	22		1	1		744
1797	339	136	2	6		3	5		491
1798	639	174	10	5		7	4		839
1799	567	199	9	10		2	4	1[c]	792
1800	541	177	2	1		2	2		725
1801	524	224	4				1	1[d]	754
1802	552	166	13	3	1	4	1	1[e]	741
1803	533	131	3	3		3	3		676
1804	473	80	4	1	35	2	3		598
1805	276	56	3		36	3	1		375
1806	232	21				1			254
1807	157	36	3	1		1	2		200
1808	254	68	4		3	3	1		333
1809	182	21	2			2	1		208
1810	306	24	2			5	1	1[f]	339
1811	188	25	2		3	1	1		220
1812	179	10	1		1	7		3[g]	201
1813	226	18	1		2	3	1	2[h]	253

a Greek.
b 1 Greek, 1 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian.
c Czech.
d Danish.
e Greek.
f Hungarian.
g 2 Greek, 1 Hebrew.
h 2 Greek.

TABLE 9 Number of prohibitions 1792–1820 (books and manuscripts), by language (*cont.*)

Year	German	French	Italian	English	Polish	Latin	Multi-language	Other	Total
1814	236	9				3	1	1[i]	250
1815	112	14	3			8	4	4[j]	145
1816	230	69	33	1	15	5	1	6[k]	360
1817	272	29	18	2	5	3	2	26[l]	357
1818	235	48	17	1	16	4	1	1[m]	323
1819	326	55	10	1	10	2	4	37[n]	445
1820	454	109	11	6	3	3	5	5[o]	596
Total 1792–1820	10,011	2,287	170	82	131	94	55	93	12,923

i Hebrew
j 1 Greek, 3 Hebrew.
k 1 Greek, 4 Hebrew, 1 Czech.
l 21 Hebrew, 3 Czech, 1 Hungarian, 1 Moldavian.
m Hungarian.
n 3 Greek, 28 Hebrew, 4 Czech, 2 Hungarian.
o 3 Greek, 1 Hebrew, 1 Spanish.

Noteworthy in Table 9 is the rapid decrease in French writings following the revolutionary years. After contributing one third of all prohibitions in 1792 and one quarter in 1794, the language drops to less than 15 percent in 1794 and 12 percent in 1796. It then oscillates around 20 percent until 1803 before reaching the 10 percent mark in 1809 and subsequently declining into the single digits; in the years between 1815 and 1820, it rebounds back to an average of 15 percent. The "losses" in forbidden books in French were offset primarily by works in German, which represent 77 percent of all prohibitions, while English, Italian, Polish, and Latin exhibit essentially constant shares until 1815. Only English disappears largely from the statistics starting in 1800, and entirely in 1808. The share of Italian works increases beginning in 1816, as does that of Polish writings. The reasons for this development are easily understood: Western Galicia became a part of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1795, and Lombardy and Venetia were integrated in 1815. The "other languages" category subsumes only very few prohibitions; Hebrew forms the only major exception with more than 20 works banned during each of two years (1817 and 1819). This was likely the result of the processing of estates, confiscations of travelers' books, or large individual orders by booksellers.

3.3 *Most Frequently Prohibited Authors 1792–1820*

TABLE 10 Most frequently prohibited authors 1792–1820[a]

1.	Sintenis, Christian Friedrich	36
2.	Albrecht, Johann Friedrich Ernst	30
3.	Voss, Christian Daniel	29
	Vulpius, Christian August	29
5.	Cramer, Carl Gottlob	28
6.	Pigault-Lebrun, Charles Antoine Guillaume	27
7.	Arndt, Ernst Moritz	26
	Bornschein, Johann Ernst Daniel	26
	Kotzebue, August Friedrich Ferdinand von	26
10.	Laukhard, Friedrich Christian	22
	Voss, Julius von	22
12.	Nougaret, Pierre Jean Baptiste	21
	Spieß, Christian Heinrich	21
14.	Arnold, Ignaz Ferdinand	20
	Galletti, Johann Georg August	20
16.	Becker, Gottfried Wilhelm	19
	Campe, Joachim Heinrich	19
	Pölitz, Karl Heinrich Ludwig	19
19.	Buchholz, Paul Ferdinand Friedrich	18
	Fischer, Christian August	18
	Jenisch, Daniel	18
22.	Rebmann, Andreas Georg Friedrich	17
23.	Bergk, Johann Adam	16
	Riem, Andreas	16
	Rousseau, Jean Jacques	16
	Zschokke, Heinrich	16
27.	Brückner, Johann Jakob	15
	Kant, Immanuel	15
	Kerndoerffer, Heinrich August	15
	Schilling, Gustav	15
	Schreiber, Alois Wilhelm	15
	Voltaire [= Arouet, François Marie]	15
33.	Benkowitz, Carl Friedrich	14
	Mangelsdorf, Karl Ehregott	14

a Author names are provided for 6,330 of the 12,923 banned works; the remainder were recorded in the lists anonymously.

TABLE 10 Most frequently prohibited authors 1792–1820 (*cont.*)

	Paine, Thomas	14
	Sonnleithner, Franz von	14
37.	Cannabich, Gottfried Christian	13
	Dumouriez, Charles François Du Périer	13
	Fichte, Johann Gottlieb	13
	Grosse, Carl	13
	Lafontaine, August Heinrich Julius	13
	Massenbach, Christian Karl August Ludwig von	13
	Mercier de Compiègne, Claude-François-Xavier	13
	Schiller, Friedrich	13
	Schlenkert, Friedrich Christian	13
47.	Bauer, Georg Lorenz	12
	Bülow, Adam Heinrich Dietrich von	12
	Maréchal, Pierre Sylvain	12
	Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel de Riquetti de	12
	Regnault-Warin, Jean-Joseph	12
	Rétif de la Bretonne, Nicolas Edme	12
	Seidel, Karl August Gottlieb	12
54.	Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried	11
	Flittner, Christian Gottfried	11
	Grüner, Christoph Sigismund	11
	Henke, Heinrich Philipp Conrad	11
	Heynig, Johann Gottfried	11
	Klinger, Friedrich Maximilian von	11
	Knigge, Adolf Franz Friedrich Ludwig von	11
	Langbein, August Friedrich Ernst	11
	Pradt, Dominique Georges Frédéric Dufour de	11
	Stäudlin, Karl Friedrich	11
	Thieß, Johann Otto	11
	Tieck, Ludwig	11
	Tieftrunk, Johann Heinrich	11
	Wolf, Peter Philipp	11
68.	Baur, Samuel	10
	Ducray-Duminil, François Guillaume	10
	Guénard, Elisabeth	10
	Guichard, Auguste Charles	10
	Luther, Martin	10
	Meiners, Christoph	10

TABLE 10 Most frequently prohibited authors 1792–1820 (*cont.*)

Müller, Heinrich	10
Pahl, Johann Gottfried von	10
Richter, Johann Paul Friedrich	10
Schad, Johann Baptist	10
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von	10
Scherer, Johann Ludwig Wilhelm	10
Schumann, Friedrich August Gottlob	10
Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine de	10
Wagner, Johann Jakob	10
Wojda, Karol Fryderyk	10

The list of most frequently banned authors is somewhat surprisingly led by the Lutheran theologian and author of devotional and entertainment literature from Zerbst, Christian Friedrich Sintenis. Friedrich Christian Laukhard was likewise a theologian, but his writing focused primarily on contemporary history and reporting on the Napoleonic Wars, which he participated in personally, along with some novels. Many of Laukhard's writings were also forbidden in German states, which prevented him from pursuing an academic career.[170] The situation was similar for the historians and political scientists Christian Daniel Voss, who co-published with August Ludwig von Schlözer among others, and Johann Georg August Galletti. Rather more expected in the lineup of prolific and regularly proscribed authors is Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht, a writer of plays, novels, and medical treatises, translator of Rousseau, and proponent of the democratic revolution.[171] Albrecht contributed to the abundance of romantic chivalry, banditry, and horror stories especially frowned upon in Austria; this genre was also the sphere of activity of Karl Gottlob Cramer, Christian August Vulpius, Johann Ernst Daniel Bornschein, Christian Heinrich Spieß, and Ignaz Ferdinand Arnold.[172] The Frenchmen Charles Antoine Guillaume Pigault-Lebrun and Pierre Jean Baptiste Nougaret, on the other hand,

170 Cf. Dirk Sangmeister: Vertrieben vom Feld der Literatur, 27–88.

171 On him, cf. most recently: Rüdiger Schütt (ed.): Verehrt, verflucht, vergessen. Leben und Werk von Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht (1752–1814). Hanover: Wehrhahn 2015; cf. also Sangmeister: Erkundungen in einem wilden Feld.—Several of Albrechts works were published anonymously or with referential author declarations, and we must therefore assume the number of prohibitions pertaining to his writings to be even higher.

172 On this, cf. e.g. Holger Dainat: "Die Rache schläft nicht!" Über die Räuberromane von

were representatives of the sensational novel with revolutionary and anti-clerical themes respectively the libertine novel. Christian August Fischer likewise wrote libertine texts, while Gottfried Wilhelm Becker and Joachim Heinrich Campe dedicated themselves to the genre of popular enlightenment. The "classic" pro-Enlightenment and religion-critical authors Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Thomas Paine no longer rank among the most frequently forbidden writers, assuming mid-range positions along with the leading proponents of idealistic philosophy Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. Kant had been largely tolerated in Austria (and discussed especially in Masonic circles) under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, but was subsequently perceived as more subversive in regard to politics as well as religion after 1792.[173] His first appearance in the prohibition lists was in 1776, long before he became a "regular" between 1794 and 1799; he is only encountered sporadically thereafter, most likely due to the blanket prohibition of all of his works in the year 1798.[174]

Albrecht und Arnold. In: Martin Mulsow and Dirk Sangmeister (eds.): Subversive Literatur. Erfurter Autoren und Verlage im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution (1780–1806). Göttingen: Wallstein 2014, 454–478.

173 Cf. Alexander Wilfing: Die frühe österreichische Kant-Rezeption—Von Joseph II. bis Franz II. In: Violetta L. Waibel (ed.; in cooperation with Max Brinnich, Sophie Gerber, and Philipp Schaller): Umwege: Annäherungen an Immanuel Kant in Wien, in Österreich und in Osteuropa. Göttingen: V&R unipress, Vienna University Press 2015, 27–33; Alexander Wilfing: Die staatlich erwirkte Kant-Rezeption—Von Franz II. bis Graf Thun-Hohenstein. In: Ibid., 33–39.

174 Cf. Wilfing: Die frühe österreichische Kant-Rezeption, 27.

3.4 *Prohibitions and Approvals 1821–1848*

TABLE 11A Prohibitions ("damnatur" or "erga schedam") and approvals ("admittitur" or "transeat") of printed works between 1821 and 1848 compared to the total book production of the German states as per the Leipzig book fair catalog[175]

Year	Printed works						Fair catalog
	Damnatur	Erga schedam	Prohibitions total	Admittitur	Transeat	Approvals total	
1821	480	367	847				4,505
1822	463	476	939				4,414
1823	339	359	698	2,196	734	2,930	4,275
1824	269	371	640				4,346
1825	436	315	751				4,421
1826	556	477	1,033				5,168
1827	463	337	800				5,106
1828	550	398	948				5,148
1829	666	481	1,147				6,794
1830	532	447	979	4,811	1,272	6,083	7,308
1831	606	328	934				7,757
1832	601	354	955				8,555
1833	578	471	1,049				8,603
1834	679	535	1,214				9,258
1835	428	500	928	6,177	1,641	7,818	9,840
1836	453	493	946				9,341
1837	372	556	928				10,118
1838	586	672	1,258				10,567
1839	487	753	1,240				10,907
1840	369	591	960	6,638	1,182	7,820	11,151
1841	266	487	753				12,209
1842	286	505	791				12,509
1843	285	601	886				14,039
1844	267	601	868				13,119
1845	430	877	1,307				13,008
1846	518	806	1,324				10,536
1847	575	878	1,453				10,684
1848[a]	90	135	225				–
Total 1821–1848	12,630	14,171	26,801				233,686

a Only four prohibition lists exist for this year, namely those from January to the second half of February; the Revolution began in mid-March.

175 The prohibition numbers are based on analysis of the database "Verpönt, Verdrängt—Vergessen?" (http://univie.ac.at/zensur [last accessed on 12/13/2021]).—The data on the total German book production ("Fair catalog") follow the Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae

TABLE 11B Prohibitions ("damnatur") and approvals ("admittitur" or omissis deletis" / "correctis corrigendis") of manuscripts between 1821 and 1848

Year	Manuscripts			
	Damnatur	Admittitur	Omissis del., corr. corr.	Approvals total
1821	174			
1822	201			
1823	205	2,641	445	3,086
1824	276			
1825	417[a]			
1826	374			
1827	223			
1828	216			
1829	331			

a The verdict "typum non meretur," representing not a prohibition but instead something like an official confirmation of lacking quality and significance, was issued only once.

literatae bisecvlaris. Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zur Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765. Mit einer Einleitung von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1850; and the Codex nvndinarivs Germaniae literatae continvatvs. Der Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels Fortsetzung die Jahre 1766 bis einschließlich 1846 umfassend. Vorwort von Gustav Schwetschke. Halle: Schwetschke 1877; the number for 1847 is taken from Reinhard Wittmann: Buchmarkt und Lektüre im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zum literarischen Leben 1750–1880. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1982, 117.—The numbers of approved printed works and manuscripts are based on analysis of Verzeichniß der im Miltär-Jahre 1823 bey der k. k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: B.Ph. Bauer 1823 (= Nov. 1822 to Oct. 1823); Verzeichniß der im Militär-Jahre 1830 von der kaiserl. königl. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien und von den in den k. k. Provinzen bestehenden Censurs-Behörden zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Kupferstiche, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: Kaiserl. königl. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey 1829 (= Nov. 1829 to Oct. 1830); Verzeichniß der im Militär-Jahre 1835 von der kaiserl. königl. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien und von den in den k. k. Provinzen bestehenden Censurs-Behörden zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Kupferstiche, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: Kaiserl. königl. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey 1834 (= Nov. 1834 to Oct. 1835); and Verzeichniss der im Militärjahre 1840 von der k. k. Central-Bücher-Censur in Wien und von den in den k. k. Provinzen bestehenden Censurs-Behörden zugelassenen in- und ausländischen Werke, Journale, Handschriften, Landkarten, Zeichnungen, Kupferstiche, Musikalien u. s. w. Wien: Kaiserl. königl. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey 1839 (= Nov. 1839 to Oct. 1840, with the exception of the second half of November 1839, which is missing; it was replaced with the first half of October 1839).

TABLE 11B Prohibitions and approvals of manuscripts between 1821 and 1848 (*cont.*)

Year	Manuscripts			
	Damnatur	**Admittitur**	**Omissis del., corr. corr.**	**Approvals total**
1830	305	4,480	628	5,108
1831	213			
1832	290			
1833	249			
1834	197			
1835	247	4,166	699	4,865
1836	171			
1837	176			
1838	239			
1839	178			
1840	164	5,589	701	6,290
1841	200			
1842	162			
1843	260[b]			
1844	238[c]			
1845	165			
1846	143			
1847	245			
1848[d]	17			
Total 1821–1848	6,276			

b Includes three works assessed as "typum non meretur."
c Includes four works assessed as "typum non meretur."
d Only four prohibition lists exist for this year, namely those from January to the second half of February; the Revolution began in mid-March.

Taking printed publications and manuscripts together, the number of prohibitions grew by 150 percent between 1819 (445) and 1822 (1140). This increase suggests the conclusion that it was only during these years that the politically and ideologically agitated pre-March period began in earnest in Austria. The ramping up of prohibition activity also seems to have necessitated compiling lists of forbidden books every two weeks instead of once a month. Until the

late 1840s, the numbers remain roughly at the level of 1822; it was only during the final year of the system of preventive censorship prior to its abrogation in the course of the revolution of 1848 that the prohibitions reached their all-time peak (1847: 1,698 prohibitions). The increase in book production, which nearly quadrupled during the same period (1820: 3,772 titles; 1843: 14,039 titles), is not reflected in the censorship activity even though there is no indication of a slackening of censorial regulations or practice. Instead, we may assume that the production of books effectively outran the censorship efforts, meaning that the developments on the book market increasingly eluded the administration's grasp—representing a symbolic parallel to the political events culminating in the revolution of 1848. If we include the number of books permitted in Austria, we see that the ratio between prohibitions and approvals of foreign printed works shifted noticeably in favor of allowance (1823: 1 to 4, 1830: 1 to 6, 1835 and 1840: 1 to 8). The ratio for manuscripts submitted by Austrian writers developed similarly (1823: 1 to 15, 1830: 1 to 16, 1835: 1 to 20, 1840: 1 to 38). We can surmise from these numbers that the presumptive key intention behind the censorial measures, namely to incite domestic authors to censor themselves, was in fact fully accomplished.

3.5 *Prohibitions 1821–1848, by Language*

TABLE 12 Prohibitions 1821–1848 (books and manuscripts), by language

Year	German	French	Italian	English	Polish	Czech	Latin	Multi-lang.	Other	Total
1821	771	198	16	20	6	–	5	1	4[a]	1,021
1822	830	206	35	23	16	7	7	4	12[b]	1,140
1823	678	150	37	6	14	4	9	1	4[c]	903
1824	692	121	54	7	15	14	5	5	3[d]	916
1825	776	190	92	13	11	62	10	6	8[e]	1,168
1826	1,033	230	84	28	2	19	6	3	2[f]	1,407
1827	830	119	48	4	7	5	5	2	3[g]	1,023
1828	896	158	56	15	16	8	3	5	7[h]	1,164
1829	1,094	208	84	19	24	32	8	–	9[i]	1,478
1830	918	225	76	14	19	19	5	1	7[j]	1,284
1831	952	145	20	6	6	2	10	3	3[k]	1,147
1832	872	241	43	12	48	15	9	3	2[l]	1,245
1833	908	259	70	9	22	10	9	6	5[m]	1,298
1834	949	285	76	27	43	13	4	3	11[n]	1,411
1835	868	195	44	18	24	8	6	5	7[o]	1,175
1836	798	177	50	12	56	6	3	4	11[p]	1,117
1837	890	100	27	20	47	4	1	5	10[q]	1,104
1838	1,185	154	34	13	80	9	7	3	12[r]	1,497
1839	1,118	178	40	12	54	6	4	1	5[s]	1,418
1840	831	110	75	14	59	15	3	12	5[t]	1,124
1841	677	122	70	13	34	9	6	3	19[u]	953

a 3 Greek, 1 Hungarian.
b 5 Greek, 3 Hungarian, 4 Spanish.
c 2 Greek, 1 Hungarian, 1 Serbian.
d 1 Greek, 1 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian.
e 1 Greek, 4 Hebrew, 1 Serbian, 2 Spanish.
f 1 Hebrew, 1 Serbian.
g 1 Greek, 2 Hebrew.
h 1 Greek, 3 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian, 2 Spanish.
i 3 Greek, 4 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian, 1 Spanish.
j 1 Greek, 4 Hebrew, 1 Serbian, 1 Portuguese.
k 1 Hebrew, 2 Serbian.
l 1 Hungarian, 1 Portuguese.
m 1 Greek, 1 Hebrew, 2 Hungarian, 1 Serbian.
n 2 Greek, 7 Hungarian, 2 Serbian.
o 2 Hungarian, 3 Serbian, 2 Spanish.
p 5 Hebrew, 4 Hungarian, 2 Serbian.
q 4 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian, 4 Serbian, 1 Ukrainian.
r 11 Hebrew, 1 Spanish.
s 2 Hebrew, 2 Hungarian, 1 Russian.
t 3 Hebrew, 1 Serbian, 1 Slovenian.
u 14 Hebrew, 5 Hungarian.

TABLE 12 Prohibitions 1821–1848 (books and manuscripts), by language (*cont.*)

Year	German	French	Italian	English	Polish	Czech	Latin	Multi-lang.	Other	Total
1842	711	135	34	7	48	1	3	9	5[v]	953
1843	824	91	81	9	102	12	9	5	13[w]	1,146
1844	744	104	95	6	108	18	11	5	15[x]	1,106
1845	1,169	66	77	13	121	16	4	1	5[y]	1,472
1846	1,142	85	98	3	77	16	2	5	39[z]	1,467
1847	1,131	151	261	36	76	25	3	8	7[aa]	1,698
1848	179	26	22	4	6	1	2	2	–	242
Total 1821–1848	24,466	4,429	1,799	383	1,141	356	159	111	233	33,077

v 2 Hebrew, 1 Hungarian, 1 Spanish, 1 Russian.
w 4 Hebrew, 4 Hungarian, 1 Wallachian, 2 Serbian, 1 Slovenian, 1 Russian.
x 2 Hebrew, 10 Hungarian, 1 Serbian, 1 Illyrian, 1 Russian.
y 1 Greek, 1 Hebrew, 1 Yiddish, 2 Hungarian.
z 1 Hebrew, 1 Yiddish, 36 Hungarian, 1 Spanish.
aa 1 Hebrew, 3 Hungarian, 2 Serbian, 1 Slovak.

German continued to be the dominating language on the prohibition lists, with an average share of 74 percent throughout the entire period. French takes second place with a share of around 13 percent. The following positions are held by Italian and Polish, the languages of the two regions most affected by pro-independence movements. English remained of minor significance, roughly on par with Czech. The group of "other" languages becomes more varied, with writings in Yiddish, Serbian, Spanish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Russian, Slovenian, Slovak, Illyrian (Croatian), and Wallachian (Romanian) appearing alongside the works in Greek, Hebrew, and Hungarian encountered in the previous period.

3.6 *Most Frequently Prohibited Authors 1821–1848*

TABLE 13 Most frequently prohibited authors 1821–1848[a]

1.	Kock, Charles Paul de	73
2.	Sue, Eugène	67
3.	Krug, Wilhelm Traugott	56
4.	Dumas, Alexandre (père)	52

a Author names are provided for 14,836 of the 33,077 banned works; the remainder were recorded in the lists anonymously.

TABLE 13 Most frequently prohibited authors 1821–1848 (*cont.*)

5.	Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de	46
6.	Balzac, Honoré de	45
7.	Lamothe-Langon, Etienne Léon de	43
8.	Sand, George	40
9.	Scott, Sir Walter	39
10.	Byron, George Gordon Noel Lord	38
	Hugo, Victor	38
12.	Bronikowski, Alexander	33
	Schoppe, Amalie	33
	Soulié, Frédéric	33
15.	Luther, Martin	29
	Schaden, Adolph von	29
17.	Fischer, Anton Friedrich	28
	Zschokke, Heinrich	28
19.	Gutzkow, Karl	27
	Herloßsohn, Carl	27
	Westphal, Carl	27
22.	Becker, Gottfried Wilhelm	26
	Jacob, Paul L. de [= Lacroix, Paul]	26
	Neidl, Julius	26
	Storch, Ludwig	26
	Touchard-Lafosse, Georges	26
27.	Glaßbrenner, Adolph	25
	Scribe, Eugène	25
29.	Arnault, Antoine Vincent	24
	Carové, Friedrich Wilhelm	24
	Clauren, H. [= Heun, Carl Gottlieb Samuel]	24
32.	Harring, Harro Paul	23
33.	Bergk, Johann Adam	22
	Duller, Eduard	22
	Groß-Hoffinger, Anton Johann	22
	Pradt, Dominique Dufour de	22
37.	Belani, H.E.R. [= Häberlin, Karl Ludwig]	21
	Bretschneider, Karl Gottlieb	21
	Heine, Heinrich	21
	Wangenheim, Franz Theodor	21
41.	Ducange, Victor	20
	Leibrock, August	20

TABLE 13 Most frequently prohibited authors 1821–1848 (*cont.*)

	Münch, Ernst	20
	Paulus, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob	20
	Rotteck, Carl von	20
46.	Bonaparte, Napoléon	19
	Czajkowski, Michal	19
	Dietrich, Ewald Christian	19
	Gersdorf, Wilhelmine von	19
	Janin, Jules	19
	Korn, Friedrich	19
	Mundt, Theodor	19
	Spindler, Carl	19
	Voss, Julius von	19
55.	Bartels, Friedrich	18
	Barthélemy, Auguste	18
	Lamennais, Felicité Robert de	18
	Meynier, Johann Heinrich	18
	Oettinger, Eduard Maria	18
	Ortlepp, Ernst	18
	Raumer, Friedrich von	18
	Ronge, Johannes	18
	Stahmann, Friedrich	18
64.	Abrantès, Napoléon-Andoche Junot d'	17
	Ammon, Christoph Friedrich von	17
	Cochem, Martin	17
	Dulaure, Jacques-Antoine	17
	Ellendorf, Johann Otto	17
	Hase, Karl August von	17
	Morgan, Sidney Owenson Lady	17

Immediately we see that the dominance of German-speaking authors visible in the previous period (1792–1820) no longer exists. The only German author near the top of the list is philosopher and state theorist Wilhelm Traugott Krug, followed with a considerable margin by popular novelists Alexander Bronikowski, one of the many Walter Scott epigones, and Amalie Schoppe. The roster is led by French writers: Paul de Kock, known for his frivolous stories; Eugène Sue, author of adventure and social novels who regularly borrowed from Dark Romanticism; Alexandre Dumas, Honoré de Balzac, George Sand,

Frédéric Soulié, Victor Hugo, and Etienne Léon de Lamothe-Langon, who published in all genres (with the latter specializing in biographies). An outlier in this regard is the Genevan historian and economic theorist Simonde de Sismondi. Walter Scott and Lord Byron, the two most provocative British authors of the 1820s, complete the top ten. The writers and journalists perhaps most commonly associated with pre-March censorship, like Heine, Gutzkow, Mundt, Glaßbrenner, Herloßsohn, or Groß-Hoffinger play comparatively minor roles in this statistic.

3.7 *Prohibitions 1792–1848, by Discipline or Genre*

TABLE 14 Prohibitions 1792–1820 respectively 1821–1848, by discipline or genre

Discipline/genre	1792–1820			1821–1848		
	Books	Manuscripts	Total	Books	Manuscripts	Total
Religion	1,252	310	1,562 (12.1%)	3,066	933	3,999 (12.1%)
Philosophy	657	28	685 (5.3%)	657	102	759 (2.3%)
Historiography	1,836	186	2,022 (15.6%)	3,338	372	3,710 (11.2%)
Literature, language, art, pedagogy	313	45	358 (2.8%)	812	219	1,031 (3.1%)
Geography	481	15	496 (3.8%)	757	69	826 (2.5%)
Natural science (incl. medicine)	140	54	194 (1.5%)	943	283	1,226 (3.7%)
Political and military science, law	735	133	868 (6.7%)	545	207	752 (2.3%)
Economy and technology	78	37	115 (0.9%)	226	110	336 (1.0%)
Advisory literature, guidebooks	172	44	216 (1.7%)	332	65	397 (1.2%)
Humor	137	41	178 (1.4%)	164	60	224 (0.7%)
Poetry	274	140	414 (3.2%)	804	453	1,257 (3.8%)
Narrative prose	2,095	96	2,191 (17.0%)	4,869	808	5,677 (17.2%)
Theater	203	40	243 (1.9%)	540	351	891 (2.7%)
Music	96	15	111 (0.9%)	248	227	475 (1.4%)
Fine art, maps	85	47	132 (1.0%)	414	512	926 (2.8%)
Other	2,428	62	2,490 (19.3%)	1,063	508	1,571 (4.7%)
Periodicals	435	213	648 (5.0%)	8,023	997	9,020 (27.3%)
Total	11,417	1,506	12,923 (100%)	26,801	6,276	33,077 (100%)

Philosophy and historiography were banned less frequently during the final three decades of censorial activity by the police, as were political and military science. The enormous increase in forbidden periodicals, on the other hand, is striking—the host of journalists was discovering a new and rapidly growing field of activity. The number of prohibited theological and philosophical writ-

ings decreased by nearly half compared to the 1754–1780 period, respectively to below one third of the frequency during the Josephinian decade. Among the literary genres, poetry and—surprisingly—narrative prose also represented smaller shares of the prohibited works. The oft-cited political poetry of the *Vormärz* as well as the critical social novel of the 1830s and 1840s were apparently less weighty in quantitative terms than literary historians have previously assumed.

3.8 *Most Frequently Prohibited Publishers 1792–1848*

TABLE 15 Publishers appearing most frequently in the prohibition lists, 1792–1848

1.	Brockhaus (Leipzig)	563
2.	Cotta (Stuttgart, Tübingen)	437
3.	Verlags-Comptoir (Grimma)	408
4.	Hoffmann, Hoffmann und Campe (Hamburg)	379
5.	Arnold (Dresden, Leipzig)	313
6.	Kollmann (Leipzig)	309
7.	Hammerich (Altona)	302
8.	Wigand (Leipzig)	287
9.	Basse (Quedlinburg)	284
10.	Becker (Gotha)	280
11.	Sauerländer (Aarau)	255
12.	Wagner (Neustadt/Orla)	224
13.	Industrie-Comptoir (Leipzig)	210
14.	Voigt (Ilmenau, Sondershausen, Weimar, Hamburg)	208
15.	Reclam (Leipzig)	206
16.	Fleischer (Leipzig)	197
17.	Sauerländer (Frankfurt)	192
18.	Bran (Jena)	188
19.	Fürst (Nordhausen)	182
20.	Voss (Berlin, Leipzig)	175
21.	Baumgärtner (Leipzig)	151
22.	Leske (Darmstadt)	144
23.	Schwetschke (Halle)	141
24.	Mayer (Leipzig)	140
25.	Maurer (Berlin)	136
26.	Goedsche (Meissen)	118
27.	Hinrichs (Leipzig)	117
28.	Hilscher (Dresden, Leipzig)	115

TABLE 15 Publishers appearing most frequently in the prohibition lists, 1792–1848 (*cont.*)

29.	Hennings (Gotha)	112
30.	Perthes (Gotha, Hamburg)	111
31.	Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig)	109
32.	Scheible (Stuttgart, Leipzig)	105
	Vieweg (Braunschweig)	105
34.	Enslin (Berlin)	104
	Horneyer (Braunschweig, Leipzig)	104
36.	Fournier (Paris)	103
	Schlesinger (Berlin)	103
38.	Ernst (Quedlinburg, Leipzig)	102
39.	Treuttel & Wurtz (Paris)	101
40.	Franckh (Stuttgart)	100
	Hallberger (Stuttgart)	100
42.	Hermann (Frankfurt)	99
43.	Literaturzeitung (Jena, Leipzig)	97
44.	Metzler (Stuttgart)	96
45.	Barth (Leipzig)	94
46.	Orell, Geßner, Füßli & Co. (Zurich)	92
	Baudoin (Paris)	92
	Duncker & Humblot (Berlin)	92
	Herold (Hamburg)	92
50.	Barba (Paris)	91
	Meyer (Braunschweig)	91
52.	Campe (Nuremberg)	90
	Engelmann (Leipzig)	90
54.	Schumann (Zwickau, Leipzig)	89
55.	Reimer (Berlin)	85
56.	Hahn (Hanover)	83
57.	Franke (Leipzig)	81
58.	Helbig (Altenburg)	80
59.	Korn (Breslau)	79
60.	Meline & Cans & Comp. (Brussels, Leipzig)	78
61.	Béchet (Paris)	77
	Vollmer (Hamburg)	77
63.	Gosselin (Paris)	76
	Nicolai (Berlin, Stettin)	76
65.	Sommer (Vienna)	75
	Kummer (Leipzig)	75

TABLE 15 Publishers appearing most frequently in the prohibition lists, 1792–1848 (*cont.*)

67.	Sommer (Leipzig)	72
	Lecointe (Paris)	72
	Unger (Berlin)	72
	Hartknoch (Riga, Leipzig)	72
71.	Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Göttingen)	71
	Literarisches Museum (Leipzig)	71
73.	Schultheß (Zurich)	70
74.	Dupont (Paris)	69
	Köhler (Leipzig, Stuttgart)	69
76.	Heinsius (Leipzig, Gera)	68
77.	Didot (Paris)	67
	Dumont (Paris)	67
	Lachapelle (Paris)	67
	Literarisches Comptoir (Zurich, Winterthur)	67
	Rein (Leipzig)	67
	Weygand (Leipzig)	67

The list of publishing houses for this period contains almost only new names as compared to the one for 1751–1791. The years following the disturbances in Central Europe caused by Napoleon's campaigns were a founding period for the German publishing industry. Many new companies appeared that engaged in book printing in a purely speculative fashion—meaning they were focused exclusively on commercial success—and the sheer quantity of production grew considerably as a result.[176] The two presumably most renowned German publishers of the nineteenth century, Brockhaus and Cotta, head the ranking, with Brockhaus's 563 entries outdistancing Cotta, the Verlags-Comptoir in Grimma, Hoffmann und Campe, and all the other newcomers by far.[177] As evidenced by the enterprise of Julius Campe, who was considered the "leftist Cotta,"[178] radical political engagement and business acumen could coalesce without issue under the right circumstances. It is clear that Campe owed much of his success to censorship and the many prohibitions: "Without the German

176 On this, cf. Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 201–203.

177 Along with Campe, Reclam, Löwenthal, Otto and Georg Wigand, and several others, Brockhaus and Cotta were among the publishers under special observation by the *Mainzer Informationsbüro*; cf. Hoefer: Pressepolitik, 137.

178 Ibid., 221.

censorship circumstances, without the constant threat of prohibition, confiscation, conviction, Julius Campe would never have achieved the significance that made Hoffmann und Campe a hallmark."[179] Fictitious publisher names and places of printing were still being specified on occasion, but the practice was declining compared to the eighteenth century and no longer plays an important role in terms of the frontrunners on this list.

The large number of titles produced by Brockhaus, the liberal German publishing house par excellence, is due in part to individual publications but mostly to the many periodicals printed there, of which individual issues were banned. The *Literarisches Conversationsblatt* (Literary Conversation Gazette; from 1818) alone, later published under the title *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Gazette for Literary Entertainment), was forbidden 88 times. Further periodicals frequently encountered on the prohibition lists are *Isis, oder enzyklopädische Zeitung, vorzüglich für Naturgeschichte, vergleichende Anatomie und Physiologie* (Isis, or Encyclopedic Newspaper, Primarily for Natural History, Comparative Anatomy, and Physiology), published by the Wartburg professor and struggler for press freedom Lorenz Oken (from 1819, forbidden 54 times), *Hermes, oder kritisches Jahrbuch der Literatur* (Hermes, or Critical Yearbook of Literature; from 1820, forbidden 17 times), and *Zeitgenossen, ein biographisches Magazin für die Geschichte unserer Zeit* (Contemporaries, a Biographical Magazine for the History of Our Time; from 1817, forbidden 16 times). Other only occasionally prohibited journals were the *Repertorium der gesammten deutschen Literatur* (Repertory of the Entire German Literature), the *Allgemeine Preß-Zeitung* (General Press Newspaper), *Annalen der Presse, der Literatur und des Buchhandels* (Annals of the Press, of Literature, and of the Book Trade), the *Echo de la littérature française* (Echo of French Literature), and *Der neue Pitaval* (The New Pitaval). Brockhaus was—and still remains to this day—most famous for its encyclopedia initially published under the title *Conversations-Lexikon*. Numerous volumes of the various editions of this reference work pervaded by a liberal spirit were banned in Austria, and in fact it was one of the last books to be prohibited in Austria in February 1848, now under the title *Allgemeine Real-Enzyklopädie*.

From its very beginnings, the publishing house led by Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, who had grown up in the spirit of the French Revolution and presented himself as a German patriot in the final phase of the Napoleonic era,

179 Gert Ueding: Hoffmann und Campe. Ein deutscher Verlag. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe 1981, 292: "Ohne die deutschen Zensurverhältnisse, ohne die dauernde Bedrohung von Verbot, Beschlagnahme, Verurteilung hätte Julius Campe nie die Bedeutung erlangt, die Hoffmann und Campe zum Markenzeichen machte."

dedicated itself to political literature. The Prussian administration decreed in May 1821 that all of the works it had published were to be submitted to strict postcensoring, since they generally bespoke a "bad purpose" ("schlechter Sinn") and served to disseminate revolutionary ideas.[180] It was only after Friedrich Arnold's death in August 1823 that the general postcensoring of his company in Prussia was repealed.[181]

Adam Müller, the Austrian consul general in Leipzig, reported the prevailing opinion on Brockhaus in Vienna in a letter to the publisher:

> The publisher and editor of the "Conversations-Lexicon" could hardly deny that he had for several years been one of the most untiring promoters of the teachings and opinions that, according to the immutable convictions of the Imperial Royal Administration, were incompatible with the peace of the world and the true wellbeing of the nations; by far the largest part of his publishing house consisted until the most recent times of writings connected precisely to the most dangerous activities of the period, and he had proven on more than one occasion that not simply mercantile speculation, but a personal desire and drive to serve the party seeking to break up all existing orders guided him in his undertakings.[182]

To avoid compromising himself all too much, Brockhaus used the fictitious designation "Peter Hammer in Cologne" at least three times.[183] According to

180 Cf. Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus: Die Firma F.A. Brockhaus von der Begründung bis zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum 1805–1905. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1905 (facsimile Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut & F.A. Brockhaus 2005), 12–14, citation on page 13; and Acta Borussica. Neue Folge, 2. Reihe: Preußen als Kulturstaat. Abteilung II: Der preußische Kulturstaat in der politischen und sozialen Wirklichkeit. Vol. 6: Preußens Zensurpraxis von 1819 bis 1848 in Quellen. 1st half volume. Berlin: de Gruyter Akademie Forschung 2015, 278.

181 Holtz: Staatlichkeit und Obstruktion, 75.

182 Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus: Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus. Sein Leben und Wirken nach Briefen und andern Aufzeichnungen geschildert. 3 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1872–1881, vol. 3, 368–369: "Der Verleger und Herausgeber des 'Conversations-Lexicon' könne schwerlich in Abrede stellen, daß er seit mehrern Jahren einer der rastlosesten Beförderer der Lehren und Meinungen gewesen, die nach den unwandelbaren Ueberzeugungen der k. k. Regierung mit der Ruhe der Welt und dem wahren Wohle der Völker unvereinbar sind; der bei weitem größere Theil seines Verlags habe bis auf die allerneuesten Zeiten in Schriften bestanden, die mit den gefährlichsten Umtrieben der Zeit genau zusammenhingen, und er habe bei mehr als einer Gelegenheit bewiesen, daß nicht blos mercantilische Speculation, sondern ein persönlicher Wunsch und Trieb, der Partei, welche alle bestehenden Ordnungen aufzulösen sucht, zu dienen, ihn bei seinen Unternehmungen leitete."

183 Cf. Brockhaus: Die Firma F.A. Brockhaus, 21.

censorship researcher Houben, the publisher's problems with the Austrian censorial authorities began with an attempt to exact revenge on Austria in general and former liberal Friedrich von Gentz in particular: Brockhaus reprinted the latter's "youthful folly," an exposé on the accession of King Frederick William III of Prussia in 1797, in which Gentz had appealed for freedom of the press. The reprint appeared in 1820 under the title *Seiner königlichen Majestät Friedrich Wilhelm dem Dritten, bei der Thronbesteigung allerunterthänigst überreicht* (*am 16. Nov. 1797*), *neuer wörtlicher Abdruck; nebst einem Vorwort über das Damals und Jetzt* (Presented Most Humbly to His Royal Majesty Frederick William the Third for His Accession to the Throne (on November 16th, 1797), New Verbatim Reprint; alongside a Foreword about the Then and Now) with the imprint "Brüssel: C. Frank und Comp." and was immediately (in January 1820) labeled "damnatur" by the Austrian censors. According to Houben, Gentz—who was now a censor—subsequently initiated a vengeance campaign against the publisher by way of regular prohibitions of instalments of the *Conversations-Lexikon*, among other measures.[184] Trouble had already been afoot between Vienna and Leipzig before this episode: The precursor of Brockhaus's *Conversations-Lexikon* had been banned as early as 1799, and two works on Andreas Hofer and the resistance against Napoleon in Tyrol, written by Archduke Johann with the help of historian Joseph von Hormayr and published anonymously by Brockhaus in 1816/17, had promptly been removed from circulation in Austria.[185] It is noteworthy, however, that prohibitions of works printed by Brockhaus increased dramatically after 1819: 22 titles were banned in 1820, followed by 40 in 1821, 33 in 1822, 18 in 1823, and so on.

Whether it was targeted revenge or not, the fact remains that the ninth and tenth volumes of the 5th edition of the *Conversations-Lexikon* were forbidden in Austria in October 1820. The booksellers in the monarchy subsequently petitioned to be allowed to ship these volumes to so-called praenumerants—customers who had already paid for their copies. The head of the Book Review Office warned them that great care would have to be applied in this regard. The volumes could be given without concern to holders of Scheden possessing sizable libraries—for example, the princes and counts Liechtenstein, Schwarzenberg, Batthyányi, Grasalkowitz, Lobkowitz, and Harrach. Likewise eligible for

184 Article "Brockhaus' Konversationslexikon." In: Houben: Verbotene Literatur, 81–90.

185 The titles were: Geschichte Andreas Hofer's, Sandwirths aus Passeyr, Oberanführer der Tyroler im Kriege von 1809 (1817), and: Das Heer von Innerösterreich unter den Befehlen des Erzherzogs Johann im Kriege von 1809 in Italien, Tyrol und Ungarn. Von einem Stabsoffizier des k. k. Generalquartiermeister-Stabes eben dieser Armee (1817). Cf. Brockhaus: Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, vol. 1, 374–380.

Scheden were persons qualified due to their rank or position and living abroad, like Baron Miltitz, Archduke of Tuscany, or Count Woijna, chargé d'affaires in Stockholm. Of the remaining individuals on the list of praenumerants, only persons of rank, high-level public officials, and professors and scholars could be considered so long as they could justify their need for the two volumes; the same did not apply to lower-level public servants and businesspersons. In general, the reply cautioned against the dissemination of a work "of such bad tendency" ("von so schlechter Tendenz"); booksellers and their customers had themselves to blame if a "speculative deal that they entered into at their own risk with the bookseller Brockhaus, badly notorious in the political sense for a considerable time, now turns out to their disadvantage."[186]

Such a drastic restriction of the circle of purchasers in large areas of the German-speaking world endangered the publication project as a whole. Brockhaus was accordingly willing to relent and offered to produce redacted versions of the two volumes—as well as of future editions—for Austria, but this proposal was rejected.[187] Meyer's encyclopedia did not fare much better. Such reference works were likely targeted specifically by censorship because they addressed a new readership that was hungry for knowledge and significantly transcended the previous circles of the educated audience, allowing them to be printed and sold in correspondingly large quantities. By the middle of the century, around 150,000 copies of Brockhaus's *Conversations-Lexikon* had been marketed.[188]

Cotta likewise ran into issues primarily with the periodicals he produced, especially with the Augsburger *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Europäische Annalen*, Archenholz's *Annalen der britischen Geschichte* (Annals of British History), Schlözer's *Staats-Archiv*, the journals *Italienische Miscellen*, *Französische Miscellen*, and *Englische Miscellen* (Italian/French/English Miscellany), Schiller's *Horen* (Horae), and the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* (Morning Gazette for Educated Ranks) as well as various almanacs. Even the large number of German classics printed by Cotta as well as his scientific publishing did not entirely escape censorship.

186 Archiv der Korporation der Wiener Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhändler, 1821, 26 (1/13/1821): "[…] Speculationsgeschäft das sie mit dem schon seit längerer Zeit im politischen Sinn übel berüchtigten Buchhändler Brockhaus auf ihr Risico eingingen, nunmehr zu ihrem Nachtheil ausschlägt."

187 On later prohibitions of the Conversations-Lexikon, cf. Julius Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten. In: Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 9 (1956), 150–185, here 169.

188 See Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 211.

Johann Friedrich Cotta had begun to engage with a circle of supporters of the French Revolution early on. Journalists like Ernst Ludwig Posselt and Ludwig Ferdinand Huber gave direction to the historical and political newspapers and periodicals he published, including the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which initially appeared under the title *Neueste Weltkunde* (Newest World Knowledge) beginning on January 1, 1798. After Friedrich Schiller refused, the paper was edited by historian and journalist Posselt. Goethe found its style, which reminded him of Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's aggressive and scandal-seeking *Deutsche Chronik* (German Chronicle), lacking in elegance and dignity.[189] In his introductory article entitled "Der Nord und der Süd" (The North and the South), Posselt wrote "once again of the final battle between the republican and the despotic system."[190] The first issue's table of contents likewise leaves little doubt regarding the publication's republican bias, listing articles entitled "Revolution Helvetiens" (Revolution of Helvetia), "Revolution von Rom" (Revolution of Rome), "Of- und DefensivAllianz- und HandelsTractat zwischen der Fränkischen und Cisalpinischen Republik" (Offensive and Defensive Alliance and Trade Treaty between the Franconian and the Cisalpine Republic), and "Batavische Republik" (Batavian Republic).[191] Cotta had obtained an exemption from censorship for his new newspaper from the Duke of Württemberg, but conflicts with the governments of other countries were foreseeable. As early as March 1798, the Austrian envoy in Württemberg lodged a protest against the paper's publication, and the Imperial Privy Council ordered Duke Frederick to forbid it in August. The ultimate motive for the prohibition was a report on Austria's acceptance of the cession of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine to France that the Austrian government declared to be factually incorrect.[192]

As was often the case with censorship measures, the order from Vienna caused diplomatic rifts between members of the German Confederation: Duke Frederick replied that he had already imposed a prohibition, but simultaneously offered to let Cotta continue the paper under a different name. Cotta thus

189 Cf. Bernhard Fischer: Johann Friedrich Cotta. Verleger—Entrepreneur—Politiker. Göttingen: Wallstein 2014, 124.

190 Ibid., 121: "[…] wieder einmal vom Endkampf des republikanischen und des despotischen Systems."

191 Quoted according to Hans-Joachim Lang: Johann Friedrich Cottas 1798 in Tübingen gegründete politische Tageszeitung. In: Evamarie Blattner, Georg Braungart, Helmuth Mojem, and Karlheinz Wiegmann (eds.): Von der Zensur zum Weltverlag. 350 Jahre Cotta. Tübingen: Kulturamt 2009, 53–59.

192 Eduard Heyck: Die Allgemeine Zeitung 1798–1898. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Presse. Munich: Verlag der allgemeinen Zeitung 1898, 53–54.

reestablished the publication under the name *Allgemeine Zeitung* and moved the editorial office to Stuttgart. Since the Duke had to subject the paper to a pro forma preventive censorship, which occurred in the capital, too much time would otherwise have been lost between printing and censorial review. Cotta even applied for an imperial privilege for the gazette in order to ensure its distribution by the Thurn und Taxis-operated *Reichspost*.[193] Despite this privilege and the new name and location, however, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* did not change its orientation. On October 13, 1803, it was forbidden entirely in Württemberg until further notice, and as a consequence transferred its offices yet again—this time to Ulm, which belonged to Bavaria at the time.[194] The paper's seat was finally moved to Augsburg in 1810. In Austria, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was first included in the list of newspapers approved and cleared for subscription in 1804, and attracted between 300 and 400 subscribers in Vienna alone in 1807.[195] The Austrian censorial authorities dithered between the temptation to frequently prohibit individual issues and the knowledge that this would draw even more attention to the gazette. Count Franz Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, for example, felt compelled to report to Sedlnitzky from Prague in 1819 in the wake of the Carlsbad Decrees that issues 267 and 268 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* contained "articles of a revolutionary tendency" ("Artikel einer revoluzionären Tendenz") that should in reality be forbidden, but that he had hesitated to pass the corresponding verdict because "such a prohibition only provokes curiosity and becomes an inducement for this type of papers, which one seeks to obtain through other channels anyway, to be read all the more attentively and eagerly."[196] In Metternich's eyes, on the other hand, the dreadful consequences of such articles leading "in a direct line to revolutionary desires, and ultimately to real attacks and alliances against the governments" could not be reasoned away with tactical arguments; instead, he advocated "clear measures against this newspaper mischief."[197]

Of the remaining publishing houses that frequently featured in the prohibition lists, the Verlags-Comptoir in Grimma (3rd position in the list) and

193 See Fischer: Johann Friedrich Cotta, 129.

194 Cf. ibid., 214–226.

195 Fischer: Johann Friedrich Cotta, 332; Heyck: Die Allgemeine Zeitung, 239.

196 Quoted in Giese: Studie zur Geschichte der Pressegesetzgebung, col. 370: "[…] ein derlei Verbot nur die Neugierde reizt, und zur Veranlassung wird, daß derlei Blätter, die man sich doch auf andern Wegen zu verschaffen sucht, nur um so aufmerksamer und begieriger gelesen werden."

197 Quoted ibid.: "[…] im geraden Wege zu revoluzionären Wünschen, und endlich zu wirklichen Anschlägen und Verbindungen gegen die Regierungen […] klare Maßregeln gegen diesen Zeitungsunfug."

Kollmann (6th position) did so primarily due to their mass production of novels, usually translations from French and English. Several radical periodicals were also produced in Grimma (*Unser Planet* [Our Planet]; *Der Hochwächter. Literarisch-kosmopolitische Beiblätter der Constitutionellen Staats-Bürgerzeitung* [The High Guardian: Literary-Cosmopolitan Supplements to the Constitutional State Citizen Newspaper]). Arnold in Dresden (5th position) published the often-banned *Abendzeitung* (Evening News). These prohibitions were likely owed to the stories and novels by Gustav Schilling, Karl Franz van der Velde, Alexander von Oppeln-Bronikowski, August von Tromlitz, Christian Heinrich Spieß, H. Clauren, and others that were printed in the paper and whose book editions were likewise banned. Light fiction was also one of the mainstays of Basse in Quedlinburg (9th position), who produced contributions to the romantic "knights and robbers" genre by authors such as Christoph Hildebrandt, Heinrich Müller, and Karl Nikolai. He also published periodicals (*Wetterfahnen* [Weathervanes], *Leuchtkugeln* [Flares]) as well as medical and other self-help books, Protestant devotional literature, and writings criticizing religion and the Catholic church. A further focus of Basse's work that was apparently compatible with his light fiction specialization was the genre of so-called popular medicine, which advertised quack therapies and household remedies that were ineffective at best. On these, one commentator noted sarcastically: "The main producers of this trend are Misters Voigt in Weimar and Basse in Quedlinburg, later joined by Mister Fürst in Nordhausen, who overdid the matter so badly that the former men left the previously quite cultivated genre almost entirely so as not to be thrown into a category together with the productions of Mister Fürst."[198] Another opinion on Fürst (19th position), who seems to have been serving the same market as Basse and Voigt (14th position), was that "at first he was very active in the production of bandit novels, then he proceeded little by little to popular medicine, albeit without neglecting the other genres of popular literature like 'cheese making,' 'distilling,' 'livestock fattening,' and so on."[199] Sauerländer in Aarau (11th position) was dedicated to

198 August Prinz: Der Buchhandel vom Jahre 1815 bis zum Jahre 1843. Bausteine zu einer späteren Geschichte des Buchhandels. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Altona: Verlags-Bureau 1855 (Reprint Heidelberg: Winter 1981), 18: "Die Hauptproducenten dieser Richtung sind die Herren Voigt in Weimar und Basse in Quedlinburg, denen sich später Herr Fürst in Nordhausen zugesellte, der die Sache aber so übertrieb, daß die ersten Herren fast ganz das früher sehr gepflegte Genre verließen, um nicht mit den Productionen des Herrn Fürst in eine Klasse geworfen zu werden."

199 Ibid., 19: "Zuerst war er sehr thätig in der Erzeugung von Räuberromanen, dann trat er peu à peu in die Volksmedicin über, ohne dabei die übrigen Branchen der Volksliteratur zu vernachlässigen, wie z. B. 'Käsebereitung,' 'Destillation,' 'Mästung des Viehs' u. s. w."

liberal popular enlightenment. His house author and frequent editor was the extremely productive writer Heinrich Zschokke. Besides devotional literature, Sauerländer also printed contributions to political science, law, and history as well as light fiction. Frequently forbidden periodicals were the *Miscellen für die neueste Weltkunde* (Miscellany for the Newest World Knowledge), the *Rheinische Taschenbuch* (Rhenish Almanac), the *Erheiterungen* (Amusements), and the *Unterhaltungsblätter für Welt- und Menschenkunde* (Entertainment Gazette for Knowledge of the World and Man).

Moving on to the field of political literature, the first major player is Hammerich in Altona (7th position), who published numerous periodicals in the years during and after the revolution including *Schleswigsches Journal* (Schleswigian Journal), *Der Genius der Zeit* (The Genius of the Time), *Deutsches Magazin*, *Annalen der leidenden Menschheit* (Annals of Suffering Humanity), and *Theologische Beiträge* (Theological Contributions). They were later followed by the *Staats-Lexikon* edited by Rotteck und Welcker, works by Young Germany writers (Theodor Mundt, Eduard Beurmann, Sylvester Jordan), political magazines like *Der Pilot* and *Der Freihafen* (The Free Port), and historical novels by Louise Mühlbach as well as translations of English writings.

Gottfried Vollmer (61st position) and Wilhelm Hennings (29th position) from Erfurt, who also used alternative addresses in Hamburg respectively Altona, specialized in "clandestine" literature—which included revolutionary as well as scandalous and pornographic writings—during the 1790s. Revealing texts about monarchs, the nobility, and the clergy were close neighbors to lecherous stories featuring monasteries, bawdy robbers' tales, and personal pamphlets by authors like Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht, Friedrich Rebmann, Ignaz Ferdinand Arnold, and Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder. Like with other publishers, Vollmer's use of fictitious or missing publisher identification and places of printing means that we can assume he produced more works than we know of—titles that would only be traceable by way of painstaking bibliographic research. So far, "due to the impenetrable coppice of fabrications, masking, and lack of information in the imprints, by far not all titles of the publishing house have been identified as Vollmer products."[200] In the name of the Austrian government, Franz von Colloredo-Mannsfeld, vice-chancellor of the German Empire, prompted the Electoral Saxon envoy in Vienna in 1800 to effect from his territorial ruler the prevention of the dissemination of works

200 Sangmeister: Erkundungen in einem wilden Feld, 28: "[…] aufgrund des undurchdringlichen Gestrüpps von Fingierungen, Maskierungen und fehlenden Informationen in den Impressen längst nicht alle Titel des Verlags als Produkte von Vollmer identifiziert werden."

published by Vollmer. The envoy did his best to comply with this demand, albeit with little success;[201] the Viennese censorship authorities subsequently still found ample reason to forbid books produced by the publisher.

Complete *Debitverbote* were imposed at least temporarily on the publishers discussed in the following paragraphs, which meant that Austrian book merchants were prohibited from ordering any works produced by them. In 1845, Leipzig publishers Philipp Reclam jun. (15th position), Otto Wigand (8th position), and Gustav Mayer (24th position) attempted to import forbidden writings into Austria, partly via Bukovina, Hungary, and Transylvania. A *Debitverbot* for Wigand and Reclam was subsequently issued in March 1846 as a punitive measure. Wigand had been providing intense medial support for the national liberation movement in Hungary by way of bookstores and publishing activities in Kaschau/Košice, Pressburg/Bratislava, and Pest. He also provided forged passports to Polish refugees who were forced to leave the country following the November Uprising in 1830. This put him under surveillance by the Austrian police, causing him to return to Leipzig, where he campaigned for liberal reforms and press freedom while producing and marketing writings criticizing Austria. Among his authors were Ludwig Feuerbach and Max Stirner as well as the Young Hegelians Arnold Ruge and Bruno Bauer. On March 26, 1846, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* quoted from the corresponding court decree:

> By reason that an incendiary pamphlet in Hungarian under the title "Antiurbér valtság" has recently been published by the bookseller Otto Wigand in Leipzig, of which several thousand copies were illegally imported to Hungary via Bukovina and Transylvania, and in consideration of the circumstance that this bookseller has already allowed himself to be used multiple times as a tool for the dissemination of products of the printing press containing the most reprehensible, state-endangering, and felonious teachings, [and] in confederation with the equally ill-reputed Leipzig publisher Reclam jun. issued a host of the most salacious and untruthful pasquinades against the Austrian government […] and since the usual statutory censorship provisions are insufficient for the effective remediation of such misdemeanor by these foreign booksellers that pursues high treason and turmoil: Thus His Imperial Royal Majesty has deemed it proper, by the contents of a high court decree of March 21/26, with supreme decision of March 13, to prohibit the Debit of all publishing

201 Ibid., 13.

> products of the bookstore of Otto Wigand and the bookstore of Reclam jun. in Leipzig in all His States and under explicit responsibility of the domestic booksellers.[202]

Wigand vowed to change his ways, and the ban against him was subsequently repealed as early as June 1846. A German publisher could hardly afford to forfeit the large market of the Austrian monarchy; on the other hand, however, Wigand was keen to maintain his reputation of being a spearhead of the radical liberal movement—and indeed his submission provoked some displeasure among like-minded book merchants.

Reclam's plea to lift the boycott was initially rejected, whereupon he began to specify other names and places on his products, for example Vogler in Brussels, and founded new companies and dummy firms (*Verlagsmagazin*, *Literarisches Institut*). All of these attempts were quickly recognized, however, and Reclam remained barred from the Austrian market until October 1846, when the prohibition was revoked. Along with Wigand, the Reclam publishing house was considered the main staging area for radical liberal publishing, offering its services to numerous Austrian exile authors.[203] One of the reasons for the prolongation of the boycott against Reclam may have been his production of a translation of Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* in June 1846, a work that radically criticized religion and openly professed deism.[204] The book was forbidden not only in Austria but also in Saxony, Prussia, and France. It even caused considerable

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202 Quoted according to Kießhauer: Otto Friedrich Wigand, 168: "Aus dem Anlasse, daß in dem Verlage des Buchhändlers Otto Wigand zu Leipzig soeben eine incendiarische Flugschrift in ungarischer Sprache unter dem Titel 'Anti-urbér valtság' erschienen ist, von welcher mehrere tausend Exemplare über die Bukowina und Siebenbürgen nach Ungarn eingeschwärzt wurden, und mit Rücksicht auf den Umstand, daß dieser Buchhändler sich schon mehrere Male als Werkzeug zur Verbreitung die verwerflichsten, staatsgefährlichsten und verbrecherischsten Lehren enthaltender Erzeugnisse der Druckpresse gebrauchen ließ, im Bunde mit dem gleich ihm äußerst schlecht berüchtigten Leipziger Verleger Reclam jun. eine Menge der aufreizendsten und lügenhaftesten Schmähschriften gegen die österreichische Regierung herausgab […] und da zur wirksamen Abstellung solchen Hochverrat und Aufruhr bezweckenden Unfuges dieser auswärtigen Buchhändler die gewöhnlichen gesetzlichen Zensurverfügungen nicht ausreichen: so haben Se. k. k. Majestät nach Inhalt eines hohen Hofdekrets vom 21/26 März, mit allerhöchster Entschließung vom 13. März, den Debit sämmtlicher Verlagsartikel der Otto Wigandschen Buchhandlung und der Buchhandlung des Reclam jun. zu Leipzig in allen ihren Staaten und unter ausdrücklicher Verantwortung der inländischen Buchhändler zu verbieten für gut befunden."

203 Cf. Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 224.

204 On this, cf. the documentation by Volker Titel and Frank Wagner: Angeklagt: Reclam & Consorten. Der Zensur- und Kriminalfall "Das Zeitalter der Vernunft" 1846–1848. Beucha: Sax-Verlag 1998.

scandal in England, earning its publisher Daniel Eaton seven convictions, 15 months of incarceration, and three years of outlawry (meaning the forfeiture of his civic rights); on the occasion of the appearance of the book's third part in 1812, he was sentenced to a further 18 months in jail as well as time in the pillory.[205]

The apparent success of his measures, inferred from the reactions of the affected publishers, caused Metternich to decide to issue *Debitverbote* against other insubordinate publishing houses in a court decree on January 4, 1847; the boycotted companies were those of Hoffmann und Campe (4th position), Ernst Keil, and Gustav Mayer (24.),[206] and the measure would remain in place until 1848.[207] Hoffmann und Campe had already fallen out of favor repeatedly in Austria as a publisher of Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne, Friedrich Hebbel, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Karl Gutzkow, Ludwig Wienbarg, Anastasius Grün, and other politically active authors. The Young Germany movement, liberal constitutionalists, and radical democrats alike found publishing support there. In 1843, Viktor von Andrian-Werburg's *Österreich und dessen Zukunft* as well as Franz Schuselka's *Deutsche Worte eines Österreichers* (German Words by an Austrian) caused irritation among the Austrian government, which threatened the publisher with a blanket ban (but ultimately refrained from issuing one to avoid unwelcome attention). However, the usual fine of 50 guilders for trading in forbidden books was increased drastically to 1,000 guilders in the case of *Österreich und dessen Zukunft*.[208] The government allegedly also purchased a large share of the first edition.[209] The publication of Franz Schuselka's *Oesterreichische Vor- und Rücktritte* (Austrian Forward and Backward Steps) in 1846 represented the last straw.

Ernst Keil, a further publisher sharing the misfortune of being boycotted by the Austrian government, had produced *Népkönyv* (The People's Book) in 1846, which was interpreted as an anti-monarchy tirade in Austria. He also published the liberal periodicals *Unser Planet* (Our Planet) and *Leuchtturm*

205 E.P. Thompson: The Making of the English Working Class. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1982, 105–106.

206 Cf. Christian Liedtke: Julius Campe und das "Österreichische System." Unbekannte Buchhändlerbriefe zum Verlagsverbot von 1847. In: Christian Liedtke (ed.): Literatur und Verlagswesen im Vormärz. Bielefeld: Aisthesis 2011, 121–138, here 122–125.

207 See Marx: Die amtlichen Verbotslisten. Neue Beiträge, 439.

208 Cf. Über die Presse in Österreich. In: Revue östreichischer Zustände 1843, vol. 2, 23–45; printed in: Madeleine Rietra (ed.): Jung Österreich, 54, which mentions a fine of 800 thalers.

209 Andrian-Werburg: "Österreich wird meine Stimme erkennen lernen," vol. 1, 367 (2/22/1843).

(Lighthouse). The Gustav Mayer publishing house, established in 1842 by Mayer together with Georg Wigand,[210] printed the writings of Karl Biedermann as well as Schuselka's *Briefe einer polnischen Dame* (Letters from a Polish Lady, 1846) and *Sociale und politische Zustände Oesterreichs mit besonderer Beziehung auf den Pauperismus* (Social and Political State of Austria with Special Reference to Pauperism, 1847).

Following the ban, Keil renamed his company to *Kabinett für Literatur* (Cabinet for Literature) and also traded under the name *Volksbücher-Verlag* (People's Book Publisher); he blithely continued to publish and deliver his books to Austrian booksellers. Campe produced special title pages concealing the true contents of books for consignment to Austria; Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* (Letters from Paris), for example, which discussed political questions, were shipped as *Beiträge zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Contributions to Knowledge on Countries and Peoples).[211] According to contemporary commentator August Prinz, Austrian booksellers used a special symbol (++) when placing orders to denote forbidden books that had to be imported "discreetly."[212] Campe also published works under false names, for example the second part of *Österreich und dessen Zukunft* and Heine's *Atta Troll* under the moniker G.W. Niemayer. These attempts at legerdemain were exposed, however.[213] How deftly Campe operated is illustrated by an anecdote about how he defeated an Austrian attempt to spy him out. The authorities in Vienna made it one of their top priorities to find the anonymous author of *Oesterreich und dessen Zukunft,* and they consequently dispatched a Prague police officer by the name of Muth to Hamburg. Muth posed as a merchant from Vienna, purchased several books banned in Austria from Campe and casually inquired about the author of the sensational text. Campe replied that the creator, a high-ranking Austrian public official, wished to remain anonymous but that he, Campe, had asked him for permission to reveal his identity to trustworthy customers due to the many requests he had received. When the police spy repeated his question two weeks later, Campe—who in the meantime had sent out his own intelligencers—disclosed the "secret": The author of the scandalous book was police inspector Muth from Prague.[214] After this mission to determine the wanted writer's

210 Cf. Rudolf Schmidt: Deutsche Buchhändler, deutsche Buchdrucker. Berlin and Eberswalde 1902–1908. Reprint Hildesheim, New York: Olms 1979, 549.

211 Prinz: Der Buchhandel vom Jahre 1815 bis zum Jahre 1843, 42.

212 Cf. ibid.

213 On this section, cf. Marx: Österreichs Kampf, 16–24.

214 Cf. Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 222–223. According to an entry in Andrian's diary, Muth allegedly offered Campe the sizeable sum of 20,000 guilders in exchange for disclosure of the author's name: Andrian-Werburg: "Österreich soll meine Stimme erkennen lernen," vol. 1, 422, (9/8/1843).

identity had failed, Deinhardstein himself was allegedly sent to Hamburg to persuade Campe to divulge the name. He too, however, was unable to coax the information out of the publisher "in any possible way, even by intoxication with champagne."[215]

Less well known than the measures aimed at the mentioned German publishers is the fact that a general ban had previously already been imposed on the *Literarisches Comptoir* of Julius Fröbel (77th position), which had been operating in Zurich and Winterthur since 1841. The Swiss publisher had offered his services to radical liberal German exiles, and the list of his authors constituted a "who's who of the literary opposition during the German pre-March":[216] Georg Herwegh, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Robert Prutz, Rudolf von Gottschall, the Young Hegelians Bruno and Edgar Bauer, Ludwig and Friedrich Feuerbach, and Arnold Ruge were joined by the early socialist theorists Louis Blanc, Karl Grün, Wilhelm Schulz, and several others. Owing to their proximity to the border, the Swiss publishing houses and their presumptive smuggling activities with the help of colporteurs also frequently became the subjects of reports by informers for the *Mainzer Informationsbüro*.[217]

The example of the *Miniatur-Bibliothek deutscher Classiker* (Miniature Library of German Classics) published from 1827 by Meyer in Gotha shows that prohibitions were not always the result of contents inadmissible from the Austrian perspective. The reason could have to do with the publisher as well: Prussia and Saxony as well as other German states prohibited the series simply because it was considered an unauthorized reprint.[218] Meyer argued that the printing of works in anthologies and the partial reproduction of copyrighted texts was permitted, but the ban nevertheless hit him hard. He henceforth operated using the (not particularly credible) fictitious location "Hildburghausen und New York." After individual volumes had been forbidden in Austria beginning in 1827, the prohibition list for April 1831 suddenly included the annotation "the entire series" ("die ganze Sammlung"). Meyer subsequently eluded the authorities by selling via colporteurs, which were naturally more difficult to monitor than the stationary book trade.

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215 Ibid., vol. 1, 468 (12/21/1843): "auf jede mögliche Weise, selbst durch Berauschung mit Champagner."

216 Thomas Christian Müller: Der Schmuggel politischer Schriften. Bedingungen exilliterarischer Öffentlichkeit in der Schweiz und im Deutschen Bund (1830–1848). Tübingen: Niemeyer 2001, 69: "[…] 'Who's who' der literarischen Opposition im deutschen Vormärz"; on the prohibition, see pages 73 and 282. A comprehensive list of the persons intensively observed by the Mainz informers can be found in Hoefer: Pressepolitik, 135.

217 Müller: Der Schmuggel politischer Schriften, 279–286.

218 See Prinz: Der Buchhandel vom Jahre 1815 bis zum Jahre 1843, 16. Wittmann: Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 212, speaks of "near reprints" ("Fast-Nachdrucken").

3.9 *Most Frequently Prohibited French Publishers, 1792–1848*

Since more than one fifth of the forbidden writings were in French, an overview of the French publishing houses most frequently affected by prohibitions seems appropriate.

TABLE 16 French publishers on the lists of forbidden books, 1792–1848

Fournier	104
Treuttel & Wurtz	101
Baudouin	91
Meline & Cans & Comp.	78
Béchet	77
Gosselin	76
Lecointe	70
Dupont	69
Didot	67
Dumont	67
Ladvocat	65
Dondey-Dupré	64
Ponthieu	62
Bossange	58
Eymery	58
Maradan	56
Renouard	49
Souverain	46
Renduel	42
Pagnerre	41

Fournier printed books from diverse scientific disciplines, with a focus on historiography, correspondence, memoirs, and pedagogy. The field of the belles lettres was likewise dominated by historical novels (by Roger de Beauvoir, Prosper Mérimée, Massimo d'Azeglio, and Edward Bulwer). The lion's share of prohibitions targeting works produced by Fournier, however, is represented by the issues of the review journal *Revue des deux mondes* (Review of the Two Worlds), which featured texts by the most renowned French authors as well as reports on the most important currents of European and American culture.

The company Treuttel et Wurtz had offices in Paris and Strasbourg and maintained a branch in London from 1819 as well. It specialized in exports of French

literature to Germany and England, but also engaged in publishing business in the opposite direction.[219] Since the French Revolution, Treuttel et Wurtz printed historical and legal treatises as well as travel literature, fiction including the collected works of Madame de Staël, and encyclopedic works like the *Précis historique de la révolution française* (Historical Compendium of the French Revolution, 1806), the multi-volume *Histoire de France* by Charles de Lacretelle, the *Encyclopédie des gens du monde* (Encyclopedia of the People of the World), and an annual collective bibliography of French literature (*Journal général de la littérature de France*).

The orientation of Baudouin's company was initially republican, then Bonapartist; it published historico-political treatises and memoirs. The same applies to Bossange. Dupont likewise produced political literature, along with rather sensationalistic and trivial fiction by authors like Paul de Kock or Etienne Léon de Lamothe-Langon. Meline, Cans & Co. has already been mentioned as the foremost Belgian reprinting house for French literature. Gosselin was the leading publisher of fictional prose, producing (among others) works by Madame de Staël, Alphonse de Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and Honoré de Balzac as well as translations of Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper. Ladvocat specialized in translations (Byron, *Chefs-d'œuvre des Théâtres étrangers* [Masterpieces of Foreign Drama]), while Souverain published Honoré de Balzac, Frédéric Soulié, Alphonse Brot, and many other novelists. Renduel printed a mixture of romantic literature (including Hugo, Musset, Gautier, Lamennais, and Heine) and popular novels (P.L. Jacob).

To end this section, the following diagram visualizes the movement—from northwest to southeast—of the printed works forbidden in Vienna and the liberal and Enlightenment ideas they transported. The seven cities most frequently specified as printing locations of prohibited writings across the entire period discussed in this study are Leipzig (7220), Paris (5915), Berlin (2769), Hamburg incl. Altona (1841), Frankfurt (1591), Stuttgart (1173), and London (854).

219 See Giles Barber: Treuttel and Würtz. Some Aspects of the Importation of Books from France, c. 1825. In: The Library, fifth series, vol. 23, no. 2 (1968), 118–144.

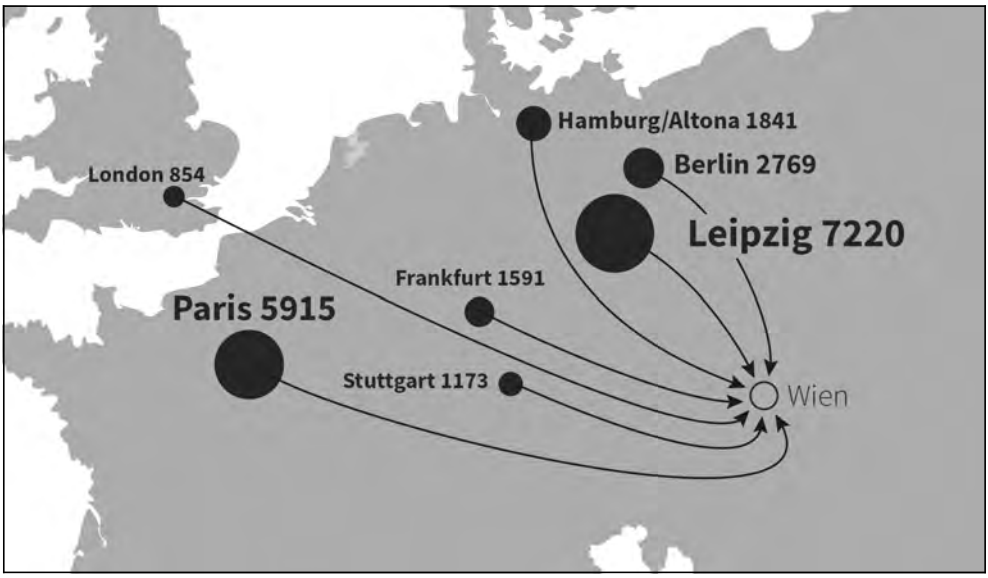

DIAGRAM 1 The seven most important places of publication of books prohibited in Austria (1754–1848)

CHAPTER 4

A Look at the Crown Lands

1 The Kingdom of Bohemia, 1750–1848 (by Petr Píša and Michael Wögerbauer)

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the problem of the centralization of censorship between 1750 and 1848 using the example of Bohemia. It shows that the centralization efforts barely took effect in the imperial-royal crown lands until the turn of the century despite being legally enshrined, and that they were only implemented slowly under Francis I. The system of censorship nevertheless worked in the crown lands, but gaps and weaknesses abounded at the problematic interfaces between competencies, providing the agents of the book trade with considerable room for maneuver and meaning that censorship was never transacted as strictly in practice as was stipulated in the prevailing legislation.[1]

1.1 *The Bohemian Censorship Authorities and Their Composition*

Only fragmentary information is available on the censorship authorities in Prague during the first half of the eighteenth century. A Book Commission is said to have existed as early as 1715,[2] followed by a Censorship Commission in 1733 for the abatement of heresy and the propagation of the Catholic faith. The latter was headed by the Prague Supreme Burgrave (the president of what would become the Bohemian Gubernium in 1763) and thus not by a Jesuit—though this of course did not preclude a share in the body for the Jesuit-led University of Prague. The Commission was apparently not a permanent institution: It was renewed in 1748 and seems to have vanished again before 1752.[3] This may be linked to an affair in 1749, when the anonymously published *Historische und geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Böheim* (Historical and Geographic Description of the Kingdom of Bohemia), which commented on the recently ended war of succession as well as citing hymns to Prussia's

1 A detailed discussion of censorship in Bohemia is provided in the publication by Wögerbauer, Píša, Šámal, Janáček et al.: V obecném zájmu.

2 Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux: Introduction. Les espaces de la censure dans la monarchie des Habsbourg. In: Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux and Martin Svatoš (eds.): Libri prohibiti: La censure dans l'espace habsbourgeois 1650–1850. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2005, 7–25, here 16.

3 František Roubík: Počátky policejního ředitelství v Praze. Praha: Ministerstvo vnitra 1926, 30.

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Frederick II and challenging Maria Theresa's right to the throne, could be sold in Prague without restriction.[4] This was a state of affairs the Viennese court could not tolerate, and it requested a report on the organization of censorship in Bohemia. The document revealed that two members of the royal representation were in charge of censoring political and juridical writings, while the archiepiscopal consistory handled theological and philosophical works as well as fiction. In contrast to the Viennese Commission, the Prague consistory was no longer represented in the new Bohemian Censorship Commission established by way of a decree on January 15, 1752; its role was now purely to assist and perform preliminary work for the Commission. All the more noticeable was the presence of appellate court judges: Even after a further reorganization in 1771, the vice president of the appellate court and *Oberlandschreiber* Johann Wenzel Asterle von Astfeld continued to serve as deputy chairman of the Censorship Commission. And in 1779, the president of the appellate court, Count Franz Xaver Wieschnik, took over the chairmanship from Supreme Burgrave Fürstenberg in the course of the so-called "Seibt Affair" revolving around the dissemination of clandestine literature (see below).

The year 1771 represented a considerable break in the history of censorship in Prague. Archbishop Příchovský was to be succeeded as head of the Commission by Franz Karl Kressel von Qualtenberg, who had already held the position once before in the early 1760s; simultaneously, however, Kressel was slated to keep his place in the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancellery in Vienna. This plan was obviously not successful, for it was the new Prague Supreme Burgrave and Bohemian Governor Karl Egon zu Fürstenberg who assumed the chairmanship of the Commission in 1772 among other offices. The state-appointed directors of the four faculties each held a seat and a vote in the Commission, and Karl Heinrich Seibt (1735–1806), professor of fine arts, was a member as well. He was responsible for censoring the entire *genus mixtum*, which included newspapers and weeklies as well as fiction and drama.

Seibt, who made a rapid professional career under Fürstenberg, was soon overburdened with this work. When he became dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1775, the previous dean Peter Hebenstreit von Streitenfeld was assigned to the censorship of the belles lettres including songs, sermons, and the like. He was to be assisted by the professor of poetry Franz Expedit von Schönfeld, who

4 Rochezang von Isecern [= Johann Ehrenfried Zschackwitz]: Historische und geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Böheim, in sich haltend: dessen alle Einwohner, Herzöge und Könige, in alten und neuen Zeiten, Lage, Beschaffenheit, Handel, Gräntzen, Gewässer, Gebürge, Provintzien, Religion, Abgötterey und Bekehrung, Regierungs-Form, Geschichtsschreibern u. a. m. Freyburg 1742; On this, cf p. 37.

later became head censor of the *genus mixtum* himself for a brief period in late 1779 before being succeeded until 1781 by Ignaz Cornova (1740–1822), likewise a professor of poetry and recognized writer and historian. A further member of the Censorship Commission since its reorganization in 1771 was a "Visitator librorum und Actuarius bey der Censurs Commission" with an annual salary of 600 guilders, who was responsible for reviewing all imported books, keeping the corresponding lists, and maintaining contact with the customs authorities and booksellers—assisted only by a "book carrier" with a yearly salary of 100 guilders. This important role of visitator was held by Franz Fischer from May 1772;[5] in the course of the "Seibt Affair" in 1779, which will be discussed in detail below, the experienced Franz Anton Meyer (Mayer) was eventually brought to Prague from Vienna to sort out the convoluted situation in Bohemia.

Despite the state-run Commission, censorship by institutions of the Church continued to exist until the 1770s, although the governmental authorities increasingly curtailed their autonomy. Jesuit Father Antonín Koniáš (1691–1760), remembered as a book-burner in Czech national memory, was working on a *Catalogus librorum haereticorum* including 503 titles as early as 1724.[6] He eventually put to print a *Clavis haeresim claudens et aperiens* based on this work and conceived as a local supplement to the papal lists of forbidden books in the episcopal city of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové) in 1729 (second edition 1749): Books to be confiscated and burned received the rating "non esse dignum correctione," while books that could be returned to their owners after tearing out pages and/or blacking out and correcting certain passages were labeled "corr. librum corrigibilem vel non approbatum." In 1770, ten years after Koniáš' death, these indices covering all relevant languages (Latin, German, Czech, French, Sorbian, Polish, Lithuanian) were followed by an *Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum, et corrigendorum* limited to writings in Czech. It was compiled by Josef Kögler and Jan Kohout[7] on the basis of Koniáš' work and published by the

5 Národní archiv Praha, České gubernium—Publicum (Czech National Archives, Bohemian Gubernium—Publicum; abbreviated to NA, ČG-P in the following), box 730, shelfmark G5/1, proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 05/26/1772.

6 Martin Svatoš: Koniášův Catalogus librorum haereticorum z roku 1724—předstupeň jeho Klíče. In: Gertraude Zand/Jiří Holý (eds.): Tschechisches Barock: Sprache, Literatur, Kultur—České baroko: Jazyk, literatura, kultura. Frankfurt: Peter Lang 1999, 143–161; Martin Svatoš: Poslední Kristův pohled na kříži aneb Koniášův pohled na knihy. In: Kateřina Bobková-Valentová, Miloš Sládek, and Martin Svatoš (eds.): Krátké věčného spasení upamatování: K životu a době jezuity Antonína Koniáše. Praha: Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR 2013, 67–80, especially 74. Koniáš' handwritten list of books can be found at the Národní archiv, Archiv pražského arcibiskupství I (Czech National Archives, Archives of the Archbishopric of Prague I), box 4309, shelfmark 4/4.

7 David Mach: Josef Kögler a Jan Kohout: životopis editorů třetího vydání Koniášova Klíče. In: Knihy a dějiny 20 (2013), 82–90.

archbishop of Prague, who at the time was also the head of the Bohemian Censorship Commission. While all three of these indices assumed a clear counterreformation stance, they also exhibit certain differences. The *Index bohemicorum librorum* was strongly focused on writings published before 1620 and contains long lists of revisions for individual works that include very specific instructions: Every mention of Jan Hus, for example, was to be commented with "arch-heretic" (arcikacíř). There is indirect evidence of the (archi)episcopal consistories regularly sending handwritten prohibition lists to their subordinate ecclesiastical bodies well into the 1770s; a 1781 decree by the Prague Gubernium ordered these lists to be confiscated immediately.[8]

The Order of Jesus also filled the position of censor of Hebrew writings, which had existed since the 1560s. The office was held by the missionary Franz Haselbauer from 1712, then from 1756 by university professor František Zelený, who was succeeded in 1764 by Leopold Tirsch. Tirsch's *adiunctus in hebraicis* from 1781 was Karl Fischer, who became censor of Hebrew works himself until 1844 following Tirsch's death in 1788.

1.2 *The Coexistence of Censorship Authorities*

As indicated in the previous section, censorship in Bohemia—especially after 1750—was characterized by competing censorial entities with different competencies, including proximity to certain books and their distribution, on the one hand and the harmonization of regulations and practices on the other. Only rarely were any of these competing authorities eliminated altogether; it was far more practicable to organize them hierarchically.

Until the 1760s, ecclesiastical and state entities and their respective prohibition lists and centers (Rome and Vienna) operated side by side and often in conflict with one another, with the (arch)bishops representing the intersection point between the two centers: They were simultaneously members of the governmental censorship authorities—not always, but often in a conservative sense, as the example of the Viennese archbishop Johann Joseph Trautsohn shows.[9] As early as the 1750s, the ideal image of the archiepiscopal consistory being subordinate to the governmental Commission for Calendars and Manuscripts existed in Bohemia. The consistory was to censor theological

8 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1, no. 132 ex 1781, order by the Bohemian Gubernium to the Saaz county administration on 09/06/1781 to confiscate all handwritten ecclesiastical lists. The county administration misunderstood the order and sent in the printed indices.

9 Grete Klingenstein: Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der Zensur in der theresianischen Reform. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1970, 162 and 164.

and philosophical manuscripts and return them to the Censorship Commission with a statement of grounds for its assessment. The government agency would then send the authorized final decision to all bishops in the country.[10] This hierarchic order would only assert itself slowly during the 1770s, however, after the archbishops of Prague had been superseded by the heads of the Bohemian Gubernium as chairmen of the Censorship Commission and the censorial structures and processes began to follow the "Viennese style."[11]

The 1770s were influenced by two lines of conflict, the first of which stemmed from an attempt to enforce a state-run censorial apparatus over the counter-reformation censorship practice. At the time, the position of the ecclesiastical institutions was still relatively consolidated in the areas of precensorship and postcensorship: In the early 1770s, monks still relied on censorship by their superiors without submitting their writings to state authorities. Missionaries were likewise active as censors: An eastern Bohemian toll officer gave a consignment of books designated for Count Paar to a Jesuit missionary for censorship in early 1772. According to the Bohemian Gubernium, however, the latter lacked the required competency; rank considerations likewise precluded such a course of action, and the case was thus delegated to the Viennese Censorship Commission.[12] The "new" and now unambiguously state-run Censorship Commission also requested the clergy and especially the missionaries to send lists of suspicious and provisionally confiscated books to Prague in May 1772[13]—the Commission was apparently well aware of the counter-reformatory infrastructure built around local clerics and wanted to place it under governmental supervision. But when the Prague Censorship Commission suggested a nationalization of traditional practices like the "Ueberfallung der Bücher-Krämer und Haußirer" (raiding of booksellers and peddlers), the Viennese Commission rejected the idea.[14] The Gubernium also forbade the Prague archiepiscopal consistory to seize a brochure targeting the religious orders that had been written

10 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 729, shelfmark G5/1, imperial rescript on 12/03/1749.

11 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1, proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 07/06/1772.

12 NA, ČG-P, 1764–1773, box 381, shelfmark G5/57. This case is analysed in somewhat more detail in Michael Wögerbauer: Die Ausdifferenzierung des Sozialsystems Literatur in Prag 1760–1820. Diss. Vienna, typewritten 2006, 143. It is also mentioned in the proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 05/26/1772 (NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1).

13 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1, proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 05/26/1772.

14 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1, proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 07/06/1772.

in cooperation with the garrison commander of Prague's Lesser Town (Malá Strana). Such unauthorized investigations by Church entities also violated the most recent censorship regulations passed in Vienna, especially since they could not be considered measures against heretics ("personal Untersuchung ex pravitate haeretica"), which the bishops were apparently still entitled to take.

The second power struggle to become visible during the 1770s occurred between the more liberal and the more conservative forces in the Bohemian government and culminated in the so-called Seibt Affair. The Prague censor and professor of aesthetics Karl Heinrich Seibt was accused of lending forbidden books to his students, which led (among other things) to extensive censorial raids among the city's booksellers and the call for a reform of the censorship laws. A dispute between the relatively liberal governor and chairman of the Censorship Commission, Karl Egon von Fürstenberg, and the conservative Count Franz Xaver Wieschnik, head of the Prague University and Study Commission and the appellate court, served as the affair's starting point. Wieschnik, who would eventually also be appointed chairman of the Censorship Commission in 1779, emerged triumphant; the complete reorganization of censorial activities after the start of Joseph II's sole reign made this conservative victory a short-lived one, however.[15]

An entirely different challenge in the early 1770s was the task of handling the process of state-run censorship and its centralization from an administrative perspective. This endeavor encountered very practical obstacles: *Actuarius* Franz Fischer commented on the trivial fact that every censor had to possess a copy of the printed *Index librorum prohibitorum* by stating that there was not a single copy available in Prague before his arrival, "but that of the 4 copies he had brought from Vienna, he had already distributed 3 copies to the Messieurs Assessors and had kept one for himself in order to be able to exercise his office."[16] The task of the *Actuarius* was to record the books forbidden in Vienna in a corresponding folio. In the eyes of the Viennese court, however, the lists sent by the Prague Censorship Commission lacked biblio-

15 The fundamental source research on this matter was performed by Jaroslav Prokeš: Aféra Seibtova roku 1779. In: Otokar Odložilík (ed.): Českou minulostí: Práce věnované profesoru Karlovy university Václavu Novotnému jeho žáky k šedesátým narozeninám. Prague: Jan Laichter 1929, 317–330. A summary in German is provided by Eduard Winter: Der Josefinismus und seine Geschichte: Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte Österreichs, 1740–1848. Brno, Munich, Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer 1943, 100–103.

16 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 730, shelfmark G5/1, proceedings of the Prague Censorship Commission on 07/06/1772: "er aber von den 4 Stücken, die er von Wienn mitgenommen, bereits 3 Stücke an die H. Beysitzer vertheilet, und Eines, um sein Amt handeln zu können, für sich zurückbehalten hätte."

graphical accuracy; they were to include longer titles as well as the place and year of publication in future to allow individual editions to be distinguished from each other. While there was a separate Calendar Censorship Commission, the activity of the Censorship Commission without an additional attribute was divided into the censoring of manuscripts and that of imported books which had not yet been assessed. This was reflected in two administratively separate sets of processes and records that were organized differently and created on different days.

In Prague, every suspicious imported book was assigned to an appropriate specialist within the Commission, who reported on it with a summary and sometimes extensive citations in the original language of the text, whereupon the Commission took a vote. If the latter was not unanimous, the book was examined once again—this time by every member of the Commission. The collected materials and decisions were submitted to Vienna in the shape of an excerpt of the Censorship Commission proceedings specifying the date of the session and the names of the attending members, and the final verdict on the book was issued in the capital of the monarchy. Lists of these Viennese decisions were regularly sent back to Prague divided into three categories: "admissi," "restricti," and "ad remittendum," meaning "to be sent back across the border." This method obviously entailed considerable delays; it was perhaps for this reason that the Prague document assumed the new form of a "Consignation deren von der allhiesigen Bücher-Censurs-Commission neuerlich für verwerflich angesehenen Bücher" (Consignment of the books recently considered objectionable by the local Book Censorship Commission) respectively of the "theils zu remittierenden, theils erga schedam zuzulassen befundenen Bücher" (books in part to be remitted, in part deemed permissible erga schedam) around 1780.[17] The books on the latter list often carried very specific verdicts like "erga schedam," "ad remittendum," "erud. erga schedam," "erga schedam cum cautela," "erga schedam continuantibus," "erga schedam sine difficultate," "ad class. Hæreticum," or "hæreticis."

By contrast, the so-called "Auszug aus dem Manuskripten-Protokoll" (Excerpt of the manuscript proceedings) produced every one or two weeks by the Prague Commission usually abstained from naming the censors; it was issued by the Book Review Office established in Bohemia by decree on September 11, 1779 and signed by its director. These excerpts were sorted alphabetically by the name of the submitter of the individual book—publisher, printer, or author. The decision for each book was included, though only the verdicts for writ-

17 NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 727, shelfmark G5/1.

ings in Latin were also provided in Latin, with other decisions written out in German: "erlaubt" ("admissus"; allowed) for reprints and continuations of periodical printed works, "kann gedruckt werden" ("typis imprimi potest"; may be printed), "mit Verbesserung erlaubt" (allowed with improvements) or "nicht erlaubt" (not allowed) respectively "darf nicht gedruckt werden" (may not be printed) for new texts. These were not static formulas, however; they could be expanded to wordings like "mit Abänderung des Titels, und so getroffener Einrichtung, daß es dem Deutschen Lustspiel gleicht, kann es gedruckt werden" (with a change of the title, and such arrangement made that it resembles the German comedy, it can be printed).[18] We have evidence of manuscripts being sent to Vienna for assessment only in individual contentious cases, for example Ignaz Klingler's brochure "Ueber die Unnütz- und Schädlichkeit der Jüden im Königreiche Böheim, und Mähren" (On the Useless- and Harmfulness of the Jews in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and Moravia). The approval of this pamphlet was more than a year in the making between Prague and Vienna before it was finally published "Mit Bewilligung der k. k. Censur" (With approval by the Imperial Royal Censorship) in Prague in 1782.[19] The mentioned manuscript proceedings are preserved until May 1782—the practice was presumably maintained until that time, since the Book Review Office established in 1779 likewise continued to exist.[20] The series of Censorship Commission proceedings on imported books, however, ends as early as May 1781 with the abrogation of the independent Censorship Commissions in the capitals of the crown lands.

1.3 *The Failed Attempt at Centralization* (*1781–1791*)

The Prague Gubernial Councilor Joseph Anton von Riegger (1742–1795) was put in charge of implementing Joseph II's *Grund-Regeln*[21] in Bohemia. Born the son

18 According to the note on a Czech theater play in the "Auszug aus dem Protokoll Derern vom 28. Febr. bis 18. Merz einschl. a. c. bey dem k. k. Bücherrevisionsamte eingekommenen Manuskripten" (Excerpt from the minutes of the manuscripts received by the Imperial Royal Book Review Office from February 28th to March 18th of this year). (NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 728, shelfmark G5/1, log for 02/28/1782-03/18/1782).

19 Cf. Michael Wögerbauer: "Ein unaufhörlicher literairischer Kampf könnte die öffentliche Sicherheit stöhren und die gesellschaftliche Eintracht vermindern." Zwei Fallstudien zur Zensurpraxis zwischen antijüdischem Diskurs und literarischer Öffentlichkeit um 1800. In: Julia Danielczyk, Murray G. Hall, Christine Hermann, and Sandra Vlasta (eds.): Zurück in die Zukunft: Digitale Medien, historische Buchforschung und andere komparatistische Abenteuer. Festschrift für Norbert Bachleitner zum 60. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2016, 37–54.

20 Jaroslaus Schaller: Kurzgefaßte Geschichte der kais. kön. Bücherzensur und Revision im Königreiche Böhmen. Prague: Franz Geržabek 1796, 11–12.

21 On this, cf. p. 53–54.

of a prominent jurist, he had had a decisive influence on Maria Theresa's reform policies and the state church system, and he also founded a German language society in Vienna together with Joseph von Sonnenfels and others. A professor of ecclesiastical law himself, he left the University of Freiburg in 1778 to follow a call to Prague, where he became professor of constitutional law and eventually Gubernial Councilor. When the Bohemian Censorship Commission was dissolved, Riegger as the censorship officer of the Gubernium was responsible for reorganizing and leading the supervision of the production and distribution of printed works in Bohemia according to the imperial patent issued on June 11, 1781. Although he was able to prevent the dismissal of Franz Anton Meyer, the *Actuarius* of the Commission and head of the Book Review Office, he still suffered from a shortage of censors. After his slightly curious idea to use the Prague monasterial clerics for the liberalized state-run censorship was not realized,[22] Riegger came up with the plan "that the professors of the universities, the secondary schools etc., as well as other learned men in Prague could be used as censors for the works to be put to print here."[23] As a result, the Bohemian censorship apparatus ultimately employed the opposite party to the abbey friars—namely the in part radical proponents of the Enlightenment who shaped the intellectual climate in Prague during the 1780s with their critiques of sermons, polemics against monasticism, and scientific-critical writings. The most prominent among them were the Minim and historian Franz Faustin Procházka (1749–1809), the vice-dean of the Prague seminary Felix Leonhard Lunáček (biographical data unknown), the theologian and director of the university library Karl Raphael Ungar (1744–1807), the theologian, linguist, and historian Josef Dobrovský (1743–1829), and the pastoral theologian Aegidius Chládek (1743–1806). With the help of these men and several others, Riegger primarily monitored the section of the literary field that was accessible

22 "[…] all the abbots located in the royal Old City of Prague—who by their power shall have the treatises to be sent to them from time to time by the Imperial Royal Book Review Office read without delay by their lectors, preachers, and other skillful monastics and furnished with an assessment according to their opinion." ("[…] denen gesamten in der königl. Alten Stadt Prag befindlichen Klöster-Vorstehern—vermög welcher selbte durch ihre Lectores, Prediger, und andere geschickte Ordensgeistliche die von dem Kays. Königl. Bücher-Revisions-Amte ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit zuschickende Aufsätze ohne Aufenthalt sollen überlesen, und nach deren Befinden mit einem Zeignüsse [Zeugnis] versehen lassen.") Bohemian Gubernium to the administrative office of Prague's Lesser Town, 08/06/1781, NA, ČG-P, 1774–1783, box 727, shelfmark G5/1.

23 NA, ČG-P, 1786–1795, box 2344, no. 2334 ex 1792 (originally shelfmark 115/119), draft of a letter from Riegger to the Court Chancellery on 12/06/1792: "daß die Professoren der Universität, der Gimnasien usw., dann andere gelehrte Männer in Prag als Zensoren über die Hier in Druck herauszugebende[n] Werke gebraucht werden könnten."

to the public. Czech- and German-language classics of Baroque religiosity were recensored, with such reprints being painstakingly examined and sometimes forbidden entirely—not a new phenomenon, since a prohibition regarding the writings of Martin von Cochem had already been issued for all the hereditary lands, i.e. Austria and Bohemia, in 1778.[24] In 1784, a similar ban was pronounced against the 128 Latin titles in the so-called Marian Library.[25] The Bohemian Enlighteners were thus able to enforce their cultural policy program as official Habsburg censors.[26] Riegger also focused on the distribution of books in rural areas: A decree issued in November 1781 stated that "all titles of books appearing at the annual fairs must be duly recorded and sent to the Gubernial authorities."[27]

While the Josephinian cultural policies were thus also implemented relatively radically by regional Enlightenment advocates, at least during the first half of the 1780s, the same certainly cannot be said for the administrative reform of censorship. In December 1792, a few months after Leopold II's death, the Viennese authorities urged the Bohemian Gubernium to implement the "new censorship institution mandated by the power of the most blessed Emperor and King Joseph" on June 11, 1781 and "the fulfilment of the corresponding instructions." In the draft of his reply, the Prague censorship officer, Gubernial Councilor Joseph Anton von Riegger, described nothing less than the failure of Joseph II's attempt to control censorship centrally from Vienna: "as long as the new Book Review Office has existed, ~~no~~ few books or manuscripts have been sent to the court censorship." According to the report, imported books as well as submitted manuscripts had been censored in Prague under Riegger's supervision by university and secondary school professors owing to the economic necessities of the book trade. Had one always been forced to wait for lists of

24 Court decree, Graz, 08/08/1778. In: Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740 bis 1780, die unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. theils noch ganz bestehen, theils zum Theile abgeändert sind, als ein Hilfs- und Ergänzungsbuch zu dem Handbuche aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Josephs des II. für die k. k. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer chronologischen Ordnung. Hg. v. Joseph Kropatschek. Vienna: Johann Georg Moesle 1786, vol. 8, 208.

25 Decree, Prague, 08/28/1784. In: Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die k. k. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung. Hg. v. Joseph Kropatschek. Vienna: Johann Georg Moesle 1785–1789, vol. 6, 427; the corresponding list of books follows on pp. 427–433.

26 In German-speaking literature, cf. e.g. Winter: Der Josefinismus, 206.

27 Decree, 11/23/1781. In: Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die k. k. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze, vol. 1, 547: "alle Titel der auf den Jahrmärkten erscheinenden Bücher […] ordnungsgemäß aufgezeichnet und der Landesstelle eingesendet werden."

forbidden books from Vienna, then "the local booksellers could do no business at all in Leipzig" since they would not know "which books are permitted or forbidden to import." At the same time, however, Riegger emphasized that in practice "very rarely did a misconception occur between the local and the court censorship."[28]

The censorship of periodicals was also not in accord with the official Josephinian regulations. Riegger submitted the Prague journals to postcensorship instead of precensorship, as documented for summer and autumn 1790 in the case of the *Prager Staats- und gelehrten Nachrichten* (Prague State and Learned News), for instance. Riegger himself perused the issues of this magazine between several days and two months after their publication, jotting down the corresponding date with the same red pencil with which he also marked interesting passages in the articles. Even during this politically eventful period, however, neither the censorship copies nor the official records provide any indication that he ever found fault with a published issue.[29] Already concerned by the goings-on in France and the Austrian Netherlands, the Viennese authorities had to be alarmed by such a liberal attitude—that everything not explicitly prohibited by law (morally objectionable content, antireligious writings including superstition and scurrilous texts) was allowed, and that easily accessible ephemera were only censored after their appearance.

1.4 *The Slow Professionalization and Centralization of the Censorship Apparatus under Francis II/I*

We have seen that by 1792 at the latest, the Viennese court was exerting pressure on the Bohemian authorities to implement the Josephinian centralization of censorship. Over the following two decades, the central government's efforts followed a twofold strategy: restriction of the regional autonomy regarding censorship on the one hand and professionalization of censorship, meaning its disentanglement from literary and intellectual life, on the other.

The centralization pursued by Joseph II can be traced by way of analyzing the eight preserved censorship registers maintained at the Prague Book Review

28 Bohemian Gubernium to the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancellery, Prague, 12/06/1792 (NA, ČG-P, 1786–1795, box 2344, 2334 ex 1792, shelfmark 115/1): "von des höchstseligen Kaisers und Königs Joseph Majtt angeordnete neue Zensurseinrichtung […] die Erfüllung der diesfälligen Instruktionen […] so lange auch das neue Bücherrevisionsamt besteht, sind ~~keine~~ wenige Bücher, oder Handschriften an die Hofzensur eingesandt worden […] könnten die hiesigen Buchhändler in Leipzig gar kein Geschäft machen […] welche Bücher zur Einfuhr erlaubet, oder verbothen worden seien […] gar selten ein Mißverstand zwischen der hiesigen und der Hofzensur sich ergeben habe."

29 NA, ČG-P, 1786–1795, box 2364, shelfmark 115/260, cf. the corresponding reproduction in Wögerbauer/Píša/Šámal/Janáček: V obecném zájmu, 139.

Office during the years 1790 to 1816.[30] Divided into roughly equal parts from A to Z, these folios[31] include the censorship lists sent every two weeks from Vienna as well as the works imported into Bohemia and the respective verdicts. A distinction can be made between the (definitive) Viennese verdicts and the (provisional) decisions made in Prague, with the latter not always followed by a final verdict from Vienna. Towards the turn of the century, the share of books in the Prague lists without a decision from Vienna dropped to 10 percent. This may be owed to the fact that the same books were increasingly appearing in Prague and Vienna, or perhaps to an improvement in the communication between the agencies.

At any rate, the change in percentage from the 1790 folio to the 1799 folio allows the following conclusions regarding the 1790s: The number of centrally (damnatur, nec erga schedam) and locally (susp., s. p.) decreed prohibitions increased (5 % → 21 %), as did the number of works to which access was restricted (erga schedam, transeat, toleratur; 11 % → 18 %). A small increase in prohibitions is discernible for the area of scientific and historical works as well as legal texts dealing with contemporary issues, like the dispute about the alleged atheism of philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte ("Ueber den Grund unsers Glaubens an eine göttliche Weltregierung" [On the Reason for Our Belief in a Divine World Government], 1798). The same applies to writings on politics and current affairs. The shares of novels (20 % → 37 %) and newspapers (17 % → 41 %) in the lists of banned writings increased dramatically, however. We can thus see that the proscription of various novel genres enacted on January 16, 1800 and the prohibition of lending libraries decreed in 1798 merely represented the legislative continuation of an existing tendency within the censorial practice. Much the same can be said for periodicals, where the places of distribution and associated practices were the target of censorial measures: The abolishment of reading cabinets[32] and the ban on providing periodicals to guests for perusal in taverns and cafes[33] restricted inexpensive and public

30 For a detailed analsysis, cf. Madl and Wögerbauer: Censorship and Book Supply.

31 Národní archiv Praha, Presidium českého gubernia (Czech National Archives, Presidium of the Bohemian Gubernium; abbreviated to NA, PG in the following), books 202 (1790), 203 (1795), 204 (1798), 205 (1799), 207 (1801), 208 (1803), 209 (1812), 210 (1816).

32 In the corresponding prohibition decree, they are characterized as institutions "that serve only for the detriment of the readers" ("die bloß den Lesern zum Nachtheil dienen"; NA, ČG-P, 1796–1805, box 2364, shelfmark 102/1, no. 26225/2549 ex 1798).

33 Cf. the mention of this decree by Police Chief Count Pergen in his letter to the Bohemian Gubernium on 10/29/1801 (NA, PG, 1791–1806, box 255, shelfmark 16, no. 2055 ex 1801). On the changing reading habits and especially on reading in public places cf. Claire Madl: Čtenářské kabinety, půjčovny knih a proměny způsobů čtení, in: Claire Madl/Michael Wöger-

access to such writings as well as the possibility to discuss them, for example immediately after being read aloud publicly.

Already during the 1790s—but even more so until 1816—the number of censorial decisions made preliminarily or entirely in Prague decreased in favor of verdicts passed in Vienna. Comparing this finding with the catalogs of booksellers in Prague, we see that censorship did not encompass all types of texts offered on the book market equally. Information on books themselves, and especially booksellers' catalogs, experienced particularly strict censorship; this affected privileged readers much less than the "simple folk," who found it more difficult to access reading material. In the case of the Calve bookstore in Prague, for instance, 19 percent of the books on offer in 1790[34] were not included in the contemporaneous censorship lists; in the case of August Gottlieb Meißner's store, on the other hand, 46 percent of the stock was unknown to the censorial apparatus—and this included not only scientific, pedagogic, or otherwise "harmless" books but also numerous novels.[35] Against the background of an overall shift in the sales promotion of books from comprehensive publishers' catalogs to more advertisements for selected works in newspapers and magazines, genres threatened with censorial intervention were generally being advertised less and less. This likely did not change the fact that better-informed and purposefully searching readers could still easily purchase such books, however.

A first step towards professionalizing censorship was the release in 1792 of the university and secondary school professors from the obligation to censor writings from their respective field without remuneration. This measure was met with heavy resistance on the part of the Prague Gubernium,[36] since there was initially no personnel to replace the professors (from 1803 by the latest, university and secondary school teachers were once again tasked with reviewing books from their respective subject area). As a result, the office

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bauer/Petr Píša: Na cestě k "výborně zřízenému knihkupectví": protagonisté, podniky a sítě knižního trhu v Čechách (1749–1848). Praha: Academia—Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR 2019 (Knižní kultura, 1), 301–321.

34 Cf. Johann Gottfried Calve: Erstes Verzeichnis einiger Bücher, die der Buchhändler Johann Gottfried Calve in Prag von der letzten Leipziger Ostermesse 1790, nebst mehreren andern mitgebracht hat […]. Prague 1790.

35 Johann Ferdinand Nepomuk Schönfeld/August Gottlieb Meißner: Verzeichniss Neuer Bücher, welche in der Leipziger Michaelismesse 1790 herausgekommen und in der von Schönfeld-Meissnerschen Buchhandlung in Prag um beigesetzte Preise zu haben sind. Nro. 2. Prague 1790.

36 NA, ČG-P, 1786–1795, box 2344, shelfmark 115/1, no. 2334 ex 1792 (originally shelfmark 115/119), draft of a letter from Riegger to the Court Chancellery on 12/06/1792.

of paid censor was eventually reestablished after lengthy negotiations. The schematics for Bohemia mention only the Book Review Office for 1793, with the department "k. k. Bücherzensoren" (imperial royal book censors) added in 1794.[37] The *genus mixtum* was assigned to the "Austrian Rousseau" Amand Berghofer (1745–1825), who had previously worked at the Book Review Office in Linz, along with university and secondary school teacher and catechist Franz Xaver Noe (1744–1796) from Prague in late 1792. Printed works in Czech were censored by historian Franz Martin Pelzel (1734–1801), the first professor of Czech language at the Philosophical Faculty of Prague University (in office 1793–1801), and the aforementioned Abbé Franz Faustin Procházka. They were joined by the likewise previously discussed theologian Aegidius Chládek (in office 1798–1806) and Abbé Joachim Anton Cron (1751–1826, in office 1800–1822), who assisted Berghofer with the steadily growing area of the belles lettres.[38]

Author Amand Berghofer, who as a freethinker and nature-affine "Rousseauist" found much reason to criticize Josephinism with its paternalistic and military character, was still acceptable as censor in 1792. Six years later, however, the tendency to separate the censorial office from professional writing was already clearly visible, for when the young author Johann Max Czapek from Prague applied for a position as assistant at the city's Book Review Office in 1798, he was refused on the following grounds: "His current gainful occupation is writing novels: From which his all-too-close relation to the booksellers, perhaps to the disadvantage of the official business, could be deduced."[39] Berghofer's problems intensified steadily around the turn of the century: In 1809, he was exposed as the author of the anonymous *Verbothene Schriften* (Forbidden Writings, Ingolstadt—Straubing 1805, 2nd edition Straubing 1809), subjected to a lengthy investigation, and ultimately forced to retire—with full pension payments so as to motivate him to stay in the country and refrain from undesirable publishing activities. His example illustrates clearly how the Josephinian generation was more and more at a loss, and occasionally indignant, regarding the increasingly repressive censorship practices under Francis II/I.

37 Cf. Schematismus für das Königreich Böheim auf das Jahr 1794. Prague: J.F. Schönfeld 1794, 80.

38 Cf. Wögerbauer, Píša, Šámal, Janáček et al.: V obecném zájmu, 156.

39 NA, ČG-P, 1796–1805, box 2364, shelfmark 102/158: "Sein einstweiliger Erwerb ist Romane schreiben: woraus seine allzu enge Verbindung mit den Buchhändlern etwa zum Nachtheile des Amtsgeschäftes zu besorgen wäre." For the context, see Wögerbauer: "Die Zensur ist keine Wissenschaft, sondern eine bloße Polizeianstalt."

1.5 *Prague and Vienna in Dispute over Competencies*

When Amand Berghofer was retired in 1813, the government in Prague intended to replace him with Franz Xaver Niemetschek (also: Němeček; 1766–1849), a professor of theoretical and practical philosophy in Prague, author of the first biography of W.A. Mozart, and educator of the latter's son. The Viennese Court Police Section, however, complained that Niemetschek's calculated wages of 400 guilders *Conventionsmünze* (which corresponded to Berghofer's payment) significantly exceeded the salaries of the other Prague censors (100 to 140 guilders), and demanded that the Bohemian government explain "why the Prague censorship should be maintained the way it is at all." The authorities in Prague primarily argued with the high level of education in Bohemia and the economic consequences for the book trade. Due to the proximity to Leipzig, the hub of the book market, it was necessary to continue censoring in Prague, and a potential detour of previously uncensored books from Leipzig to Prague via Vienna would "hardly be reconcilable with the liberal censorship regulations." It was about "encouraging domestic periodicals in order to supplant the foreign ones"—which was only possible if the manuscripts were appraised by the local agencies, as the Gubernium stated. What was more, there were "many trivia like occasional pamphlets, poems, songs, prayers, etc. whose authors would discontentedly have to give up every harmless liberty of their inoffensive utterances if they had to send these trivia […] to the Viennese censors." Last but not least, the Bohemian government mentioned the many writings in Czech and Hebrew that the Prague censors were more competent to assess.[40]

It would take a year and a half for the emperor to approve Niemetschek's salary, thereby preserving the Prague censorship at the same manpower. Over the next ten years, however, the number of full-time and adjunct censors employed in Prague decreased from five to three, and the censorship of foreign books was centralized as well despite all Bohemian resistance. This meant that the Prague censorial officers could no longer make any independent decisions—even preliminary ones—regarding imported books. The predicted negative consequences came to bear quickly: In 1826, the legation secretary of the

40 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Akten der Polizeihofstelle, 936/1815: "warum überhaupt die Prager Zensur, so wie sie ist, beyzubehalten sey […] mit den liberalen Zensurvorschriften kaum zu vereinbaren seyn […] inländische Zeitschriften aufzumuntern, um die ausländische zu verdrängen […] viele Kleinigkeiten, als Gelegenheits-Flugschriften, Gedichte, Gesänge, Gebete etc., deren Verfasser mißmuthig jede unschädliche Freiheit ihrer unanstössigen Äusserungen aufgeben müßten, wenn sie diese Kleinigkeiten […] zur wiener Zensur absenden sollten."

Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, Guido von Mayer, complained that the Prague authorities had forbidden the import of his treatise *Corpus Iuris Confoederationis Germanicae oder vollständige Sammlung der Quellen des deutschen Bundesrechts* (Corpus Iuris Confoederationis Germanicae or Complete Collection of the Sources of German Federal Law) four years earlier even though it had been classified as "admittitur" by the censors in Vienna. The subsequent investigation showed that Mayer's book had been consigned to the Calve bookstore in Prague in June 1822 and stored at the local Book Review Office until the Court Police Section's decision was received. Due to a lack of space, however, all pending imported books had been returned to their senders abroad in October 1822—and the Viennese authorities had only cleared the *Corpus Iuris* for sale two months later.[41]

Since the end of the 1810s, the exercise of censorship in Bohemia was thus restricted to the assessment of manuscripts and new editions to be put to print, along with the censoring of news media and drama. In the area of book imports, the local authorities were limited to checking bundles of books arriving from abroad against the lists of permitted and forbidden writings arriving regularly from Vienna, which were presumably aggregated in the shape of alphabetical catalogs in Prague until 1848.[42]

The relationship between provincial and centralized censorship was constantly being modified and particularized with new instructions, often triggered by individual controversial episodes. One revealing example in this regard is the work *Die europäische Staatenwelt* (The European State World) written by Georg Norbert Schnabel, a professor of statistics at the Prague Faculty of Law: The book's permissibility was called into question after it "caused an unwelcome stir" in Vienna in January 1820 despite having been approved for printing without hesitation by the Prague professor of political science Wenzel Gustav Kopetz in 1818–1819. Following an additional retroactive censorial review (by Eugen Kaster, a Viennese professor of natural, constitutional, international, trade, and maritime law), it was ultimately forbidden for political reasons and confiscated in the bookstores. This not only endangered Schnabel's career at the University of Prague and entailed protracted negotiations for compensation with publisher Widtmann extending over several years; it also gave rise to a resolution by the emperor in June 1825 ordering "the greatest rigor in the assessment of works of constitutional, political, and religious content" and

41 NA, PG, 1826–1830, box 1434, shelfmark 16/46.

42 Such alphabetical catalogs are only sporadically preserved, e.g. NA, PG, book 210a (Catalog of allowed books 1828, part 2), book 211a–d (Catalog of allowed foreign works 1846–1848), book 212–215 (Catalogs of allowed and forbidden copper engravings and musical texts).

determining "that all works of great significance and important content may only receive approval for printing in Vienna from the Court Censorship Section itself."[43]

The centralization of censorship can be considered largely completed by 1822 or 1823. Starting in 1822, manuscripts not approved for printing in Prague appeared in the Viennese lists of forbidden books and manuscripts, and beginning in autumn 1823, manuscripts cleared in Prague (and other crown land capitals) were included in the lists of allowed writings. It was not until July 1843, however, that the prohibitions imposed by the Prague authorities were marked with the designation "Prager Verz.". These "Prager Verzeichnisse" (Prague listings) are occasionally preserved in the records of the Viennese Court Police Section. For example, the Bohemian *Landespräsidium*, the former Gubernium, sent the *Verzeichniß der in dem Monate November l. J. von der hiesigen Censur erledigten Literatur- und Kunstgegenstände* (Listing of the Literature and Art Items Processed by the Local Censorship in the Month of November of this Year) to Vienna on December 12, 1844. Besides 69 approved manuscripts and new editions, it also contained the *Verzeichniss der in dem Monate November 1844 von der hiesigen* [= *Prager*] *kk Censur nicht zugelaßenen Handschriften und neuen Auflagen* (Listing of the Manuscripts and New Editions Not Approved by the Local [= Prague] Imperial Royal Censorship in the Month of November 1844) with four entries as well as the *Verzeichniss der in dem Monate Nov. l. J. zugelassenen Zeichnungen und Musikalien* (Listing of the Drawings and Musical Texts Approved in the Month of November of this Year) with five entries. The Court Police Section criticized that the list of approved works included a text in Italian, for the competency of the Prague censorship was restricted to Czech and short German-language print products. These catalogs remained in the files; their entries were not incorporated into the Viennese periodical listings, since the Viennese authorities apparently waited in vain for a reply from Prague.[44]

43 NA, PG, 1821–1825, box 1267, shelfmark 22/10: "unliebsames Aufsehen […] erregte"; "die größte Strenge in Prüfung von Werken staatsrechtlichen, politischen und religiösen Inhalts"; "daß alle Werke größern Gewichts und wichtigern Inhalts bloß in Wien von der Zensurhofstelle selbst die Zulassung zum Druck erhalten dürfen." On the Schnabel case, cf. also Petr Píša: Knižní cenzura v Čechách v předbřeznové době. Dipl. Charles University Prague 2010, 124–133; Pavel Bělina, Milan Hlavačka, and Daniela Tinková: Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české. Vol. 11.a, 1792–1860, Prague, Litomyšl: Paseka 2013, 255–260.

44 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Akten der Polizeihofstelle, 1450/1845. Further examples of indices from the provinces are contained in ibid., 3491/1848 and 1558/1845.

1.6 *The Structure of Censorship in Bohemia since 1810*

The anonymization of the censorship process codified in 1795 could hardly be practically implemented in Prague: The number of censors was simply too small, and they specialized in specific topics and partly even in specific languages. In addition, their names were included in the official schematics, and as university professors, staff members of the university library, or private scholars, they also participated in the city's literary and scientific life and were often personally acquainted—whether sympathetically or antipathetically—with the authors of the works to be censored.[45]

As mentioned previously, only three censors were active in Prague from 1823: one for theological writings (in 1823–1848, this role was fulfilled by the Premonstratensian Hieronymus Joseph Zeidler), one for the belles lettres and the *genus mixtum* (Jan Nepomuk Václav Zimmermann, 1819–1836; Pavel Josef Šafařík, 1837–1847; Jan Pravoslav Koubek, 1847–1848), and one for works in Hebrew (Karl Fischer, 1789–1844;[46] Jan Mařan, 1845–1848). Beginning in 1838, the official schematics also listed an assistant censor for economic writings as well as the faculty deans, who organized the censorship of learned literature within their respective disciplines.

The manuscripts and books scheduled for reissue were generally assessed by a censor (respectively by a professor in the case of scientific works), which was followed by the imprimatur (with or without restriction) or a "non admittitur" signed by the head censorship officer (in the rank of a Gubernial Councillor). The government of the crown land—meaning the censorship officer with formal approval and the signature of the governor, in this case the Prague Supreme Burgrave—also decided whether a given work should be submitted to the specialized Gubernial authorities like the regulatory agency for construction, the military command, or the *Landesprotomedikus* (the highest provincial medical official). Starting in 1814, all texts from the (very broad) area of Catholic religion slated for printing were evaluated by the responsible (archi)episcopal consistory before being submitted to the Gubernial censor, who was likewise a

45 On informal contacts between authors and censors, cf. Petr Píša: Možnosti a meze intervence: František Palacký a rakouská cenzura ve 20. letech 19. století. In: Táborský archiv 15 (2011), 91–102. On the bad reputation of the belletristic censor Zimmermann, cf. Petr Píša: "Policajtštější nežli Obrpolicajti říšští." Cenzor Zimmermann a česká předbřeznová literatura. In: Dějiny a současnost 33 (2011), no. 9, 30–33.

46 On Fischer, cf. Iveta Cermanová: Karl Fischer (1757–1844) I. The Life and Intellectual World of a Hebrew Censor. In: Judaica Bohemiae 42 (2006), 125–177; Iveta Cermanová: Karl Fischer (1757–1844) II. The Work of a Hebrew Censor. In: Judaica Bohemiae 43 (2007–2008), 5–63.

cleric—Hieronymus Joseph Zeidler, for example, was a Premonstratensian and later abbot of Strahov Monastery in Prague.

The process for works that had to be sent to Vienna for assessment was somewhat more complicated. They were consigned by the Prague Book Review Office directly to the Court Police Section in Vienna, which organized the appraisal process by a censor and other court authorities as required. The Court Police Section transmitted its decision to the Bohemian government, which subsequently issued a corresponding censorship verdict and returned it to the Book Review Office. However, assessing writings on Bohemian matters or works in Czech required special knowledge and skills, and the Court Police Section therefore regularly asked the respective censor in Prague for an opinion before making its final decision. This convoluted process was eventually simplified by a provision mandating all works sent to the Viennese censorial authorities to be accompanied by an assessment by the responsible Bohemian censor. By the same token, the Prague censors also reviewed writings submitted for censoring in Vienna (and occasionally in other crown land capitals) that related to Bohemian matters or were primarily intended for the Bohemian or Czech audience due to their language. This meant that the strategy of sending problematic manuscripts from Bohemia to Vienna, employed by authors hoping for more lenient censorship from officials not familiar with local circumstances, was rendered moot from the 1820s.[47]

The privilege to publish a political newspaper was granted by the Bohemian government; such papers were censored by the government's head censorial officer, by the secretary of the Prague Supreme Burgrave, by the city administration, or by the censor assigned to the belles lettres. Changes regarding the authority responsible for newspaper censorship were generally triggered by controversial incidents. In late 1835, for instance, government secretary Emanuel Hikisch, who had been tasked with censoring the Czech political paper *Pražské noviny*, was dismissed after the Russian embassy in Vienna complained about an editorial criticizing the Russian Czar's absolutism; censorship of the paper was subsequently assigned to the censor for the belles lettres. The editor who had written the article, František Ladislav Čelakovský, was not only fired but also lost his position as substitute teacher of Czech language and literature at the University of Prague. This was presumably not simply a side effect of the affair, however, as it turned out in the course of the official investigation

47 Cf. also Petr Píša: "Damit es ohne Beanstandungen durchgeht." Strategien im Umgang mit der vormärzlichen Zensur in Böhmen am Beispiel von Václav Hanka. In: Danielczyk, Hall, Hermann, and Vlasta: Zurück in die Zukunft, 55–67.

that Václav Hanka, Čelakovskýs competitor for the permanent chair of Czech language and literature, had informed the Russian ambassador of the problematic opinion piece.[48]

In contrast to the censoring of newspapers, articles for domestic periodicals were handled within the institutional framework of book censorship. The only exception to this rule applied to several journals published outside of Prague, which were dealt with by the authorities of the respective district administrations. An instrument of control at least as important as the censorship of the contents of a periodical was the basic permission to publish a journal at all. This permission was granted by the Viennese Court Police Section based on reports by the Prague municipal administration and the Bohemian government that primarily dealt with the person of the applicant, the suggested employees, and an outline of the intended contents. Economic matters were also taken into consideration, however—like the question to what degree a new journal stood to decrease the revenues of existing periodicals. Especially during the 1820s, the official strategy was to avoid an increase in the number of active periodicals. In the sources, we find several applications that were barely processed despite repeated inquiries from Prague and eventually not decided on—amounting to a de facto proscription of the respective journal.[49]

Likewise within the competency of the Prague government was the granting of Scheden for restricted-access books and the preparation of statements on applications for the obtainment of works labeled "damnatur." In both cases, the opinion of the political entities responsible for the local police force—that is, the Prague municipal administration or the respective district authorities—was of fundamental importance. The political views and morality of the applicant were taken into consideration as well as his scientific competence to handle scholarly texts appropriately. Negative advisory opinions on the purchase of works marked "erga schedam" are rarely found in the sources; the process itself appears to have limited the number of applicants to some extent. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for banned books found in estates to remain in the authorities' custody if they were not claimed by the heirs (which was often the case with the estates of clerics) or if the latter were not granted permission to have them, which sometimes happened with middle-class applicants.

48 The documents in question are printed in František Bílý and Václav Černý (eds.): Korespondence a zápisky Františka Ladislava Čelakovského, part 4/1. Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění 1933, 216–255.

49 For several examples, cf. Michael Wögerbauer: Die Geschichte der Prager Zeitschrift "Der Kranz" (1820–1824) und das Scheitern ihrer Nachfolgeprojekte "Elpore", "Der Pilger" und "Bohemia". In: Bohemia 45 (2004), no. 1, 132–165, especially 161–163.

The provincial government offered these books to the Prague university library, and any works that the latter declined (especially erotic and pornographic literature) were destroyed.

1.7 *Detailed Analysis of the Censorial Assessments*

Since the files of the Prague Book Review Office, which included the individual censorship sheets with expert opinions as well as other items, were shredded shortly after the abolition of censorship in March 1848, researchers attempting to analyze censorship in Bohemia are forced to make use of the preserved archival holdings of the government of the crown land, which relate to special cases going beyond day-to-day administrative routine and contain the largely complete official correspondence with the Court Police Section in Vienna. A serviceable supplementary source are the official journals of Prague theological censor Hieronymus Joseph Zeidler, which provide transcriptions of the respective censorship assessments and are preserved for the years 1823–1834 and 1841–1846.[50] Similar censorial records exist for the Hebrew censor Karl Fischer as well,[51] and the archives of the archbishopric of Prague contain the assessments generated by the consistorial censorship in the years 1820–1848.[52] Quantitative analysis of Zeidler's files[53] shows that the theological censor recommended the prohibition of 17 percent of the German-language and 15.4 percent of the Czech texts he reviewed, while the share of works approved without restriction was 59.5 percent for German and 65.2 percent for Czech writings; the rest were texts allowed with modifications ("correctis corrigendis" respectively "omissis deletis").[54] The analysis also reveals striking differences between genres: While the percentage of prohibitions reached 19.9 percent (German works) respectively 20.1 percent (Czech works) for writings designated for a wide audience—like songs, prayer books, accounts of the lives of

50 Národní archiv Praha, Praha, Řád premonstrátů Strahov—pozůstalosti (Czech National Archives, The Premonstratensian Order of Strahov, personal estates, box 148–150).

51 Národní knihovna ČR, Oddělení Rukopisů a starých tisků (National Library of the CR, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Department), shelfmark IX.A.17.a-b, years 1788–1805, 1806–1824; Archiv Národní knihovny, Cenzor a revizor židovských knih, tisků a rukopisů (National Library of the CR, Archives of the National Library, Censor and Reviser of Jewish Books, Prints, and Manuscripts, years 1834–1843).

52 Národní archiv Praha, Archiv pražského arcibiskupství—II (Czech National Archives, Archives of the Archbishopric of Prague II), box 2904–2924.

53 The entries for the years 1823, 1828, 1834, 1841, 1844, and 1846 were selected as examples. Cf. in more detail Hedvika Kuchařová: Náboženská literatura předbřeznového období pod drobnohledem. Cenzurní protokoly Hieronyma Josepha Zeidlera. In: Wögerbauer, Píša, Šámal, Janáček et al.: V obecném zájmu, 289–303, especially 298–303.

54 Individual Latin or French writings were not considered in the quantitative analysis.

saints, and the like—proscriptions were recommended only for 8.9 percent respectively 13 percent of the assessed works in the field of theological production, which assumed a more experienced readership for things like collections of sermons, catechetic or polemic works, and sophisticated devotional literature. A large number of entries also relate to the censorship of articles for the *Časopis pro katolické duchovenstvo* (Journal for Catholic Clergymen) published by the Prague archiepiscopal consistory. Here the share of prohibitions was lower than for the other groups of works (8.7 percent), but the number is still surprisingly high considering the *Časopis* was a semi-official Catholic periodical. In general, it can be said that the number of works forbidden or approved with modifications decreased over time, which could be interpreted as a decline in older works and a general adaptation to the censorship norms by authors.

Closer examination of the individual assessments reveals, however, that Zeidler frequently complained about the lack of value or usefulness of works he reviewed—very much in keeping with the tendency of the Censorship Regulation issued in September 1810. Sweeping pejorative labels like "worthless" or "unsubstantial" are encountered regularly, often accompanied by negative theological verdicts like "superstitious" or "not in line with Catholic theology." The tendency of Zeidler's censorship to moderate explicit interconfessional polemics (by Protestants as well as by Catholics) is interesting, while on the other hand there is a noticeable frequency of remarks on the language of the reviewed texts. Although generally recognized orthographic rules existed neither for Czech nor for German at the time, linguistic deficiencies often constituted at least an ancillary reason for proscription. "Is not permissible, for it is not even Bohemian [meaning: acceptable Czech],"[55] Zeidler wrote on April 10, 1823 regarding the song *Pobožná písen k svaté Ludmile* (Devout Song for St. Ludmila) submitted for censoring by the Prague printer Jeřábek. On March 10, 1825, he ordered the *Andachtsbüchel für Katholiken, welche das 26jährige Jubiläum in ihrem Orte feyern wollen* (Prayerbook for Catholics Wishing to Celebrate the 26th Anniversary in Their Town) by Tomáš Kubelka "to first be examined minutely by a man versed in the German language and cleansed of the many language errors, then submitted once more."[56] In both languages, the censor took offense at archaic, foreign, and dialectal expressions.[57]

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55 "Ist nicht zulässig, denn es ist nicht einmal böhmisch."

56 "Ist vorläufig von einem der deutschen Sprache kundigen Manne genau durchzusehen und von den vielen Sprachfehlern zu reinigen, dann eben abermals vorzulegen."

57 Cf. e.g.: "Besides a significant number of incomprehensible words which, if they did not originate in the workshop of the author, may at least be common only in his area, there

The mentioned linguistic criteria employed in the assessment of individual works applied not only to orthography and lexis but also to the "usefulness" respectively "usability" of the text for the respective audience. Due to the prevailing diglossia in Bohemia, where school classes at the intermediate and higher levels were taught exclusively in German, the Czech language was associated with "common" and thus inexperienced readers, leading in some instances to stricter appraisal of works written in Czech.[58] This unequal status of Czech and German is apparent in the regulations for the censorship of Czech political newspapers, for example:

> Many articles appearing in the Wiener Hofzeitung, in the Österreichischer Beobachter, and from these absorbed also into the Prague German newspaper, are therefore not yet suitable for the audience of the Bohemian newspapers consisting largely of economic clerks, village clerics, schoolteachers, village judges, craftsmen, and peasants, which only half comprehends these articles and, as several observations confirm, in part completely misunderstands them. [...] Here it is not even permissible to simply translate from the domestic censored newspapers, but instead the censor must select and modify with precise knowledge and consideration of the minds of the readers for whom they are written.[59]

This characterization was in stark disaccord with the efforts of the proponents of the Czech nationalist movement to elevate Czech writing to the level of a

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was nothing memorable to be found [...]." ("Außer einer bedeutenden Anzahl unverständlicher Wörter, die, wenn sie nicht aus der Werkstätte des Verfassers herrühren, doch vielleicht nur in seiner Gegend üblich sind, findet sich nichts zu erinnern [...].") Zeidlers report on the fourth part of Václav Vilém Václavíček's *Biblické kázání* (Biblical Sermon), 02/26/1825.

58 Cf. e.g. the report by the Prague Presidium on Comenius' *Praxis Pietatis*: The book was to be banned because "the principles appearing in this prayer book are of a pernicious tendency especially in regard to the Catholic Church, and such [tendency] could mislead precisely the common class of people into whose hands this book would mostly come, especially since it is in written in Bohemian language." ("die in diesem Andachtsbuche vorkommenden Grundsätze von verderblicher Tendenz besonders in Hinsicht der katholischen Kirche sind, und solche namentlich die gemeine Volksklasse, welcher dieses Buch, zumal es in böhmischer Sprache abgefasst ist, meistens in die Hände kommen würde, irre leiten könnte.") NA, PG, box 1435, shelfmark 16/79.

59 NA, PG, 1821–1825, box 1245, shelfmark 16/36, no. 2755 ex 1821: "Viele Artikel, die in der Wiener Hofzeitung, im österr. Beobachter, und aus diesen auch in der Prager deutschen Zeitung aufgenommen erscheinen, eignen sich deshalb noch nicht für das großentheils aus Wirthschaftsbeamten, Dorfgeistlichen, Schullehrern, Dorfrichtern, Gewerbsleuten

national literature. The occasional decisions against works written in Czech increased the aversion of Czech writers to the censorship system, even though the censorial prohibitions were not generally aimed at the Czech nationalist movement itself until well into the 1840s.

1.8 *Problems of Censorship in the Provinces—the Bohemian Case*

A recurring topic with regard to the censorial activities in Bohemia is the unfeasibility—or at least foolishness—of attempts to fully centralize censorship in Vienna. This problem was closely linked to the geography of the northerly frontier region of the hereditary lands. While the Viennese government undertook efforts to make the capital the center of censorship since the 1750s, the book industry considered Leipzig in particular but at times also Nuremberg, Augsburg, Halle, Breslau, and other local centers to be more important hubs than Vienna, which only gained in significance during the first half of the nineteenth century. This was one of the reasons why the Prague Gubernium agreed with the local booksellers that diverting printed texts to Vienna for censorship was economically absurd.

Centrally maintained censorship lists were a medium of standardization in this regard as well; until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, they only included works printed abroad that had already been published and were circulating in the monarchy. They could never be truly up to date or cover all regions equally well. What was more, they were a two-edged sword: Like the indices maintained by the Church or Maria Theresa's index until 1778, once they were printed and released, they served as a means of publicly shunning undesired texts. This presumes an authority of the censoring entity over the book industry and the reading audience—but if the agents of the book industry refuse to "believe" the censoring entity, the effect of printed prohibition lists is reversed into its opposite: They become catalogs of literature that is alluring *because* it is forbidden. As a result, their distribution has to be restricted as much as possible—as was the case with Maria Theresa's index at the end of her reign. And as we have observed for the 1770s, this likewise did not always occur frictionlessly. Supplementation of the central lists with

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und Bauern bestehende Publikum der böhmischen Zeitungen, welches diese Artikel nur halb versteht und, wie einige Beobachtungen bestätigen, zum Theil ganz misdeutet. […] Hier darf selbst nicht aus den inländischen censurirten Zeitungen geradezu übersetzt werden, sondern der Censor muß mit genauer Kenntniß und Berücksichtigung des Geistes der Leser, für welche geschrieben wird, auswählen und modifiziren." Similarly also NA, PG, 1821–1825, box 1261, shelfmark 20b/32, no. 1703 ex 1823; Národní archiv Praha, Presidium gubernia—tajné (Czech National Archives, Presidium of the Bohemian Gubernium—secret files), 1819–1848, box 4, shelfmark B 23, 1823.

those from the provinces represented an additional difficulty which, from a historical point of view, can be considered largely overcome only by the early 1820s.

Another problem we have already encountered in the context of the Viennese censorship is the competition and cooperation between different authorities, especially between ecclesiastical and worldly censorship. The development in Bohemia from the 1750s to the 1770s can be described as a slow hierarchic subordination of the Church to the institutions of the state that worked not despite, but most likely *because* of the overlaps in terms of personnel. These overlaps were necessary and virtually inevitable due to the Catholic Church's dense network in the rural areas and its constant contact with the population. That the results were not always entirely satisfactory is also understandable—we need only think of the use of monastics for Josephinian censorship in the early 1780s or the conflicts revolving around unauthorized actions by clerics in support of the Counter-Reformation. On the other hand, the example of Zeidler, the abbot of Strahove, as a government censor shows that this state church model remained successful at least in the field of religious and theological books until well into the first half of the nineteenth century.

The second significant factor opposing successful centralization was that the Viennese censors sometimes lacked the required knowledge to competently assess works in Czech: Besides the language barrier encountered with writings in Czech, and to a lesser degree with those in Hebrew, this also applied to knowledge of the Bohemian circumstances and their historical backgrounds. Authors and publishers were able to exploit the latter aspect especially until the 1820s by circumventing the Prague censorship and sending their manuscripts directly to Vienna. After that, the progressively improving communication between center and periphery obviated this course of action primarily by regularly commissioning an assessment by a Bohemian expert. The question of the language proficiency of censors would remain an important factor and bone of contention until 1848, however. With the number of persons in Prague who could be considered for a position as censor already limited, there were even fewer men who could potentially review works in Czech. As a result, almost all involved individuals knew one another, even if they did not always share the same views. This opened the door to friendly turns as well as to the abuse of censorial power in competitive situations.[60]

60 The research infrastructure Česká literární bibliografie (Czech Literary Bibliography, http://clb.ucl.cas.cz [last accessed on 12/13/2021]) was used in the creation of this chapter.

2 The Italian-Speaking Territories of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1768–1848 (by Daniel Syrovy)

Shortly after the beginning of the Congress of Vienna in 1814, the administration of the Habsburg Monarchy initiated preparations to establish a censorial agency in Milan, which was to commence its work immediately after Lombardy and the territory of the Venetian Republic had been officially taken over. The certainty of this step in light of many effectively still unanswered questions may appear surprising at first, but the Austrian State Chancellor Clemens von Metternich was not only one of the foremost designers of post-Napoleonic Europe; in his eyes, the former presence of Habsburg Austria in Northern Italy (in Lombardy from 1714 to 1797 and in the Venetian territory from 1797 to 1805) guaranteed the legitimacy of the Austrian claim to these lands that Francis I and the Habsburg dynasty considered beyond all doubt. Besides, the monarchy had already held provisional control over Veneto since 1813 and eventually also annexed Lombardy in June 1814. It was thus primarily the proper incorporation of the two regions into the administrative structure of the monarchy that was Metternich's priority during the Congress. According to recent research, the early preparations extended as far back as May 1813,[61] which significantly challenges the role that Napoleon's escape from Elba allegedly had in accelerating the results of the Congress.[62] At any rate, the Italians' hopes of maintaining some form of independent state following the demise of Napoleon's empire were dashed in 1815. Even the Regno d'Italia had only enjoyed limited independence, however: Installed as a kingdom by Napoleon after he was crowned emperor in 1805, the former Repubblica Cisalpina (until 1802) respectively Repubblica Italiana was effectively a French *dépendance* of sorts from the very beginning—that is, since the Peace of Campoformio in 1797. Its autonomy existed by name only and was in fact not well-received everywhere—least of all by the Venetians, who had lost their centuries-old republic and been attached first to the Habsburg Monarchy in 1797 and then to the Regno d'Italia in 1805. The latter had also meant accepting Milan as the capital of the territory.

The complexity of these political developments can only be touched upon briefly here, but it plays a significant role for the censorship of books in two regards. Firstly, as a concession to the traditional rivalries in Northern Italy, the new Habsburg crown land was originally established as the Kingdom of

61 Cf. Siemann: Metternich, 391–392.

62 Cf. Alan Palmer: Metternich: Der Staatsmann Europas. Eine Biographie. Düsseldorf: Claassen 1977, 199.

Lombardy-Venetia. While Milan, the seat of the vice-king, was ultimately the politically and administratively more important city for the entire territory, Venice likewise enjoyed high prestige for obvious reasons.[63] In terms of book censorship, this primarily meant that there were to be two censorship authorities in Lombardy-Venetia—one in Milan and one in Venice—that were to operate almost independently from each other, at least initially. That this would repeatedly lead to problems in the long run and stood in striking contradiction to the ongoing efforts to centralize censorship in Vienna is one of the remarkable aspects of this situation.

At the same time, however, the preceding political history is also important in that the planned expeditious installation of a functioning administration made it necessary to directly adopt many of the authorities and structures of the Napoleonic Regno d'Italia despite loud dissent. Detailed descriptions of these processes and the contemporary discussions accompanying them can be found in the respective research literature. In terms of censorship, it meant that individual persons as well as practical aspects related to the Napoleonic censorial apparatus (the *Direzione Generale della Stampa e Libreria*) were retained in the new system. Since the formal reorganization of censorship would not be completed until the second half of the year 1816,[64] these links to the previous administration and thus to accustomed modes of operation in an established censorial practice were of fundamental importance for the character of the Lombardo-Venetian book review activity, especially since the Napoleonic government had placed special emphasis on controlling the daily press. That there had already been Habsburg censorship in Lombardy prior to the Napoleonic Wars, that is until 1796, was of much less consequence, however—presumably not least because of the Viennese censorship reform of September 1801. But formerly Lombardian clerks who had migrated to Veneto after the loss of their home territory were also employed in the reorganization of censorship there (beginning in 1797 and especially after 1801), and this order, which remained in place until 1805, also left certain vestiges in the administration after 1815. Although much appeared outwardly unchanged in Milan—the censorship authority was still located in the Palazzo Brera, for instance[65]—the agency's purview, methodology, and self-concept had been completely transformed. In order to trace these changes, we must first take a look at the situation in the eighteenth century.

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63 Cf. Marco Meriggi: Il Regno Lombardo-Veneto. Torino: UTET 1987, 18.

64 The court commission for the organization of the Lombardo-Venetian administration was active until 1818; cf. Meriggi: Il Regno, 18.

65 The censorial authority in Venice had its seat in the buildings of the former Monastery of San Zaccaria; cf. Giampietro Berti: Censura e circolazione delle idee nel Veneto della Restaurazione. Venice: Deputazione Editrice 1989, 1.

2.1 *Habsburg Book Censorship in the Lombardian Territories before 1797*

Like in Vienna, the responsibility for censorship in Austrian Lombardy in the eighteenth century fell to a Study Commission (*Deputazione per gli studi*) specifically established for the purpose. Although this body had no organizational ties to the censorial authorities in the capital of the monarchy, its tasks and actions were nevertheless based on the Viennese practice of the 1750s, which by this time was definitively established. A consistent formal regulation of censorship activity in Lombardy only came into effect in the late 1760s, however, and the situation before that time is not always clear. The transfer of censorial competence from religious to state institutions, familiar from Vienna as well, progressively emerged in Lombardy starting in the mid-1750s, and a provisional censorship organization existed from 1766; however, the *Piano della Censura de' Libri* (PCL) that would be authoritative for the subsequent decades was only communicated to the Lombardian Amministratore del Governo, Duke Francesco of Modena, in a letter by Maria Theresa on December 15, 1768. This long organizational lead time was primarily owed to the power struggle between church and state, which intensified during the conservative pontificate of Clement XIII beginning in 1759. The dispute about competencies referred explicitly to philosophical and theological arguments as well as to the established practice of book censorship, but it was obviously fueled by economic motivations as well. It would continue at least until late 1771, when the state made a half-hearted offer to the Church—specifically to the Milanese archbishop, Cardinal Giuseppe Pozzobonelli—to appoint one of three theological censors following the formal regulation of book censorship, which Pozzobonelli declined.[66] In practice, the situation was complicated in particular by the fact that clerics were often installed as censors in provincial towns (every town with a printer needed a censor).[67] In any case, the PCL stipulated that

66 For details, see Alceste Tarchetti: Censura e censori di sua maestà imperiale nella Lombardia austriaca: 1740–1780. In: Aldo De Maddalena, Ettore Rotelli, and Gennaro Barbarisi (eds.): Economia, Istituzioni, Cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa. Vol. 2: Cultura e società. Milan: Il Mulino 1982, 741–792; Ferdinand Maaß: Vorbereitung und Anfänge des Josefinismus im amtlichen Schriftwechsel des Staatskanzlers Fürsten von Kaunitz-Rittberg mit seinem bevollmächtigten Minister beim Governo generale der österreichischen Lombardei, Karl Grafen von Firmian, 1763 bis 1770. In: Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs 1/2 (1948), 289–444; Anna Paola Montanari: Il controllo della stampa, "ramo di civile polizia": L'affermazione della Censura di stato nella Lombardia Austriaca del XVIII secolo. In: Roma moderna e contemporanea 2/2 (1994), 343–378.

67 This regulation is not contained in the PCL, but several documents evidence the practice (Archivio di Stato, Milano, Atti di Governo [abbreviated to ASM, AdG in the following], Studi p. a. 37; May 1771 to the Arciprete G. Porta; September 1790, letter by the printer Guglielmo Bossi from Gallarate). For the period before 1815, the names of more than 60

three theological and two secular censors in Milan would be responsible for the censoring of manuscripts as well as for the review of imported books; the provincial capitals were to be handled by one theological and one political censor each. Owing to the fragmentariness of the preserved archival sources, the censorship procedure must be largely reconstructed from the PCL as well; it seems to have mostly conformed to the Viennese practice. For example, the *Giunta Governativa*, a government commission, was intended to issue the final censorial verdicts in regular sessions (as well as in extraordinary meetings, if required) after the individual censors had voiced their opinions on the books that were up for decision.[68]

More substantial documents on the censorial practice exist only for the time after the major administrative reform in Lombardy in 1786, when the Duchy of Mantua was also incorporated into the territory.[69] Among other things, these documents show that individual points of the PCL—like the requirement to create a central register of forbidden writings to facilitate censorship and book review—were apparently implemented inadequately or not at all. The central register, which should have existed from 1769 after being stipulated by the PCL,[70] was still being called for by censors from Pavia as late as 1792.[71]

Lombardian and Venetian censors are known. The legal handling seems to have changed in 1815: A letter from Sedlnitzky to Count Saurau on 10/20/1816 states in this context that "at no location may there be a book printing shop or bookstore if the district administration /: the Delegazion :/ as the regular supervisory authority does not have its seat there as well" ("an keinem Orte eine Buchdruckerey oder Buchhandlung seyn darf, wenn daselbst nicht das Kreisamt /: die Delegazion :/ als ordentliche Aufsichtsbehörde den Sitz hat." ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 84, fasc. "Breno").

68 PCL 1768, fol. 2v, respectively Art. 3 (cited according to the printed copy in ASM, AdG, Studi p. a. 36).

69 Cf. Carlo Capra: La Lombardia austriaca nell'età delle riforme (1706–1796). Torino: UTET 1987; Antal Szántay: Regionalpolitik im alten Europa: Die Verwaltungsreformen Josephs II. in Ungarn, in der Lombardei und in den österreichischen Niederlanden 1785–1790. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 2005.

70 PCL 1768, fol. 5v, Art. 39: "[…] sarà necessaria la formazione di un' Indice de' Libri proibiti da pubblicarsi dalla stessa Giunta, onde col semplice confronto possa la persona a ciò destinata separare i proibiti da' permessi" ([…] it will be necessary to compile an index of the forbidden books that is published by the Commission and allows the responsible persons to verify titles and thus distinguish the forbidden from the permitted ones).

71 An undated document attached to a letter from 02/04/1792 (ASM, AdG, Studi p. a. 38) states that it would be "molto opportuno […] per impedire l'introduzione di libri sospetti, che si formasse un indice generale dei libri superiormente proibiti per direzione dei Regi Censori in tutte le Provincie dello Stato" (very advisable […] in order to prohibit the introduction of suspicious books for a general index of books forbidden by the highest censorial authorities in all provinces of the state [i.e. the monarchy] to be compiled).

There are likewise few sources on the number of manuscripts and imported texts to be reviewed for the period in question, but the preserved documents show that a considerable gradient existed between the capital and the provincial areas. In general, the number of writings to be censored in the latter seems to have been quite small. The censorship of manuscripts was largely limited to brochures and pamphlets, and even in the period after the French Revolution, the preserved reports mention only individual printed works and imports; exceptional bibliographical precision was apparently also not always applied.[72] For Milan, on the other hand, we have a listing by Carlo Borroni, who was responsible for reviewing books arriving at the customs offices and forwarding them to censorship from 1770.[73] Covering the period from July 1771 to July 1772, this list provides precise numbers: 328 bales and boxes ("Balle, e Casse") respectively 253 bundles and packets ("Fagotti, e Pacchetti") with printed works were stopped by the customs authorities.[74] Each of them had to be inspected, with unsuspicious titles sent on and suspicious ones submitted to the censors.

The fact that—like in Vienna—there were complex interdependencies between book production and book censorship in Milan with regard to editors, authors, and publishers is illustrated by the case of Paolo Frisi, who was employed as a political censor in Milan from 1766 until his death in 1784 as well as being a writer, mathematician, and co-editor of the journal *Il Caffè*, the central organ of the Lombardian Enlightenment proponents.[75]

2.2 *The Organization of Censorship in Venetia 1797–1805*

As mentioned above, after Austria had ceded Lombardy (along with the Austrian Netherlands) to Napoleon and received the former Republic of Venetia in return under the Peace of Campoformio, a censorship agency was installed in Habsburg-controlled Veneto as well. The book production in the territory

72 The reports from Como about (destroyed) imported works for the period from 1794 to 1796 contain passages like the following: "un libro libertino e scandaloso" (11/07/1794); "libretti osceni, ed alcune carte con figure affatto disoneste" (09/06/1795); "alcuni libretti troppo lubrici" (09/12/1795); "un pacchetto di libri contenenti la constituzione di Francia, ed altre operette democratiche" (04/11/1796); "un libretto poetico stampato in Parigi nel 1792 complesso di libertinaggio e d'irreligione" (all ASM, AdG, Studi p. a. 35).

73 For example in a document in ASM, AdG, Studi p. a. 36, fasc. "Borroni."

74 In detail: 1771, July (23 bales/24 bundles); Aug. (47/27); Sep. (29/13); Oct. (30/24); Nov. (26/21); Dec. (16/19); 1772, Jan. (27/16); Feb. (13/13); Mar. (32/22); Apr. (23/24); May (34/26); Jun. (28/22) (ASM, AdG, Studi p. a. 36). The grand total is also mentioned in Tarchetti: Censura e censori, 783.

75 Cf. Tarchetti: Censura e censori, 785–789; respectively Edoardo Tortarolo: L'invenzione della libertà di stampa: Censura e scrittori nel Settecento. Rome: Carocci 2011, 154–155.

at the time was substantial: Venice alone boasted 45 printing workshops in 1798, sixteen of which also sold books, as well as a further 28 booksellers. The provincial towns were home to at least a further two dozen printers.[76] It is therefore not surprising that the new administration undertook to monitor this production. Like in Austrian Lombardy, the first step was the establishment of a censorship commission in 1798.[77] But aside from an acute lack of personnel, a censorship reform analogous to the delegation of the censorial agendas to the police in Vienna was soon implemented in Venetia as well. The central figure of this epoch was Giuseppe Carpani (1751–1825), who is likely better known as a librettist and biographer of Joseph Haydn (and with this biography, as the victim of a plagiarism by Stendhal)[78] than in his role as censor. Nevertheless, he held the position (for the areas of theater, newspapers, and pamphlets) beginning in 1801 after being directly appointed by the emperor. Carpani was also the source of several suggestions for improving various procedures, especially regarding drama censorship—including the provision that censors had access to all performances without tickets.[79] After returning to Vienna in 1805, he continued working as an informer for the Viennese police and as a staff member of the periodical *Biblioteca italiana* controlled by the Habsburg government.[80] Although the brief phase of his censorship in Venetia between 1801 and 1805 can be described as a preemption of the later Lombardo-Venetian censorial organization (for example concerning the introduction of Scheden),[81] the key characteristic of the later phase of censorship—namely the continuous communication with Vienna, the highest censorial authority for the entire monarchy—seems not to have existed during this time as far as can be discerned from the existing sources.

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76 Numbers according to Callegari: Produzione e commercio, 17–18 and Michele Gottardi: L'Austria a Venezia: Società e istituzioni nella prima dominazione austriaca 1798–1806. Milan: FrancoAngeli 1993, 227–229.

77 According to Gottardi: L'Austria, 214.

78 Cf. Helmut C. Jacobs: Literatur, Musik und Gesellschaft in Italien und Österreich in der Epoche Napoleons und der Restauration: Studien zu Giuseppe Carpani (1751–1825). Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris: Lang 1988, 95–107.

79 Carpani's *Massime colle quali provisoriamente si regola la R. Censura di Venezia nella esclusione delle Pezze Teatrali* of 1804 were initially published without specifying an author by Luigi Costantino Borghi: La polizia sugli spettacoli nella Republica Veneta e sulle produzioni teatrali nel primo Governo Austriaco a Venezia. Venice: Visentini 1898, 21–24. Cf. also Gottardi: L'Austria, 230.

80 Cf. Jacobs: Literatur, Musik, 60–136; Gottardi: L'Austria, 229–239.

81 According to Gottardi: L'Austria, 236.

2.3 *The Organization of Censorship in Lombardy-Venetia 1814–1816: Theoretical Foundations*

Although there was apparently talk of re-establishing a book censorship agency in Milan as early as July 1814, a significant amount of organization was necessary to realize the plan. While part of the infrastructure of the Napoleonic *Direzione Generale della Stampa e Libreria* was available for use,[82] the practical work required several additional measures. An initial step was the abolishment of free book imports from France,[83] and a further urgent aspect was the sale of books considered insidious or dangerous by the authorities. In the years since 1806 at the latest, the book production in Italian had been paid heed only if it was intended for import into the Habsburg lands. Since the number of potential readers of Italian-language texts was small, we can assume that only few titles were printed. A functioning censorship that had to monitor not only the publication of new manuscripts but also the dissemination of existing printed works therefore required an up-to-date list of forbidden books in Italian. A commission convened for this purpose on August 16, 1814 was able to compile such an index, the *Catalogo de' libri italiani o tradotti in italiano proibiti negli Stati di Sua Maestà l'Imperatore d'Austria* (Catalog of Books in Italian or Translated into Italian and Prohibited in the Lands of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Venezia 1815) containing 732 titles, within just a single month.[84] In the course of this activity, as the librarians Gaetano Bugatti (Biblioteca Ambrosiana) and Palamede Carpani (Biblioteca di Brera) wrote on behalf of the commission, "the most diligent investigations in libraries, including private ones, in catalogs, indices, and bibliographical journals" were conducted.[85] The measure thus entailed a comprehensive review and "recensoring" of all Italian publications from recent years respectively decades. In addition, there is evidence of further coordination with the Venetian censors before the catalog was even-

82 In July 1814, even the stationery of the Regno d'Italia (with handwritten corrections) continued to be used (cf. ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 87); in terms of personnel, censors as well as reviewers were directly taken over according to a summary dated 01/06/1815 (ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 87, Carteggio generale); the same is also documented for several provincial censors.

83 Cf. the import prohibition issued on 08/20/1815 (ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74).

84 Cf. the weekly session meetings respectively the end report dated 09/16/1814 in ASM, Presidenza di Governo 7. Berti: Censura e circolazione, 13, inexplicably writes of "oltre 950 titoli" in connection with this catalog. At first glance, it seems to contain 747 entries, but 15 of these are duplicated by cross references; several other cross references—especially for the letter "P"—(erroneously) do not lead to entries, however.

85 ASM, Presidenza di Governo 7, Bugatti/Carpani to Bellegarde on 09/16/1814: "le più diligenti indagini nelle biblioteche anche private, nei cataloghi, negl'indici, e nei giornali bibliografi."

tually printed. That this approach was not uncontroversial is shown by the fact that head censor Zanatta complained to Count Saurau as early as July 1816 that the catalog was much too strict.[86] As usual, it likely proved very difficult to remove already disseminated writings from circulation.

The other essential task was of course to assess new releases from abroad and the production of the Lombardo-Venetian publishers themselves. Since many of the clerks of the former *Direzione generale della Stampa e Libreria* were retained, it is hardly surprising that various grievances and problems arose in this context as well until the organization of censorship "according to Austrian principles"[87] was formally completed in 1816. While a comprehensive legal foundation for the performance of censorship had already existed in Venetia in June 1815, the Milanese "Piano Generale di Censura" (PGC) for the Lombardian provinces was issued with some delay in April 1816—even though it matched the Venetian plan with only a few minor differences.[88] In the main, both documents were based on the Censorship Regulation of 1810 (see excerpts in the appendix, pp. 388–390), with the majority of the latter's 22 paragraphs found in almost verbatim translations in the PGC (§ 13–28). There were also a few specific instructions on censorship-worthy contents in between the inherited sections that merit citation, however:

19. Le stesse cautele dovranno praticarsi rispetto a quelle opere che contengono discussioni sugli affari e rapporti politici dei differenti Stati, o che per qualsisia ragione potessero dispiacere ad una Potenza estera, o compromettere la politica dell'austriaco Governo.
(The same precautions [i.e. exercising care so that the granted freedom would not lead to abuse] must also be taken in regard to those works that contain disquisitions on matters and political connections of various states, or that for whatever reason could displease foreign rulers or compromise the policies of the Austrian government.)
20. I libri teologici che riguardano i limiti della podestà spirituale e secolare sono una materia assai delicata, ed esigono una fondata cognizione del gius pubblico, ecclesiastico e civile, e delle leggi in tal proposito vigenti

86 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74, no. 1867; 07/31/1816.

87 Hager to Bellegarde on 10/30/1814 (ASM, Presidenza di Governo 7): "nach österreichischen Grundsätzen."

88 "Piano generale di Censura per le Provincie Venete," approved on 03/08/1815 and valid from June 1; printed in: Collezione di leggi e regolamenti pubblicati dall'Imp. Regio Governo delle Provincie Venete. Vol. II, pt. II. Venice: Andreola 1815, 234–291. The subsequent quotations are from the Milan copy of the print run of 1841 (ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 75), a digital version of which is available under the URL http://univie.ac.at/zensur/dokumente (last accessed on 12/13/2021).

negli Stati di S.M. Sarà quindi con particolare cura evitato che non vengano introdotti o fomentati principj tendenti a pregiudicare i diritti del Sovrano.

(Theological books dealing with the boundaries of the spiritual and worldly rulers are a very delicate matter and require detailed knowledge of general, ecclesiastical, and civil law as well as the legislation that prevails in this regard in the lands of His Majesty. Introducing or fomenting principles tending to interfere with the rights of the Emperor must therefore be avoided with particular caution.)

[§ 21 = § 10 Zensurvorschrift 1810; cf. appendix pp. 389–390]

22. Nei libri di fisica, medicina, chirurgia, anatomia e storia naturale sarà permesso il parlare in termini dell'arte di ogni materia a quella spettante, ma se ne escluderanno, massimamente se scritti in italiano e tascabili, tutte le descrizioni e frasi assolutamente oscene che possono senza danno della sostanza essere omesse o colorite dall'autore. A quelli però che trattano la materia scientificamente e per le persone dell'arte non sarà applicabile una tale restrizione.

(In books of physics, medicine, surgery, anatomy, and natural history, it is allowed to use all necessary technical terms, but especially in the Italian language and in pocketbooks, all utterly obscene descriptions and phrases are to be suppressed which, without compromising the substance, can be left out or rephrased by the author. For books that treat the field of knowledge scientifically and for a professional audience, however, such a restriction shall not be applied.)

23. Le dediche a persone viventi di qualunque siasi libro o foglio volante non saranno ammesse se non previo l'assenso in iscritto del mecenate.

(Dedications to living persons of a book or pamphlet of any nature shall not be permitted without the prior written approval of the dedicatee.)

24. Non si permetterà la stampa di elogi o d'altri annunzj riguardanti l'Augustissimo nostro Monarca, i Membri della Famiglia Imperiale, od anche il Ministero, il Governo, oppure i Membri del medesimo, se non dopo l'approvazione diretta del signor Referente di Censura presso il Governo. Se però detti elogi od annunzj fossero già stati pubblicati a Vienna od in altre provincie della Monarchia Austriaca, in allora il Censore potrà ammetterli da sè solo.

(Not permitted is the printing of accolades or other announcements pertaining to His Supreme Majesty, the members of the imperial family as well as the ministries, the government, and even the members of the same without direct approval by the head censorial officer of the Gubernium.

> Should the accolades or announcements in question have already been published in Vienna or other lands of the Austrian Monarchy, however, the censor may permit them independently.)

We can assume that these specifications were included in the PGC primarily because in contrast to Vienna, the censors in Milan and Venice had little practical experience in this regard. The exceptional caution applied in this matter is evidenced by further regulations regarding political writings in particular, for which the additional rule existed (§ 11) that they had to be submitted to the Gubernium even if the censor considered them permissible.[89] The remarks on reprints and new editions are likewise more extensive in the PGC; particularly noteworthy is the provision that decisions on reprints were generally not to be made in Milan and Venice but exclusively in Vienna.[90]

The Lombardo-Venetian censorship authorities thus had two primary assignments: the review of all book imports impounded by customs (although they could legally only be permitted; all prohibitions with "damnatur" respectively "erga schedam" were only valid temporarily until they were confirmed or overturned in Vienna), and the censorship of all manuscripts in Italian and Latin—but not, for example, those in French or German—to be put to print in Lombardy-Venetia. Here, too, the final "non admittitur" remained the prerogative of the censorial officers in Vienna (§ 28).[91] The provincial censors, on the other hand, performed reviews of imports and assessments of all printed works under three sheets in length as well as of leaflets and posted bills (PGC, § 86–90). This approach was by no means customary within the monarchy, as evidenced by a letter written by Sedlnitzky to Governor Strassoldo in March 1824 in which the Chief of Police voiced unobscured criticism regarding the "larger area of effect" ("größere[r] Wirkungskreis"), meaning the comparatively extensive autonomy afforded to the Lombardo-Venetian authorities. Sedlnitzky

89 PGC, § 11: "dovranno essere sottoposti al Governo non solo i libri e manoscritti qualificati alla proibizione, ma anche quelli di materie politiche che il Censore crederà suscettibili di ammissione" (not only books and manuscripts that are to be forbidden must be submitted to the government, but concerning ones with political contents also those that the censor considers permissible).

90 PGC, § 39: "Nessuna formola di Censura però abilita alla ristampa; e questo permesso deve ottenersi esclusivamente dal Supremo Aulico Dicastero di Censura" (No censorship formula allows reprinting, however, for which permission must be requested directly from the highest censorial authority).

91 PGC, § 9: "può ogni Censore in regola ammettere da sè un libro od un manoscritto [...] non così però proibirlo" (every regular censor may independently allow a book or manuscript, but not prohibit it); see also the Allegato A related to the PGC, "Istruzioni per la manipolazione degli affari presso il Regio Ufficio di Censura in Milano," to which explicit reference is made in § 8 of the PGC.

would have preferred the censorship institutions in Milan and Venice to be restricted to Book Review Offices, with the *Ispettori delle stampe* of the provincial capitals abolished completely "with the exception of censorship of small inconsequential writings and advertisements, which the Delegations would have to provide," thereby harmonizing the censorial practice with that of the other crown lands.[92] There is no evidence of these plans being implemented in practice, however. On the contrary, the fact that the 1841 reprint of the PGC was closely based on the text of 1816 appears to rule out any such reform.

2.4 *The Performance of Censorship until 1848*

The described centralization and reform efforts emphasize that the organization of the Milanese and Venetian censorship authorities was considered somewhat provisional (the term even appears in Sedlnitzky's abovementioned letter), with the personnel question apparently included in this sentiment. But before taking a closer look at the practical problems of censorship, the 1841 reprint of the PGC warrants further discussion since it proves that even the theoretical side of censorship—meaning the respective laws and instructions—were to a certain degree subject to continuous development and variations. When the original censorship regulation was put to print once more in 1841 so as to make it properly accessible in authoritative written form, it contained numerous individual comments on and modifications to the various paragraphs of 1816 that were almost as extensive as the baseline text itself. This allows us to reconstruct a host of special cases and problematic censorial minutiae, many of which are also at least partially preserved in their original context in the State Archives in Milan. A few selected examples shall serve to illustrate to what extent the regulations were specified.

Several points pertain to more general matters like the involvement of the archiepiscopal curia in the censorship of religious writings (§ 20 and amendments), the question of reprints (§§ 34a; 36a–b; 37a–b; also 10j), and the more complex issue of the censoring of periodicals—the responsibility for which incidentally fell to the police department in Milan together with the censorship of drama and pamphlets (with the exception of religious contents) (PGC, § 5 and amendments; § 44–55 and amendments). There are also indications (§ 10a–n) of general prohibitions regarding certain books of foreign origin, namely inexpensive or free bibles, foreign prints with incorrect Austrian imprimaturs, foreign reprints of Austrian publications, subscriptions to

92 ASM, Cancellerie austriache 107a, Normalien 1824, Sedlnitzky to Strassoldo (resp. Inzaghi in Venice), 03/28/1824: "mit Ausnahme der Zensurierung kleiner unbedeutender Schriften und Ankündigungen, welche die Delegazionen zu besorgen hätten."

multi-volume series before they were complete, and foreign publications in Hebrew on religious topics. There is also mention of general proscriptions of domestic printed works: specifically, for distressing predictions, treatises on legal cases before a public verdict had been issued, private legal collections, etc. A decree issued in 1830 mentions that works in multiple volumes had to be treated entirely according to the strictest censorial verdict applied to any one of their individual volumes when sold in bookstores (§ 10e).

In addition, there are regulations on which expert opinions were to be commissioned for specific technical topics (medicine, law, finances, infrastructure, etc.), with the corresponding competencies spread across different authorities (§ 11a–s) as shown by extensive correspondence preserved at the State Archives in Milan. Sensitive issues regarding copper engravings and other imagery are clearly detailed (portraits of the emperor and the imperial family had to resemble the respective persons, § 11g; foreign images of Napoleon were to be assessed at least as "transeat," while domestic ones were to be generally forbidden, § 11h). Finally, there is also an explicit precept that the emperor's namesake saint was to be included in all almanacs without exception (§ 16b).

With regard to this abundance of in part somewhat peculiar instructions, it is worth noting that no systematic compendium of the individual regulations and decisions for Lombardy-Venetia existed before 1841. The legal framework must therefore be understood as a work in progress, with the censors regularly having to adapt to new instructions while simultaneously keeping previous decrees and decisions in mind. That this was not always easy or even possible in practice is evident not only indirectly in the need to reprint the *Piano della Censura* in 1841, but also directly in the numerous archival records of inquiries to Vienna for clarification on the one hand as well as admonitions and reminders sent to Lombardy-Venetia by Sedlnitzky to ensure the local censorial practice operated within the centrally determined specifications on the other. This also means, however, that any discussion of censorship as a force within the literary field of the Italian-speaking Habsburg lands only makes sense if the practical side of the processes and proceedings in the Book Review Offices is taken into consideration. Fortunately, the wealth of archival sources in Milan and Venice permits ample inferences regarding the work of these institutions.

A first important step in this context is to establish an understanding of who "the censorship" actually was. Far from being a dark, inscrutable power, it simply featured four ordinary censors each in Milan and Venice (aside from the provincial censors, whose competency was limited), one of whom—the *Capocensore* or head censor—was responsible for the processes at the censorial authorities (as specified in the PGC, §§ 1–2). As mentioned previously, the censorship of foreign and domestic periodicals, drama, and pamphlets in the capitals fell to the police (PGC, § 5c).

The notion that scholarly men could monitor the production of books on the side as a voluntary service of sorts, which had mostly still worked during the eighteenth century, was apparently no longer economical in terms of police work nor easy to accomplish in the period after the Congress of Vienna with regard to the required time and effort. The actual personnel costs seem to have been the most important factor. It is well known and understandable that the government imposed general austerity measures following the immense costs of the Napoleonic Wars, but how far they went in certain areas nevertheless comes as a surprise. The many instances of complaints by censors documented in Milan paint a clear picture: We find dozens of fascicles with salary negotiations, requests for advance payments, and even an invoice from a provincial censor (Giorgio Ravelli from Brescia) asking for reimbursement for his costs incurred during provision of his services in March 1825 (rent for an office room, heating fuel, quills and ink, twine), which was ultimately approved in late 1827 after some arguing. The overall refund sum originally calculated by the administration itself was further decreased by a good 15 percent owing to certain reservations, however.[93] The censorship facilities in the Palazzo di Brera apparently represented a constant problem as well, as evidenced by grievances concerning dampness, bitter cold (the rooms had to be heated continuously), and especially the glaring lack of space.[94] That the wages of the censors were a massive issue was owed not least to the fact that all censorial positions were given to individuals who were already otherwise employed—based on the assumption that their respective other jobs would sufficiently pay for their costs of living. Thus the already low pay was frequently slashed to 60 percent of its designated amount whenever any reason could be found—even if it was only the argument that other censors were not earning more either.

There was certainly no understanding from Vienna for the difficult situation in the Italian lands, as proven by a letter written by Sedlnitzky to Governor Strassoldo in early 1818:

> The older petitions by the Book Review Office in Milan for increase of staff seem to justify the assumption that the business of this Book Review Office is not properly distributed among the four officials nominated for

93 The case in question in ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 84, "Brescia."

94 Cf. ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 87, letter from Zanatta to the Gubernium on 05/22/1817. Around 1820, the agency was transferred to the buildings of the *Intendenza provinciale di finanza* near S. Giovanni alle Case Rotte (today: Piazza della Scala). In 1843 at the latest, there was already talk of moving to more suitable premises again, and a further relocation subsequently took place in 1847.

> the same by His Majesty, and that one or the other official, because he seems by his character to be assigned only to one branch of the official business, does not wish to deal with another branch. This seems to me to be especially the case with the two book reviewers. The book review business itself can likely only take little of their time.[95]

The letter goes on to state that even in Vienna, "where the entire domestic and foreign literature comes together, and between 4,000 and 5,000 books and manuscripts [...] are submitted to official proceedings annually," only four regular officials and one clerk handled the entire business.

These numbers for Vienna, if indeed they are to be trusted, seem in fact to exceed those for Milan roughly twofold for the time around 1818. We know from the preserved printed lists of books processed in Milan[96] that 1,661 titles were reviewed in 1818 and 1,757 titles in 1819. This is confirmed by an inventory of works handled by censor Bartolomeo Nardini in his "probationary year" 1819/20, which includes 269 imported printed publications and 259 manuscripts for a total of 528 titles—and thus significantly more than a quarter of the overall number of books reviewed per year.[97] The numbers for Venice and its provinces are comparable, though consistently lower. Although Giampietro

95 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 87, Sedlnitzky to Strassoldo on 03/25/1818: "Die ältern Gesuche des Bücher Revisionsamts in Mailand um Vermehrung des Amtspersonals scheinen die Vermuthung zu begründen, daß die Geschäfte dieses Bücher Revisionsamts unter den von Sr. Majestät für dasselbe ernannten vier Beamten nicht ordentlich vertheilt sind, und das ein und der andere Beamte, weil er nach seinem Caracter nur auf einen Zweig der Amtsgeschäfte angewiesen zu seyn scheint, sich mit einem anderen Zweig gar nicht befaßen will. Dieses scheint mir besonders der Fall mit den zwey Bücher Revisoren zu seyn. Die Bücher Revisionsgeschäfte selbst können denselben wohl nur wenig Zeit nehmen." Subsequent quotation: "wo die gesamte In- und Ausländische Literatur zusammen fließt, und jährlich zwieschen [!] 4- und 5000 Bücher und Manuskripte [...] in ämtliche Verhandlung kommen."

96 These lists entitled "Nota delle opere esaminate nel decorso del suddetto mese dall'Imp. Regia Censura, e dei voti interinali dalla medesima emessi per servire di norma in pendenza dell'invocata approvazione dell'Eccelso Supremo Aulico Dicastero di Censura di Vienna" (in ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 77–82) exist completely for Milan and with occasional gaps for Venice for the period from 1818 to 1839. They document the flow of information established between Milan and Venice, respectively between the Book Review Offices and the provincial censors, over the course of the year 1817; cf. also the correspondence on the formal organization between Zanatta, the Gubernium, and Sedlnitzky in ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 75.

97 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 88, fasc. "Nardini": "Elenco delle opere stampate esaminate" ("list of examined printed works") resp. "Manoscritti e ristampe esaminate dal Censore Nardini" ("Manuscripts and reprints examined by censor Nardini").

Berti comes to a total of 1,271 works for 1824 and 4,469 for 1840 if we sum up his numbers for manuscripts, reprints, and imports in Venice,[98] the latter would appear to be an outlier value, since the available printed lists mention 2,877 titles (imports, manuscripts, reprints) processed in Milan and 1,637 in Venice in 1836; for the year 1837, the lists include 3,068 works for Milan and 1,564 for Venice. Conversely, however, this also shows that the number of titles to be reviewed increased significantly after 1818/19 without a corresponding formal change being made to the personnel situation—although the records do occasionally mention temporary assistance provided by other administration officials.

A comprehensive statistical survey of the book production, literature imports, and censorship does not exist as yet. Numerical registration of permitted, forbidden, and reviewed manuscripts respectively permitted and forbidden imports is faced with the issue that the lists of reviewed (respectively approved) titles used as sources for the information provided above do not include the prohibited works, whose mention Sedlnitzky had explicitly vetoed so as not to advertise them.[99] The exception, as noted by Gianluca Albergoni, were a few lists compiled prior to Sedlnitzky's instruction in July 1817, which show that around 3 percent of the manuscripts submitted in Milan were rejected.[100] Without any reference values, however, it is unclear what this number means other than that it runs somewhat contrary to the accepted perception of the strictness of Austrian censorship. Fortunately, figures for the manuscripts revised by way of deletions prior to being printed are also preserved (in this case counted without the separately listed reprints), and the resulting overall percentage for

98 According to the numbers in Berti: Censura e circolazione, 32. Berti states explicitly that the number of books imported in 1840 was around six times as high as the number for 1824, specifically 2793 vs. 407. There is no evidence of such a large volume of book imports anywhere else, and although the Milanese records are only sporadically available for the time after 1839, the preserved months exhibit no comparable increase.

99 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 75, Sedlnitzky to Saurau, 07/25/1817: "Wenn die von Zeit zu Zeit verbothenen Bücher durch den Druck bekannt gemacht werden, so entstehen hieraus mancherley Unzukömmlichkeiten für die Staatsverwaltung […] nicht gedruckt, sondern geschrieben, den Behörden, die es zu wissen nothwendig haben, mitgetheilt." ("If the books forbidden from time to time are made known through printing, some inconvenience would arise for the state administration herefrom," wherefore these indices were "communicated to the authorities that have a need to know not in printed, but in written form.")

100 Gianluca Albergoni: La censura in Lombardia durante la Restaurazione: alcune riflessioni su un problema aperto. In: Domenico Maria Bruni (ed.): Potere e circolazione delle idee: Stampa, accademie e censura nel Risorgimento italiano. Milan: FrancoAngeli 2007, 213–236, here 230–231.

Milan in 1817 is 21.9 percent (152 of 694 submitted manuscripts); further samples for 1819 (21.3 percent), 1825 (18.5 percent), and 1829 (21.8 percent) show that this share remained relatively constant over a longer period of time. In 1834, however, it increases to 27.4 percent, and then to 33 percent in 1839. One can easily argue that these figures are as significant as the absolute numbers of prohibitions, since they display the effect of censorship on actual book production. Following the interpretation that effective institutionalized censorship is reflected in self-censorship respectively adaptation of manuscripts by authors prior to submission, the increase in numbers during the 1830s would signify a certain resistance to censorship, which is certainly documented for Italy in terms of literary history.[101]

The entirety of preserved materials allows further conclusions as well, for on the other hand, we also have the manuscripts in Italian registered in the prohibition lists: They include independent texts as well as contributions to periodicals and occasional reprints—though we cannot be certain that all of them were forbidden in Milan and Venice, since proscriptions were generally issued in Vienna and the prohibition lists mention the origins of the respective works only every now and then. Let us examine the overall numbers of these manuscript prohibitions arranged by the year in which they occurred:

Year	Manuscripts	Year	Manuscripts	Year	Manuscripts	Year	Manuscripts
1817	14	1825	62	1833	38	1841	36
1818	2	1826	61	1834	36	1842	19
1819	7	1827	28	1835	19	1843	51
1820	2	1828	35	1836	26	1844	48
1821	12	1829	57	1837	4	1845	21
1822	17	1830	40	1838	6	1846	8
1823	26	1831	11	1839	3	1847	25
1824	36	1832	28	1840	23	1848	2

The spread is obviously very wide in these cases (from 62 in the year 1825 to 3 in 1839), but the prohibitions nevertheless allow us to calculate the following combined figures for manuscript prohibitions in Milan and Venice based on the

101 The most important study in German on the topic is Kucher: Herrschaft und Protest.

total numbers (allowed manuscripts, edited manuscripts, submitted reprints, forbidden manuscripts) for the period between 1817 and 1839—specifically for several years for which lists of processed manuscripts are available for both cities:

Year	1817	1822	1827	1830	1833	1835	1836	1837
Number of forbidden manuscripts	14	17	28	40	38	19	26	4
% of forbidden manuscripts	0.97	1.2	1.9	2.4	2.2	1.2	1.5	0.3
% of revised manuscripts	12.4	11.5	12.6	9.8	14.0	10.6	17.2	24.9

Especially in the ratio of manuscripts rejected with "non admittitur" to those allowed for printing with alterations, these numbers show that the overall censorial activity did in fact increase even though the absolute prohibition numbers appear to decline dramatically.

For the work of the censors, this also meant that most manuscripts were not rejected directly; rather, the officials had to read the texts quite closely, which makes the abundance of processed titles even more impressive. And in fact, the actual procedure of censoring—that is, the reading and often correcting of manuscripts respectively of printed matter was by no means all the officials had to do in the context of their service. As early as 1816, Bartolomeo Zanatta, who headed the Book Review Office in Milan for almost 20 years, sent a detailed description of the concrete activities of the reviewers to Count Saurau, Governor of Lombardy-Venetia, thereby giving us an idea of the day-to-day work at the institution:

> Overview of the work carried out by the staff of the Imperial Royal Censorship Agency in Milan[102]
>
> Reviewers Terzaghi, Bertoni:
>
> The ordinary correspondence; the review of books, a task that requires many hours a day due to the huge quantity of books from foreign countries; the keeping of logs; the monitoring of the acceptance and storage of the depositary copies; their forwarding, together with the corresponding lists, to Vienna, to the Imperial State Library, and to Venice.[103]

102 Translation of the annex to ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74, no. 1867 (Zanatta to Saurau, 07/31/1816) [excerpt].

103 Comment by Saurau on 03/28/1816 (ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74): "Di ogni libro stampato nelle

The keeping of the general log of all received items with addition of the corresponding decisions and the archive numbers; the organization of the archive with the repertories by contents and persons; the creation of the printer registers, which show at a glance which works were printed by each one.

Temporary employees Belloni, Bizzozzero

Support for the First Censor and Director regarding the general correspondence and special topics.

The keeping of the registers 1. of the works coming from abroad that are permitted; 2. of those that entail a prohibition and are therefore retained; 3. of the works approved for printing or reprinting; 4. of the works not approved for printing or reprinting; 5. of the foreign periodicals.

The supplementation of the catalogs of forbidden books supported by the dispatches from Vienna.

The keeping of an alphabetic registry of permitted French books as per the notices printed in Vienna in order to facilitate the review of the huge amount of French-language books from abroad, and especially to find those that have a Transeat; likewise in regard to the works in other languages and especially in German.

The creation of the weekly lists from the censorship records; of the monthly log of forbidden books, likewise compiled from the censorship records; and the general monthly catalogs from the registers.

Safekeeping of the books taken into custody.

Instructions to customs concerning forbidden books that are sent back to foreign countries; Instructions to the provincial censors regarding books allowed to pass.

Mozzi, Clerk—Copying of letters and consigning of the same.

Even a position as low as that of the porter still had numerous tasks assigned to it, especially concerning the transport of boxes of books and the delivery of books and documents to the residences of the censors, as well as—according to Giampietro Berti's archival findings—the acceptance of manuscripts to be processed and the return of reviewed manuscripts to publishers and printers.[104]

province Lombarde-Venete dovranno presentarsi cinque esemplari gratuiti, cioè uno per l'I.R. Biblioteca di Vienna, uno per la Cancelleria Aulica di Censura, uno per la Biblioteca di Brera, uno per quella di S. Marco in Venezia, ed uno per quella dell'Università di Pavia." (Of all books printed in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, five deposit copies must be submitted free of charge: one each for the Viennese Imperial Royal Library, for the Aulic Censorship Authority, for the library of Brera, for San Marco in Venice, and for the University of Padua).

104 Cf. Berti: Censura e circolazione, 18–19.

In addition, a high degree of autonomy and independent judgment was expected from the censors. A case from 1819 shows that the censor Bellisomi, who was uncertain regarding his verdict on a tragedy dealing with the antique Canacee material and therefore wanted to consult with the Gubernium, was reprimanded by the latter that the censor alone was responsible for reaching a decision.[105] As amendment 9a of the PGC states, even fines resulting from property damage in case of mistakenly approved works were to be paid by the censor himself and not by the treasury. In May 1833, repeated problems with the staff led to the dismissal due to unreliability of Bellisomi as well as the head of the censorship authority, Zanatta.[106]

The numerous transcriptions and detailed logging of the censorial activities in particular are frequently described as time-consuming. The general correspondence was apparently also a major factor: As far as the preserved documents can be assumed to convey a representative picture, it also included inquiries from publishers and printers concerning the depositary copies (especially when multiple editions of different quality and price were to be produced of a particular publication, for example on better paper or with color printing). The regulations for manuscript submission in duplicate offered the possibility at least for substantial scientific texts to submit only a single copy, potentially even in the shape of a galley proof, but such procedure had to be clarified in writing beforehand. Claims and complaints, inquiries regarding textbooks, and the correspondence between the censorship departments in Milan and Venice as well as between the censorial authorities and the police (pertaining to the book trade, smuggling, improper labeling, and general warnings) rounded off the day-to-day work—along with the usual predictable dealings via official channels whenever requests for specialist opinions had to be sent to ecclesiastical censors or other government agencies, and of course the communication with Vienna (enquiries, lists, records, manuscripts, depositary copies).

To facilitate operations somewhat, templates for the censorship logs were printed relatively quickly at Zanatta's suggestion,[107] but other resources and expedients were sparse and often only usable at the staff members' own initiative. Beginning in 1815, the basis for the proscriptions declared by the Book Review Offices were the handwritten prohibition lists that were usually compiled every two weeks and sent from Vienna to the governments of the crown lands, which forwarded them to their respective censorial agencies. This pro-

105 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 232, Foglio di Censura 3163 (Bellisomi) on 12/24/1819 and the letters from Zanatta to the Gubernium (12/28) respectively the reply by Giudici on 12/31.

106 Cf. ASM, Presidenza di governo 174, especially 589/geh on 04/24 resp. 05/03/1833.

107 ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74, Zanatta to Saurau on 07/05/1816.

cess only covered current bans, however; for older titles, there were the catalogs *Neu durchgesehenes Verzeichniss der verbothenen deutschen Bücher* (Newly Revised Index of Forbidden German Books, Vienna 1816) respectively *Catalogue revu et corrigé des livres prohibés, françois, anglois et latins* (Reviewed and Corrected Catalog of Prohibited French, English, and Latin Books, n.p. 1816), which were likewise sent to Italy and presumably supplemented alphabetically in interleaved copies based on the handwritten prohibition lists. While they are not preserved in Milan, the Graz versions of these catalogs are available together with an analogous handwritten list entitled *Verzeichnis der slawischen, hebreischen Werke des Auslandes* (Index of Slavic, Hebrew Works from Abroad).[108] It is noteworthy, however, that the corresponding listings of permitted books were initially not to be sent to Italy at all—a regulation that probably became moot in later years once the lists began to be printed. These documents are unfortunately not preserved in any known location.[109]

The problematic interweaving of competencies, presumably also in connection with the slow mail service,[110] repeatedly led to complaints regarding long processing times for censorship in the Italian provinces. In older literature, they represent a constantly recurring topic and an essential piece of evidence for the "arbitrariness" of censorship.[111] There were, however, very concrete guidelines on how long the censorial process was supposed to take; in fact, the PGC included specific instructions:

> The censors must apply the greatest urgency in the examination of the texts that is reconcilable with a careful consideration regarding their value.
>
> Works for the theater, comedies and so on, which must be submitted as manuscripts to receive permission for printing, must generally be assessed within no more than eight days, and faster if it is possible, espe-

108 Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz, Laa. A. Ant., Hs VI 13.

109 Cf. ASM, AdG, Studi p. m. 74, Hager to Saurau on 12/30/1815.

110 In this context, Bellegarde wrote to Hager in August 1815 that due to the "insufficiente organizzazione dei servizi postali" (insufficient organisation of the postal services), letters between Milan and Vienna were only being delivered on 2 days per week and a travel time of eight or nine days for a letter was not uncommon (as compared to Paris, were delivery allegedly only took five days); cited according to the addendum in Giovanni Gambarin: Foscolo e l'Austria. In: Giovanni Gambarin: Saggi foscoliani e altri studi. Rome: Bonacci 1978, 11–78, here 55–56. Although we can assume faster mail connections for the subsequent decades, comments in the files still regularly mention long processing times.

111 Cf. e.g. Aurelio Bianchi-Giovini: L'Austria in Italia e le sue confische: Il Conte di Ficquelmont e le sue confessioni. Torino: Dalla Libreria Patria 1853, 92.

> cially the Drammi in musica, whose texts are largely not in completed condition by the end of the rehearsals due to the constant changes that tend to be made at the theater.
>
> Other texts, if they comprise six printed sheets, are to be sent off within 15 days; if double [the length], within a month, and so on.
>
> The due date shall be earlier or later, however, depending on the greater or lesser importance of the matter, whereby the diligence of the censors and the supervision by the Head Censor shall be decisive in order to eliminate any cause for justifiable objection.[112]

That such due dates carried considerable weight within the censorial practice is evidenced by a document in which Sedlnitzky announced new instructions (with the emperor's sanction) in September 1845, according to which "for smaller censorship items [...] 8 at most 10 days, for larger ones a month, at most 6 weeks [are] specified."[113] The same order also defined a mechanism for ver-

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112 PGC, §26: "I Censori dovranno nella disamina de' testi usare la maggiore sollecitudine combinabile con una matura ponderazione del loro intrinseco valore. | I testi di Opere teatrali, Commedie e simili, che manoscritti dovranno essere presentati per ottenere il permesso della stampa, dovranno in regola essere riveduti almeno entro otto giorni, ed anche più presto se fia possibile, specialmente i Drammi in musica, i testi de' quali, per ragione de' continui cambiamenti che sogliono farsi al Teatro, non sono per lo più in ordine che verso il termine delle prove. | Gli altri testi, se portano i sei fogli di stampa, si spediranno entro 15 giorni; se il doppio entro un mese, e così in proporzione. | Questo termine sarà però minore o maggiore secondo la maggiore o minore affluenza degli affari, riportandosi su di ciò alla diligenza de' Censori ed alla sorveglianza del Capocensore, onde togliere ogni motivo di giusto reclamo."

113 ASM, Cancellerie austriache 107b, Normalien 1845, Sedlnitzky to Spaur on 09/19/1845: "für kleinere Censur Gegenstände [...] 8 höchstens 10 Tage, für größere Ein Monat, höchstens 6 Wochen festgesetzt." Subsequent quotation: "Die Censoren haben über alle ihnen zur Prüfung zugetheilten, und von ihnen erledigten Censur Gegenstände ein eigenes Vormerkbuch zu führen, in welches sie nebst dem Tage des Empfanges und der Abgabe auch ihre motivirten Censur Anträge über jedes von ihnen behandelte Censurstück eintragen. Eben so haben die Bücher Revisions Aemter die Pflicht, die vorgeschriebenen Vormerkungen in den Protokollen über die zur Censur geleiteten Handschriften, gedruckten Werke u. s. w. hinsichtlich des Datums, unter welchem jedes solche Stück dem Censor zugestellt, und wann es von ihm abgegeben worden, ordentlich, genau und verläßlich zu führen, diese Vormerkungen öfter aufmerksam durchzusehen, und jene Censoren, welche die ihnen zugetheilten Censur Objekte über die weiter unten festgesetzte Frist hinaus unerledigt laßen, entweder selbst zu betreiben, oder höhern Orts zu diesem Behufe die Anzeige zu machen, zugleich aber selbst jederzeit darauf bedacht zu sein, daß die einlangenden Censur Objekte auf dem Amte nicht liegen bleiben, sondern gleich nach ihrem Einlangen gehörig protokolliert, mit möglichster Beschleunigung an den Censor gesendet, und zu rechter Zeit bei demselben wieder abgeholt werden."

ifying compliance with these timeframes, which naturally entailed additional documentation work for the individual officials:

> The censors shall each maintain their own record books on all censorship items assigned to them for assessment and completed by them, into which besides the day of receipt and of release they shall also enter their motivated censorship proposals regarding each censorship item processed by them. Likewise, the Book Review Offices have the obligation to maintain in orderly, precise, and reliable fashion the prescribed notations in the records concerning the manuscripts, printed works, etc. submitted to censorship in regard to the date on which each such item was delivered to the censor and when it was released by him, to regularly review these notes attentively, and to either admonish of their own accord those censors who leave the censorship objects assigned to them unfinished beyond the due date specified below or make a report to a higher entity for this purpose, but simultaneously to take care themselves at all times that the arriving censorship objects are not left lying in the office but properly documented immediately after their arrival, sent to the censor with the utmost haste, and picked up again from the same in due time.

While these regulations were also very important for the communication between censorship and book traders and printers, we can discuss the latter's situation only briefly here. Such matters were officially governed by the *Istruzioni da osservarsi dagli stampatori e librai* (Instructions for printers and booksellers) issued in July 1818. Only a few of its articles are of significance for our topic: Firstly, there were deadlines in place for printers as well, in the sense that an imprimatur "for manuscripts or works approved for reprinting as well as for the book 'licitation' or product range catalogs to be printed" was restricted to "the duration of one year." This was the case not least because further censorial measures could become necessary "due to in the meantime often significantly changed temporal circumstances and special conditions."[114] It may also be a partial explanation for the fact that individual titles appeared repeatedly on the lists of processed manuscripts. Secondly, the booksellers were expected to pay for the cabinets at the Book Review Office that served to store confiscated

114 Cf. ASM, Cancellerie austriache 107a, Normalien 1828, Sedlnitzky to Spaur on 12/18/1828: "für Manuskripte oder zum Nachdruck zugelassene Werke, so wie auch für die in Druck zu legenden Bücher 'Licitations' oder Sortiments-Kataloge […] die Dauer Eines Jahres […] bei den in der Zwischenzeit oft wesentlich veränderten Zeitverhältnißen und speziellen Umständen."

goods.[115] Aside from these specifics, the procedures for customs inspection, the opening of packets of books and the like are largely on par with those in Vienna.

More on the part of the Lombardo-Venetian police than on that of the censorship authorities, there is also evidence of a willingness to engage in active investigations, for example by way of agents provocateurs, as a result of the constant concern that book smuggling could lead to large-scale selling of banned books. An expert opinion by Police Chief Torresani for Governor Strassoldo states the following about such a case regarding the well-known publisher and bookseller Fortunato Stella:

> Incidentally he, like almost all other booksellers, was under suspicion of engaging in the sale of forbidden books. I have therefore had him secretly observed, but until now I have not been able to substantiate this suspicion even though I repeatedly attempted to send unknown people to him to buy such books.[116]

Although it was primarily the police that were active in this regard, the documents kept at the Milanese State Archives demonstrate vividly how closely the censorship authorities were involved in these goings-on. In this sense, an overall depiction of the censorial practice in Lombardy-Venetia must necessarily consider the different positions of censorship, the book trade, the authors, and the police in order to achieve a balanced account of the local literary field between 1815 and 1848.

115 Cf. the cited *Istruzione* (addendum to the PGC), §15: "Ogni commerciante di libri deve provvedersi di un armadio, che starà nell'Ufficio di Censura, ove ne sarà custodita la chiave." (Every bookseller must purchase a cabinet that will be set up at the censorial office, where the key will also be kept.)

116 ASM, Presidenza di governo 81, 2611/geh on 12/20 resp. 12/22/1824, the letter dated 12/20: "Übrigens stand auch er so wie beynahe alle übrigen Buchhändler im Verdachte, daß er sich mit dem Verkaufe verbothener Bücher abgebe. Ich ließ ihn auch deßhalb heimlich überwachen, allein bis nun war es mir nicht möglich, diesen Verdacht zu erwähren, obwohl ich auch den wiederholten Versuch anstellte, fremde Leute zu ihm zu schicken, um derley Bücher zu kaufen." A similar case for 1833 can be found in ASM, Presidenza di Governo 174, fasc. 342 (transcript of the questioning of Lorenzo Solchi on 03/08/1833). On the Santini case described by Callegari: Produzione, 392–405, cf. p. 126 above.

CHAPTER 5

The Censorship of Theater

1 Theater Censorship in the Name of the Enlightenment under Maria Theresa and Joseph II (1770–1790)

In the so-called hereditary lands as well as in Lombardy-Venetia and Bohemia with their old cultural centers like Vienna, Prague, Venice, or Milan and a fully developed middle class, theater activity was much more substantial than in the other Habsburg lands. In the German-speaking territories, this activity was concentrated in *Hoftheater* (court theaters). Vienna, which will be the focal point of this chapter, was a European center of courtly entertainment offerings, and the stage repertoire at its multinational court during the eighteenth century primarily comprised Italian opera and French drama.

In addition, there was a tradition of popular theater existing since the early eighteenth century that was originally entirely in the hands of travelling companies; a permanent theater with its own ensemble was first established in Vienna in 1708 when Italian comedians founded the *Komödienhaus*, which was soon renamed *Kärntnertortheater*. It was at this location that Joseph Anton Stranitzky and Gottfried Prehauser performed their *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, a type of farcical play popular in the German-speaking territories during the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as other vernacular drama beginning in 1712. For a long time, the *Kärntnertortheater* remained the only theater house in Vienna besides the *Hoftheater*, where Italian operas were performed.

Only during the final third of the eighteenth century were further privately managed and commercially oriented theaters established—and it was in this context that a systematic form of drama censorship was introduced as well. Until then, theater had been viewed by the authorities as a pure entertainment medium of modest societal value; it was considered at most able to provide solace in difficult times and channel the desire for occasional debauchery. The municipal administration was responsible for approving and monitoring theater performances, but since scripts did not exist and the actors extemporized, censorship in the strict sense of the word was impossible. Rather, the producers and theater managers had to attempt to stay within unspecified boundaries of decency and morality to prevent the forbiddance of further performances. In 1761, the *Kärntnertortheater* was bought up by the court, which facilitated control over its repertoire. A short time later, in 1776, Joseph II abolished the monopoly of the two existing theaters, opening the door to an expansion of

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the drama scene by way of private stages in the urban fringes. Within only a few years of this decision, three houses with considerable significance for Vienna's theater history were founded: the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* (1781), the *Theater an der Wien* (1787), and the *Theater in der Josefstadt* (1788).

In the course of the reforms of the educational system during the second half of the eighteenth century, the theoreticians of the Enlightenment redefined the concept of theater: In future, it was to serve the purposes of education and improvement of morality. This primarily meant that the bawdiest jokes and gestures had to be suppressed, and improvisation was consequently forbidden to ensure this goal was achieved. In addition, the popular religious dramas—for example about Adam and Eve, the Nativity, or the Three Kings—were likewise banned, as Maria Theresa feared they might promote superstition.[1] As a staunch guardian of public morals, the empress also took an interest in the lifestyle of actresses, expelling some of them from the country because she found their behavior too lecherous. The permanent theaters were easier to control and were thus promoted by the authorities; they performed French, Italian, and Spanish plays until Joseph von Sonnenfels began to crowd out foreign drama in the late 1760s.

As a professor of police and cameral sciences, journalist, and censor, Sonnenfels was the central figure of the theater reform. He succeeded at least temporarily in curtailing improvisation and asserting a German national drama following the French model. The scripts for plays were now frequently printed and sold to the audience prior to performances, but theater was considered too important to leave dramatic texts to the regular book censorship system. Since such stagings reached a wide and in part illiterate audience across all social strata, special precautions seemed advisable, and a theater censorship office independent of the book censorship authority was thus established in 1770.[2] Franz Carl Hägelin served as theater censor from 1770 to 1804 and conducted the new agency's business practically single-handedly, assessing the plays designated for performance in terms of their content as well as their aesthetic quality. His only initial directive was to ensure "that at the theater nothing is extemporized, no brawling takes place, also no dirty farces and uncouthness

1 Cf. the decrees cited in Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 7 (1897), 238–340, here 250.

2 Cf. Pro Memoria des Professoris Sonnenfels Die Einrichtung der Theatral Censur betreffend, Resolution von Joseph II. vom 15. März 1770 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatsratsakten, Protokollbuch 1770/II, fol. 816); cited in Günter Brosche: Joseph von Sonnenfels und das Wiener Theater. Diss. Vienna (typescript) 1962, 112–113.

occur, but that instead plays worthy of the capital are performed."[3] Improvisation was frowned upon because it served to smuggle objectionable passages past censorship, but it was also increasingly considered distasteful and characteristic of inferior drama for the uneducated.

Within the Austrian lands, theater censorship was generally organized in the same fashion as in Vienna. In Prague, for instance, Karl Heinrich Seibt, a professor of philosophy, pedagogy, and aesthetics, was installed as theater censor in the 1770s. Like Sonnenfels, he was an enlightened reformer who deplored foul humor and extemporization and saw himself as a "keeper and guardian of good taste."[4] The same applied to Lemberg, where a censorship commission led by Wenzel Hann, a liberal and enlightened scholar, was established in 1776.[5]

A separate mode of censorship was implemented for the *Burgtheater*, which opened in 1776: An informal panel comprised of experienced actors decided on the permissibility of plays until 1789, with an art director appointed for the purpose thereafter. This meant that the house practiced self-censorship. Since it was effectively the emperor's private stage, selecting the *Burgtheater*'s repertoire was not an easy task; it was considered "significant for its propriety and political reliability, apart from setting an example for other theatres throughout the nation."[6] Particular caution had to be applied to the portrayal of rulers and any discussion of political matters. At times the emperor (respectively the empress) decided in person whether a play could be enacted—Maria Theresa, for example, prohibited a performance of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in 1777 because she abhorred funerals, cemeteries, and other similarly mournful themes in drama.[7] In the Viennese adaptations of the play, the lovers were allowed to survive in order to make its ending more pleasant.

3 Cited in Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 275: "daß auf dem Theater nichts extemporirt werde, keine Prügeleien stattfänden, auch keine schmutzigen Possen und Grobheiten passirt, sondern der Residenzstadt würdige Stücke aufgeführt werden."

4 Oscar Teuber: Geschichte des Prager Theaters: Von den Anfängen des Schauspielwesens bis auf die neueste Zeit. Zweiter Theil: Von der Brunian-Bergopzoom'schen Bühnen-Reform bis zum Tode Liebich's, des größten Prager Bühnenleiters (1771–1817). Prague: Haase 1885, 15: "Hüter und Wächter über den guten Geschmack."

5 Jerzy Got: Das österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. 2 vols. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1997, 142–143.

6 Johann Hüttner: Theatre Censorship in Metternich's Vienna. In: Theatre Quarterly 10, no. 37 (1980), 61–69, here 63.

7 Cf. Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 283.

2 Theater Censorship under Francis II/I and Ferdinand I (1792–1848)

2.1 *Censorial Organization and Principles*

Following the death of Joseph II and the traumatic experience of the French Revolution, the suppression of revolutionary movements became a top priority within drama censorship as well. The fact that there were now several privately owned theaters further fueled the government's concerns, since these houses had to sustain themselves by way of their popular success and therefore had a certain tendency to transgress the boundaries of what was deemed permissible. A noticeable polarity developed between the court theaters (in Vienna, the *Burgtheater* and the *Kärntnertortheater*), which considered censorship to be helpful or even necessary, and the private stages (in Vienna, the *Theater an der Wien*, the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, and the *Theater in der Josefstadt*) that viewed the censors as enemies threatening their existence.

In the year 1795, Emperor Francis once again forbade improvisation, which had clandestinely returned to the private suburban theaters. Extemporizing actors could now even be jailed—with a noteworthy example of such sanction being Johann Nestroy, who spent several days behind bars for ad-libbing. Simultaneously, Francis ordered the censors to ensure that no piece endangering the state order was performed on stage. In the wake of this enactment, the Prague Book Review Office suggested imposing fines on theater directors who allowed extemporization and allocating the funds thus acquired to poorhouses. It also decreed that plays like Schiller's *Don Carlos*, *Kabale und Liebe* (Intrigue and Love), *Die Räuber* (The Robbers), and *Maria Stuart*, Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, and most of the works of August Kotzebue could no longer be performed at all, or at most in thoroughly revised form.[8]

Since censorship was now focused on political issues, it comes as no surprise that it was delegated to the police: After the censoring of books, responsibility for theater censorship was likewise assumed by the Court Police Section in 1803. It alone decided whether plays were approved or rejected; the censors stating their opinions on individual dramatic texts merely submitted recommendations. The *Oberstkämmereramt*, the office of the supreme court chamberlain, was responsible for censorship of the court theaters, but it generally left the decision regarding new plays to the police as well. As with the censorship of books, the State Chancellery was also involved in the case of delicate political matters.

All plays had to be approved before they could be performed. The theaters submitted two copies of each script to the authorities, where a cen-

8 Cf. Teuber: Geschichte des Prager Theaters, vol. 2, 316–317.

sor decided on its permissibility and marked any passages that had to be changed or deleted. In the event of approval, the manuscript was returned to the respective theater. Police officers known as theater commissaries visited the rehearsals and the premiere to make sure the actors did not deviate from the approved text. They could also demand changes to costumes, stage designs, and other details of the production.[9]

Plays that had been authorized for performance in Vienna were generally automatically allowed in the Austrian lands as well. Approval for the *Burgtheater* in particular effectively meant an official seal of acceptance. On the other hand, plays approved for performance in a province had to be submitted to censorship once more in Vienna if they were to be staged there. In general, censorship in the provinces was considered more liberal; audiences in Graz, Prague, or Hungary could regularly enjoy plays forbidden in Vienna. In this context, Hägelin remarked in 1802:

> The Prague theater censor has it many times easier than the Viennese one in the permission of some plays with more sensitive contents; if the local Gubernium takes no offense, everything is good. [...] There are plays that can be performed nearly everywhere but are unsuitable only for Vienna.[10]

Such statements have yet to be corroborated or refuted by way of thorough comparison of the prohibitions and adaptations requested by the censors in various cities of the monarchy. However, the claims of differences and a significantly more liberal censorial practice in the provinces are controverted by the fact that lists of forbidden plays were sent from Vienna to the provinces in order to harmonize censorship throughout the monarchy. What is more, cases like the general prohibition of plays by Schiller—which disappeared from the stages in Buda between 1794 and 1808—are documented. A directive concerning the organization of drama in Buda mandated that plays could be approved only if they had previously been performed at least twice on a Viennese stage.[11]

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9 Cf. Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 59–64.

10 Cited in Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820). In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 25 (1915), 1–334, here 17: "Der Prager Theatralzensor hat es um etliche und dreißig Meilen leichter als der wienerische in Zulassung mancher Stücke von heiklerem Stoffe; wenn das dortige Gubernium keinen Anstand nimmt, so ist alles gut ... Es gibt Stücke, die beinahe überall aufgeführt werden können, nur sind sie für Wien nicht anpassend."

11 Wolfgang Binal: Deutschsprachiges Theater in Budapest von den Anfängen bis zum Brand des Theaters in der Wollgasse (1889). Vienna: Böhlau 1972, 61 and 72.

Schiller's dramatic works were officially banished from Cracow as well, but two of his plays were performed there nonetheless.[12]

Besides explicit prohibitions, the authorities had a palette of restrictive measures at their disposal to impede the dissemination of drama. The number of performances could be limited, and performances in certain theaters—including the popular stages, the theaters in the capital, or those in the provinces—could be forbidden. Sometimes the title had to be changed or the name of the author suppressed, the latter once again occurring in the case of Schiller. Adaptation of drama manuscripts was also a common occurrence: Experienced writers, playwrights like Joseph Schreyvogel or Ludwig Deinhardstein, and actors were regularly commissioned to edit plays so as to make them conform to the censorial requirements. And it was not only plays themselves that were censored: Reviews and reports on performances had to be submitted to the authorities as well, and any hint in such texts that censorship had demanded the removal of passages from a dramatic work was considered undesirable. The emperor as the highest censorial authority occasionally intervened in person and decided on the fate of works. He sometimes did so in favor of a particular play, as in the case of Grillparzer's *König Ottokar's Glück und Ende* (more on this below); far more frequently, however, he proved to be an extremely strict censor.

In 1795, theater censor Hägelin wrote an exposé originally intended as an instruction for the Hungarian censors. The significance of this writ, in which Hägelin subsumed his experiences, can hardly be overstated: It went on to serve as an unofficial guideline for the censorship of dramatic art within the monarchy for the entire first half of the nineteenth century. Hägelin explained that the censorship of drama had to be more severe than book censorship, not least "due to the different impression that a work set in vivid activity to the point of illusion must make on the minds of the audience, as compared to that which a play merely read at a lectern can effect," especially since "the theater house is open to the entire public, which consists of persons of every class, of every rank, and of every age."[13]

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12 Cf. Jerzy Got: Das österreichische Theater in Krakau im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1984, 58–59.

13 Cited in Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 301–302: "schon aus dem verschiedenen Eindruck, den ein in lebendige Handlung bis zur Täuschung geseztes Werk in den Gemüthern der Zuschauer machen muß, als derjenige seyn kann, den ein blos am Pulte gelesenes gedrucktes Schauspiel bewirckt […] das Schauspielhaus dem ganzen Publikum offen stehet, das aus Menschen von jeder Klasse, von jedem Stande und von jedem Alter bestehet."

Hägelin also called for virtue to be portrayed as attractive on stage, while vice was to be depicted as deplorable and punished. If the plot of a play was utterly immoral, it had to be forbidden, though many pieces could be "saved" by deletions. He offered numerous concrete pointers for censors and editors—for example, the terms "tyrant," "tyranny," and "despotism" were not permitted on stage, and "freedom" and "equality" were words "not to be jested with."[14] Allusions to economic and financial crises, for instance to the raging inflation in Austria during the second decade of the nineteenth century, were to be avoided as well. Freemasonry was another taboo, with statements in favor of the order as well as against it strictly prohibited. The censorship guidelines were also concerned with the audience's nerves: At the emperor's orders, any "firing" on stage was forbidden, with the only exception being "individual not loudly cracking shots from pistols and muskets in good plays."[15]

Hägelin's exposé as well as all subsequent censorial guidelines mention the same three areas that were likewise at the heart of book censorship as well: attacks on (Catholic) religion, criticism of Austria, its government, and the monarchic principle in general, and portrayals of immoral and criminal acts. The fourth mentioned motive was that of protecting the honor of individuals or groups of persons—especially the aristocracy, but also professions and nations.

Drama censorship did not differentiate between domestic and foreign plays. Austrian authors wrote with fear of the censors in the backs of their minds, as a single objectionable passage could preclude or at least delay the publication or performance of a piece—and necessitate stressful discussions with officials. In February 1829, Franz Grillparzer noted in his diary: "An Austrian poet should be esteemed more highly than any other. Anyone who does not lose all courage under such circumstances is truly a hero."[16] The treatment of historical topics was a particularly delicate matter. Any reference to nationalities or current political events was strictly forbidden, and authors therefore tended to generalize and idealize historical events or transplant them to faraway places and times. Occurrences in the past were to appear as the results of individual decisions and actions and thus as consequences of a virtuous or reprobate character. Even glorification of past rulers was considered problematic, since the

14 Cited ibid., 328: "mit denen nicht zu schertzen ist."

15 Cited in Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820), 144: "alles Feuern […] einzelne nicht stark knallende Schüsse aus Pistolen und Flinten in guten Stücken."

16 Franz Grillparzer: Erinnerungsblätter 1822–1871, no. 1698, 19 February 1829. In: Werke in sechs Bänden. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, n.d., vol. 6, 131: "Ein östreichischer Dichter sollte höher gehalten werden als jeder andere. Wer unter solchen Umständen den Muth nicht ganz verliert, ist wahrlich ein Held."

audience could feel incited to disagree. In 1812, for example, the book reviewer Johann Michael Armbruster reported on a performance of *Rudolph von Habsburg*, an extraordinarily patriotic play:

> No allusion intended to warm the patriot's heart was applauded, and at the end the hissing and racket was so loud that one could not even hear the final scene, one of the most beautiful, which expressed the warmest wishes for the Habsburg line and was calculated for a good effect.[17]

The suburban popular theaters avoided political topics altogether. During the restoration years, the figure of *Hanswurst*—now called *Kasperl*, *Thaddädl*, or *Staberl*—returned to the stage after having been banned since 1770; gothic drama also became popular in analogy to the fashion of the gothic novel. Until well into the 1820s, the leading Viennese popular stage, the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, possessed special permission to enact harmless entertainment plays, especially comedies with knights, ghosts, and fairies. The authorities followed the strategy of providing the populace with panem et circenses, tolerating public amusement as long as it avoided political issues. Inexpensive entertainment was considered a necessity in major urban areas that were home to large numbers of lower-class citizens. From the police's point of view, visiting the theaters was desirable since it "leads people away from the more expensive, often unsalubrious pubs, coffee-houses and gambling-houses to better amusements, with some influence on education and morals, and keeps the theatergoer under public observation and order for the duration of the performance."[18]

The authors had contracts with the popular theaters that committed them to delivering a specified number of plays per year. As a result, they practiced self-censorship in order to avoid problems with the censorial authorities that would have been detrimental to business. Carl Carl, the eminent theater director in the area of popular drama, would accept no new play whose permissibility in terms of censorship was not assured. Even a well-known and popular author like Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer would not receive a penny from him for a manuscript prior to its approval by the censors.[19] On the other hand, the theater

17 Cited in Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820), 156: "Keine Anspielung, die das Herz des Patrioten erwärmen sollte, wurde beklatscht, und am Schlusse war das Gezische und Gepolter so laut, daß man die letzte Szene, eine der schönsten, die heiße Wünsche für den Habsburgischen Stamm aussprach und auf einen guten Effekt berechnet war, nicht einmal hören konnte."

18 Cited in Hüttner: Theatre Censorship in Metternich's Vienna, 62.

19 W.E. Yates: Two Hundred Years of Political Theatre in Vienna. In: German Life & Letters 58 (2005), 129–140, here 131.

directors often submitted intentionally toned-down manuscripts so as to expedite censorial approbation. During the rehearsals and performances, the actors would then deviate from the approved texts. Johann Nestroy was infamous for his improvisations and frequently aggressive jokes and allusions. Even when he restricted himself to the approved script, he was always capable of lending a text obscene overtones or political explosiveness by way of accentuation, pronunciation, or pointed gestures. Johann Hüttner emphasizes the necessary understanding between performers and audience—which could usually be taken for granted—when he states that "allusions were detected because they were expected."[20] The police, on the other hand, considered this interaction to be a threat to public safety and order. Emperor Francis himself complained about Nestroy's subversive effect on the lower classes. In 1825 and 1836, the actor and playwright was jailed for several days each. In the first case, he had let an audience feel his disdain when it expressed its displeasure; in the second, he had insulted a well-known theater critic in an extemporization.[21]

2.2 *Examples of Censored Plays*

As mentioned above, the monarchic form of government was to be defended against any kind of verbal assault occurring on stage, and any mention or dramatic portrayal of revolution or conspiracy thus had to be prevented. Plays about revolutionary activities in Austrian history like the Swiss rebellion (*Wilhelm Tell*) or the Brabant Revolution were forbidden, as were scenes in which a monarch was demeaned. Naturally, any reference to or portrayal of regicide (Charles I, Maria Stuart, Louis XVI, …) was inacceptable on Austrian stages as well. Furthermore, members of the leading estates were also protected against attacks—especially the aristocracy, the clergy, and the military—and laws governing marriage, duels, or suicide were not to be questioned. The stoking of nationalism as well as the debasing of any nation on stage were likewise prohibited, since such acts could potentially endanger the peace within the monarchy or trigger diplomatic embroilments with other states. In the years of the wars with France, plays presenting Napoleon in a favorable light were forbidden, as were dramatic texts criticizing him. Even a potential parallel between a historical figure portrayed on stage and the French emperor could lead to prohibition, as in the case of Friedrich Wilhelm Ziegler's *Thekla, die Wienerin* (Thekla, the Viennese Woman, 1806), a play on the siege of Vienna by the Bohemians

20 Hüttner: Theatre Censorship in Metternich's Vienna, 67.

21 Helmut Herles: Nestroy und die Zensur. In: Jürgen Hein (ed.): Theater und Gesellschaft: Das Volksstück im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann 1973, 121–132, here 122–123.

in 1278. It was banned because the censors feared the French embassy might identify the Bohemians with the French and King Ottokar with Napoleon. A further example is Zacharias Werner's *Attila*, which was approved in 1807 only after the removal of all scenes and remarks allowing potential parallels to the current conqueror of Europe to be drawn. After Napoleon had married Archduchess Marie-Louise, a play about Duke Frederick the Quarrelsome by Matthäus Collin was prohibited because Frederick had likewise left his wife to marry another woman. During these years, even titles like *Mord und Totschlag, oder: So kriegt man die Louise* (Murder and Manslaughter, or How to Get Louise) by a certain Karl Koch were considered unacceptable.[22] Carl Ludwig Costenoble, an actor at the *Burgtheater*, reported that titles like *Der alte Junggeselle* (The Old Bachelor) and *Trau, Schau, Wem?* (roughly: Be Careful Who You Trust) were changed to *Die Hausgenossen* (The Housemates) respectively *Wie man sich täuscht* (How One Can Be Mistaken) because the former could be understood as a reference to Emperor Francis and the latter as a reference to the empress.[23]

In 1810, the minister of police stated that it was impossible "to anticipate everything from which an audience as frivolous and eager to construe as the Viennese one is capable, with the efforts of its lively imagination, of forcibly wresting some allusion at the cost of the clear and understandable point of view."[24] He was correct. According to contemporary sources, the Viennese audience was extremely keen to interpret texts as containing possible hidden meanings. For example, the lines "And every mettlesome swindler may put chains on men? He deceives rightfully if he deceives with greatness?" by Sopir in Voltaire's *Mahomet* was loudly acclaimed during a performance at the *Theater an der Wien* in 1812. In addition, the passage "Peace resounds on your lips, but your heart knows nothing of it. You will not deceive me!" was interpreted as referring to the French emperor, which in turn prompted a veritable anti-Napoleonic rally.[25] Audiences regularly construed references even where none

22 Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 87, 105, 117–118, 126–127, and 136.

23 Cf. Christian Grawe: Grillparzers Dramatik als Problem der zeitgenössischen österreichischen Theaterzensur. In: August Obermayer (ed.): "Was nützt der Glaube ohne Werke …" Studien zu Franz Grillparzer anläßlich seines 200. Geburtstages. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago 1992, 162–190, here 171.

24 Cited in Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte des Trauerspieles: "König Ottokars Glück und Ende." In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 9 (1899), 213–247, here 225: "alles zu ahnen, aus welchem ein so witz- und deutungslustiges Publicum, wie das wienerische ist, mit Anstrengung seiner lebhaften Imagination auf Kosten der klaren und verständlichen Ansicht irgend eine Anspielung heraus zu zwingen vermöge."

25 Cf. ibid., 228–229. In the German version: "Und jeder muthige Betrüger dürfte den Men-

were intended. This obsession with surreptitious allusions represented the flip side of the politicians' and censors' paranoid stance.

An example of the censoring of "nationalist propaganda" is Zacharias Werner's play *Wanda, Königin der Sarmaten* (Wanda, Queen of the Sarmatians), which was forbidden in the Polish-speaking territories in 1815 because the authorities were concerned that it might remind audiences of the time of Polish national independence. In Vienna, the local Jewish community requested the prohibition of *The Merchant of Venice* being performed at the *Burgtheater*, citing the protection of ethnic minorities and arguing that the main character inspired antisemitic sentiment.[26]

The history of performances of classic drama on the Viennese stages is a history of persistent embarrassment. A considerable number of plays were forbidden, and some only permitted in heavily truncated form after often protracted discussions and long-winded exchanges of notes between the involved parties. Only few were accepted by censorship without issue. Almost all of Schiller's plays caused problems, for example: *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* (Fiesco's Conspiracy at Genoa) was performed in 1800 in a version from which the political aspects had largely been cut; the word "conspiracy" had been omitted from the title, and "freedom" from the entire text. Staging of the play was forbidden between 1803 and 1807 before a new, further neutralized version stripped of all references to tyranny and violence was approved. In 1802, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (The Maid of Orleans) was enacted without the two warring factions becoming recognizable: The audience merely experienced two "empires" in conflict with one another, with the English recast as "audacious island-dwellers." Charles VII was introduced simply as "a king," his mistress Agnes Sorel was promoted to his wife and legitimate queen Maria, the bastard Dunois turned into "Prince Louis," and the figure of the Archbishop was simply removed.[27] The treatment of Schiller became less strict following the defeat against Napoleon; perhaps he was now considered suitable for promoting Austrian patriotism. *Don Carlos*, which had been performed in 1809 during the French occupation of Vienna, could still only be staged in a radically edited version, however.

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schen eine Kette geben? Er hat zu betrügen Recht, wenn er mit Größe betrügt?"—"Auf deinen Lippen schallt der Friede, doch dein Herz weiß nichts davon. Mich wirst du nicht betrügen!"

26 See Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820), 254.

27 Cf. Franz Hadamowsky: Schiller auf der Wiener Bühne 1783–1959. Vienna: Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft 1959, 69–78; Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820), 5; Carl Glossy: Schiller und die Wiener Theaterzensur. In: Österreichische Rundschau, vol. II (Feb–April 1905), 645–652.

Wilhelm Tell, the well-known story of a revolt against Habsburg rule in which a member of the dynasty is murdered, was approved for performance in adapted form at the *Theater an der Wien* in 1810. In this version, the tyranny was solely the fault of Governor Geßler, while the emperor pulling strings behind the scenes was barely mentioned. The final act was eliminated entirely. In the Austrian version, Geßler's rule appears legitimate, and Tell is nothing but an insurrectionist. The play remained suspect due to the "embarrassing memories" of the "recent events in Tyrol and the connection into which several movements in neighboring Switzerland are to be brought with the same."[28] When it was set to return to the *Burgtheater* in 1827, the censorial authorities were still hesitant to allow an insurgence against Austrian rule to be shown, but the emperor had already approved a heavily edited version. *Maria Stuart* (primarily because of the execution of the queen) and the *Wallenstein* trilogy could likewise only be staged in adapted form until 1848. The three parts of the latter were massively truncated, and the remaining text was thoroughly "cleansed." A production staged in Prague was prohibited in Vienna in 1802, and in an 1814 edited version, the phrase "No emperor shall dictate the heart!" ("Kein Kaiser hat dem Herzen vorzuschreiben!") was changed to "The heart knows no written law" ("Das Herz kennt kein geschriebenes Gesetz").[29] In 1827, court theater secretary Schreyvogel outwitted the censors by having his version approved by the emperor before submitting it to censorship. Finally, *The Robbers* was kept away from the city proper and permitted only at the *Theater an der Wien* in the periphery.

Strangely enough, Schiller himself was not as antipathetic to censorship as one might assume. He commissioned Kotzebue to adapt *Wallenstein* for a production at the *Burgtheater* in 1799, accepting a priori the greater discretion of the censors: "I would in fact be pleased if the Viennese censorship, convinced of my principles, would assess the manuscript accordingly. And had something inadvertently escaped me that could be misinterpreted on the stage, I would submit to the necessary elisions without any reservation."[30] It was obviously his

28 Cited in Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens 1 (1801 bis 1820), 116: "peinlichen Rückerinnerungen […] neuesten Ereignisse in Tirol und die Verbindung, in welche einige Bewegungen in der angrenzenden Schweiz mit selbem […] gesetzt werden wollten."

29 Cf. Theo Modes: Die Urfassung und einteiligen Bühnenbearbeitungen von Schillers Wallenstein. Leipzig, Reichenberg, Vienna: Stiepel 1931, 53.

30 Cited in Hadamowsky: Schiller auf der Wiener Bühne, 16: "Es würde mir sogar lieb seyn, wenn die Wiener Censur, überzeugt von meinen Grundsätzen, das Manuskript darnach beurteilen wollte. Und wäre mir zufällig auch etwas entwischt, was auf der Bühne mißdeutet werden könnte, so würde ich mich ohne alles Bedenken der nöthigen Auslassung unterwerfen."

foremost goal to have his plays staged; he would rather have an abridged and "diluted" version enacted than none at all, and he was confident that his works would still convey enough of his ideas to the audience despite considerable editing. What was more, he assumed that general progress would eventually improve the situation in the long term by way of moral and esthetic education that censorship could not prevent.[31]

Almost all of Shakespeare's works had to be trimmed for performance on Austrian stages as well. In 1822, Schreyvogel had tried to retain the tragic ending of *King Lear* in his version, but the decline of a king did not seem opportune to the responsible censor. A version was eventually approved in which Lear and Cordelia stay alive and the king maintains the upper hand over his evil daughters.[32] In Hamlet, the cemetery scenes had to be cut because no ecclesiastic officials could be portrayed on stage. *The Merchant of Venice* was forbidden in 1822 because the altercations between Shylock and his Christian adversaries were regarded as too sensitive a topic; consideration for the abovementioned appeal by the Jewish community may also have been involved. When the play was eventually permitted in 1827, several key passages were omitted.[33]

An example of the censoring of contemporary French drama is Victor Hugo, whose romantic plays aroused considerable suspicion among the censors. His *Hernani*, given the title "Die Milde der Majestät" (The Majesty's Benignity) in German, was banned because the figure of the king behaved very dishonorably in matters of love and provoked a conspiracy. *Angelo, tyran de Padoue* (Angelo, Tyrant of Padua; German title: Angelo, Podesta von Padua) failed to receive approval because the authorities considered it a sequence of abominations; in addition, the figure of the ruling Signoria's confidant appeared problematic for abusing his position of trust.

The censoring of Austrian dramatic texts can be demonstrated in detail using the example of Grillparzer's *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* (The For-

31 Schiller was likewise prepared to make compromises regarding performances in Hamburg, Berlin, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt as well as in the course of the printing of his works; cf. John A. McCarthy: "Morgendämmerung und Wahrheit": Schiller and Censorship. In: Herbert G. Göpfert and Erdmann Weyrauch (eds.): "Unmoralisch an sich …": Zensur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1988, 231–248; Peter Höyng: Die Sterne, die Zensur und das Vaterland: Geschichte und Theater im späten 18. Jahrhundert. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau 2003, 79–96.

32 Cf. W.E. Yates: Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776–1996. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, 31–32.

33 Cf. Michael R. Jones: Censorship as an Obstacle to the Production of Shakespeare on the Stage of the Burgtheater in the Nineteenth Century. In: German Life & Letters 27 (1973/74), 187–194, here 191.

tune and Fall of King Ottokar). Set in the thirteenth century, the play sees Ottokar's successes on the battlefield fuel his ambitions. He divorces his wife Margaret of Austria, marries the granddaughter of the Hungarian king, and lays claim to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. When the electors decide in favor of Rudolf of Habsburg, the incarnation of the justly ruling sovereign, Ottokar declares war on Austria and is defeated. His wife betrays him, and he is ultimately killed by a member of the Merenberg family he had previously wronged.

Joseph Schreyvogel submitted the manuscript to censorship in 1823 with a view to having it staged at the *Burgtheater*. Sedlnitzky, the president of the Court Police Section, found the play unacceptable for two reasons: Firstly, Ottokar's fall resulting from his blind ambition and wrongdoing appeared to be connected to his divorce from Margaret; effectively, the entire plot could be interpreted as an allusion to Napoleon divorcing his first wife and marrying Marie-Louise of Austria. Even reviewers noted this analogy: Josef Sigismund Ebersberg, for instance, wrote in *Der Sammler* in 1825 that Ottokar's fortune and end were described in such a way as to thrust upon the audience "the great similarity to a conqueror and usurper of recent times."[34] Secondly, the extensive portrayal of the conflict between nationalities of the Habsburg Monarchy, namely Bohemians and Austrians (respectively Germans), was considered unsuitable for a Viennese stage. The State Chancellery, which was involved in the censoring of political drama, was convinced the play would leave an unfavorable impression in Austrian theaters. Despite finding prominent advocates in Count Johann Rudolf Czernin and *Burgtheater* director Count Moritz Dietrichstein—and despite the author himself submitting a plea for its approval—the text thus remained in a drawer at the police for the time being; it was only approved for printing, not for performance.

The emperor seemed to take a personal interest in Grillparzer's play, however. We know that he requested a report on it from his personal physician and privy councilor Baron Friedrich von Stifft. In contrast to the censors, Stifft focused on the figure of Rudolf, the epitome of a prudent monarch who ruled for the benefit of his subjects, and came to the conclusion that the text represented a cure rather than a poison. The empress eventually interceded for its approval as well, and the censorial authorities were overruled as a result of this opinion formation at the highest level. More than a year after its initial submission, *The Fortune and Fall of King Ottokar* was approved for stage performance. Several passages still had to be rephrased or deleted, of course, including all references to quarrels between Bohemia and Austria.

34 Cited in Jakob Zeidler: Ein Censurexemplar von Grillparzer's "König Ottokars Glück und

Around a month after the play's premiere at the *Burgtheater*, which took place in February 1825 and marked the beginning of a huge success story, the *Theater an der Wien* staged its own version of the play. The manuscript for this production had to undergo the censorial process anew. Since it has been preserved, the alterations made to it can be traced in detail. In total, 125 passages were changed, with the adaptations relating to religious, political, and moral questions.

As the clergy was not to appear or be mentioned on stage, the chancellor of the archbishop of Mainz is introduced as a nondescript emissary; an allusion to the power of the pope over secular rulers was likewise considered inappropriate. In regard to morals, the word "Kuppler" ("panderer") applying to the father of Berta, the bride scorned by Ottokar, was removed; references to Ottokar's misconduct of leaving his wife and striking up an affair with Berta were attenuated. Zawisch's lustful thoughts concerning the future queen, his courting of her, and the allusions to her unfaithfulness to Ottokar were likewise censored.

The vast majority of adaptations affected politically objectionable passages, however. The statement that the Hungarians were weak and no longer presented a threat to the peace, for example, was removed for diplomatic reasons. Ottokar was not allowed to reprimand his own people, which he considers too conservative and averse to changes, and the Bavarians were spared the allegation of being unreliable allies. Upon learning that Vienna had surrendered to Rudolf, the original manuscript has Ottokar exclaim: "Damnation! Oh Viennese! Easily persuaded folk!" ("Verdammt! O Wiener! Leichtbeweglich Volk!"). The censor edited this outcry to a far milder reproof: "Oh Vienna! For this I thank you!" ("O Wien! Das dank ich dir!").

When Ottokar's chancellor warns his lord that "The lands are now displeased, / Prepared for revolt and mutiny" ("Die Lande sind nun einmal mißvergnügt, / Bereit zu Aufstand und zu Meuterei"), the reference to an impending insurgence was removed. Rudolf admits that he had been just as ambitious as Ottokar before his appointment as emperor and had attacked countries to add them to his dominion: "But inside I grumbled over the barriers, / Imposed all too fearfully by Empire and Church / Against rapid courage worthy of more latitude" ("Doch murrt' ich innerlich ob jener Schranken, / Die Reich und Kirche allzu ängstlich setzen / Dem raschen Mut, der größern Spielraums wert"). This affirmation of power politics was deleted along with Rudolf's menacing speech prior to the battle against Ottokar, in which he foresees the Austrian flag making its way through a long line of corpses.

Ende." In: Ein Wiener Stammbuch. Vienna: Konegen 1898, 287–311, here 310: "die große Aehnlichkeit mit einem Eroberer und Usurpator neuerer Zeit."

All invectives against rulers had to be omitted, for example when Berta and her father insult Ottokar, or when Ottokar's second wife Kunigunde calls her husband a coward and compares him to a mule that bawls loudly when it sees a wolf approaching but offers no resistance once the wolf stands before it. Ottokar's cursing of the emperor with the words "Vivat Rudolphus? May he live in hell!" ("Vivat Rudolphus? In der Hölle leb er!") was likewise deleted, as was his declamation of the territories he possessed (Bohemia, Moravia, and Styria) and would capture in the future (Carinthia, Silesia, Hungary, and Poland)—presumably because the censors once again feared parallels being drawn to Napoleon's conquests.[35]

As a result of these changes, the oftentimes aggressive overall tone of the play was mitigated, the realistic imagery was blurred, passions and vices were dampened, and conflicts attenuated—especially where audiences might have perceived similarities to contemporary events and circumstances. Although Rudolf maintained the upper hand, the central question of the play concerning the legitimation of leadership and authority remained highly controversial.

Grillparzer also had censorship-related problems regarding another of his plays in which a tyrannical ruler abuses his power: *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn* (A Faithful Servant to His Master) had been approved by the censors and premiered at the *Burgtheater* to great acclaim in 1828. Emperor Francis wished to purchase the performance rights from Grillparzer, however, intending to transfer ownership of the play to the *Burgtheater* to prevent further performances—certainly a more "elegant" solution than outright prohibition.[36] Effectively, Francis wanted to remove the drama from the public sphere, especially in Hungary, without unnecessarily offending the sensibilities of his faithful official. But Grillparzer refused to relinquish the rights, pointing to the fact that a number of transcriptions were already in circulation and the play could therefore not be suppressed with this measure. Francis ultimately abandoned his plan. Despite such small successes in his skirmishes with the administration, Grillparzer was so unnerved and angered by the censorial activities that he never even attempted to have some of his later works published. Openly political and critical plays like *Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg* (A Quarrel between Brothers in House Habsburg) and *Libussa* were only printed posthumously as a result.

35 The references to these censorial adaptations are taken from Zeidler: Ein Censurexemplar von Grillparzer's "König Ottokars Glück und Ende."

36 Cf. Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens II (1821 bis 1830). In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft 26 (1920), 1–155, here 103–107.

As mentioned before, political topics were forbidden at the popular theaters, but extemporizing and the addition of verses to songs offered possibilities for including innuendo and allusions. Even intonation and emphasis could alter the meaning of sentences and give them an offensive undertone. The well-known "comet song" in Nestroy's comedy *Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus* (The Wicked Spirit Lumpazivagabundus) was a typical example: Its refrain "It fills one with fright and with fear, / The end of the world's surely near" ("Da wird einem halt Angst und bang, / Die Welt steht auf kein' Fall mehr lang") was left out in the version submitted to the police, as a subtle change of emphasis in the second line could be understood to shift the meaning to "This world," an allusion to Austria under Metternich.[37] Naturally, every opportunity available during performances—provided, for example, by inattentive or bribable theater commissaries—was exploited to sing the refrain. Nestroy had perfected a form of "double entry" authorship: He marked ambiguous phrases in his manuscripts and added harmless alternative versions. The harmless text was then submitted to the censors while the original version was put in the scripts used for rehearsals. This ingenious method of "organized extemporizing" allowed passages absent from the approved text to be smuggled into performances.

The relations between the "rich" and the "poor" were a constant topic on the popular stages. In Nestroy's *Zu ebener Erde und im ersten Stock* (At Ground Level and on the First Floor), which juxtaposes a poor family and a wealthy one living in the same building, the lines "If the rich didn't invite other rich people but poor folks instead, everyone would have enough to eat" ("Wenn die reichen Leut' nit wieder reiche einladeten, sondern arme Leut', dann hätten alle g'nug z'fressen") were shortened to "We should have been invited" ("Uns hätt man einladen sollen"), thereby avoiding the direct confrontation.[38] In *Der Talisman* (The Talisman), the protagonist seeks work and is prompted by a pretty young woman to enter her brother's service. His reply "An inner voice above me advises me not to submit to servitude" ("Eine innere Stimme über mir rät mir, mich nicht der Knechtschaft zu beugen") was deleted since it could be taken out of context on stage to serve as a revolutionary subtext. The girl's response "A servant is not a bad thing, with time you could become a senior servant, or even a house servant, oh such a servant is a made man" ("Ein Knecht ist ja nichts schlechts, mit der Zeit können's Oberknecht werden, oder sogar

37 Cf. Yates: Theatre in Vienna, 40.

38 Cf. Johann Hüttner: Vor- und Selbstzensur bei Johann Nestroy. In: Maske und Kothurn 26 (1980), 234–248, here 244.

Hausknecht, oh so ein Knecht ist ein gemachter Herr") was likewise removed, as social climbers from modest circumstances might feel insulted by it.[39]

Censorship was already a tradition in the area of opera as well. Even in times of relatively liberal censorship, for example during the reign of Joseph II, plays like Beaumarchais' *Les noces de Figaro* could not be staged owing to their anti-aristocratic and latently revolutionary content. Johann Rautenstrauch's translated version of 1785 received permission for printing but was still barred from being performed. The prospects of approval were better in the case of an opera in Italian: Lorenzo da Ponte's adaptation found the elusive middle ground between removal of all elements that might have violated notions of decency and good taste during a performance attended by the emperor on the one hand and retaining the desired effects that lent the piece its appeal on the other.[40] In particular, Da Ponte omitted Figaro's ideologically charged monologue in scene V, 3 and focused on the private aspects.[41]

A further opera the authorities took objection to was Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Despite the distant location and timeframe of the "Spanish state prison, several miles outside of Sevilla. Time: 18th century" ("Spanisches Staatsgefängnis, einige Meilen von Sevilla entfernt. Zeit: 18. Jahrhundert"), the "crassest passages" had to be removed, causing the premiere in 1805 to be delayed by two months.[42] Weber's *Der Freischütz* (The Freeshooter), which was first performed in Austria at the *Kärntnertortheater* in 1821, was likewise butchered by the censors. As Emperor Francis was against shooting on stage, the scene in the wolf gorge was relocated into a hollow oak tree, with Max and Kaspar crafting magic arrows instead of magic bullets and shooting them with a crossbow. The hunter Samiel and the hermit were removed entirely.[43] In general, the authorities took great care to maintain the greatest possible distance between reality and fiction. Obvious scenarios were considered dangerous, and the *Freischütz* was therefore transplanted out of Bohemia and back in time to the Middle Ages. In addition, the archbishop of Vienna was displeased with the pseudo-religious

39 See Herles: Nestroy und die Zensur.

40 Cf. R.B. Moberly: Three Mozart Operas: Figaro, Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company 1967, 41.

41 Cf. Ulrich Weisstein: Böse Menschen singen keine Arien: Prolegomena zu einer ungeschriebenen Geschichte der Opernzensur. In: Peter Brockmeier and Gerhard R. Kaiser (eds.): Zensur und Selbstzensur in der Literatur. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1996, 49–73, here 69.

42 Ibid., 71: "krasseste Stellen."

43 Elizabeth Norman McKay: Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre. Tutzing: Schneider 1991, 36.

themes apparent in the opera, since he believed they might suggest that miracles certified by the Church were not entirely what they were made out to be.[44]

Schubert encountered censorial troubles with some of his opera projects as well. *Fierabras*, composed to a libretto by Joseph Kupelwieser, was only approved in 1823 after all references to Spain and France had been deleted. Likewise in 1823, the title of *Die Verschworenen* (The Conspirators), for which Ignaz Franz Castelli had written the text, had to be changed to *Der häusliche Krieg* (The Domestic War) to exclude a possible political subtext. Another opera project, *Der Graf von Gleichen* (The Count of Gleichen) based on a libretto by Eduard von Bauernfeld, was prohibited in 1826 despite the composition being almost finished because it contained the theme of bigotry by an aristocrat.[45] Changes to locations and titles in order to prevent potential parallels to the current situation were commonplace. Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (The Huguenots) became *Die Ghibellinen von Pisa* (The Ghibellines of Pisa), with its explosive conflict between Catholics and Protestants shifted to a distant milieu; in this particular case, the censorial alterations created the anachronism of Protestant chorales being sung long before Martin Luther had proclaimed the apostasy from Rome.[46]

Censorship was complemented by a strict license policy: Beginning in the time of Emperor Francis, who permitted no new theater establishments, the number of Viennese drama stages remained unchanged until the 1860s. For almost the entirety of the nineteenth century, there were only five theaters in the monarchy's capital and its immediate environs, namely the two court theaters (*Burgtheater* and *Kärntnertortheater*) within the city walls and the three privately owned popular houses in the suburbs. While the population increased significantly due to immigration starting in the 1820s, the number of available theater seats thus stayed the same.[47] To be certain, the pressure of censorship led to the development of a culture of subtle allusion, of indirect phrasing, of extemporizing and "smuggling of ideas" that has at times been referred to as characteristic of Austrian theater, and the measures taken by the state also ensured that the dramatic arts attracted considerable public attention and

44 See Michael Walter: "Die Oper ist ein Irrenhaus": Sozialgeschichte der Oper im 19. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler 1997, 316.

45 Cf. Walter Obermaier: Schubert und die Zensur. In: Otto Brusatti (ed.): Schubert-Kongreß Wien 1978. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1979, 117–125, here 119–120; Norman McKay: Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre, 231, 249, and 294; Alice M. Hanson: Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, 46.

46 Marcel Prawy: The Vienna Opera. Vienna, Munich, Zurich: Molden 1969, 17.

47 Cf. Hüttner: Theatre Censorship in Metternich's Vienna, 62.

interest.[48] From an overall point of view, however, the censorial activities definitely reduced the attractiveness of individual performances as well as of the repertoire as a whole.

48 See Yates: Two Hundred Years of Political Theatre in Vienna.

CHAPTER 6

Case Studies

In this chapter, examples of forbidden literary works from different eras and genres will be examined with regard to the characteristics or specific elements for which they were banned. Due to the scarcity of archival sources, there are only very few cases in which actual censorial assessments, log files, or similar documents specifying reasons for a prohibition are available. Therefore, the majority of these texts will be analyzed through the virtual "eyes of the censor." The perspective of the censors reviewing the works can be extrapolated from censorship guidelines, the few preserved assessments, and the reading of several hundred forbidden writings.

1 Periodicals

Periodicals represent nearly a quarter of the 51,342 total entries in the prohibition lists (11,493 entries or 22.4 percent). They complement the 32,487 books (63.3 percent) and 7,362 (14.3 percent) "other" works (manuscripts, engravings, etc.). The "frontrunners" with the most entries among the periodicals are the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger und Nationalzeitung der Deutschen* (General Gazette and National Newspaper of the Germans; 231), *Der Eremit. Blicke in das Leben, die Journalistik und Literatur der Zeit* (The Hermit: Views onto Life, Journalism, and Literature of the Time; 164), the *Mitternachtszeitung für gebildete Stände* (Midnight Newspaper for Educated Classes; 162), *Minerva. Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts* (Minerva: A Journal of Historical and Political Content; 152), the *Abendzeitung* (Evening Newspaper, Dresden; 137), the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (General Literature Newspaper, Jena; 131), the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* (General Church Newspaper, Darmstadt; 106), and the most frequently prohibited foreign-language periodical, the *Revue des deux mondes* (Journal of Two Worlds; 96).

Under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, periodicals seem to have been censored together with books using the same process. It was only during the time of the reactionary backlash following the French Revolution that they began to attract increased attention. A decree issued in 1791 prohibited any newspapers and political journals coming from France from being forwarded by the Postmaster General, the Prince of Thurn and Taxis. Corruptible postmasters and mail coach drivers undermined such proscriptions, however: The acquisition of

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forbidden French periodicals by numerous high-ranking persons—including regents, prelates, ministers, generals, university professors, and others—is documented. Gazettes in German found readers among the lower social ranks as well.[1] Banned French periodicals were imported to the German-speaking area via Alsace, especially via Strasbourg and Kehl. This meant that until 1792/93, publications like the Parisian *Moniteur universel*, the *Journal de Paris*, and the *Straßburger Kurier* were available in Vienna as well.[2]

A special process for obtaining periodicals, which were generally not purchased as individual issues but as long-term subscriptions, existed from 1795: The Court Police Section compiled a list of newspapers and gazettes to which the inclined audience could subscribe. Ordering and delivery were not handled by booksellers, but instead by the postal service—which may have accelerated the delivery process to some degree but primarily served to facilitate the monitoring of the readership, since subscribers naturally had to disclose their name and address. The publications included in this annually revised list were generally exempt from censorship and permitted for reading. Individual issues of such "allowed" periodicals could nevertheless find their way onto the prohibition lists when they unexpectedly contained an objectionable article. At times, the prohibition lists specified only individual problematic articles rather than an entire newspaper or gazette issue in order to prevent them from being printed elsewhere. 102 titles were included in the list of available periodicals in 1822, 241 in 1825, 177 in 1830, 243 in 1833, and 327 in 1838,[3] amounting to a tripling of the number of permitted journals and newspapers over a period of 16 years. All other periodical publications were implicitly forbidden—though according to a statistic of subscriptions, a hand-picked group of high-ranking persons and scholars were permitted to obtain various banned titles by way of Scheden. To infer from this that "even tendentious freethinking or indeed revolutionary periodicals from all parts of Europe"[4] could be read in the monarchy would nevertheless be a euphemizing distortion of the actual situation.

Newspapers written and published within the monarchy had to submit a proof sheet to the Book Review Office one or two days prior to their planned

1 Cf. Susanne Lachenicht: "[…] warum erstaunliche Mengen derley gefährlichen Zeitungen des bestehenden Verbotts ungeachtet verschickt werden." Zeitungen und Zeitschriften im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution und das Scheitern kaiserlicher Presszensur im Alten Reich nach 1790. In: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich 2005–2, 7–22, here 18–20.

2 Cf. ibid., 8.

3 Giese: Studie zur Geschichte der Pressegesetzgebung, col. 397–398.

4 Ibid., col. 342: "auch tendenziöse freigeistige, ja revolutionäre Periodika aus allen Teilen Europas."

publication. Any objectionable passages or articles determined by the officials had to be adapted or deleted—and the devil was frequently in the details: Even listings of books (generally new publications advertised in newspapers by the booksellers) were suspiciously perused for prohibited titles. In addition, even the "unbeseeming collocation of works with contents pertaining to biblical and spiritual or otherwise dignified subjects with works of humorous, romantic, or farcical content, which can provide occasion for improper connections, is to be avoided."[5]

The following sections will introduce several periodicals representative for the studied periods and examine them with a view to the reasons for their prohibition.

1.1 Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek (*1765–1805*)

The purpose of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* (General German Library, ADB) published by Enlightenment proponent Friedrich Nicolai in Berlin was to review every new scientific publication in German. It represented a "flagship" of sorts for the Berlin rationalist school of thought and made its first appearance on the prohibition lists when issues 23/1 and 23/2 (1774/75) as well as 25/1 and 25/2 (1775) were specified as "damnatur" in the *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum* of 1776. They contained several reviews of theological works; particularly noteworthy was a discussion of part six of Christian Wilhelm Franz Walch's *Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Ketzereyen, Spaltungen und Religionsstreitigkeiten, bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation* (Draft of a Complete History of the Heresies, Schisms, and Religious Disputes Until the Period of the Reformation; Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich 1773) in issue 23/1. The author of the review, Friedrich Gabriel Resewitz, struck a very rakish tone. For example, he noted on the dispute between Nestorius and the "so-called St. Cyrillus" that "the heated Egyptian monk-heads" took offense at the fact that Cyrillus' tenets were not being appropriately acknowledged. The Orthodox standpoint was therefore asserted with force during the Council of Ephesus, with the "lack of true godliness among the bishops […] and the despotic way of governing of the Constantinople court (we would also add, the weakness and indolence of the regents, the monkish devotionalism of the female members of the ruling house, and the scurrilous and zealous intrigues of the bishops with the

5 §14 of the *Zensurvorschrift* of 1795 (Hofdekret an sämmtliche Länderstellen […] unterm 7. Junius 1795): "unschickliche Zusammensetzung von Werken, biblische und geistliche oder andere ehrwürdige Gegenstände betreffenden Inhalts, mit Werken komischen, romantischen oder lächerlichen Inhalts, welches zu ungebührlichen Beziehungen Anlass geben kann, vermieden werden."

courtiers)" in particular leading to the mentioned result. Resewitz described all this with explicit parallels to "our naturally much more insignificant heretic-makers."[6]

Issue 23/2 featured a review of Aloysius Merz' *Kanzelreden über die Gebräuche und Ceremonien, welche in der katholischen Kirche bey dem Opfer der H. Messe eingeführt und üblich sind* (Pulpit Lectures on the Customs and Ceremonies That Are Established and Common in the Catholic Church for the Sacrifice of the Mass; Augsburg: Wolff 1773). Here the reviewer dealt in sarcastic tones with the details of the Catholic rite defended by Merz: the priestly robes, the silent and spoken prayers, the use of light and incense, and so on. In particular, Merz argued in favor of the large number of masses in the Catholic sphere, which prompted the reviewer to provide the following summary:

> The author's conclusions would be very coherent if only the notion of the bloodless sacrifice of Christ during the mass were correct. But as long as this small circumstance has not yet been determined, it is difficult to get out of this matter. Yet Mr. Merz knows how to save himself. The secret of the altar is the secret of all secrets; he hides behind this insurmountable bulwark, and who can touch him there?[7]

According to the Linz *Zensuraktuar* and Josephinist popular enlightener Benedikt Dominik Anton Cremeri,[8] who returned to Nicolai in Linz the books seized from the German author in Passau during his journey to Vienna, the *ADB* was forbidden retroactively as well as for all future times in Austria in 1778. The ultimate occasion for this ban was allegedly a review of the *Passionspredigten* (Passion Sermons) by Gottfried Leß (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck 1779) featuring

6 Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, vol. 23, part 1 (1774), 146–154: "sogenannten heil. Cyrillus […] die heißen ägyptischen Mönchsköpfe […] Mangel wahrer Gottseligkeit unter den Bischöfen […] und die despotische Regierungsart des Hofs zu Konstantinopel (wir setzen noch hinzu, die Schwachheit und Trägheit der Regenten, die mönchische Andächteley der weiblichen Glieder des regierenden Hauses, und die niederträchtigen und ehrgeizigen Intrigen der Bischöfe mit den Hofleuten) […] unsern freylich viel unbedeutendern Ketzermachern."

7 Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, vol. 23, part 2 (1775), 431–432, here 432: "Die Schlüsse des V. wären sehr bündig, wenn es nur mit dem unblutigen Opfer Christi in der Messe seine Richtigkeit hätte. Aber so lange dieser kleine Umstand noch nicht ausgemacht ist, ist schwer aus der Sache zu kommen. Doch Hr. Merz weis [!] sich schon zu salviren. Das Geheimniß des Altars ist das Geheimniß aller Geheimnisse; hinter dies unüberwindliche Bollwerk versteckt er sich, und wer kann ihm da was anhaben."

8 Summarische Antwort des B.D.A. Cremeri auf die Anfrage des Friedrich Nikolai wegen dem Oesterreichischen Verbote der allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek. N. pp. 1780, 3.

blasphemous comments and appearing in issue 33/1 (1778). Christ's refusal to accept the offered "bitter wine, that intoxicating drink" prior to his death prompted the reviewer to infer "from the exhaustion of his body owing to his remaining awake the immediately preceding night, and to the severe pain of crucifixion, a gradually developing noticeable enfeeblement of the consciousness and the capacity of his mind for thought, and thus the unlikeliness of the reflections and intentions attributed to him by the author."[9] Editor Nicolai complained about the prohibition of his journal in his travelogue.[10] Cremeri's reply asserted that the *ADB* was indeed polemicizing against the Catholic faith and had therefore rightfully been forbidden in Austria.[11] The undocumented general prohibition is substantiated by the fact that not a single issue of the *ADB* was banned between 1776 and 1794. From 1794 to 1803, however, the periodical once again consistently appears on the prohibition lists with a total of 18 entries.

1.2 (Neuer) Teutscher Merkur (*1773–1810*)

The (*Neuer*) *Teutscher Merkur* ([New] German Mercury) edited by C.M. Wieland was likewise banned repeatedly until 1789 despite being dedicated to the emperor, whom Wieland ostensibly admired. Like many German authors and critics, the editor harbored at least intermittent hopes for a career in the imperial capital. In January 1794, an issue of the *Merkur* featuring an allegorical tale by Hermann Gottfried Christoph Demme entitled "Die Zauberlaterne" (The Magic Lantern) was prohibited. Reminiscent of the utopian and often satirical genre of the state novel, the narrative told of the religious and political circumstances in the land of the so-called Hierofantites: A simple sun-focused religion demanding nothing but virtue was gradually transformed into a dominion of the priesthood, with the political rulers syndicating into an interest group with the hieratic caste.

> Simple divine worship became an artificial priest religion; the sun became the deity's son; the high priest the son of the sun; and over the sons, the father was forgotten. The place of simple veneration in the spirit

9 Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, vol. 33, part 1 (1778), 77–80, here 79: "bittern Wein, diesen berauschenden Trank […] aus der, durch das Wachen in der unmittelbar vorhergegangenen Nacht, und durch diese heftigen Kreuzigungsschmerzen, verursachten Entkräftung seines Körpers, auf eine hieraus allmälig entstandene merkliche Schwäche der Besinnung und Ueberlegungskräfte seines Geistes, und so auf die Unwahrscheinlichkeit jener vom V. ihm geliehenen Reflexionen und Absichten."

10 Nicolai: Beschreibung einer Reise, vol. 4, 861–863.

11 Summarische Antwort des B.D.A. Cremeri, 4.

> and in truth was taken over by splendorous images and pompous ceremonies, and palaces for the sun priests rose high beside the sun temples. This became doctrine: That only the consecrated of the sun—the Sultan and his principal servants were accorded this ordainment by the sun priest—could live in temple-like palaces, while the unordained had to dwell in low, dark huts to denote their distance from the sun. This belief offered the added benefit that the less the unordained needed for themselves in their huts, the more they could give and work for the ordained.[12]

One priest eventually invents a visor preventing honest persons from looking into the wearer's eyes; the device is declared mandatory for the faithful and mass-produced in holy factories. This situation continues for centuries before a coincidence finally triggers a revolution. An unusually tall Hierofantite asks the authorities for permission to increase the height of his hut, which is promptly denied:

> In anger over the received refusal, he began to think about things he had previously believed without examination, initially startled by the results of his reflections, but from day to day he became more familiar with them, confided them to his friend and soon to several others, and within a short time, thousands were asking for permission to build better houses and remove the visor if their eyes could tolerate it. The abolishment of some misfeasance through which the people were being oppressed was also requested.[13]

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12 Der neue Teutsche Merkur, part 12, December 1794, 353–370; section 3: Hierofantis, 364–370, here 364–365: "Aus der simplen Gottesverehrung ward eine künstliche Priesterreligion; die Sonne ward zum Sohne der Gottheit; der Oberpriester zum Sohne der Sonne; und über die Söhne vergaß man des Vaters. An die Stelle der simplen Gottesverehrung im Geist und in der Wahrheit traten prächtige Bilder und prunkvolle Ceremonien, und neben den Sonnentempeln stiegen Palläste für die Sonnenpriester empor. Es ward zum Glaubenssatze: daß nur die Geweihten der Sonne—dem Sultan und seinen ersten Dienern wurde diese Weihe von dem Sonnenpriester mitgetheilt—in tempelähnlichen Pallästen, alle Ungeweihte aber, zur Bezeichnung ihres Abstandes von der Sonne, in niedrigen dunkeln Hütten wohnen müßten. Dieser Glaube hatte beyläufig noch das Gute, daß die Ungeweihten, je weniger sie in ihren Hütten für sich brauchten, desto mehr für die Geweihten geben und arbeiten konnten."

13 Ibid., 366–367: "Im Zorn über die erhaltene abschlägliche Antwort, fieng er an über Dinge, die er sonst ohne Untersuchung geglaubt hatte, nachzudenken, erschrak anfänglich selbst über die Resultate seines Nachdenkens, wurde aber von Tage zu Tage damit vertrauter, theilte sie seinem Freunde, bald mehreren andern mit, und in kurzer Zeit baten Tausende

The powers that be reply with violence, and the leaders of the so-called enlightenment mob are expelled from the country; the man who had fought against the enlighteners, half priest and half courtier, is rewarded with accolades. But all the measures are of little avail: The Hierofantites burn their visors in protest. Although the analogy between this fiction and the persecution of the Jacobins in 1794/95 may not have been intended by the author, it certainly suggested itself to the Austrian readership—and was obviously glaringly apparent to the censors.[14]

1.3 Isis (*1817–1848*)

This periodical was published by the biologist, anatomist, and physician Lorenz Oken. Established as a natural science journal, *Isis* increasingly dedicated space to the critical observation of contemporary history, politics, and art; in particular, it supported the national student movement. It appears in 58 entries in the Austrian prohibition lists, and like the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* can be assumed to have been forbidden entirely at times. In 1819, it was banned in Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach as well, causing it to relocate to Rudolstadt. Oken was dismissed by the University of Jena in the same year for participating in the Wartburg Festival.

The very first issue included an excerpt "Aus dem Grundgesetz über die Landständische Verfassung des Großherzogthums Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach" (From the Basic Law on the Corporative Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach);[15] it was presumably forbidden in Austria because the announcement text contained a fervent defense of the freedom of the press as well as derogatory remarks on theology. Charging Oken with insult to German rulers and governments had been considered at the journal's place of publication as well.

The second issue of the 1818 volume featured a review of several writings on the Wartburg Festival.[16] A complaint addressed to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar-

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um die Erlaubniß, sich bessere Häuser erbauen, und den Augenschirm, wenn es ihre Augen vertrugen, ablegen zu dürfen. Auch bat man beyläufig um die Abschaffung einiger Mißbräuche, wodurch das Volk zu Boden gedrückt würde."

14 On the greater context, cf. Thomas C. Starnes: Der Teutsche Merkur in den österreichischen Ländern. Vienna: Turia & Kant 1994; helpful for identifying the articles in the periodical is Thomas C. Starnes: Der Teutsche Merkur: Ein Repertorium. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 1994.

15 Isis 1817, no. 1, part 1, col. 1–8, here col. 1.

16 Isis 1818, issue 2, col. 383–394: Rezension von [Hans F. Massmann:] Kurze und wahrhaftige Beschreibung des grossen Burschenfestes auf der Wartburg bei Eisenach am 18ten und 19ten Siegesmonds 1817 (Nebst Reden und Liedern). Jena: Frommann 1818; D.G. Kieser:

Eisenach by Karl Albert von Kamptz, the director of the Prussian Ministry of Police, regarding Hans F. Massmann's *Kurze und wahrhaftige Beschreibung des großen Burschenfestes* (Short and Truthful Description of the Great Student Festival) cited the latter copiously, noting that according to Massmann, "the dreary winter night of servitude still weighed on Germany" and that meritorious men were villainized as enemies of the fatherland and even maligned as "Bonapartist squires and slackers."[17] Court counselor Fries employed a hymnic register in his defense of Massmann's treatise:

> Thus the bold fiery spirit of youth plays with the monsters of its time, the hydras of superstition and prejudice that it restrains and tames like rabbits, while its arm tears apart the decayed cloak of the archaic state authority under which millions sleep, whom it awakens and elevates to a better life.[18]

Direct calls to arms were also included: "German youths! You stand on the ground of consecration. What consecration! From here Luther, the man of God, gave the German word of eternal truth to the German people—and ignited the bloody battle for freedom of the mind and equality of citizens."[19] The reference to Luther is followed by further remarks on religion and politics:

> Christ says: I have come to ignite a fire on earth. […] And wherever Luther's victorious call sounded, free-minded life in the service of truth and justice awakened! The herald who impelled him provoked him

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Das Wartburgsfest am 18. October 1817, in seiner Entstehung, Ausführung und Folgen. Nach Actenstücken und Augenzeugnissen; nebst einer Apologie der akademischen Freiheit und 15 Beilagen. Jena: Frommann 1818; C.A.C.H. v. Kamptz: Rechtliche Erörterung über öffentliche Verbrennung von Druckschriften. Berlin 1817; Selbstvertheidigung des Hofraths [Jakob Friedrich] Fries über die ihm öffentlich gemachten Beschuldigungen in Rücksicht der Teilnahme an der auf der Wartburg in und bey Eisenach begangenen Feyer des 18. Oct. 1817, mit kleinen Bemerkungen von einem seiner großen Verehrer. N. p. 1818.

17 Ibid., col. 384: "die trübe Winternacht der Knechtschaft noch immer auf Deutschland laste […] Bonapartistische Schildknappen und Schmalzgesellen."

18 Ibid., col. 387: "So spielt der kühne Feuergeist der Jugendkraft mit den Ungeheuern seiner Zeit, den Hydern des Aberglaubens und der Vorurtheile, die er wie Kaninchen bändigt und zähmt, während sein Arm den morschen Mantel der veralteten Staatsgewalt zerreißt, unter dem Millionen schlafen, die er zum besseren Leben aufrüttelt und erhebt."

19 Ibid., col. 389: "Deutsche Jünglinge! Ihr steht auf dem Boden der Weihe. Welche Weihe! Von hier aus gab Luther, der Mann Gottes, das deutsche Wort der ewigen Wahrheit dem deutschen Volk—und entzündete den blutigen Kampf um Geistesfreyheit, Bürgergleichheit."

> through all the people's power of the recent centuries to the formation of a German spirit and to all unfettering of thought, all equalization of civil rights, beginning with what happened in the Netherlands to the free states in North America. […] For I have resolved a day of vengeance; the year to deliver my people has come.

The reviewer—presumably Oken himself—noted the following in regard to these particular words:

> This passage is so great, so magnificent, so sublime that any explanation would weigh down its wings like lead. Whoever does not understand it is not one of ours, my brothers, and the mole's eyes of simple-mindedness cannot follow the eagle soaring through a sea of light.[20]

Such multiplication of quotes from the various reviewed writings by way of printing them in periodicals corresponded to the fear held by the Austrian authorities that the revolutionary movements might spark a pan-European conflagration.

1.4 Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde (*1828–1848*)

This periodical, whose full title reads *Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit. Geschichtliche Übersicht der denkwürdigsten Erscheinungen bei allen Völkern der Erde, in ihrem politischen, religiösen, wissenschaftlichen, literarischen und sittlichen Leben* (Library of the Newest Knowledge of the World of the Present and Past: Historical Overview of the Most Noteworthy Events among All Nations of the World, in Their Political, Religious, Scientific, Literary, and Moral Life), was edited by journalist and travel writer Heinrich Müller Malten and published by Sauerländer in Aarau. With 84 entries in the prohibition lists, it was almost continuously banned in Austria until 1839.

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20 Ibid., col. 390: "Christus sagt: Ich bin gekommen, daß ich ein Feuer anzünde auf Erden. […] Und wohin Luthers siegender Ruf erscholl, da erwachte freyes Geistesleben im Dienste der Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit! Der Verkündiger, der ihn trieb, trieb ihn durch alle Volkskraft der letzten Jahrhunderte zu deutscher Geistesbildung und zu aller Entfesselung des Gedankens, aller Ausgleichung der Bürgerrechte von dem an, was in den Niederlanden geschah, bis zu den Freystaaten in Nordamerika. […] Denn ich habe einen Tag der Rache mir vorgenommen, daß Jahr, die Meinen zu erlösen ist gekommen. […] Diese Stelle ist so groß, so herrlich, so erhaben, daß sich jede Erläuterung wie Bley an ihre Flügel hängen würde. Wer sie nicht versteht, der gehört uns nicht an, meine Brüder, und die Maulwurfsaugen der Einfalt können dem Adler nicht folgen, der im Lichtmeere schwebt."

The anonymous author of the article "Die Wirkung des Papstthums auf den Zustand Europas seit der kirchlichen Reformation" (The Effect of the Papacy on the State of Europe since the Ecclesiastical Reformation)[21] defined the purpose of delivering polemic and piercing criticism of the Renaissance popes early on. While the topic was by no means new, the way in which criticism of the papacy was presented in the *Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde* overstepped the boundaries of acceptability in a Catholic state.

> Head and emblem of the heathendom renewed at the Roman court, steward and lord of the same, monarch to whom Machiavelli dedicated his works, by whom Raphael was supported, and who understood how to appraise the great Creator, in whom Ariosto found a benevolent patron, who reviewed and improved the salacious comedies of the cardinals, Leo X was less a pope than a man given to the joys of life [...].[22]

Leo X is described as a "sultan of the fine arts" and wasteful "Harun al-Rashid"[23] relying on the selling of indulgences to finance his lifestyle. The emerging countercurrents are described, including Socinus (Fausto Sozzini), who was particularly frowned upon in Austria. Leo's successors, especially Clement VII, are portrayed as weak rather than depraved, while the founder of the Society of Jesus is called one of the "most skillful promoters of the great work of dehumanization" whose order originated from "a sick mind and a feverish soul."[24] Paul III allegedly believed in astrology; he provided his bastards with positions and married them off beneficially. Paul IV headed the inquisition and ravaged the Protestants, while Pius IV wreaked havoc on the Waldensians. Leo X's successor Adrian VI had already taxed all of Christianity to finance the Vatican. The sale of offices likewise contributed to sustaining "one of Europe's most expensive monarchies."[25] The author makes reference to Leopold von Ranke's three-volume work *Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im sechzehn-*

21 Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde 1836, vol. 3, part 7, 33–65.

22 Ibid., 33: "Haupt und Sinnbild des am römischen Hofe erneuerten Heidenthums, Ordner und Gebieter desselben, Monarch, dem Machiavel seine Werke widmete, von dem Raphael unterstützt wurde, und der den großen Bildner zu beurtheilen verstand, in dem Ariosto einen wohlwollenden Gönner gefunden, der die schlüpfrigen Lustspiele der Kardinäle durchsah und verbesserte, war Leo X. weniger Papst, als lebensfroher Mann [...]."

23 Ibid., 34: "Sultan der schönen Künste [...] Harun al Rachid."

24 Ibid., 45: "geschicktesten Beförderer des großen Entmenschlichungs-Werkes [...] einem kranken Gehirn und einer fieberischen Seele."

25 Ibid., 64: "eine der kostspieligsten Monarchien Europas."

ten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert (The Roman Popes, Their Church, and Their State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century; Berlin: Duncker und Humblot 1834–1836), and in fact the entire article represents a tendentiously aggregated synopsis of the book's first volume.

The same issue of the *Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde* also included an article entitled "Die Regierungs-Mörder und die Königs-Mörder"[26] (The Murderers of Government and the Murderers of Kings) that recapitulated the statements made by Dominique Dufour de Pradt, the former archbishop of Mechelen, in his pamphlet *Regnicide et Régicide*. According to Dufour de Pradt, regicide had essentially become a fashion during the past century. The first 50 years had served for preparation by philosophers, the second 50 years for the practical implementation: "For 50 years one has attended a hecatomb of kings, the desecration of all titles protected by unanimous accord, the usurpation of positions that were considered inaccessible."[27]

A list of violently killed monarchs is provided to illustrate this state of affairs: It includes Gustav III of Sweden; Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and their son; Paul I of Russia; the Duc de Berry; Joachim Murat. It also mentions attempted assassinations of Louis Philippe, the dethroning of numerous popes and ruling families, and monarchs who had died in exile.[28] Although the article's ostensible purpose was to warn and caution against equanimity concerning these events, it exhibits a sensationalist and noticeably fascinated manner of pointing out the lowering of inhibitions regarding violence against rulers. It, too, thus effectively reads like an illustration of the fear harbored in Vienna of a European conspiracy against thrones and altars.

2 Chroniques scandaleuses

It is a well-known fact that—especially in French literature—philosophical, religious, and political criticism frequently combined with pornographic narrations. In the book industry, *livres philosophiques* represented a collective term for forbidden books including pornographic classics like *Vénus dans le cloître* (Venus in the Cloister; 1682) and *Thérèse philosophe* (Thérèse the Philosopher;

26 Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde 1836, vol. 3, part 7, 213–218.

27 Ibid., 215: "Seit 50 Jahren hat man einer Hekatombe von Königen beigewohnt, der Entweihung aller von einstimmiger Zugestehung beschützten Titel, der Bemächtigung von Stellen, die als unzugänglich betrachtet wurden."

28 Cf. ibid., 217–218.

1748), which included religious and social criticism as casual asides, as well as the works of the radical Enlightenment proponents La Mettrie, Helvétius, Diderot, and d'Holbach. This was based on the conviction that freedom in the sphere of sexuality could also promote the liberation of thought. In addition, by effectively portraying humans in their natural state, pornography contributes to leveling social disparities. The Austrian censorship catalogues and prohibition lists include numerous writings whose titles openly combined criticism of the ruling class—be it kings and queens or cardinals, diplomats, courtiers, and their mistresses—with the disclosure of their sexual escapades. From the authors' point of view, the portrayals of eroticism and politics were linked to the gesture of exposure, while from the audience's perspective, they followed the principle of voyeurism. Politics and eroticism were also connected by the underlying wish to influence the reader: While the purpose of pornographic accounts is to have a sexually stimulating effect, the detailed depiction of political mistakes calls for a change in power relations or at least the replacement of the ruling persons. These forms of reaction naturally do not occur automatically, but they are nevertheless laid out as potentials in the texts.

The mixing ratio of political and erotic components differs among the relevant works, with the spectrum ranging from factual political pamphlets in which the circuitously paraphrased breaches of sexual morals perpetrated by the ruling persons play a secondary role all the way to sequences of more or less explicitly described salacious anecdotes, the so-called *chroniques scandaleuses*.[29] The range of this latter type of literature can be gauged by way of two works included in the Austrian prohibition lists. The first is a book with the promising title *Journal amoureux de la Cour de Vienne* (Amorous Journal of the Viennese Court; Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1689), whose "raciness" only went as far as the assertion that the men and women at the Viennese court were easy to seduce and gave their inclinations free reign regardless of their marital status. At the other end of the spectrum were works describing the goings-on at court with mostly fictive but all the more lubricious details. For example, the text *Les amours de Charlot et Toinette* (1789), which was only a few pages long, portrayed the lonely and therefore lecherous young queen Marie Antoinette; the reason for her unhappy state was allegedly that her husband "was a bad fucker" ("étoit mauvais fouteur"). This circumstance is immediately illustrated by way of a detailed description of the condition of the king's member:

29 On this distinction, cf. Robert Darnton: The Corpus of Clandestine Literature in France 1769–1789. New York, London: W.W. Norton & Co. 1995, 203.

In fact his matchstick
Is no thicker than a straw;
Always limp and hanging down,
There is life only around the back;
Instead of fucking, he is fucked
Like the late prelate of Antioch.[30]

The queen is helped by the talented lover "d'A …" (presumably a reference to the Comte d'Artois):

D'A … is eagerly devoted and kisses her everywhere,
His member is a brand, his heart a furnace,
He kisses her beautiful arms, her pretty little cunt,
And sometimes a buttock or a breast:
He gently slaps her plump behind,
Thigh, belly, navel, the center of all joy.

As the pair are approaching climax, the bell used to summon servants rings, and they are promptly interrupted by an attendant:

While love intertwines them tenderly,
With Charles embracing her, making her beg for mercy,
Antoinette is throbbing, and in her eyes
Are reflected the pleasures of the Gods:
They are approaching bliss; but fate betrays them,
The bell is heard ringing—and a vigilant page
Disturbs them by entering, eager to obey …[31]

The sequence repeats, with the couple once again interrupted by the servant asking the queen what she requests:

30 Anonymous: Les amours de Charlot et Toinette. N. pp. 1789, 4: "Attendu que son allumette / N'est pas plus grosse qu'un fétu; / Que toujours molle & toujours croche, / Il n'a de Vit que dans la poche; / Qu'au lieu de foutre, il est foutu / Comme feu le prélat d'Antioche."

31 Ibid., 6: "D'A … la fait par cœur & par tout il la baise, / Son membre est un tison, son Coeur une fournaise, / Il baise ses beaux bras, son joli petit Con, / Et tantôt une fesse tantôt un téton: / Il claque doucement sa fesse rebondie, / Cuisse, ventre, nombril, le centre de tout bien. / Pendant que tendrement l'amour les entrelace, / Que Charles la serrant, lui fait demander grace, / Antoinette palpite, & déjà dans ses yeux / Se peignent les plaisirs des Dieux: / Ils touchent au bonheur; mais le sort est un traître, / On entend la Sonnette—un page vigilant / Trop pressé d'obéir, les dérange en entrant …"

What does Her Majesty wish? …
Of course! It is on purpose,
Cries d'A … furiously,
I do not understand this mystery.
Cruel watchmen appear
All the time, what do these people want?[32]

After finally satisfying their lust, the lovers search for the cause of the disturbances, only to discover that the bell rope had been caught beneath two pillows and the attendant had thus been summoned by their vigorous movements.

The period during which the works discussed in this study—all of which were banned in Austria—were published is often referred to as the golden age of pornography. It lasted from around 1650 until the years of the French Revolution. The heyday of the *chroniques scandaleuses* coincides with the crisis of the monarchies, especially that of the English monarchy under Charles I and II and James I and II along with that of the French monarchy from the culmination of the Ancien Régime to the Great Revolution. In England, the absolute rule abolished with the beheading of King Charles I in 1649 was briefly reestablished through the restoration of the Stuarts before eventually ending for good in 1688 with the removal and exile of James II. In France, the civil wars of the Fronde during the mid-seventeenth century and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 with the subsequent ejection of the Huguenots gave rise to many controversial polemic pamphlets forming the basis for the development of the *chroniques scandaleuses*. The latter were aimed at an educated readership consisting primarily of members of courts and noble families as well as individuals from the higher levels of the bourgeoisie. Besides political tendencies, the entertainment value of the scandalous tales and their usefulness for salon conversation may have played a role in their dissemination as well. The Comte de Maurepas, for example, a minister under Louis XVI, was said to be a passionate collector of satirical songs and epigrams aimed at himself and his environment.[33]

Although censorship banned such "scandalous chronicles" or forbade their printing in the first place, the impact of verbal obloquy of rulers is controversial. Louis XV allegedly took the *vox populi* mocking him and his mistresses

32 Ibid., 7: "Que veut Sa Majesté? … / oh parbleu! c'est exprès, / Dit d'A … en colere, / Je n'entends rien à ce mystere / Voilà de cruels surveillans / A tout moment ici, que veulent donc ces gens?"

33 Robert Darnton: The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France. London: Harper Collins Publishers 1996, 224–225.

very much to heart.[34] In any case, this "voice of the people" (and especially its allusions to royal impotence) contributed greatly to dismantling the pseudo-religious nimbus of the ruler's body anointed by God. Louis XV's debauchery with mistresses from the lower classes (particularly Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry) were especially—and enduringly—detrimental to the reputation of the kingship and the faith in the monarchic world order in general. "A prostitute transformed into a queen, coachmen and grooms the equals of the king, a monarch wallowing in filth and slime, here the world's hierarchical order is already turned upside down."[35] When the king, who quite literally embodied the state, indulged in libertine hedonism, he neglected his governmental duties and his queen. In the example cited above, he is impotent in his relationship with her, which not only illustrates the failure of the royal marriage but calls into question the functioning of the absolute state itself.[36] A considerable number of such attacks were launched by the court as part of its attempts to challenge the legitimacy of the House of Bourbon.[37] The king's poor performance in bed allowed analogies and inferences regarding the state of the kingdom as a whole, which lacked adequate government like the queen ostensibly lacked sexual "subservience." The king's body represented reason, which simultaneously meant freedom from passions with female and/or bestial connotations, and of course from any form of excess.[38] Towards the end of the Ancien Régime, the attacks focused on Marie Antoinette, who was portrayed as the epitome of debauchery and evil. The more the criticism shifted from misconduct by individual rulers to the question of the legitimacy of the

34 Robert Darnton: Poetry and the Police. Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2010, 42–43.

35 Jean-Pierre Guicciardi: "Between the Licit and the Illicit: The Sexuality of the King." In: Robert Purks Maccubbin (ed.): 'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment. Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sidney: Cambridge University Press 1987, 88–97, here 96.

36 Cf. Stephan Leopold: Liebe im Ancien Régime: Eros und Polis von Corneille bis Sade. Munich: Fink 2014, 141–156.

37 Chantal Thomas: "The Heroine of the Crime: Marie-Antoinette in Pamphlets." In: Dena Goodman (ed.): Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen. New York, London: Routledge 2003, 99–116, here 104. See also in more detail Chantal Thomas: La reine scélérate: Marie-Antoinette dans les pamphlets. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1989, 107–144, in which the two pornographic pamphlets against Marie Antoinette cited here (*Les Amours de Charlot et Toinette* and *L'Autrichienne en goguettes ou l'orgie royale*, see below) are printed.

38 Cf. Jeffrey Merrick: "The Body Politics of French Absolutism." In: Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (eds.): From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 1998, 11–31, here 19–31.

institution of absolutism itself—a development clearly traceable throughout the second half of the eighteenth century—the more dangerous the *chroniques scandaleuses* became. In addition, the problem transcended state borders: The Austrian censorship prohibited defamation of French rulers, and at the same time French police officers in Vienna attempted to impede the production and distribution of vituperations of Louis XVI during the 1780s.[39]

Our series of examples begins with *Les amours de Messaline*, whose title character was a pseudonym for Mary of Modena, the second wife of King James II, daughter of the Duke of Modena, and close relative of the pope. Her closest confidants and advisors are the papal nuncio Dada (referred to as "le Nonce") and the Jesuit Pere Peter. During a discussion on the future following the death of the old king, they hatch a plan for Messaline to give birth to an heir to the throne in order to solidify her rule along with Catholicism in England. Pere Peter learns from a lady-in-waiting that the queen is in love with Dada, who is currently in her chambers; there follows a scene whose elaborate imagery illustrates the comparatively minor pornographic potential of the text.

> These moments of complaisance and abandon of the Nonce assured Messaline's heart such that she made him stand up, and while he kissed her beautiful hands at every word, she embraced him and let him know what she desired through her sighs and emotional outbursts: A thousand times she kissed his lips and eyes, while he, with his hand, visited the fields of love; then suddenly withdrawing it as if beside himself, he ascended to the hills of Venus, white as snow, and abandoning all chastity he led it to the valleys and the source of all pleasure and love [...]. But the Nonce, who saw in Messaline's eyes the desires of her heart, did not let such a fine opportunity slip away: He ran to close the door, threw himself like a lion on his trembling prey, took her in his arms and carried her to the other side of the room, gently placing her on the bed, where in delighted ecstasy he opened the secret treasure of Messaline and enjoyed all the riches and her beauty.[40]

39 See Darnton: Forbidden Best-Sellers, 225.

40 [Gregorio Leti:] Les amours de Messaline Cy-devant Reine de l'isle d'Albion. Où sont découverts les secrets de l'Imposture du Prince de Galles, de la Ligue avec la France, & d'autres Intrigues de la cour d'Angleterre, depuis ces quatre derniéres années. Par une Personne de Qualité, Confidente de Messaline. A Cologne, Chez Pierre Marteau. MDCLXXXIX, 66–68: "Ces momens de complaisance & de liberté du Nonce assurérent tellement le cœur de Messaline, qu'elle le fit lever, pendant qu'il baisoit ses belles mains à chaque parole, & se jettant à son col, elle lui fit assez connoître par ses soupirs & par ses transports ce qu'elle désiroit: elle baisa dix mille fois ses levres & ses yeux, pendant que lui, avec sa

Dada and the queen meet regularly for amorous adventures, but the desired pregnancy fails to result. Madame de Powis, a confidant of the queen, and Pere Peter thus scheme to deceive the people and pass off someone else's child as the king's successor. They announce that the queen is pregnant and select several other expecting women with suitable due dates. The Protestants express doubts concerning the sudden pregnancy, however—especially since the queen exhibits no corresponding signs. Princess Anne is eventually sent to Bath for a course of health treatments, and the Protestant bishops who would normally be present at the birth of a throne heir are imprisoned under a pretext.

The Prince of Orange sets forth with an army to liberate the English Protestants from the tyrant James. This prompts Messaline to flee to France with her beloved Dada and Pere Peter. She is received with all honors, and King Louis immediately falls in love with her. She refuses to hear him until he offers her 100,000 dead Protestants in return for her love, however, whereupon she invites him to her chambers in the evening. The Duc de la Force has an interest in Lactilla, the heir's nurse, who invites him to her room at the same time. Since a visit by Dada is also scheduled for the same period, Messaline meets him in the courtyard, and the king inadvertently sleeps with Lactilla. On his way back he encounters Messaline, who has tended to the nuncio in the meantime and proceeds to take the king back to her room. Expended from his preceding adventure with Lactilla, however, his potency fails him shortly before the fulfilment of his desires. Messaline consoles him by suggesting he has been made impotent by magic.

At this point, the text ends abruptly. It is a French translation of *The Amours of Messalina late Queen of Albion* (By a Woman of Quality, a late confidant of Q. Messalina. London. Printed for John Lyford 1689). A sequel was published under the title *The Royal Wanton* (London 1690), with its author identified as Gregorio Leti, a Protestant historian, politician, and satirical writer. Leti lived

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main, visitoit les champs d'Amour, & la retirant tout d'un coup, comme s'il eût été hors de lui-même, il montoit jusques aux Collines de Venus plus blanches que la neige, & tout incontinent il la portoit dans les Vallées & dans la source des plaisirs & des Amours [...]. Mais le Nonce qui voyoit dans les yeux de Messaline les désirs de son cœur, ne laissa point échapper une si belle occasion, & courant pour fermer la porte, comme un Lion affamé, il se jette sur sa proye tremblante, & la prenant entre ses bras, il la porte de l'autre côté du Cabinet, & la jette doucement sur le lit de repos, où ravi comme en extase, il ouvre les trésors secrets de Messaline, & jouit de toutes les richesses & de sa beauté."—The idiosyncratic contemporary use of the French diacritical marks has not been altered in this and all following citations.

at the courts of France and England and was forced to flee to the Netherlands in 1683 after falling out of favor as a result of the publication of his satirical anecdotes.

The French king Louis XIII and his wife Anne are encountered in the pamphlet *Les amours d'Anne d'Autriche*. Appearing at around the same time as Leti's writ, it exhibits certain parallels to the latter in terms of content as well. Louis and Anna's marriage remained childless for 23 years, and the author reports that there was a Fronde insurgency in reaction to their son Louis XIV's ascension to the throne, owing to overwhelming indications that he was illegitimate. The new king allegedly behaved according to his ignoble descent during his reign as well, breaking all treaties and promises and forging pacts with the heathen Turks; rarely before had a prince "violating all treaties and the public faith and breaking the most sacred and solemn oaths" been seen.[41] This provides reason enough to reconstruct the king's parentage in detail.

It is Richelieu, Anne's secret regent and advisor, who pulls the strings in this affair. He introduces his young and beautiful but also vain and overly ambitious niece (called Parisatis) at court. Among her admirers is the king's brother and potential heir to the throne Gaston, Prince of Orléans. Richelieu offers him his niece in marriage, for which Gaston publicly slaps him in the face. The cardinal vows to take revenge, Parisatis is deeply offended, and the queen is furious. In order to oust Gaston, Richelieu schemes to provide the queen with an heir despite the king's impotence. Anne's confessor reports that the queen lost her heart to a young man named C.D.R. during a recent ball and is accordingly contrite. Richelieu advises her to hire C.D.R. as her chamberlain; she does so, and the young man promptly falls in love with her. Richelieu and the confessor diffuse her moral qualms with the argument that she will surely be forgiven for this minor sin committed in the best interest of the dynasty and the state. When she nevertheless refuses to acquiesce, an intrigue is devised: Parisatis tells the queen that the Prince of Orléans intends to take her, Parisatis, by surprise in her bed during the night, whereupon the two women swap beds to foil this defilement. But instead it is C.D.R. who approaches the queen in Parisatis' bed and seduces her. At this point, the queen finally accepts C.D.R. as her permanent

41 Les amours d'Anne d'Autriche Epouse de Louis XIII. Avec Monsieur le C.D.R., Le veritable Pere de Louis XIV. aujourd'hui Roi de France. Oú l'on voit au long comment on s'y prit pour donner un Heritier à la couronne, les resors qu'on fit jouer pour cela, & enfin tout le denouement de cette comedie. Nouvelle Edition Revue & Corrigee. A Cologne, Chez Pierre Marteau, M.DC.XCVI [first edition 1692], fol. A5r: "violant au dehors les traitez & la foi publique, & au dedans les sermens les plus sacrez & les plus solemnes."

lover and soon becomes pregnant with a son, the later Louis XIV: "She became a perfect bigot in matters of pleasure, as she had been in matters of religion."[42]

Anna attracted such a plethora of vituperations in the shape of pamphlets that we may justifiably speak of a first peak of the royal *chronique scandaleuse* in France in this context.[43] In actual fact, however, she lived in isolation at the French court for a long time, and Louis XIII essentially had to be forced by his advisors to commence intimate relations with her. Richelieu was said to have had several children with his own niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, while simultaneously attempting to marry her into various high-ranking houses of the French aristocracy. The figure of C.D.R. portrayed as the father of Louis XIV is an allusion to Chevalier de Rohan, who became a colonel in the king's royal guard at a young age and was later involved in a plot to assassinate him.

Louis XIV himself was not averse to fleshly pleasures either, as documented in a further pamphlet published at around the same time as the two discussed above and entitled *Les conquestes amoureuses du grand Alcandre dans les pays-bas* (The Amorous Conquests of the Great Alcandre in the Netherlands). This collection of anecdotes cuts directly to the chase in its attempt to unravel the confusing network of relationships at the French court during the 1660s and 1670s: The king—under the pseudonym "le grand Alcandre"—is still busy with his mistress Madame de la Vallière while Madame de Montespan strikes up an affair with his brother, whom she has to share with the Chevalier de Lorraine. At the same time, she has an interest in M. de Lauzun, who is in a relationship with Madame de Monaco; the king wants the latter for himself, however, and sends her lover off on a mission with the army. De Lauzun breaks a large mirror in Madame de Monaco's chambers in protest and refuses to leave unless he is made the commander of the army; he is imprisoned in the Bastille instead. Madame de Monaco takes a pageboy as her substitute lover, contracts a serious disease, and dies of it. De Montespan eventually acquiesces to de Lauzun's advances and befriends Madame de la Vallière, thereby drawing closer to the king. De la Vallière is angered by this development, and the king exiles de Montespan in order to have his wife for himself. She becomes pregnant, and Madame de la Vallière joins a convent. De Lauzun wants to wed the Princesse d'Orléans Montpensier, a cousin of the king, despite her very advanced age. When the Prince de Condé asks him to spare the royal house this disgrace, the

42 Ibid., 131: "Elle devint une parfaite bigote en matiere de plaisirs, comme Elle l'avoit été en matiere de religion."

43 Around 5,000 relevant pasquils, known as *Mazarinades*, are said to have been published between 1648 and 1653 alone; cf. Merrick: "The Body Politics," 25.

couple decides to get married in secret. The king prevents their marriage at the last moment, however, whereupon de Lauzun insults Madame de Montespan and is incarcerated. The Duc de Longueville becomes the new star at court and begins to woo the Maréchalle de la Ferté. The following sentences describing the meeting between the two offer a good impression of the rather prosaic and unprovocative style applied to erotic encounters in the text.

> Thereupon he began to caress her, and feigning to resent his boldness in order to encourage him even more, the Maréchalle backed away from him until she was close to a bed, onto which she let herself fall [...]. Delighted with this adventure, the Duc de Longueville behaved like a young man, which did not displease the Maréchalle [...].[44]

The Maréchalle's former lover, the Marquis Meffiat, challenges Longueville to a duel, which the latter declines due to the difference in rank between the two men. Meffiat reacts by ambushing Longueville and beating him with his cane, whereupon Longueville decides to have him murdered. However, Longueville himself is killed in the war against the Netherlands instead. Together with Madame de Berthillac, the Maréchalle subsequently indulges in amorous adventures with actors, much to the disapproval of her father—especially when she gifts an indebted lover her jewels. During a conversation with the king's young son, she also puts her hand "in a place that decency prevents me from naming,"[45] causing the boy considerable confusion and dismay. Her husband's behavior is even worse: While drunk, he and a gang of high-ranking brutes castrate a candy-seller. Cutting this seemingly endless chain of frivolous yet trivial anecdotes short, it is only worth mentioning that the "grand Alcandre" ultimately selects a young mistress, the Mademoiselle de Fontanges, to the displeasure of Madame de Montespan. De Fontanges retreats to a convent, where she dies a few days later with every indication of having been poisoned.

Let us now return to the culmination period of the *chroniques scandaleuses*, the years of the French Revolution. Our final example, a text published in 1789, serves to illustrate the aggravated tone during the final years of the Ancien

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44 [Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras:] Les conquestes amoureuses du grand Alcandre dans les pays-bas. Avec les intrigues de sa cour. A Cologne chez Pierre Bernard 1684, 59: "Là-dessus il se mit en estat de la caresser, & la Maréchalle feignant de luy savoir mauvais gré de sa hardiesse pour l'animer encore d'avantage se deffendit jusques à ce qu'elle fust proche d'un Lict où elle se laissa tomber [...]. Le duc de Longueville ravi de son avanture, en usa en jeune homme, ce qui ne déplut pas à la Maréchalle [...]."

45 Ibid., 79: "dans un endroit que la bienséance m'empêche de nommer."

Régime. It is a work of veritable political porn entitled *L'Autrichienne en goguette ou l'orgie royale* (The Tipsy Austrian or the Royal Orgy)[46] and allegedly authored by a certain François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul. Within the fiction of the "proverbial opera," the piece is written by a personal guard and set to music by the queen herself, an allusion to her modest musical education.

The text begins with the guard looking forward to an orgy; the Comte d'Artois, the Duchesse de Polignac, and the queen are talking about the meaning of the joys of love. They are joined by the king, who is tired as always and does not want to drink much since he has to attend a council meeting the next day, during which asinine decisions will be made as usual.

> The queen: That is still good enough for the frogs of the Seine. (A familiar expression for the inhabitants of Paris).
> Quatrain.
> The queen: Let us laugh and have a ball,
> let us use our power,
> let us waste all the goods
> of the dumb Parisians.[47]

After she has scoffed for some time at the foolish Parisians whose fortune is being squandered, the king falls asleep. The frisky trio immediately capitalizes on this opportunity: D'Artois' hand disappears under the queen's dress, while Polignac protests that he is thereby encroaching on her rights. His "regenerator of the human species" is likewise soon deployed in the queen, and the pair express their sensations in a duet. The king is still fast asleep, which gives the queen a new idea:

> The queen has stools placed on either side of the king. Madame de Polignac sits on Louis XVI's back, and spreading her legs puts each leg on a stool. Antoinette embraces and kisses Polignac passionately, her tongue seeks and plays with her confidant's. She then presents the Comte d'Artois the world's most beautiful rump and tells him: "Comte, you know which path you must take." D'Artois: "And I shall go there with-

46 L'Autrichienne en goguette ou l'orgie royale, opéra proverbe. N. p., 1790 [first edition 1789]. As the text is unpaginated, the following quotes will not be cited individually.

47 Ibid.: "La reine: C'est encore assez bon pour les grenouilles de la Seine. (Expression familière de la Reine pour désigner les habitans de Paris) / Quatuor. / La reine: Rions, faisons bombance, / Profitons de notre puissance, / Dissipons tous les biens / Des bons Parisiens."

> out delay." He lifts the light linen petticoat, uncovers two snow-white buttocks, and, clearing the road of lust with a stealthy hand, launches the arrow of love into the temple of joy. The women's tongues work ceaselessly, the thrusts of the limber loins seek ever new pleasures, the confidant introduces a finger into the temple's main entrance while the Comte enters by a different route.[48]

It is a fitting political allegory, with the salacious idlers literally "dancing" on the king's back and presenting him as a senile fool. At this point, the proverb symbolized by the "opera" is revealed as well: "Dimi [!] con chi tu vai Et sapro qual che fai" (roughly: Tell me who you consort with, and I will know who you are). The final quatrain is a self-reflecting reference to the political significance of the portrayal of debauchery by the individuals in power:

> On the back of a human monarch,
> I see the mother of all vices
> indulge in detestable pleasures,
> a scallywag prince and a whore queen.[49]

3 The Theme of Suicide in Forbidden Literature

As discussed in Chapter 2, censorship under Maria Theresa and Joseph II primarily attempted to prevent putatively harmful and dangerous texts from reaching the population and avert or correct aberrations in readers' mental and social development. In doing so, it oscillated between providing guidance on living a happier life, education, and disciplining of the subjects; between

48 Ibid.: "La reine fait approcher deux tabourets aux deux côtés du roi. Madame de Polignac s'assied sur le dos de Louis XVI, et en écartant les jambes, pose chacun de ses pieds sur un tabouret. Antoinette s'avance dans les bras de Polignac, qu'elle embrasse étroitement, tandis que sa langue cherche et joue avec celle de sa confidente. Elle présente par conséquent au comte d'Artois la plus belle croupe du monde, en lui disant: Toi, comte, tu vois quel chemin il te reste à prendre. D'Artois: Et j'y marche sans différer. Il lève un léger jupon de linon, découvre deux fesses blanches comme la neige, et, écartant d'une main furtive la route de la volupté, il lance la flèche de l'amour dans le temple de la félicité; pendant que les langues femelles s'agitent, que les secousses des reins élastiques cherchent de nouveaux plaisirs, la confidente introduit un léger doigt sur le portique du temple, dans lequel le comte s'introduit par une route détournée."

49 Ibid: "Sur le dos d'un monarque humain, / Je vois la mère des vices / Plonger dans d'affreuses délices / Un prince polisson, une reine catin."

support and control. The process resembled paternal tutelage of a population viewed as immature rather than strict forbiddance. The books found in the prohibition lists during this period largely dealt with unanswered fundamental societal questions of the era—the misgivings and self-doubts of the time, as it were. And while they could not simply be eliminated, they could at least be restricted to the societal elite. The following pages will examine a specific aspect of the overarching censorial goal of fortifying the population's morals: the prevention of suicide.

Let us begin with a quote from the first edition of Goethe's first novel, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther), in which the narrator describes the protagonist: "And then, as limited as he is, he nevertheless always holds in his heart the sweet feeling of freedom, and that he can leave this prison whenever he wants."[50] A further passage in the book reads:

> Human nature, I continued, has its limits; it can bear joy, sorrow, pain up to a certain degree, and perishes when it is exceeded. The question here is thus not whether someone is weak or strong, but whether he can endure the measure of his suffering; it may be moral or physical, and I find it equally strange to say that a person is cowardly who takes their own life as it would be improper to call someone a coward who dies of a vicious fever.[51]

Belles-lettres censor Hägelin had this to say about *Werther* in 1774:

> In these letters, the expression of a young person's excessive passion for his friend's wife is depicted all too vividly and fervidly, so that it might cause all too sentimental impressions in youthful readers; Likewise the presumed reasons for the suicide, which the writer ultimately performed

50 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. Leipzig, in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung 1774, 19 (part 1, May 25): "Und dann, so eingeschränkt er ist, hält er doch immer im Herzen das süsse Gefühl von Freyheit, und daß er diesen Kerker verlassen kann, wann er will."

51 Ibid., 84–85 (part 1, August 12): "Die menschliche Natur, fuhr ich fort, hat ihre Gränzen, sie kann Freude, Leid, Schmerzen, bis auf einen gewissen Grad ertragen, und geht zu Grunde, sobald der überstiegen ist. Hier ist also nicht die Frage, ob einer schwach oder stark ist, sondern ob er das Maas seines Leidens ausdauren kann; es mag nun moralisch oder physikalisch seyn, und ich finde es eben so wunderbar zu sagen, der Mensch ist feig, der sich das Leben nimmt, als es ungehörig wäre, den einen Feigen zu nennen, der an einem bösartigen Fieber stirbt."

> on himself by way of a pistol, are all too favorably, too dazzlingly, and too beguilingly presented in very many passages that such reading would not be dangerous for young people [...].[52]

The Austrian censor was not the only one who thought it advisable to withhold the book from the general public. In Leipzig, the dean of the theological faculty requested a ban because the novel "can make bad impressions which, especially among weak persons, womenfolk, can on occasion awaken and become tempting to them." The Leipzig book commissar responsible for censorship approved this request, subscribing to the view "that this book could be called an apology of suicide, which is all the more dangerous in the hands of young people, of inexperienced senses, and other thick-blooded persons because the author writes about suicide in too undetermined a fashion and entrains his reader considerably with witty and subtle phrasing."[53]

There was a lively debate on the topic of suicide during the final decades of the eighteenth century. "Melancholy"—the contemporary term for depression—represented the flip side of the Enlightenment's promise of happiness. Along with medicine and the emerging discipline of psychology, philosophy, theology, and literature dealt with various afflictions and mood swings (hypochondria, the emotional engrossment of so-called *Schwärmer* [roughly: dreamers], etc.) as well as their prevention and remediation. Among the focal points of the discourse were Johann Robeck's *De morte voluntaria* (1736), the examples of Romans like Cato and Brutus, and—as an authority for the call to persevere—Plato's *Phaedrus*. A glut of writings railed against suicide, the "most

52 Protocollum commissionis librorum aulicae ddo. 2. Decembris 1774; cited according to Friedrich Walter: Die zensurierten Klassiker: Neue Dokumente theresianisch-josephinischer Zensur. In: Jahrbuch der Grillparzergesellschaft 29 (1930), 142–147, here 145: "In diesen Briefen ist der Ausdruck einer übermäßigen Leidenschaft eines jungen Menschen gegen die Frau seines Freundes allzu lebhaft und feurig abgeschildert, so jugendichen Lesern gar zu empfindsame Eindrücke machen dörfte; Anbei sind auch die Scheingründe für den Selbstmordt, den auch der Verfasser endlich an sich selbst mittelst einer Pistole vollbracht hat, allzugünstig, zu blendend und verführerisch in sehr vielen Stellen vorgetragen, als daß eine solche Lectüre für junge Leute nicht gefährlich seyn könnte [...]."

53 G.[ustav] Wustmann: Verbotene Bücher: Aus den Censurakten der Leipziger Bücherkommission. In: Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst 41 (1882), first quarter, 264–285, here 282: "üble Impressiones machen kann, welche, zumal bey schwachen Leuten, Weibs Personen, bey Gelegenheit aufwachen, und ihnen verführerisch werden können. [...] daß dieses Buch eine Apologie des Selbstmords genannt werden könne, die in den Händen junger Leute, von ungeübten Sinnen, auch anderen dickblütigen Personen, um desto gefährlicher ist, da der V. zu undeterminirt von dem Selbstmorde schreibt, und durch witzige und feine Wendungen seinen Leser ordentlich hinreißt."

terrible and dangerous enemy of human and bourgeois society."[54] "He who preaches or euphemizes suicide is—the greatest enemy of the human race!", declared theologian Gottfried Leß, author of a treatise entitled *Vom Selbstmorde* (On Suicide).[55] Zedler's *Universallexikon* reminded its readers that suicide was one of the worst misdeeds imaginable and a deadly sin from the theological point of view.[56] The many admonishing voices invoked the world order, providence, self-preservation, and moderation as constants counterbalancing temporary mental irritations. Some Enlightenment proponents saw suicide as an act of disobedience and rebellion—a breach of law and violation of one's "obligation" to society. The predominance of reason over the sphere of emotions as proclaimed by the Enlightenment was clearly perceivable in this discussion. Even Kant (in *The Metaphysics of Morals*) considered suicide a crime. While Frederick the Great had considerably extenuated the penalties applied to the bodies of suicide victims and their relatives in Prussia as early as 1751,[57] the *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* of 1769 and the laws passed under Joseph II still included barbaric punishments and measures to dishonor the corpses of persons who had taken their own life.[58] Since suicide was an act of rebellion against the majesty of God, suicidal persons were also considered liable to attempt revolution or regicide: If someone did not value their own life, so the argumentation went, they could not be expected to spare the lives of others either.[59]

Essential contributions to the discourse on suicide[60] in the Austrian *Catalogi* and prohibition lists were Montaigne's *Essais* (Essays), Johann Robeck's

54 Johann Peter Willebrand: Grundriß einer schönen Stadt, in Absicht ihrer Anlage und Einrichtung zu Bequemlichkeiten, zum Vergnügen, zum Anwachs und zur Erhaltung ihrer Einwohner, nach gekannten Mustern entworffen. Hamburg and Leipzig 1775–1776, part 2, 327; cited according to Roger Paulin: Der Fall Wilhelm Jerusalem: Zum Selbstmordproblem zwischen Aufklärung und Empfindsamkeit. Göttingen: Wallstein 1999, 11: "schrecklichsten und gefährlichsten Feind der menschlichen und bürgerlichen Gesellschaft."

55 Gottfried Leß: Vom Selbstmorde. Zweyte, vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck 1778, 45: "Wer Selbstmord predigt, oder beschöniget, der ist – der gröste Feind des Menschlichen Geschlechts!"

56 Klaus Oettinger: "Eine Krankheit zum Tode." Zum Skandal um Werthers Selbstmord. In: Der Deutschunterricht 28 (1976), issue 2, 55–74, here 56.

57 Ibid., 57.

58 Cf. ibid., 58; Paulin: Der Fall Wilhelm Jerusalem, 22.

59 Cf. Georg Jäger: Die Leiden des alten und neuen Werther: Kommentare, Abbildungen, Materialien zu Goethes *Leiden des jungen Werthers* und Plenzdorfs *Neuen Leiden des jungen W.* Munich, Vienna: Hanser 1984, 21–22.

60 Cf. Lester G. Crocker: The Discussion of Suicide in the Eighteenth Century. In: Journal of the History of Ideas 13 (1952), 47–72.

De morte voluntario exercitatio (Disquisition on Voluntary Death), Maupertuis' *Essai de philosophie morale* (Essay on Moral Philosophy) respectively *Saggi di filosofia* (Essays on Philosophy), the German translation of Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Of Crimes and Punishments), as well as several works by Bayle, Helvétius, Hume, and La Mettrie that may have been banned (among other reasons) for dealing with the topic.

Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (Persian Letters; 1721) contained "the boldest attempt to date to justify the right of man to free power of disposal over his own life."[61] This "boldness" came, for example, in the following shape:

> When I am overwhelmed by pain, misery, contempt, why do people wish to prevent me from ending my sorrows, and cruelly deprive me of a remedy that is in my hands? […]
>
> But, one might say, you are disturbing the order of providence. God has united your soul with your body, and you separate them: You thereby oppose his designs, and resist him.
>
> What does this mean? Do I disturb the order of providence when I alter the modifications of matter and square a sphere, to which the first laws of motion, that is to say the laws of creation and preservation, gave a round shape? No, of course not: I am merely exercising the right given to me, and in this sense I can disturb all of nature however I wish without anyone being able to say that I am opposing providence.[62]

Letter 21 from the third part of Rousseau's *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) offers the following considerations:

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61 Oettinger: "Eine Krankheit zum Tode," 56: "den bis dato verwegensten Versuch, den Anspruch auf die freie Verfügungsgewalt des Menschen über sein eigenes Leben zu rechtfertigen."

62 Les lettres persanes. In: Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu, publiées sous la direction de M. André Masson. Paris: Nagel 1950. Tome 1, 3, 156–157: "Quand je suis accablé de douleur, de misère, de mépris, pourquoi veut-on m'empêcher de mettre fin à mes peines, & me priver cruellement d'un remède qui est en mes mains? […]

Mais, dira-t-on, vous troublez l'ordre de la providence. Dieu a uni votre ame avec votre corps; & vous l'en séparez: vous vous opposez donc à ses desseins, & vous lui résistez.

Que veut dire cela? Troublai-je l'ordre de la providence, lorsque je change les modifications de la matière, & que je rends quarrée une boule que les premières loix du mouvement, c'est-à-dire les loix de la création & de la conservation, avoient faite ronde? Non, sans doute: je ne fais qu'user du droit qui m'a été donné: &, en ce sens, je puis troubler à ma fantaisie toute la nature, sans que l'on puisse dire que je m'oppose à la providence."

> Why delay a step that must be taken in any case? […] Let us take advantage of a time in which the ennui of life makes death desirable; let us beware lest it come with its horror at a moment when we no longer want it. […] Ah, how painful it is to break the ties that bind our hearts to the earth, and how wise to leave it as soon as they are broken! I feel, Milord, that we are worthy of a purer dwelling; Virtue shows it to us, and fate invites us to seek it. May the friendship that joins us unite us again in our final hour. What sensuousness for two true friends to end their days voluntarily in each other's arms, to commingle their last sighs, to exhale at once the two halves of their soul! What pain, what regret can poison their final moments? What do they leave behind when they depart the world? They go together; they leave nothing behind.[63]

The danger of "infection" with such ideas seemed especially real in this case, since the joint suicide is not merely justified but in fact described as a lustful experience. Van Swieten wrote with regard to the treatment of suicide in Rousseau's novel: "From page 197 to 223, the author defends suicide, in the following letter on page 224 he specifies a means against it, but on page 232 he confirms that it is permissible to … oneself if the pain cannot be staved off, and on page 240 he lauds the Romans."[64] In Van Swieten's opinion, the counterarguments set forth in the book were insufficient to attenuate the statements in favor of suicide. The censors held the view that transference

63 Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Œuvres complètes II. Édition publiée sous la direction de Bernard Gagnebin et Marcel Raymond. Paris: Gallimard 1964, 386 (troisième partie, lettre XXI): "Que tardons-nous à faire un pas qu'il faut toujours faire? […] Profitons d'un tems où l'ennui de vivre nous rend la mort desirable; craignons qu'elle ne vienne avec ses horreurs au moment où nous n'en voudrons plus. […] Ah qu'on a de peine à briser les nœuds qui lient nos cœurs à la terre, et qu'il est sage de la quiter aussi tôt qu'ils sont rompus! Je le sens, Milord, nous sommes dignes tous deux d'une habitation plus pure; la vertu nous la montre, et le sort nous invite à la chercher. Que l'amitié qui nous joint nous unisse encore à notre derniere heure. O quelle volupté pour deux vrais amis de finir leurs jours volontairement dans les bras l'un de l'autre, de confondre leurs derniers soupirs, d'exhaler à la fois les deux moitiés de leur ame! Quelle douleur, quel regret peut empoisonner leurs derniers instans? Que quitent-ils en sortant du monde? Ils s'en vont ensemble: ils ne quitent rien."—The novel was prohibited in an edition of excerpts in 1765, then in the *Catalogus* of 1776 pertaining to the first edition published in Amsterdam in 1761, and finally in a German translation (Frankfurt and Vienna: Gerold 1810).

64 Van Leersum: Gérard van Swieten en qualité de censeur, 392: "verum a pagina 197 ad 223 suicidium defendit, sequente epistola 224 quoddam remedium dat contra hanc opinionem sed pagina 232 auctor affirmat si morbo dolentes sint incurabiles quod liceat se ipsum … et 240 romanos laudat."

occurred as soon as a matter was written about, regardless of the context and perspective.[65] This in turn corresponds to the theory that the misunderstandings in the course of the reception of *Werther* were based on the transference of the older *imitatio* mode of reading geared to the Bible and devotional literature—especially legends and the life stories of saints—to the belles lettres by a readership inexperienced in the consumption of prose. Goethe's novel made the decision to commit suicide all too plausible and comprehensible; it spelled out the underlying suffering using everyday language. Apparently, the title figure's tribulations struck a chord with the experiences of many young men and women of the era, and empathy with Werther could develop into imitation given a corresponding disposition of the individual reader.

Martin Andree has researched twelve cases of imitational suicide occurring between 1775 and 1790 and documented in various sources.[66] "Flagging" by way of a copy of the book found in the victim's pocket or lying nearby as well as staging according to the description in the novel represent indications—but by no means certain proof—that these suicides would not have occurred without the example provided by Werther. Biographical similarities, especially unrequited love, frequently feature as preconditions for such acts of imitation. The viewpoint of the censors regarding the "perilousness" of the book is corroborated by the fact that the suicide and potential *imitatio* reading were the dominant theme in the book's contemporary reception.[67] Even its advocates made reference to Werther's voluntary death, defending the novel with the argument that it constituted a warning example *against* suicide. Ultimately, the decisive question whether and to what degree instances of suicide during this epoch can be traced to the novel cannot be answered with authority. What *is* certain, however, is that the massive wave of imitation suicides frequently alleged by proponents of the book's prohibition is not documented.[68]

Friedrich Nicolai reported in 1775 that a "hysterical" woman had poisoned herself after having had *Werther* read to her and claiming that the book had

65 Cf. censor Hägelin's remarks on the theme of suicide in his memorandum of 1795, 315 (see appendix, p. 378).

66 Martin Andree: Wenn Texte töten: Über Werther, Medienwirkung und Mediengewalt. Munich: Fink 2006, 176–187.

67 Cf. Klaus Scherpe: Werther und Wertherwirkung: Zum Syndrom bürgerlicher Gesellschaftsordnung im 18. Jahrhundert. Bad Homburg, Berlin, Zürich: Gehlen 1970, 67–71, and the sources printed therein.

68 Cf. Andree: Wenn Texte töten, 187–197.

destined her to take her life. In Kiel in 1777, a young man shot himself with the book lying open on a table beside him; in letters discovered in his chambers, he had written that his beloved had married another man. Christine von Laßberg's body was pulled out of the Ilm river in Weimar in 1778 in the presence of Goethe; she likewise had a copy of the book with her. In 1785, Karl Philipp Moritz' *Magazin für Erfahrungsseelenkunde* (Magazine for Experiential Study of the Soul) reported on the case of a young man who locked himself in a room overnight; when his servant opened the door, he shot himself in his right eye with a pistol. Here too, *Werther* lay on the table, opened to the passage reading "It is midnight—they are loaded." The most spectacular case—though simultaneously one of the ones least similar to the description in the novel—is that of seventeen-year-old Franziska von Ickstadt, who jumped (or fell?) from a steeple of the Frauenkirche in Munich in 1785. A certain Count of Nesselrode published a book entitled *Die Leiden der jungen Fanni. Eine Geschichte unserer Zeit in Briefen* (The Sorrows of Young Fanni: A History of Our Time in Letters) shortly thereafter. In it, he tells the story of Fanni, who is in love with Franz but must marry a different man according to her mother's will. Fanni writes letters to Franz, among other things about a bride forced into marriage who poisons herself on her wedding day. She compares herself to Werther and professes the courage to take her own life. Like the main character in Goethe's book, she pens a farewell letter before jumping off the church steeple.

The correlations constructed by Nesselrode were immediately repudiated by the deceased young woman's family. Her fall from the church had been an accident, and the forced marriage was a fabrication. Nesselrode was sued and defended himself in court by claiming his story had been pure fiction. The book was nevertheless forbidden. Newspapers that had served as mouthpieces for Nesselrode were forced to print statements of correction, and a certain Anton Baumgartner published a refutation in which Fanni appears in a dream, announcing that she did not wish to be made the protagonist of a novel as this would encourage imitation. In all, the case and its medial aftereffects were symptomatic of the way in which reality and fiction became blurred in the assessment of suicides.

In May 1788, the body of a young nobleman by the last name of Saplonzay was found at the foot of Göttweiger Berg, a hill in Lower Austria. He had shot himself with a pistol, and lying beside him were "the two parts of the von Kleistian writings, also the so-called Sorrows of Young Werther (Jerusalem)." Although the deceased Saplonzay had mentioned that it was his tyrannical father who had driven him to suicide, Police Chief Count Pergen nevertheless presumed the act to be related to an "overstrung enthusiasm" absorbed from

Kleist's and Goethe's works.[69] While one cannot claim that the rescindment of the ban of *Werther* in 1786 played a role in this case, the overall discourse on suicide (which included literary fiction) may well have encouraged Saplonzay's decision.

These few examples notwithstanding, Goethe's novel certainly did not trigger a suicide epidemic; rather, its effect was that of a symbol for or token of a specific attitude towards life that could replace a personal suicide note:

> The reference to Werther by holding it ostentatiously or depositing it where it could not be overlooked was tantamount to a theatrical gesture that unmistakably highlighted for contemporaries the hopelessness of the situation of men and women committing suicide.[70]

There is no doubt that *The Sorrows of Young Werther* inspired other writers and artists as well: Translations, reproductions, dramatic adaptations, parodies, *Bänkelsang* (cantastoria), poems, songs—the *Werther* material was transposed and repeated across all imaginable genres. Several of these derivative works found their way into the Austrian *Catalogi* and prohibition lists as well, since they were apparently likewise deemed capable of "spreading the virus": *Les souffrances du jeune Werther*, *Les passions de jeune Werther*, Christian August von Bertram's *Etwas über die Leiden des jungen Werthers und über die Freuden des jungen Werthers*, *Leiden des jungen Franken, eines Genies*, and the dramas *Masuren oder der junge Werther* (by August Friedrich von Goué), *Werther, ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel*, and *Ernest oder die unglücklichen Folgen der Liebe*.

In Austria, the original novel had been banned immediately after its publication; it was eventually allowed again in 1786 during the phase of the easing of censorship under Joseph II.[71] The occasion for this was a French adaptation entitled *Le nouveau Werther imité de l'allemand* (The New Werther, Imitated from German). The Censorship Commission endorsed the deregulation of the French book as well as the original, arguing that at most it was

69 Walter: Die zensurierten Klassiker, 145: "die zween Theile der v. Kleistischen Schriften, dann die sogenannten Leiden des jungen Werthers (Jerusalem) […] überspannte Schwärmerey."

70 Matthias Luserke: Über das Goethe-Jahr 1999: Versuch eines Rückblicks. In: Matthias Luserke (ed.): Goethe nach 1999: Positionen und Perspektiven. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2001, 133–144, here 142: "Der Verweis auf den Werther, ihn demonstrativ bei sich zu tragen oder unübersehbar zu deponieren, kam einer theatralischen Geste gleich, die für die Zeitgenossen unmissverständlich die Ausweglosigkeit der Lebenssituation der Selbstmörder und Selbstmörderinnen hervorhob."

71 Wagner: Die Zensur in der Habsburger Monarchie, 216.

unhappy lovers who might be prone to imitate Werther's suicide, while recent instances of voluntary death were more to do with excessive debt, embezzlement, and other financial issues. If one were to forbid *Werther*, "one would with far more reasonable caution have to forbid the use of pistols, swords, and knives."[72] The emperor followed the Commission's recommendation and decided to rescind the ban. In the course of the recensoring campaign in 1803–1805, *Werther* was forbidden once more. In 1808, an unspecified edition received the verdict "erga schedam"—presumably the eleventh volume of the full edition of Goethe's works by publisher Cotta (Tübingen 1808). As late as 1815, a new edition in Italian was likewise restricted to readers considered worthy of a Scheda by the authorities in Venice. The censor Pettrettini justified his verdict with the demoralizing effect that the text exerted, the bad example Werther set by disturbing an intact marriage, and the suicide. All of this, Pettrettini said, was presented in the dramatic rendering of Werther's thought processes, to which he ascribed an impact on the reader akin to that of a siren song.

> A novel written by a masterful hand, but which with all means of the art lets life appear unbearable and thereby unsettles the soul, which can have terrible consequences. Werther, in love with another man's wife, sows discord within an honorable family and kills himself because he cannot possess the woman. The sophisticated reflections he lets the reader partake in and into which he subtly blends thoughts about politics, nature, and religion represent something like the siren song drawing us strenuously toward this dreadful deed.[73]

Werther nevertheless remained a frequently encountered figure in Austria. Gustav Gugitz tells of literary, usually satirical links to the material as well as of a ballet (Pressburg 1777), a *Werther* clothing style and merchandise, and the-

72 Cited in Hans Viktor Pisk: Joseph Richter (1749–1813): Versuch einer Biographie und Bibliographie. Vienna: Diss. (typewritten) 1926, 111: "müßte man mit noch weit angemessenerer Behutsamkeit den Gebrauch von Pistolen, Degen und Meßern verbieten."

73 Cited in Kucher: Herrschaft und Protest, 133: "Romanzo di mano maestra, ma tende artificialmente a renderci insopportabile l'esistenza, ed in tal modo scuote le fibre del cuore che può essere ragione di terribili conseguenze. Werter inammorato dell'altrui moglie semina la discordia in una onesta famiglia e non potendo possedere l'oggetto si uccide. Li fini riflessioni delle quali egli fa parte al lettore mescolandovi con finissimo accorgimento le idee politiche, naturali e religiose dell'uomo sono come il canto della Sirena che a viva forza ne trae a questo orrendo attentato."

matic fireworks (1781).[74] However, these events and matters either fell outside the sphere of influence of the Viennese censorship (Pressburg was part of Hungary) or into the period of Josephinism during which the novel was allowed or at least tolerated. The documented instances of Goethe's book being read likely also occurred largely during the reign of Joseph II. An example is Karoline Pichler:[75] As can be gathered from the context, she was around 20 years old when she read *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, which indicates the years 1789/90; that the daughter of an upstanding and conservative family like the Pichlers would have been permitted to have forbidden books can be excluded.

4 The Period of Weimar Classicism

4.1 *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing*

The pre-classicist Lessing is the first author to be discussed in this section. To be clear, the aim of this part of our study is not to attribute specific works to sharply delimited styles or eras. Rather, our interest is focused on the authors active during the period between around 1770 and 1820, which inevitably overlaps with prevenient currents like pre-classicism and *Sturm und Drang* as well as the subsequent era of Romanticism (which will be examined in the next section). One of the notable aspects of this period is the frequency of delayed prohibitions decreed not immediately after the initial publication of a text but often several decades later.

Although Lessing was treated "with more distinction" than "any German scholar ever before" by Emperor Joseph II in May 1775,[76] one of his early works, the play *Die alte Jungfer* (The Spinster; 1775), was immediately listed in the 1776 *Catalogus*. According to the minutes of the Censorship Commission, the drama was deemed objectionable because "in this in itself quite worthless and distasteful scribble, very lewd double entendre and indecent expressions also appear frequently whose reading would be dangerous to the youth, which generally seeks such plays eagerly for its entertainment."[77]

74 Das Wertherfieber in Österreich: Eine Sammlung von Neudrucken. Eingeleitet von Gustav Gugitz. Vienna: Knepler 1908, especially XVI–XVII.

75 Caroline Pichler: Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben. Erster Band: 1769 bis 1798. Vienna: A. Pichler's sel. Witwe 1844, 159–160.

76 Privy councilor Gebler to Friedrich Nicolai, cited in Houben: Verbotene Literatur, vol. 1, 513: "mit solcher Distinction […] noch nie ein deutscher Gelehrter."

77 Cited according to Walter: Die zensurierten Klassiker, 146: "massen in diesem für sich ganz unwehrten, und unschmakhaften Geschmier nebstbey sehr schlipfrige Zweydeutigkeiten, und ungesittete Ausdrücke zum öftern vorkommen, deren Lesung der Jugend, die gemeiniglich derley Stücke zu ihrer Unterhaltung eifrig suchet, gefährlich seyn würde."

A motto on human morality adopted from Plautus designates the genre that the work would assign itself to, while the names—especially Oront—are reminiscent of Molière. Mr. Oront intends to wed the 50-year-old Ms. Ohldinn to Captain von Schlag in order to provide her (better late than never) with "the supernatural pleasure of matrimony"[78] along with worthy heirs—and simultaneously earn 50 Reichstaler for himself. But Ohldinn's cousin Lelio and his lover Lisette attempt to thwart the wedding with the help of Oront's wife so as to secure the inheritance for themselves. They incite Peter, a seller of bread and cake, to pose as von Schlag and discourage the spinster from marrying. Peter chooses to attempt to wed Ohldinn himself, however, and she seems attracted to him as well. This situation remains unchanged even when a creditor asks Ohldinn whether she can assume the captain's debt of 900 taler. Finally, Peter states his condition: The spinster must leave him her entire fortune. At this point, the real Captain von Schlag joins the scene, causing much confusion. He promises Lelio a part of the spinster's fortune, whereupon everyone is happy.

"Lewd double entendre" occurs in connection with the courting captain, who had become "incapable of further service" during his military career. Ohldinn states: "Incapable?—No, I always bethink myself. I do not like him." Attempting to advertise the captain as a husband, Oront reassures her with regard to the meaning of "incapable," sugarcoating the attribute as a benefit: "So you would demand a man who always sleeps in the field? And who can barely be with you two nights of the year? The retired officers are the best husbands, for if they can no longer prove their courage in the face of the enemy, they are all the more manly towards their –."[79] Other sentences like "A man is quite a useful household effect" or "womenfolk were created to cause the entire world sorrow!" could also be understood as "vulgarities."[80]

A further banned work by Lessing were his *Schriften* (Writings; Berlin and Potsdam 1753), to which the strictest verdict "damnatur" was applied in 1756. August Fournier, who was able to access the minutes of the Censorship Commission, notes that the poem "Der Eremit" (The Hermit) was one of the key

78 Die alte Jungfer: Ein Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen. In: Gotthold Ephraim Lessings zwey Lustspiele. 1. Damon. 2. Die alte Jungfer. Frankfurt and Leipzig: Fleischer 1775 (Deutsche Schaubühne, part 103), 53–126, here 59.

79 Ibid., 57–58: "zu fernern Diensten untüchtig […]. [*Ohldinn*:] Untüchtig?—Nein, ich besinne mich alleweile. Ich mag ihn nicht. [*Oront*:] Und verlangen Sie denn einen Mann, der stets zu Felde liegt? Und der um Sie des Jahrs kaum zwey Nächte seyn kann? Die abgedankten Officiers sind die besten Ehemänner, wenn sie ihren Muth nicht mehr an den Feinden beweisen können, so sind sie desto mannhafter gegen ihre –"

80 Ibid., 83 and 99: "Ein Mann ist doch ein ganz nützlicher Hausrath. […] die Weiber sind zum Unglücke der ganzen Welt erschaffen!"

texts triggering the prohibition.[81] The title character settles near the city of Kerapolis (= Berlin?). His reputation soon spreads throughout the town, and he is held in particularly high esteem by women because he speaks about appropriate topics with each of them. With beautiful women, he talks

> Of the first of all Christian impulses.
> Which is that? Whoever asks me, can they be a Christian?
> For every Christian will agree,
> That it is love so dear.[82]

The hermit's outward appearance makes the ladies covetous.

> The unbound hair flowed curly around his head;
> And more important pieces of beauty
> Were not quite revealed, nor robbed
> From vision by his torn-up garb.[83]

This merry activity continues for one-and-a-quarter years before two daughters who had not been allowed to accompany their mothers to the hermit's den reveal "That he, the hermit, has almost the entire city / As in-laws or children."[84] The menfolk subsequently want to lynch him, but the town council apprehends him and presents him to the judge. Since the councilmen fear their wives' names will be mentioned during the interrogation, they want to let the hermit go. The judge believes his own spouse to have been faithful, however, and orders the hermit to name all his lovers—whereupon the judge's wife turns out to be among them as well.

Besides the lack of morality, the Austrian censorship's main objection to Lessing had to do with unacceptable religious criticism. Several scientific essays he wrote or published were forbidden for this reason. The fragments of Reimarus' *Apology* (1774–1778), which discussed ten "contradictions" in the reports about the resurrection of Christ in the New Testament and triggered what is known as the *Fragmentenstreit* (fragment dispute) with more than

81 Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 424.

82 G.E. Lessings Schriften. Erster Theil. Berlin: C.F. Voss 1753, 174: "Vom ersten jeder Christentriebe. / Was ist das? Wer mich fragt, kann der ein Christe seyn? / Denn jeder Christ kömmt damit überein, / Es sey die liebe Liebe."

83 Ibid., 175: "Das ungebundne Haar floß straubicht um das Haupt; / Und wesentlichre Schönheits Stücke, / Hat der zerrißne Rock dem Blicke, / Nicht ganz entdeckt, nicht ganz geraubt."

84 Ibid., 180: "Daß er, der Eremit, beynah die ganze Stadt / Zu Schwägern oder Kindern hat."

50 related treatises within a few years, were suppressed along with *Ernst und Falk: Gespräche für Freymäurer* (Ernst and Falk: Dialogs for Freemasons; 1780), which explained the Masonic ideal of tolerance. Lessing was not happy with the all-too-exclusive existing lodges, however: Like the churches, he said, their wealth made them irreconcilable with faith. Finally, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (The Education of Mankind; 1780), which interpreted the religious faiths as stages of a development towards a secular religion of reason demanding good for its own sake, was also not met with censorial approval.

With its relativizing of the value of individual religions in the famous ring parable, *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise; 1779) linked up with Lessing's religion-critical theories. The censor consulted on the occasion of a planned performance of the play in 1810, Abbé Pöhm, deemed it to pursue "the undeniable purpose of presenting the three positive religions, the Jewish one, the Christian one, and the Muslim one, as equally good." It argued the view that "the salvation of man depended not on faith but on good actions alone," and the author's intent was thus "to cast doubt on divine revelation and make Christianity detestable."[85] The Austrian censorship's issues with the play can be gauged from the numerous alterations that were required for its eventual Austrian premiere at the Viennese *Burgtheater* in 1819.[86]

4.2 *Christoph Martin Wieland*

Censor Hägelin's opinion on *Geschichte des Agathon* (The History of Agathon; 1766/67), Wieland's frivolous *Bildungsroman* set in ancient Greece, was that the author was supporting "the perversive teachings of Hypias, who was a defender of Epicureanism, also there were many passages leading to atheism, and in the remaining parts quite lascivious—although written with the finest taste—passages were to be found that sounded very alluring and seductive."[87] And indeed the novel is populated by hypocritical priests, egoistic politicians, and teachers personifying double standards that cause the protagonist to doubt his

85 Cited according to Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I, 131–133: "den unleugbaren Zweck, die drei positiven Religionen, die jüdische, die christliche und die mohammedanische, als gleich gut darzustellen […] das Heil des Menschen nicht vom Glauben, sondern allein vom guten Handeln abhänge […] die göttliche Offenbarung zweifelhaft und das Christentum gehässig zu machen."

86 Cf. Houben: Verbotene Literatur, vol. 1, 514–519.

87 Cited according to Walter: Die zensurierten Klassiker, 144: "die verderblichen Lehrsätze des Hypias, der ein Vertheidiger des Epikurismi sei, auch kämen viele Stellen vor, welche zum Atheismus führten, und wären in den übrigen Theilen zimlich wollüstige—jedoch in dem feinsten Geschmack niedergeschriebene Stellen zu finden, welche sehr reizend und verführend klängen."

naive ideal conceptions of the world and humanity. The head of the Censorship Commission, Gerard van Swieten, had found various passages of the first edition of 1766/67 acceptable and even rated them as "nimis tenera" (very subtle, civilized). In these passages, Psyche tells of her platonic love for Agathon that outshines all others and need not even fear the glowing passion of a rival; she rebuts the advances of a robber chief by threatening to kill herself; in the third lauded passage, Hippias presents the antithesis to his Epicurean doctrine. After praising these passages, Van Swieten continued: "sed a pagina 57 incipiendo impia habet de amando; contorte docet hippias ibi materialismum"[88] (but on page 57, frivolous remarks on love and an eccentric materialism begin). This is a reference to the dialog between Hippias and Agathon in Chapter 6 of Book 2. Hippias doubts the existence of a soul independent from the body when he asks Agathon: "But, upon what dost thou ground thy expectation, that this same spiritual principle will continue to think after thy body is destroyed? What proof hast thou to establish an opinion contradicted by so many other proofs?"[89] Finally, Hippias also disputes the existence of a supreme being, a creator of the world, and criticizes Agathon for basing his happiness on fantasies while simultaneously neglecting the one true and real terrestrial joy. If there is a god, then Nature speaks through him, and it says: "Satisfy all thy wants, enjoy every sensual pleasure, and avoid, as much as possible, every painful sensation."[90]

In Chapter 3 of Book 3 ("Die Geisterlehre eines ächten Materialisten" [A True Materialist's Doctrine of Spirits]), Wieland summarizes Hippias' tenet: One should only believe that which is observable with the senses. The common conceptions of gods and souls could be attributed to ignorance and superstition; what was more, they were full of projections of earthly experiences of bliss. The opposite side taught one to deaden the senses in order to attain higher truths, but this led to nothing but delusions—or even worse:

> It seems therefore very probable that all these spirits, with the worlds they inhabit, and all the felicity we hope to share with them after death, have

88 Van Leersum: Gérard van Swieten, 393.

89 Christoph Martin Wieland: The History of Agathon. Translated from the German Original With a Preface by the Translator. London: T. Cadell 1773, vol. 1, 84.—Wieland: Die Geschichte des Agathon. Quid Virtus, et quid Sapientia possit. Utile proposuit nobis exemplar. Drei Theile. Frankfurt and Leipzig [= Orell, Geßner und Co., Zürich] 1766/67. Erster Theil, 1766, 60: "Worauf gründest du die Hofnung, daß dieser Geist noch denken werde, wenn dein Leib zerstört seyn wird? Was für eine Erfahrung hast du, eine Meynung zu bestätigen, die von so vielen Erfahrungen bestritten wird?"

90 Ibid., 120.—Ibid., 84: "Befriedige deine Bedürfnisse, vergnüge alle deine Sinnen, und erspare dir so viel du kanst alle schmerzhaften Empfindungen."

> no more real existence than the Nymphs, Cupids, and Graces of the Poets; the gardens of the Hesperides, or the islands of Circe and Calypso; in a word, than all those sportive follies of imagination, which serve to amuse us, though we do not believe their reality.[91]

The fairy novel *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (The Adventures of Don Sylvio of Rosalva; 1764) tells of the disillusionment of the title figure, whose experiences cure him of his belief in the reality of fairy tales. In analogy to Don Quixote, Don Sylvio stumbles through life in search of a princess transformed into a bird, constantly feeling pursued by evil fairies in various guises, before finding his love in a real woman of the landed gentry.

The story contains a host of salacious situations and comments that a censor under Maria Theresa's regimen had to disapprove of. A parish priest susceptible to female charms makes an appearance, as does an ugly gnome who—due to a whim of nature—is able to thrill the fairy Krystalline "only by way of a single piece"[92] and later "received an ovation from most of the court ladies that their lovers were not entirely indifferent to."[93] Likewise included are a number of critical and satirical comments on monarchs, for example on Alexander, Constantine, Charles, Otto, and Ludwig, along with 20 others bearing the epithet "the Great" who "were great at the expense of the human race" by inflicting bloodbaths.[94] The king from the fairy tale of Prince Biribinker integrated into the novel is subject to the temptations of female dancers and chambermaids. Esoteric doctrines are likewise mentioned several times, including Ramon Lull, Paracelsus, Giordano Bruno, Reuchlin, Swedenborg, and the antique tenet of souls living on in Elysium.

It was certainly Wieland's canvassing of the confusion of fiction and reality that caused the most irritation, however, since it suggested parallels to the belief in religious revelations and miracles. In the key passage of the book

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91 Ibid., 141.—Ibid., 98: "Es scheint also sehr wahrscheinlich, daß alle diese Geister, diese Welten, welche sie bewohnen, und diese Glükseligkeiten, welche man nach dem Tode mit ihnen zu theilen hoft, nicht mehr Wahrheit haben, als die Nymphen, die Liebesgötter und die Grazien der Dichter, als die Gärten der Hesperiden und die Inseln der Circe und Calypso; kurz, als alle diese Spiele der Einbildungskraft, welche uns belustigen, ohne daß wir sie für würklich halten."

92 Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva. 2 Theile. Leipzig, bey Georg Joachim Göschen 1795 (C.M. Wielands Sämmtliche Werke, vols. 11 and 12), vol. 2, 177 and 178: "nur in einem einzigen Stücke."

93 Ibid., vol. 2, 277: "bey den meisten Hofdamen einen Beyfall erhielt, der ihren Liebhabern nicht ganz gleichgültig war."

94 Ibid., vol. 2, 148: "auf Unkosten des menschlichen Geschlechtes gross gewesen sind."

featuring Don Sylvio's disillusionment, Wieland compares fairy novels to the works of historiographers whose texts were distorted by millennia of tradition, as well as to the Qur'an—though contemporary readers would inevitably have found his words primarily evocative of the Christian faith. Expressing his skepticism regarding princesses and green dwarfs transformed into blue butterflies respectively toothpicks under the heading "Inconsequential thoughts by the author," Wieland even makes reference to a Christian mystic in a footnote:

> Sister Marie of Koronel, known as Agreda due to the place of her residence, caused much commotion in the seventeenth century with a book which, according to her purport, she was explicitly ordered to publish by God and the Holy Virgin. This book carries the title *Mystical City of God* and contains an alleged tale of the life of the Holy Virgin, drawn from direct revelations this nun claims to have had.[95]

Several translations of the mentioned mystical revelation text by the Spanish Franciscan appeared in the Austrian prohibition lists respectively the *Catalogus* of 1776. That Wieland also pointed to the corresponding article in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, various editions of which were likewise forbidden, presumably contributed to the censor's disapproval as well. The ultimate conclusion drawn from the incredibility of fairy tales in *Don Sylvio* is this:

> That anything and everything that has no congruence with the orderly course of nature, as far as it lies within our senses, or with what the majority of the human race experiences every day, has the strongest and in a way infinite presumption of untruth against itself for precisely this reason; a principle that the general feeling of the human race justifies, although it denies the existence of the entire fairydom and all its paraphernalia at once.[96]

95 Ibid., vol. 1, 83–84: "unmassgebliche Gedanken des Autors […] Schwester Marie von Koronel, nach dem Orte ihres Aufenthaltes von Agreda genannt, hat im siebzehnten Jahrhundert viel Aufsehens durch ein Buch gemacht, zu dessen Herausgebung sie, ihrem Vorgeben nach, von Gott und der heiligen Jungfrau ausdrücklich befehligt wurde. Dieses Buch führt den Titel, Mystische Stadt Gottes, und enthält eine angebliche Geschichte des Lebens der heiligen Jungfrau, aus unmittelbaren Offenbarungen, welche diese Nonne gehabt haben will, gezogen."

96 Ibid., vol. 2, 292: "Dass alles und jedes, was keine Übereinstimmung mit dem ordentlichen Laufe der Natur, in so fern sie unter unsern Sinnen liegt, oder mit demjenigen hat, was der grösste Theil des menschlichen Geschlechts alle Tage erfährt, eben deswegen die allerstärkste und gewisser Massen die unendliche Präsumzion der Unwahrheit wider sich

The paradox here is that Wieland and the institution of censorship were actually pursuing the same goal: Both sought to protect immature and naive readers from harmful fantastic fictions that threatened to dictate their lives. Wieland had repeatedly cautioned against taking fiction at face value—for example in an article in the *Teutscher Merkur* pertaining to Rousseau's novel *La nouvelle Héloïse*, which was blamed for imitations as discussed above. Wieland, however, came to the conclusion that prohibitions were unfair to the respective author and text.

> The author and his book are damned, with judgement and law but according to the same principles, to an equally tumultuous and foolish kind of inquisition, in short with the same iniquity or Sancta Simplicitas as previously in all of Europe—and to this day in some of the enlightened areas of our dear German fatherland—the witches are burned.[97]

Don Sylvio was likewise an attempt to educate its audience to a reasonable mindset for reading. The protagonist's key mistake is that he reads quickly and fleetingly, thus concentrating on individual episodes and details without considering their context. In contrast to Don Sylvio, the readers of the novel were to develop an adequate awareness of fictionality.[98] But although Enlightenment-affine censorship doubtless agreed with this goal, it drew a line where the awareness of fictionality extended to religious revelation. This was once more an expression of the ambivalence inherent in enlightened Absolutism—its fear of taking "enlightenment" too far.

4.3 *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*

The earliest banned work by Goethe was the fictitious *Brief des Pastors zu *** an den neuen Pastor zu **** (Letter from the Pastor of *** to the New Pastor of ***; 1773), in which the imagined letter writer calls for religious tolerance. He is

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habe; ein Grundsatz, den das allgemeine Gefühl des menschlichen Geschlechts rechtfertiget, ob er gleich der ganzen Feerey mit allen ihren Zubehören auf einmahl das Leben abspricht."

97 Wie man ließt: Eine Anekdote. In: Teutscher Merkur 1, 1781, 70–74, here 73: "Der Autor und sein Buch werden, mit Urtheil und Recht, aber nach eben so seinen Grundsätzen, nach einer eben so tumultarischen und albernen Art von Inquisition, kurz mit eben der Iniquität oder Sancta Simplicitas verdammt, wie ehmals in ganz Europa, und noch heutigs Tages in einigen hellen Gegenden unsers lieben teutschen Vaterlandes—die Hexen verbrannt werden." Cf. Matthias Bickenbach: Von den Möglichkeiten einer "inneren" Geschichte des Lesens. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1999, 30–40.

98 Cf. Bickenbach: Von den Möglichkeiten einer "inneren" Geschichte des Lesens, 180–187.

particularly offended by the "Doctrine of the Damning of the Heathens"[99] that ignores a person's good deeds as well as innocent children. According to the text, an especially grievous consequence of intolerance was the discord within Christianity. While even Luther's teachings had not represented absolute truth, he had at least worked at liberating humanity from its spiritual thralldom. Hierarchies and authorities were not consistent with the spirit of the Christian faith; the Holy Spirit should not be undervalued and suppressed: "[…] woe to us that our clergymen know nothing of immediate inspiration anymore, and woe to the Christian who hopes to understand the Scripture from commentaries."[100]

Another early work, *Ein Fastnachtsspiel* (A Shrovetide Play; 1774), about a priest who is after the daughter of a spice-seller's neighbor, was considered too racy by censorship even though it was only moderately humorous and served the exclusive purpose of warning women against such lecherous clerics. The spice-seller alerts the neighbor with the following report:

> One of these days I was standing
> Out back at the elder fence;
> The priest and girl came by outside,
> Strolling back and forth,
> Walking in a close embrace,
> With their eyes staring at one another,
> And chattering in each other's ears
> As if at any moment ready
> To go to bed or to heaven together.[101]

The concluding moral of the story is:

> Virgins, let yourselves be kissed no more
> By priests who want or know nothing else;

99 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe. Vol. 12. 9th ed. Munich: dtv 1982, 228–239, here 229: "Lehre von Verdammung der Heiden."

100 Ibid., 236: "[…] weh' uns, daß unsre Geistlichen nichts mehr von einer unmittelbaren Eingebung wissen, und wehe dem Christen, der aus Kommentaren die Schrift verstehen will."

101 Goethe's Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand. Dreyzehnter Band. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta 1829, 55–70, here 60: "Ich stund ungefähr dieser Tagen / Hinten am Hollunderzaun; / Da kam mein Pfäfflein und Mädelein traun, / Gingen auf und ab spazieren, / Thäten einander umschlungen führen, / Thäten mit Aeugleins sich begäffeln, / Einander in die Ohren räffeln, / Als wollten sie eben alsogleich / Miteinander ins Bett oder ins Himmelreich."

For who would invite another to table
At the mere smell of a roast?
Of this every sacrament consists:
Spiritual start, physical middle, fleshly end.[102]

Anticlericalism was also the main reason for the objection to one of Goethe's later works, the epic poem *Reineke Fuchs* (Reynard the Fox; 1794). Written in the tension-laden post-revolutionary era, it was only banned in 1837 in an illustrated adaptation for youths (Berlin: Enslin) and in 1846 in a version illustrated by Wilhelm von Kaulbach.[103] This indicates that it may have been the illustrations that ultimately triggered the proscription. Figure 8 shows Kaulbach's depiction of an orgy at the royal court as an example.

The templates for the *Reineke Fuchs* material (especially *Reinke de vos*, 1498, 1539) had already featured distinct anti-courtly and anti-clerical undertones. The lion/king is surrounded by animals/advisors who are driven by instinct and pursue only their own interests. Despite his nasty pranks, Reineke is accepted back into the king's grace time and again because he helps him keep the courtiers and advisors in check. Reineke reflects the king's behavior, and the court—like the wild—is the scene of a permanent fight for predominance. Goethe's text makes the similarities between fox and king explicit:

The King himself robs as well as anyone, as we know;
What he himself does not take, he leaves for the bears and wolves
And thinks that it is rightly done. There is no one
Who would dare tell him the truth, so deep down runs the
Evil, no confessor, no chaplain; they are silent! Why this?
It is their pleasure too, even if only to win a tunic.
[…]
Our Lord is the Lion, and he thinks his rank appropriate
To accroach everything. He likes to call us
His people; indeed, what is ours seems to belong to him![104]

102 Ibid., 70: "Ihr Jungfrauen, laßt Euch nimmer küssen / Von Pfaffen, die sonst nichts wollen noch wissen; / Denn wer möcht' Einen zu Tische laden / Auf den bloßen Geruch von einem Braten? / Es gehört zu jeglichem Sacrament / Geistlicher Anfang, leiblich Mittel, fleischlich End."

103 Munich: Verlag der literarisch-artistischen Anstalt; in parallel the edition cited below.

104 Reineke Fuchs von Wolfgang von Goethe mit Zeichnungen von Wilhelm von Kaulbach. Gestochen von R. Rahn und A. Schleich. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta 1846, 146–147: "Raubt der König ja selbst so gut als einer, wir wissen's; / Was er selber nicht nimmt, das läßt er Bären und Wölfe / Holen, und glaubt, es geschehe mit Recht. Da findet sich keiner,

FIGURE 8 Illustration by Wilhelm von Kaulbach in Johann Wolfgang Goethe: Reineke Fuchs (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta 1846), p. 124

The clergy provides no better example—keeping mistresses, siring children, and collecting toll and interest. Even the pope is no exception:

> And the legates of the pope, the abbots, provosts, prelates
> The beguines and nuns, there would be much to tell!
> They all say: Give me what is yours and leave me what is mine!

/ Der sich getraut ihm die Wahrheit zu sagen, so weit hinein ist es / Böse, kein Beichtiger, kein Caplan; sie schweigen! Warum das? / Sie genießen es mit, und wär' nur ein Rock zu gewinnen. / [...] / Unser Herr ist der Löwe, und Alles an sich zu reißen, / Hält er seiner Würde gemäß. Er nennt uns gewöhnlich / Seine Leute; fürwahr, das Unsre, scheint es, gehört ihm."

> Few can truly be found, not even seven, who according to
> Their order's rules demonstrate a holy life.
> And so the clerical rank is most weak and infirm.[105]

Burlesque scenes like the one in which Hinze the tomcat mutilates the priest were obviously also considered objectionable. Hinze is sent into the priest's barn by Reineke to catch mice. It is a trap, however, and the cat soon finds himself caught in a snare. He is beaten by the priest and his men but effects his revenge by emasculating the cleric. Particularly unacceptable in this context was the ostentatiously bitter and outspoken lament regarding the injury by the priest's female cook.

The occasion for *Des Epimenides Erwachen* (The Awakening of Epimenides; 1814; premiered 1815) was the Battle of Leipzig and the subsequent national renascence. Goethe was commissioned to write the drama, which was to premiere during a celebration for the return of the victorious Prussian monarch who had contributed significantly to Napoleon's defeat. It was a delicate assignment, since Napoleon was neither to be lauded excessively as a political enemy nor overly dispraised—his marriage to Marie Louise in 1810 had made him a relative of the imperial house. This matrimonial connection lent him a particularly conflicted status in Austria that persisted for a considerable time after his banishment and death in 1821.

Goethe employed the fable of wise Epimenides, who slept for 40 years, obtaining the gift of clairvoyance while doing so. The plot can be interpreted as an allegory for the course of history: The forces of evil (War, Deceit, Oppression) are defeated by the virtues of Faith, Love, and Hope, who incite the people to a battle for liberation. Freedom turns out to have its downsides in that it is akin to chaos, however ("Thus of a sudden at the steps of my throne / Freedom's terrible aurora ignited," says Faith),[106] and at the end of the play, Epimenides (respectively the author) points out the need for consensus between ruler and people. The chorus of the unified liberation army calls for the overthrow of all tyrants.

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105 Ibid., 153: "Und die Legaten des Papsts, die Aebte, Pröpste, Prälaten, / Die Beguinen und Nonnen, da wäre vieles zu sagen! / Ueberall heißt es: Gebt mir das Eure und laßt mir dass Meine! / Wenige finden sich wahrlich, nicht sieben, welche der Vorschrift / Ihres Ordens gemäß ein heiliges Leben beweisen. / Und so ist der geistliche Stand gar schwach und gebrechlich."

106 Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand. Dreyzehnter Band. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta 1829, 246–296, here 292: "So flammte denn an meines Thrones Stufen / Der Freiheit plötzlich furchtbar Morgenroth."

Onward, brothers, to free the world!
Comets beckon, the time is now.
All the webs of tyranny
Tear asunder and break free!
[…]
Much has yet to be fulfilled,
And not all is over yet;
But all of us, through our will,
Are already free from ties.[107]

Among the demons commanded by Deceit are courtiers and clerics hoping to profit from the war. These passages were not necessarily the main reason for the play's prohibition, however; what was likely considered much more problematic was the encoding of prominent persons surmised by contemporaries. Epimenides was identified with the Prussian king, and many also recognized his queen in the figure of Hope. Goethe's friend Karl Friedrich Zelter wrote the following to the writer regarding the first two performances: "On the first day the actors left out that which refers to the person of the king, because the king has objected to and in fact forbidden all such relations: It had to be said yesterday, however, and the applause was furious."[108]

The collection of poems entitled *West-östlicher Divan* (West-Eastern Divan; 1819) and based on the works of Persian poet Hafez contained a host of reasons for prohibition by the Austrian censorship—although the authorities forbade only an Austrian reprint, not Goethe's original work. Among these reasons were the ambivalence between mundane, sensual love and the love of God, the great and almost religious importance attributed to wine in this context, the homoeroticism in the relationship between the Persian ruler and his cupbearers, the very friendly attitude towards Islam, and especially the elements of superstition—talismans, amulets, abraxas—and the criticism of occidental circumstances always implied by contrast.

The initial position is immediately defined in dramatic words: The Occident is in a state of crisis beckoning people to flee to the Orient.

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107 Ibid., 288–289: "Brüder, auf die Welt zu befreien! / Kometen winken, die Stund' ist groß. / Alle Gewebe der Tyranneyen / Haut entzwey und reißt euch los! / […] / Noch ist vieles zu erfüllen, / Noch ist manches nicht vorbei; / Doch wir alle, durch den Willen, / Sind wir schon von Banden frei."

108 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe. Vol. 5. 9th edition, Munich: dtv 1982, 724: "Am ersten Tage ließen die Schauspieler das, was sich auf die Person des Königs bezieht, aus, weil der König alle solche Beziehungen verbeten, ja verboten hat: dies hat jedoch gestern gesprochen werden müssen, und der Beifall war wütend."

North and West and South are crumbling,
Thrones are bursting, empires trembling,
Run away, enjoy the taste
of patriarchy in the East,
Where you'll love and drink and sing,
Rejuvenated by Khidr's spring.[109]

The "bursting" thrones referred to were primarily those of Emperor Francis I and Napoleon. The book *Suleika* states that the "emperor" was unable to love because he was no longer gifting his mistress cities.[110] Also included were more or less veiled allusions to the Austrian empress Maria Ludovica, whom Goethe admired.[111]

In the "Noten und Abhandlungen zum besseren Verständnis des west-östlichen Divans" (Notes and Explanations for Better Understanding of the West-Eastern Divan), the Persian rulers are likewise referred to as "emperors." Goethe's reports about in part rather curious customs and etiquette at their court thus not only served to diminish the repute of the Persian potentates but implicitly also prompted readers to critically question the practices at European courts. For example, one passage discusses the casual social manners prevailing at the Oriental court and resulting in circumstances akin to a carnival surrounding the emperor. Upon leave-taking after drinking sprees, one person after another disappears, with overly inebriated party guests being escorted or carried out until only the ruler remains. In the harem, the women tussle with the emperor and attempt to bring him down on the carpet "while he, accompanied by much laughter, seeks to help himself and retaliate only with scurrility."[112]

The alternative Genesis story in the *Divan* has Adam created by God, but only "brought to life" by Noah with the help of wine.

Thus, Hafez, may your lovely song,
Your sacred example,

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109 West-oestlicher Divan. Von Goethe. Stuttgart: Cotta 1819, 3: "Nord und West und Süd zersplittern, / Throne bersten, Reiche zittern, / Flüchte du, im reinen Osten / Patriarchenluft zu kosten, / Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen, / Soll dich Chisers Quell verjüngen."

110 Cf. ibid., 138.

111 See the comments in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe. Vol. 2. 12th edition. Munich: dtv 1982, 597 and 607.

112 Cf. Goethe: West-oestlicher Divan, 475: "wobey er sich, unter grossem Gelächter, nur mit Schimpfreden zu helfen und zu rächen sucht."

Lead us by the clink of glasses
To the temple of our maker.[113]

The attitude towards the Islamic faith is similarly rakish; wine is considered far more important than the Qur'an. And although Hammer-Purgstall emphasized that "wine" stood allegorically for magnanimity of the soul and refinement of the mind in this context, and that it was a means of communicating the mystical truth of the presence of God in all things,[114] the censors doubtless applied a simpler and more straightforward interpretation.

Finally, the fact that the Old Testament is declared pure fiction in the "Noten und Abhandlungen" may have been perceived as provocative by orthodox Jews. Goethe also describes the last books of Moses as clumsily edited because they contained numerous passages of religious instruction interrupting the progress of the plot. What was more, Moses remained a crude character despite his courtly education, as evidenced by the fact that he secretly killed an Egyptian who had mistreated an Israelite.[115] Finally, the Israelites' 40 years of wandering through the wilderness are labeled as highly unlikely. In this regard, we must remind ourselves that the Austrian censorship sought to protect all religions—not just the Catholic faith—from disparagement.

4.4 *Friedrich Schiller*

Nearly all of Schiller's plays encountered problems with censorship, with most of them having to be drastically adapted and abridged for performance on the Viennese stages.[116]

Maria Stuart could only be performed in an edited version until 1848, mostly due to the theme of the execution of the queen, which was evocative of Marie Antoinette's beheading. We will focus on the motives for the prohibition of the printed version of the tragedy, however. Published in Tübingen (Cotta, 1801), the first edition was immediately issued a verdict of "damnatur" in May 1801. In the year 1809 (obviously during the months of French occupation), two editions of the play appeared in Vienna, published by Wallishausser and Pichler respectively. In one of the many mysterious twists of censorship history, a further Viennese edition published by Doll in 1810 featured the full original text.

113 Ibid., 17: "So, Hafis, mag dein holder Sang, / Dein heiliges Exempel, / Uns führen bei der Gläser Klang / Zu unsres Schöpfers Tempel."

114 Cf. the commentary in Goethe: Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe, vol. 2, 648–649.

115 Cf. Goethe: West-oestlicher Divan, 429–430.

116 Cf. Franz Hadamowsky: Schiller auf der Wiener Bühne; Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I (1801 bis 1820), 5; cf. also Glossy: Schiller und die Wiener Theaterzensur.

This may have been because it was part of a complete edition of Schiller's works affordable only for a relatively small audience. In the case of such complete editions, a policy of permitting texts otherwise forbidden in individual editions was regularly applied.

From the point of view of censorship, the discussions about the legitimacy of the two queens—which brought up the issue of Henry VIII's actions—along with Mary's loose morals, her questionable execution, and the role of the Catholic Church, the pope, and the bishop of Guise in the dispute with the Anglican ruler had to be deemed objectionable. Mary's supporter Mortimer challenges Elizabeth's legitimacy, whereas he considers Mary's membership in the Tudor family to be beyond doubt. The bishop of Guise had opened his eyes, as he says:

> He pointed out your ancestry as well, he showed
> Me your descent from the high House
> of Tudor, convinced me it is your
> Due alone to rule England,
> Not that of this upstart queen, sired
> In an adulterous bed, whom Henry,
> Her father, rejected himself as a bastard daughter.[117]

Mary adds to this criticism while speaking to Lord Burleigh and Paulet, Elizabeth's advisors, after Burleigh describes the members of the court senate who had convicted the Queen of Scots as honorable and nonpartisan peers:

> I see this high nobility of England,
> The Empire's majestic Senate,
> Catering like harem slaves to the Sultan's whims
> Of Henry the Eighth, my great uncle—
> I see this noble House of Lords,
> As venal as the bribable commoners,
> Pass and rescind laws, annulling
> And forging marriages, as the potentate

117 Friedrich Schiller: Maria Stuart: Ein Trauerspiel. Tübingen: Cotta 1801, 32–33: "Auch euern Stammbaum wieß er mir, er zeigte / Mir eure Abkunft von dem hohen Hause / Der Tudor, überzeugte mich, daß euch / Allein gebührt in Engelland zu herrschen, / Nicht dieser Afterkönigin, gezeugt / In ehebrecherischem Bett, die Heinrich, / Ihr Vater, selbst verwarf als Bastardtochter."

Commands, disinheriting England's princely daughters
today, defiling them with the bastard name,
Only to crown them as queens tomorrow.[118]

Elizabeth likewise refers to Henry VIII and the persons responsible for the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre (especially Catherine de' Medici) in the context of her retaliatory actions. In doing so, she also reviles the Catholic Church:

Your uncle provided
An example to all the world's kings
On how to make peace with one's enemies,
The Saint Bartholomew's shall be my paradigm!
What are sibship, law of nations to me?
The Church severs the bonds of all duty,
It sanctifies breach of faith, regicide,
I only practice what your priests teach.[119]

In Venice, the play was banned in 1816, mostly due to the anti-Catholic diatribe by the Anglicans. Among other passages, the Venetian censor Pianton objected to Lord Burleigh's warning words to Elizabeth:

Many secret admirers still
The Roman idolatry has on this isle.
[…]
In Rheims, the cardinal's episcopal seat,
There is the arsenal where they forge lightning,
There regicide is taught—From there
Busily they send to your island
The missions, determined fanatics,

118 Ibid., 46: "Ich sehe diesen hohen Adel Englands, / Des Reiches majestätischen Senat, / Gleich Sklaven des Serails den Sultanslaunen / Heinrichs des Achten, meines Großohms, schmeicheln—/ Ich sehe dieses edle Oberhaus, / Gleich feil mit den erkäuflichen Gemeinen, / Gesetze prägen und verrufen, Ehen / Auflösen, binden, wie der Mächtige / Gebietet, Englands Fürstentöchter heute / Enterben, mit dem Bastardnamen schänden, / Und morgen sie zu Königinnen krönen."

119 Ibid., 131–132: "Euer Oheim gab / Das Beispiel allen Königen der Welt, / Wie man mit seinen Feinden Frieden macht, / Die Sankt Barthelemi sey meine Schule! / Was ist mir Blutsverwandtschaft, Völkerrecht? / Die Kirche trennet aller Pflichten Band, / Den Treubruch heiligt sie, den Königsmord, / Ich übe nur, was eure Priester lehren."

> Disguised in sundry garb—From there
> Three murderers already have come […].[120]

From the perspective of the ecclesiastical order, Scene 7 in Act 5, which has Mary's steward Melvil declaring himself a priest because he had received the seven consecrations from the Holy Father before promptly hearing Mary's confession and absolving her from her sins, must also have seemed at least questionable. What is more, Mary is characterized as being a victim of "blind passion"[121] that caused her to not prevent the murder of her husband, King Darnley. Schiller merely exonerates her of plotting to murder Elizabeth.

Besides *Maria Stuart*, it appears noteworthy that an undated Bonn edition of *An die Freude* (Ode to Joy) was forbidden in 1802; the version may have been a musical setting. The date of the prohibition means the edition must have used the early wording of the ode written in 1785. The poem was originally created and intended for use in a Masonic context—which was a potential reason for proscription in itself. In addition, the text of this early rendering spoke of "rescue from the chains of tyrants" and equality ("beggars become brothers of princes") as well as including the pretentious assumption that "Brothers—above the starry canopy, God judges like we have judged."[122]

4.5 *Heinrich von Kleist*

Besides several plays, the first volume of Kleist's collection of *Erzählungen* (Stories), which included "Michael Kohlhaas," "Die Marquise von O …," and "Das Erdbeben in Chili" (The Earthquake in Chile), was banned as well.[123] The immoral passages in "Das Erdbeben in Chili," especially the impregnation of a nun in the convent garden, were the determining factor for this prohibition. Likewise objectionable was the "dreadful" ending that could prompt readers to doubt the rightful world order.[124]

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120 Ibid., 72: "Noch viele heimliche Verehrer zählt / Der röm'sche Götzendienst auf dieser Insel. / […] / Zu Rheims, dem Bischofssitz des Kardinals, / Dort ist das Rüsthaus, wo sie Blitze schmieden, / Dort wird der Königsmord gelehrt—Von dort / Geschäftig senden sie nach deiner Insel / Die Missionen aus, entschloßne Schwärmer, / In allerley Gewand vermummt—Von dort / Ist schon der dritte Mörder ausgegangen."—On the verdict in Venice, cf. Kucher: Herrschaft und Protest, 136–137.

121 Ibid., 23: "blinder Liebesglut."

122 "An die Freude" [erste Fassung]. In: Friedrich Schiller: Gedichte. Ed. Georg Kurscheidt. Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1992, 410–413: "Rettung von Tirannenketten […] Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder […] Brüder—überm Sternezelt richtet Gott wie wir gerichtet."

123 Heinrich von Kleist: Erzählungen. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1810.

124 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle, 97k/1811. This assessment was previously cited on pp. 99–100.

Penthesilea (1808) was forbidden as a manuscript in the year 1825. This once again goes to show that the tolerance for "classics" proclaimed in 1810 was not taken all too seriously—at least not in the long run. What was more, a text like *Penthesilea* was of interest only to a very small and specialized audience, and highly unlikely to ever be performed on stage.

The play focuses on the crisis of the Enlightenment, with the fragile device of reason yielding to the onslaught of affects. Achilles and Penthesilea are so immersed in the irrationality of their relationship oscillating between love and violence, between human and atavistic-animalistic behavior (kisses and biting), that they neglect their public and social obligations—in this case, going to war. For the censorial authorities, the drastic scenes of violence seem to have swung the pendulum in favor of prohibition along with certain remarks on the development and organization of the Amazons' state, which represents an antithesis to monarchy in almost every regard.

The autonomous women's state is established in reaction to oppression and rape. As an exception to its otherwise very rational organization, it stipulates a regularly occurring orgy known as the Feast of Roses that is required for reproduction. It consists of the Amazons defeating men in battle and abducting them to their homeland. According to their old laws, they may only mate with vanquished men. Penthesilea explains this constraint to Achilles as follows:

> On the bloody battlefield I must search for him,
> The young man my heart has chosen,
> And seize with the grip of iron arms,
> The one this soft bosom shall receive.
> [...]
> Thus the First Mothers' words decided,
> And in silence we obey them, Nereid's son,
> Like you do the words of your first fathers.[125]

The foundation myth of the Amazons' state includes the killing of the Ethiopian king Vexoris, who was forcefully usurping the land of the Scythians, his armies murdering all men and raping all women. During the wedding feast, the

125 Penthesilea: Ein Trauerspiel von Heinrich von Kleist. Tübingen: Cotta 1808. Ed. Joseph Kiermeier-Debre. Munich: dtv 1998 (text identical to the first printed edition), XV, 123–124: "Im blutgen Feld der Schlacht muß ich ihn suchen, / Den Jüngling, den mein Herz sich auserkohr, / Und ihn mit ehrnen Armen mir ergreifen, / Den diese weiche Brust empfangen soll. / [...] / Der ersten Mütter Wort entschied es also, / Und dem verstummen wir, Neridensohn, / Wie deiner ersten Väter Worten du."

Scythian queen Tanaïs pierces his heart with a dagger. The regicide is followed by the slaughter of Vexoris' entire retinue.

> Free, like the wind on the open champaign, are
> The women who achieved this feat,
> And no longer subservient to the race of men.
> A state, a self-determined one, shall be established,
> A women's state that henceforth no other
> Domineering male voice shall affront,
> That shall give itself law with dignity,
> Obey itself, and protect itself as well.[126]

From the very beginning, the relationship between Penthesilea and Achilles includes sex, violence, and death. He envisions carrying her off to a "little place under bushes" and "taking her in my arms with kisses hot as ore," but also to drag her "by her feet through the streets" with her "forehead crowned with mortal wounds" as he had done with the defeated Hector outside of Troy.[127] She, on the other hand, wishes most fervently to draw him to her bosom, but sees no other way to reach this goal than by fighting him. Love and violence in the shape of dragging the killed lover along the ground are juxtaposed abruptly in the text when Penthesilea's friend, Princess Prothoe, asks Achilles:

> You wish to perform the unnameable on her?
> Here this young body, you man of atrocity,
> Adorned with charms like a child with flowers,
> You wish to disgracefully, like a corpse—?
> Achilles: Tell her that I love her.[128]

Penthesilea's mind likewise alternates between sadistic and desperate masochistic fantasies:

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126 Ibid., XV, 126: "Frei, wie der Wind auf offnem Blachfeld, sind / Die Frau'n, die solche Heldenthat vollbracht, / Und dem Geschlecht der Männer nicht mehr dienstbar. / Ein Staat, ein mündiger, sei aufgestellt, / Ein Frauenstaat, den fürder keine andre / Herrschsücht'ge Männerstimme mehr durchtrotzt, / Der das Gesetz sich würdig selber gebe, / Sich selbst gehorche, selber auch beschütze."

127 Ibid., IV, 41–42: "Plätzchen unter Büschen […] auf Küßen heiß von Erz im Arm zu nehmen […] die Stirn bekränzt mit Todeswunden […] durch die Straßen häuptlings."

128 Ibid., XIII, 100–101: "Du willst das Namenlos' an ihr vollstrecken? / Hier diesen jungen Leib, du Mensch voll Greuel, / Geschmückt mit Reizen, wie ein Kind mit Blumen, / Du willst ihn schändlich, einer Leiche gleich –? / Achilles: Sag' ihr, daß ich sie liebe."

Let him drag me home by my feet with horses,
And this body, full of fresh life,
Cast out ignominiously on the open field,
Let him offer to the dogs for breakfast,
And to the abominable race of the birds.
Better to be dust than a woman without allure.[129]

In the battle that ultimately takes place between the pair, the sadistic component prevails and Penthesilea, in a trance-like state, shoots an arrow into Achilles' neck before setting her dogs on him—and joining them in tearing him to pieces, as Meroe reports:

She strikes, tearing the armor off his body,
Strikes her teeth into his white chest,
She and the dogs, competing,
Oxus and Sphynx their teeth into his right,
She into his left chest; when I arrived,
Blood was dripping from her mouth and hands.[130]

4.6 *Jean Paul*

To conclude this section, let us look at an author who has equally frequently been linked to German Classicism and Romanticism. As a humorist as well as through his very idiosyncratic associations and trains of thought, Jean Paul realized the greatest possible subjectivity in his narrative. As with his great role model Laurence Sterne, his prose is fragmented by permanent digressions and insertions and characterized by an ambiguous narrative perspective that regularly switches between narrators and the author's own persona. We will first examine a brief selection of offensive passages typical for his writing. They are taken from *Die unsichtbare Loge* (The Invisible Lodge; 1793), whose second, improved edition published in 1822 was banned in Austria.

In this early novel by Jean Paul, the youthful protagonist Gustav, son of the daughter of master forester Knör and the cavalry captain of Falkenberg, is

129 Ibid., IX, 77: "Laßt ihn mit Pferden häuptlings heim mich schleifen, / Und diesen Leib hier, frischen Lebens voll, / Auf offnem Felde schmachvoll hingeworfen, / Den Hunden mag er ihn zur Morgenspeise, / Dem scheußlichen Geschlecht der Vögel, bieten. / Staub lieber, als ein Weib sein, das nicht reizt."

130 Ibid., XXIII, 171: "Sie schlägt, die Rüstung ihm vom Leibe reissend, / Den Zahn schlägt sie in seine weiße Brust, / Sie und die Hunde, die wetteifernden, / Oxus und Sphynx den Zahn in seine rechte, / In seine linke sie; als ich erschien, / Troff Blut von Mund und Händen ihr herab."

raised according to the rules of the Moravian Church—that is, shielded from the world's temptations—until his tenth birthday. As a youth, he moves to the small princely residence city of Scheerau, where he receives a worldly education at a cadet school. He falls in love with Beata but is eventually seduced by the regent Bouse. The loss of his virginity initially endangers his relationship with Beata, but the pair make amends at the idyllic spa resort Lilienthal. The novel breaks off with Gustav in prison under suspicion of being a member of a secret society like his mentor Ottomar.

As might be expected, the portrayal of the Moravians is satirical. The faithful behave like herd animals, and the narrator expresses bafflement at this company of "sheep stood up on two legs."[131] The Moravians are also described as having a tendency towards self-vituperation, but only in order to make others appear even less worthy.[132] Jean Paul's suggestion to dress the statues of Mary and the saints in churches according to the latest fashion trends so as to increase the attractiveness of mass likely also did not sit well with the censor. This way, the author argued, one would at least know "why one went to church and what they were currently wearing in Paris or Versailles."[133] In a similar vein was his recommendation to equip churches with more comfortable seating or even with beds, since the aristocracy in particular was accustomed to a high standard in this regard:

> For such people of manners, proper church beds must therefore be added to the loges so that they may make do; just like card tables, dining tables, ottomans, lady friends and the like are such indispensable things in a court church that they might better be lacking in any other place than there.[134]

The regent's illegitimate son Ottomar is buried alive, providing him with what would be called a near-death experience today. Part of this experience is the realization that death is not followed by (eternal) life: "I have spoken with

131 Die unsichtbare Loge: Eine Lebensbeschreibung von Jean Paul. Zwei Teile. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: G. Reimer 1822, vol. 1, 67: "auf zwei Füße gestellten Schafe."

132 Ibid., vol. 1, 179–180.

133 Ibid., vol. 2, 209: "weswegen man in die Kirche ginge und was sie gerade in Paris oder Versailles anhaben."

134 Ibid., vol. 2, 310: "Für solche Leute von Ton müssen daher ordentliche Kirchenbetten in den Logen aufgeschlagen werden, damit es geht; so wie auch Spieltische, Eßtische, Ottomanen, Freundinnen u. dergl. in einer Hofkirche so unentbehrliche Dinge sind, daß sie besser an jedem andern Orte mangeln könnten als da."

Death, and he has assured me that there is nothing besides himself."[135] The ordeal leaves an indelible mark on Ottomar, who lapses into radical skepticism and melancholy. Presumably in an allusion to Kant, who was compelled to admiration and reverence by the sight of the starry sky and the moral law,[136] even peering at the canopy of stars can no longer inspire awe for creation in Ottomar.

> I was just looking at the starry sky; but it does not enlighten my soul like it used to: Its suns and earths wear down just like the one I decompose into. Whether for a minute the maggot's tooth or for a thousand years the shark's tooth is applied to a world: It is all the same, it is crushed either way.[137]

From the moral perspective, the detailed formulation of the theory that the cells of the human body are completely replaced every three years, along with its application to the problem of adultery, must have been considered objectionable as well. Jean Paul concludes that "a matrimonial subsidiary" should be added to the "mother church of the marital bed";[138] in a legal sense, this could be interpreted as the crime of malicious abandonment relieving the partner of his or her matrimonial duties and obligation to faithfulness and giving him or her the right to a new marriage. In effect, Jean Paul argues, the continuation of a marriage would be obvious adultery under these circumstances, with a divorce mandatory after three years. Politics and morals blend together when he describes the behavior of the Scheerau potentate, who has the state provide for his ousted lovers. Here Jean Paul draws a comparison between the "Sophi" (title of the King of Persia) and predatory animals:

> For the Sophi of Scheerau had the habit of not retiring a lover without giving her an estate, or a regiment, or a man of rank; he always left over enough of a lover that she could be made into a wife for an unhappy hus-

135 Ibid., vol. 2, 138: "Ich habe mit dem Tode geredet und er hat mich versichert, es gebe weiter nichts als ihn."

136 Cf. Immanuel Kant: Critik der practischen Vernunft. Riga: Hartknoch 1788, 288 (Beschluß).

137 Die unsichtbare Loge, vol. 2, 148–149: "Ich schauete gerade zum Sternenhimmel auf; aber er erhelltet meine Seele nicht mehr wie sonst: seine Sonnen und Erden verwittern ja eben so wie die, worein ich zerfalle. Ob eine Minute den Maden-Zahn, oder ein Jahrtausend den Haifisch-Zahn, an eine Welt setze: das ist einerlei, zermalmt wird sie doch."

138 Ibid., vol. 1, 76: "an die Mutterkirche des Ehebettes noch ein Ehefilial stoßen."

> band, like the eagle and the lion (also princes of the animals) always leave a piece of their prey uneaten for other beasts.[139]

The prince represents a combination of two types of lovers; Jean Paul differentiates between the "long or evergreen love" and the "short love." The former consists of a cold disdainful gallantry and characterizes the potentate's relationship with his wife. This "realty love" is interlaced with "a hundred cursory second-long marriages or liaisons over the creeping month disk of the long, fixed love or marriage."[140] The queen regent takes no issue with her husband's affairs, pursuing a similar course of action herself.

At a different place in the book, the lack of morals is generalized with regard to the members of the upper class. Jean Paul ironically compares their behavior to that of flowers:

> Like flowers' colorful vesture, the great cover their love with nothing—like them, they mate without knowing or loving each other—like flowers, they do not care for their children—but incubate their offspring with the same participation with which an incubator in Egypt does.[141]

Finally, the author also mocks the custom of burying the organs of monarchs separately from their bodies. While describing the transfer of the Scheerau "princely bowels" to the Abbey of Hopf, he ponders how he would strategically distribute his own organs to various churches and prayer houses.[142]

The plot of *Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz* (The Field Preacher Schmelzle's Journey to Flätz; 1809) is much simpler by comparison. Here the protagonist travels to the fair town mentioned in the title to apply for an extension of his job as military chaplain. As he had absconded from his pre-

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139 Ibid., vol. 1, 99: "Der Scheerauische Sophi hatte nämlich die Gewohnheit, keine Geliebte abzudanken ohne ihr ein Landgut, oder ein Regiment, oder einen gestirnten Mann mitzugeben;—er ließ von einer Geliebten allzeit noch so viel übrig, daß noch eine Ehefrau für einen Ehetropfen daraus zu machen war, wie der Adler und Löwe, (auch Fürst der Thiere,) allemal ein Stück vom Raube unverzehrt für anderes Vieh liegen lassen."

140 Ibid., vol. 2, 18: "lange oder weiter grünende Liebe […] kurze Liebe […] Immobiliarliebe […] hundert kursorischen Sekunden-Ehen oder Liebschaften über dem schleichenden Monatzeiger der langen fixen Liebe oder Ehe."

141 Ibid., vol. 2, 155: "Wie Florens bunte Kinder bedecken Große ihre Liebe mit nichts—wie sie gatten sie sich, ohne sich zu kennen oder zu lieben—wie Blumen sorgen sie für ihre Kinder nicht,—sondern brüten ihre Nachkommen mit der Theilnahme aus, womit es ein Brütofen in Aegypten thut."

142 Cf. ibid., 114–117: "fürstliches Gedärm."

vious position, his request is unsurprisingly denied. The text is characterized by Schmelzle's various fears and exaggerated precautions against all kinds of dangers—including self-justification, apologies, and excuses for his pathological anxiety.

The novel effectively begins with an affront to princes: "Good princes easily come by good subjects (the latter by the former: not so easily)."[143] Foreign potentates enjoy no better treatment in the book: Schmelzle compares himself to "King Jacob of England, who in running from naked swords confronted the charging Luther all the more boldly with book and quill before all of Europe."[144] With regard to religion, he remembers having "dueled with the Pope and the elephant order of the College of Cardinals at the same time."[145] The chaplain is also a believer in the phenomenon of the self-fulfilling prophecy, the result of which he naturally also fears. In the court church in Flätz, for instance, he finds himself obsessively contemplating whether there is anything more infernal than laughing derisively while accepting communion. While taking the host together with an old mayor, he then does in fact grin "like an ape," causing the mayor to ask him whether he is "an ordained preacher or a jester."[146]

Finally, the epilogue "Beichte des Teufels bey einem großen Staatsbedienten" (Confession of the Devil to a Great Government Official) was also considered objectionable owing to the notion of the ostensible appearance of the devil as well as because of the sins of the high-ranking official, who ultimately turns out to be the same character. This tale had initially run into problems with censorship in multiple German states as well.[147] The statesman is responsible for several wars, has enriched himself at the expense of others and oppressed his people—but most of all, he was a predator of innocent women, whom he even pursued into convents; "only the purest were to reveal themselves before him, and the upright man often said he did not even have to pay them, and half complained that it was so."[148]

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143 Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz mit fortgehenden Noten; nebst der Beichte des Teufels bey einem Staatsmanne; von Jean Paul. Tübingen: Cotta 1809, 1: "Gute Fürsten bekommen leicht gute Unterthanen (nicht so leicht diese jene)."

144 Ibid., 9: "König Jacob von England, welcher davon laufend vor nakten Degen, desto kühner vor ganz Europa dem stürmenden Luther mit Buch und Feder entgegen schritt." The editor of the critical Jean Paul edition rightfully assumed a confusion with Henry VIII, who engaged in theological disputes with Luther (see Jean Paul: Werke. Ed. Norbert Miller. Vol. 6. Munich: Hanser 1987, 1240).

145 Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz, 4: "mit dem Pabste und dem Elephantenorden des Kardinal-Collegiums zugleich duellirt."

146 Ibid., 64: "wie ein Affe […] ein ordinirter Prediger oder ein Pritschenmeister."

147 Cf. Jean Paul: Werke. Ed. Norbert Miller, vol. 6, 1239.

148 Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz, 129–130: "nur die Reinsten sollten sich vor

5 The Romanticists

5.1 *Ludwig Tieck*

William Lovell, Tieck's first major work of prose, is an epistolary novel comprising elements of the popular gothic and secret society genres—both categories that assured close scrutiny by the censors, especially around 1800. The book's publishing history is complex: Tieck notably revised the original version significantly for the second edition published in 1813/14, and a further edition appearing in 1828 featured additional changes to the text. In Austria, the first volume of the initial edition appearing in 1795 was prohibited while the subsequent volumes were not; the authorities most likely assumed that no one would purchase only the second and third volumes. Both parts of the 1813/14 edition were forbidden immediately.

Let us first look at the banned initial volume of the 1795 edition. Sexually explicit and fanciful confessions by the protagonist, despair regarding the world, a lack of morals, the secret society theme, and suspected encoding of living persons were all potential reasons for prohibition. Surprisingly, however, the volume contains only two passages that appear to match the censors' search criteria. The first is the section in which the unscrupulous Louise de Blainville seduces William Lovell—primarily to enable her to report on the romantic dreamer in cynical tones to her friend Rosa. Lovell subsequently informs his own friend Balder about the affair with obvious naiveté, deflecting any possible criticism of his lover:

> No, I have sworn to serve the higher deity to which all living nature bows in reverence, which unifies into the detached sensation of the heart that is everything, lust, love, for which language finds no words and the tongue no sounds.[149]

Such a frivolous cult of sensuousness reminiscent of the Rococo was sure to be considered objectionable. Not long after this scene, we come across the ghost story related by Balder in which the officer von Wildberg kills his friend von F*** over a trivial issue, namely a dispute about belief in miracles. Wildberg

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ihm sehen lassen, und der Redliche sagte oft, sie seien gar nicht zu bezahlen, und klagte halb darüber."

149 Ludwig Tieck: William Lovell. Erster Band. Berlin and Leipzig: Nicolai 1795, 169: "Nein, ich habe zum Dienste jener höheren Gottheit geschworen, vor der sich ehrerbietig die ganze lebende Natur neigt, die in sich jene abgesonderte Empfindung des Herzens vereinigt, die alles ist, Wollust, Liebe, für die die Sprache keine Worte, die Zunge keine Töne findet."

subsequently lapses into melancholia. He confesses to receiving visits from the dead F***: "He did not come himself, but every night at midnight a skull, pierced by a bullet, rolled through the middle of his bedroom, stood still before his bed as if wanting to stare at him admonishingly with its empty eye sockets, and then disappeared again." The eerie apparition regularly torments the officer: "Then Wildberg cast his gaze fixedly on the floor: See, he said quietly, how he creeps up on me! Oh, forgive me, forgive me, my dear friend, frighten me no more, I have suffered enough."[150] The punchline is delivered when the obsessed man's friends hope to cure him by rolling a real skull into the room, whereupon Wildberg sees two skulls.

The first volume of the novel's second, revised edition—which as mentioned above was likewise prohibited in Austria—additionally included a report by a servant named Willy to his brother on the visit of a (mostly Protestant) party of tourists to Rome. He claims to be thinking about death more frequently thereafter and complains about the lack of a proper church.

> Here too there is no appropriate church for us, which is bad; my master often goes to mass, but I still hope he does it mostly because of the women, for if he engaged in prayer there and became Catholic—no, Thomas, I could never get over it. And the singsong and resplendent robes are alluring! Yes, dear brother, I too seem to have let myself be inveigled, and have once or twice (do not be startled) felt a kind of reverence myself. This must not happen again. Oh, if I were not to bring my orthodox English fear of God back with me soundly and in one piece, what would you or any Christian be forced to think of me?[151]

150 Ibid., 271 and 272: "er komme zwar nicht selbst, aber in jeder Mitternacht rolle ein Todtenkopf, von einer Kugel durchbohrt, durch die Mitte seines Schlafzimmers, stehe vor seinem Bette stille, als wenn er ihn mahnend mit den leeren Augenhöhlen ansehen wolle, und verschwinde dann wieder. […] Dann richtete Wildberg seine Augen starr auf den Boden: sieh, sprach er leise, wie er zu mir heranschleicht! O vergieb, vergieb mir, mein lieber Freund, ängstige mich nicht öfter, ich habe genug gelitten."

151 William Lovell von L. Tieck. Neue verbesserte Auflage, in zwei Bänden. Erster Band. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1813, 170: "Auch ist hier keine rechte Kirche für unser einen, das ist schlimm, mein Herr geht oft in die Messe, doch hoffe ich immer noch, er thut es mehr der Weiber wegen, denn wenn er gar Andacht da hätte und katholisch würde, nein, Thomas, das könnt ich nimmermehr verwinden. Und es ist ein verführerisches Wesen mit den [!] Singsang und prächtigen Kleidern; ja, lieber Bruder, ich habe mich wohl auch hinein verleiten lassen, und habe ein oder zweimal (erschrick nur nicht), selbst eine Art von Andacht gespürt. Das darf nicht wieder kommen. Ei, wenn ich meine rechtgläubige Englische Gottesfurcht nicht wieder ganz heil und gesund mit mir zurück brächte, was würdest Du oder jeder Christ von mir denken müssen?"

It is one of the curiosities of censorship that tolerated domestic editions of forbidden works existed; in this case, a Viennese reprint by publisher Grund (1819) within a collection of Tieck's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Collected Works). The title page emphasizes that the version had been typeset "following the original verbatim" (in this case, referring to the 1813/14 edition). And indeed, the edition contains the passage on Catholic mass cited above—an apparent incidence of tolerance in the context of cumulative editions.[152]

Alongside Tieck's first work *William Lovell*, let us examine his final novel, *Vittoria Accorombona* (1840), for potentially offensive passages. Both parts of the first edition promptly received a verdict of "erga schedam" in Austria in November 1840. A noteworthy fact in this context is that the Prussian king Frederick William IV, who received the novel from Tieck in person, not only took no offense with it but reacted by having a gift of 100 gold guilders and an invitation to Potsdam sent to the author.[153]

The book describes a series of episodes of violence, despotism, and immorality among the aristocracy and clergy surrounding the poet Vittoria Accorombona, daughter of a family of jurists. The theme of the "black Renaissance" frequently encountered in historiography and various literary accounts—as well as on the prohibition lists in Catholic countries—features prominently in the text.

A central element in this context is the rebellious nobility, which makes its own laws, practices club law, and views murder as a legitimate means of enforcing its interests. These outlaws operate as bands of robbers typically gathering in the mountains, as well as in the shape of secret societies. Their sophisticated ideologists view the anarchy they stand for merely as a transitional stage on the way to an orderly state promising the greatest possible degree of freedom for everyone, however. It was this aspect that likely gave the censorial authorities the greatest cause for concern with regard to the political upheaval during the *Vormärz* period. Vittoria defends the rebels, robbers, and expellees because they fight the corrupt existing society and are the only ones offering hope for a better future:

> Like almost all laws have lost their power for us, as everyone does what he wants, as the powerful can satisfy every craving, as no one may contradict him, so I only ask: What would happen to us here if these ban-

152 William Lovell. Neue verbesserte Auflage, wörtlich nach dem Originale. (Ludwig Tieck's sämmtliche Werke 16/17). Wien: Grund 1819.

153 Cf. Ludwig Tieck: Romane (Werke in vier Bänden), ed. Marianne Thalmann. Vol. 4. Munich: Winkler 1988, 828.

> ished ones, who have grown to a large independent force, did not to some degree impede and curb this capriciousness? [...] Through their public withdrawal they are thus saying brazenly and publicly: The entity that you wish to call a state, we declare it perished, here in the fields, mountains, and forests; we provisionally form the true, real state, founded on freedom, in opposition to all those agonizing, narrow-minded constraints and incomprehensible requirements you wish to call laws! Everything that can tear itself free, that wants to enjoy freedom, comes to us, and sooner or later our sentiment will have to be the ruling one in the country; will a new constitution and a better fatherland have to develop from our strength; and will the worse robbers, the narrow-minded, prudently self-serving ones, the craven egoists sit, banished by us, behind their decayed walls and worm-eaten laws which they no longer believe in themselves.[154]

The second motif is the intertwining of power politics and the clergy along with the nepotism it spawned. Pope Gregory XIII is derided for impassively allowing the intrigues of the cardinals and the violent goings-on to continue while stubbornly pursuing his calendar reform: "Until now we thought that the popes only took care of so-called eternity, but now they are applying themselves to cleaning up the earthly time as well."[155] Cardinal Farnese also has the following offensive words to say about Cardinal Montalto, the later Pope Sixtus V:

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154 Vittoria Accorombona. Ein Roman in fünf Büchern von Ludwig Tieck. 2 Theile. Breslau: Josef Max und Komp. 1840, part 2, 12–14: "So wie fast alle Gesetze bei uns ihre Kraft verlohren haben, wie jeder thut, was er will, wie der Mächtige jedes Gelüste befriedigen kann, wie keiner ihm widersprechen darf, so frage ich nur: was würde aus uns hier werden, wenn diese Verbannten, die zu einer großen selbständigen Macht angewachsen sind, nicht einigermaßen diese Willkühr hemmten und zügelten? [...] Sie sagen also durch ihren öffentlichen Austritt dreist und öffentlich: das Wesen, welches ihr einen Staat nennen wollt, erklären wir für untergegangen, hier in den Feldern, Bergen und Wäldern bilden wir vorläufig den ächten, wahren Staat, auf Freiheit gegründet, im Widerspruch aller jener quälenden, engherzigen Hemmungen und unverständigen Bedingungen, die ihr Gesetze nennen wollt! Alles, was sich losreißen kann, was der Freiheit genießen will, kommt zu uns, und früher oder später muß unsre Gesinnung die im Lande herrschende sein, aus unserer Kraft muß sich eine neue Verfassung, ein besseres Vaterland entwickeln, und die schlimmern Räuber, die engherzigen, klüglich Eigennützigen, die zaghaften Egoisten sitzen, von uns verbannt, hinter ihren morschen Mauern und wurmstichigen Gesetzen, an welche sie selber nicht mehr glauben."

155 Ibid., part 1, 68: "Bis jetzt glaubten wir, daß die Päpste nur für die sogenannte Ewigkeit sorgten, aber jetzt werfen sie sich auch in die irdische Zeit, um da aufzuräumen."

> What do you want with this coward? Farnese yelled, laughing: This groveling, indolent donkey from the Marche, whose behavior still reflects the poverty of his parents, who still carries the old adages of the wagoners and cattle drovers from there in his mouth, a worthy favorite of the fanatic Pius the Fifth, who had similarly indigent origins […].[156]

Upon becoming pope, the provincial "coward" proves to be a cruel tyrant and despot who orders executions by the dozen. Cardinal Farnese embodies the clergy's depravity most emphatically. He offers to Vittoria's mother to exert his influence in a trial endangering her family's fortune if Vittoria becomes his mistress. In doing so, he candidly makes reference to the nepotism holding sway in Rome: "[…] the popes have their nepots, whom they not only protect but make rich and powerful, and often, if a favorable opportunity arises, turn them into independent and ruling princes.—Could I not now adopt you and yours in a similar fashion?"[157] Vittoria rejects the sacrament of marriage, not least owing to her unworthy selection of suitors. When her mother conveys the cardinal's request to her, she refuses in no uncertain terms:

> And you have long known what I think about conventional marriage, mother. This arbitrary devotion to weak and ordinary, even contemptible men—how am I to believe that a priestly ordainment, a ceremony, could sanctify this wretched relation? Only for the dull-witted eyes of the masses, for the syndicated priest, for woebegone old crones can a difference occur between the privileged and the seemingly forbidden conjunction.[158]

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156 Ibid., part 1, 219: "Was wollt ihr bei dem Duckmäuser? rief Farnese laut lachend: dieser kriechende träge Esel aus der Mark der in seinen Geberden noch immer den Bettel seiner Eltern zur Schau trägt, der noch immer die Sprüchwörter der Kärrner und Viehtreiber von dort im Munde führt, ein würdiger Liebling jenes fanatischen Pius des fünften, der eben so armuthseelig entsprossen war […]."

157 Ibid., part 1, 156: "[…] die Päbste haben ihre Nepoten, die sie nicht nur beschützen, sondern reich und mächtig, oft, wenn sich die günstige Gelegenheit bietet, zu unabhängigen und regierenden Fürsten machen.—Könnte ich nun euch und die eurigen nicht auf ähnliche Weise adoptiren?"

158 Ibid., part 1, 171–172: "Und wie ich von der hergebrachten Ehe denke, weißt du ja längst, Mutter. Diese willkührliche Hingebung an schwache gewöhnliche, ja verächtliche Männer,—wie soll ich glauben, daß eine priesterliche Weihe, eine Ceremonie, dieses elende Verhältniß heiligen könne? Nur für das blöde Auge der Menge, für den zünftigen Priester, für jammervolle alte Gevatterinnen kann zwischen der privilegirten und scheinbar verbotenen Verbindung ein Unterschied statt finden."

The third objectionable theme originates in the gothic novel.[159] Bracciano, who is curious about alchemy and other dark arts, is led to a magician in a forest by Mancini, a trusted friend of the robbers. There he is confronted with deceptively lifelike scenes from his own past, including the murder of his former wife. As Vittoria reports, he believes the entire experience to be a swindle orchestrated by an enemy familiar with his life:

> Next the image of Isabelle of Florence appeared in the vapor, then the murdered Peretti, bleeding. I wanted to run away when the vapor became so thick that I feared to suffocate, and suddenly it was you standing there, in agony, half naked, bleeding from many wounds, face grimacing.[160]

Besides the ghostly apparitions, the circumstance that Vittoria's death is anticipated in detail here remains mystifying to the reader. Earlier, Vittoria had already been warned of the peril threatening Bracciano by a magical little man. Even though the apparitions may have been staged and thus explainable in rational terms, as was regularly the case in gothic novels of the Ann Radcliffe variety, the effect of this scene would have been ambivalent—especially for a readership tending towards superstitious beliefs, as the censors saw it.

5.2 *Achim von Arnim*

Achim von Arnim's romantic, two-part drama *Halle und Jerusalem. Studentenspiel und Pilgerabentheuer* (Halle and Jerusalem: Student Play and Pilgrim Adventure; Heidelberg 1811) spanning more than 400 pages was banned in February 1811. The assessor in this case was Baron Retzer, who had also reviewed Kleist's "Earthquake in Chile" and was considered a very tolerant censor.[161] Although the motives for the prohibition were comparatively diverse, the incriminated passages can ultimately all be assigned to the realm of religious criticism. Retzer justified his decision as follows:

> In the first place, this book must already be forbidden because mention of Rosicrucians is made within it. But besides this circumstance, it

159 Cf. Ibid., part 1, 75–84.

160 Ibid., Teil 2, 245: "Da erschien im Dampf das Bild jener Isabelle von Florenz, dann der ermordete Peretti blutend. Ich wollte mich entfernen, als der Dampf so vermehrt wurde, daß ich zu ersticken fürchtete, und plötzlich standest Du, in Qualen, halb nackt, aus vielen Wunden blutend, verzerrten Angesichts."

161 Cf. Ignaz Franz Castelli: Memoiren meines Lebens. Eine Auswahl veranstaltet von einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft unter Leitung von Prof. Dr. Josef Lackner. Linz: Österreichischer Verlag für Belletristik und Wissenschaft 1947, 161–162.

> is an aggregate of such absurd, indecent, and vulgar passages that any reader could only be wasting their time by reading this writ. As an example may serve [on] p. 114 the inane babble of the Jew Ahasverus, who reproaches his fellow believers for their fickleness and miserliness, [on] p. 151 the indecent passage where Celinde admits that the preacher Lyrer, who was to instruct her in the holy faith, captivated her with the folly of love, and that she serves his lust without any delight; [on] p. 154 the passage where Cardenio tells the preacher: Shut up you dumb priest, I will not be dazzled by your double-dealing whistling, do you not know Cardenio better, I do not wear a nose-ring, that such a black monkey might lead me through the streets, etc. [On] p. 156 the sacrilegious statement by the preacher: I am a student of Epicurus, I know how to die, and I have no fear of what comes thereafter, for there is nothing there, etc.[162]

Mentions of Rosicrucians, Freemasons, or Templars were generally frowned upon, and the perceived trivialization of suicide can also be included among the theological reasons for prohibition. The shock of the "Werther fever" apparently still remained compelling several decades later. The behavior and statements by the preacher Lyrer as well as Cardenio's vituperations barely required comment in Retzer's eyes—it was sufficient to cite them to justify a prohibition. Celinde's confession to her lover reads as follows in the text:

> I am unspeakably unhappy that the preacher Lyrer, who was to instruct me in the holy faith, captivated me with the folly of love, and now I hate him with all my soul, I cannot remember how everything went astray,

162 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle, 97k/1811: "Für das erste ist dieses Buch schon darum zu verbiethen, weil darin von Rosenkreutzern Erwähnung geschieht. Aber ausser diesem Umstand ist es ein Aggregat so unsinniger undecenter, und abgeschmackter Stellen, daß jeder Leser sich mit der Lectüre dieser Schrift nur die Zeit verderben kann. Zum Beyspiele mag dienen S. 114 das alberne Geschwätz des Juden Ahasverus, der den Glaubensgenossen Vorwürfe über ihren Wankelmuth und ihren Geldgeiz macht, S. 151 die indecente Stelle, wo Celinde bekennt, daß der Prediger Lyrer der sie in heiligem Glauben unterweisen sollte, mit Liebesthorheit berückt habe, und daß sie seiner Lust ganz ohne Lust diene; S. 154 die Stelle, wo Cardenio dem Prediger sagt: Halt's Maul du dummer Pfaffe, ich laß mich nicht von deinen falschen Pfiffen blenden, kennst du Cardenio nicht besser, ich trage keinen Nasenring, daß mich ein solcher schwarzer Affe könnte durch die Gasse ziehn etc. S. 156 die freveliche Äusserung des Predigers: Ich bin ein Schüler Epikurs, ich weiß zu sterben, und habe keine Scheu vor dem, was jenseits kommt, denn da ist nichts etc."

> I also loved Viren, but no more since I saw you, I tremble before the preacher and know not why, I serve his lust without any delight, all my love is directed towards you.[163]

Ahasver's "inane babble" about his fellow faithful converting to Christianity consists of him reprimanding a dying Jew with these words:

> So you leave your faith, yet still hate the Christian creed, willingly letting all be robbed, all, all except money, standing by the running water, plunging your full coffers deeply therein, small is only what you lose, the faith adorns you, delicate are the wings of faith, cannot lift such heavy burden, become poor, and you will be blessed.[164]

In the case of a collection of Arnim's stories forbidden in 1812, we can limit our analysis to the novella *Isabella of Egypt*, which offered sufficient cause for the ban. Its narrative features Emperor Charles V as a highly questionable protagonist and was thus assured the censor's keen attention.[165]

According to a legend, gypsies shunned the infant Jesus and his parents Mary and Joseph when they arrived in Egypt during their escape; this was because the Jews had allegedly stolen silver receptacles and taken them along during their exodus from Egypt. To atone for this iniquitous treatment of the holy family, a large number of gypsies embark on a pilgrimage to Europe, where they are faced with ill repute and persecution; for example, Duke Michael of Egypt, the young gypsy Bella's father, is falsely accused of theft and executed. Bella pro-

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163 Ludwig Achim von Arnim: Halle und Jerusalem. Studentenspiel und Pilgerabentheuer. Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer 1811, 151: "Ich bin unsäglich unglücklich der Pred'ger Lyrer, der mich im heilgen Glauben unterweisen sollte, hat mich berückt mit Liebestorheit, und jetzt haß ich ihn aus voller Seele, ich weiß nicht mehr, wie alles sich verlaufen, ich liebte auch Viren, doch seit ich dich gesehn nicht mehr, ich zittre vor dem Prediger und weiß es nicht warum, ich diene seiner Lust ganz ohne Lust, zu dir ist alle meine Liebe hingewendet."

164 Ibid., 114: "Euren Glauben ihr verlasset, hasset doch den Christenglauben, rauben laßt ihr willig alles, alles, alles nur kein Geld, stellet euch an fließend Wasser, lasset eure volle Kasten tief hinein, klein ist nur was ihr verlieret, zieret euch der Glaube, leicht beflügelt ist der Glaube, hebt so schwere Last nicht auf, werdet arm, ihr werdet seelig."

165 One of Arnim's sources is Cervantes' "exemplary" novella about the gypsy girl Preciosa. This story was included in the first volume of the *Novelas ejemplares* translated by Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau under the title *Lehrreiche Erzählungen* (Königsberg: Nicolovius 1801), which was likewise prohibited in Austria.—On Arnim's sources, cf. the edition in the "Bibliothek der Klassiker": Achim von Arnim: Sämtliche Erzählungen 1802–1817, ed. Renate Möhring. Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag 1990, 1254–1259.

ceeds to live with the old procuress Braka near Ghent, where she is eventually discovered and visited after dark by the young Charles v. Various events and complications prevent them from having intercourse, however. Bella begins to study magic books, enabling her to grow a male mandrake. Although the little root man's behavior is malicious, Bella loves it like a child, with the narrator offering up improper comparisons with the divine power of creation: "God loved the world he had created just as much, that he sent it his only son."[166] With the help of a treasure discovered by the mandrake, the group is able to pose as a noble family traveling from abroad and settle in a knightly house in Ghent. They are joined by the *Bärnhäuter* (Bearskin), a man who is technically already dead but forced to serve for a few more years before his final salvation—a parallel to an eponymous figure in a fairy tale collected by the brothers Grimm. This Bearskin story-within-the-story is likewise extremely dubious due to an appearance of the pope: Bearskin had previously served a ghost for seven years, and during this time had painted the walls of a room at an inn with wonderful pictures while spending a night there. Visiting the same roadhouse while traveling, the pope is so enthused by these artworks that he takes Bearskin along to Rome, where he asks him to paint the present and the past based on an image of the future; all three are "natural" daughters of the pope. Bearskin completes the task and is allowed to marry the daughter "future" in return; her two sisters subsequently die of grief and become the ghost's property.

In Ghent, Bella encounters Charles again, and the now fully grown mandrake applies for a position as marshal at his court. Charles dresses up as a doctor in order to approach Bella, but upon reaching her is only able to stammer the word "pulsetaking."[167] Bella divulges her provenance to him, causing him to believe she is a French princess who is to be offered to him incognito for marriage. However, he comes upon her as she is kissing her mandrake and is immediately stricken with jealousy. He has a Golem created in her likeness to take her place as the mandrake's lover and distract him. Here too, the quasi-divine ability to generate life is emphasized, with the following remark made by the Jew fabricating the Golem:

166 Achim von Arnim: Isabella von Aegypten, Kaiser Karl des Fünften erste Jugendliebe. Eine Erzählung. Melück Maria Blainville, die Hausprophetin aus Arabien. Eine Anekdote. Die drei liebreichen Schwestern und der glückliche Färber. Ein Sittengemälde. Angelika, die Genueserin, und Cosmus, der Seilspringer. Eine Novelle. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1812, 34: "also hat Gott die von ihm geschaffene Welt geliebet, daß er ihr seinen eingebornen Sohn gesendet hat."

167 Ibid., 83: "Pulsfühlen."

> Lord, why did God create man when everything else was done? Apparently because it was in man's nature once the latter had dissociated itself from God. If it is in his nature, it stays in his nature and man, who is a likeness of God, can create something similar if he only knows the right words used by God in doing so. If there were still a Paradise, we could make as many men as there were clumps of soil within it [...].[168]

The jealous mandrake marries Golem-Bella, and a peculiar wedding party comes together for the occasion: "[...] an old witch, a corpse who had to pretend to be alive, a beauty made of clay, and a young man cut out of a root sat in ceremonious harmony, harboring great notions of the joy of a life they were setting out to establish [...]."[169] In the meantime, Charles and Bella spend a blissful night together. The narrator speculates that Charles became the tirelessly striving, world-changing man and emperor he was because a permanent bond with Bella remained impossible. The young woman falls into bad company and subsequently seeks refuge at Charles' court disguised as a page. Charles inadvertently spends several nights with Golem-Bella and begins to prefer the pure sensuousness to his more soulful relationship with the real Bella. Upon recognizing his mistake, he destroys the Golem, however. The mandrake, who is jealous but nevertheless important for Charles due to his ability to find treasure, is married to Bella "on the left hand," forced to live separate from her, and appointed as official "imperial mandrake."[170] Bella gives birth to Charles's desired son named Lrak, who is to unite the gypsies dispersed across Europe and lead them back to Egypt. She is subsequently abducted by her compatriots and taken back home. The mandrake is transformed into a ghost and henceforth pursues Charles. The emperor repents and castigates himself, and the narrator critically sums up his deeds, giving the entire story the appear-

168 Ibid., 98: "Herr, warum hat Gott die Menschen erschaffen, als alles übrige fertig war? Offenbar, weil das in ihrer Natur lag, als diese von Gott sich losgedacht hatte. Liegt das in ihrer Natur, so bleibts auch in ihrer Natur und der Mensch, der ein Ebenbild Gottes ist, kann etwas Ähnliches hervorbringen, wenn er nur die rechten Worte weiß, die Gott dabei gebraucht hat. Wenn es noch ein Paradis gäbe, so könnten wir so viel Menschen machen, als Erdenklöße darin legen [...]."

169 Ibid., 102: "[...] eine alte Hexe, ein Todter, der sich lebendig stellen mußte, eine Schöne aus Thonerde und ein junger Mann aus einer Wurzel geschnitten, saßen in feierlicher Eintracht, hegten große Gedanken vom Glück des Lebens, das sie eben zu begründen fuhren [...]."

170 Ibid., 107: "an der linken Hand" respectively 153: "Reichsallraun."

ance of an allegory: The two Bellas can be interpreted as representations of the religious schism, especially the specter of the Peace of Augsburg concluded in 1555.

> [But we], whose forebears had suffered so much from his political system of faith, who were ever and ever angered and plagued by the mandrake's despicable lust for money, and finally even perished in the division of Germany which he, out of a lack of pious unity and ardor, caused by trying to impede it, we feel reconciled with his nature by the recounted misfortune of his first love, by his remorse, and we recognize that only a saint could have succeeded on the throne at that time.[171]

Finally, the account of the fictitious burial of Charles V performed on August 20, 1558 "with the body alive and the eyes open" must have been considered unacceptable as well.[172] It is described in parallel to Bella's "court of death" on a pyramid, during which everyone is allowed to vocalize an opinion on her life. During this event, she is ultimately even proclaimed a saint by the narrator.

5.3 *E.T.A. Hoffmann*

Only the second volume of *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr* (The Life and Opinions of the Tomcat Murr), Hoffmann's unfinished final novel, was banned. A brief review of this book appearing in 1822 will suffice for our purposes. For sure, the narrative strand featuring the tomcat figure from the title and describing the life and activities of students offered the censors plenty of cause for misgivings: For example, the attack by the guard dog Achilles and the gibe against the "Katzburschen" (fraternity tomcats) in Part III could be interpreted as allusions to the persecution of students by the police. Most likely, however, it was the court-related—respectively Kreisler-related—part of the story that ultimately triggered the prohibition. Aside from the salacious episodes with the professor's wife and Baron Alzibiades von Wipp, the references to Angela, the

171 Ibid., 168: "[Wir] aber, deren Voraltern durch sein politisches Glaubenswesen, so viel erlitten, die vom Allraun schnöder Geldlust fort und fort gereizt und gequält worden, und endlich selbst noch an der Trennung Deutschlands untergingen, welche er aus Mangel frommer Einheit und Begeisterung, indem er sie hindern wollte, hervorbrachte, wir fühlen uns durch das erzählte Mißgeschick seiner ersten Liebe, durch die Reue mit seiner Natur versöhnt, und sehen ein, daß nur ein Heiliger auf dem Throne jener Zeit hätte bestehen können."

172 Ibid., 172: "bei lebendem Körper, mit offenen Augen."

illegitimate scion of the princely house, or the mentally deficient Prince Ignaz and the hysterical princess Hedwiga, the scenes in the abbey were presumably the decisive passages.

They feature the figure of Father Hilarius, a carefree idler who has an eye on "that pretty girl down in the nave"[173] but is mostly just interested in drinking wine. The criticism of monastic life includes a reference to "monkish bad taste," which is expressed in the flamboyant decoration of the abbot's quarters; it also comprises accusations of opportunism when the abbot, a "pupil of the propaganda in Rome," welcomes Father Cyprianus, the dubious emissary of the pope.[174] The language becomes increasingly abrasive in Part IV when Kreisler recognizes that he has been betrayed by the abbot, that the latter "practiced mendacious trickery, and that all reasons he cited at the time to persuade him [Kreisler] to join the monastery merely served as pretexts for a hidden agenda, just the same as the ones he was now producing for the opposite."[175] Father Hilarius calls the papal emissary a "spiritual comedian"[176] and is in fact correct to do so, since Cyprianus is an old sinner who chose a clerical career to process the trauma of having murdered his lover. This portrayal of monastic life and its remote control by dubious forces in Rome were obviously sufficient to cause a prohibition of the novel fragment.

Datura fastuosa, another late Hoffmann work, features erotic innuendo, as indicated by the plant mentioned in the title "with its lovely-scented large funnel-shaped flowers."[177] What is more, the figure of Fermino Valies is suspected of being the devil. Among other things, he reports having fled from a monastery, describing "the life in that strict order, whose rule was created by the imaginative madness of the highest fanaticism."[178]

The student Eugenius marries his professor's widow in order to gain unrestricted access to the deceased teacher's gardens and continue his botanical

173 E.T.A. Hoffmann: Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr nebst fragmentarischer Biographie des Kapellmeisters Johannes Kreisler in zufälligen Makulaturblättern. Hg. v. E.T.A. Hoffmann. Zweiter Band. Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler 1822, 78: "dieser jener hübschen Dirne unten im Schiff."

174 Ibid., 119: "mönchischen Ungeschmack" respectively 122: "Zögling der Propaganda in Rom."

175 Ibid., 381: "lügnerische Gaukelei trieb und daß alle Gründe, die er damals anführte, um ihn zum Eintritt ins Kloster zu bewegen, ebenso nur einer versteckten Absicht zum Vorwand dienen sollten als diejenigen die er nun für das Gegentheil aufstellte."

176 Ibid., 382: "geistlicher Komödiant."

177 "Datura fastuosa." In: E.T.W. [!] Hoffmann's erzählende Schriften in einer Auswahl. Vol. 14. Stuttgart: Brodhag 1831, 59: "mit ihren herrlich duftenden großen trichterförmigen Blumen."

178 Ibid., 54–55: "das Leben in jenem strengen Orden, dessen Regel der erfinderische Wahnsinn des höchsten Fanatismus geschaffen."

life's work. This exposes the young man to mockery by the community, and he is promptly challenged to a duel; on the other hand, he is susceptible to erotic temptation in the shape of the daughter of the supposed count Angelo Mora. Fermino, the seductive countess' secretary, can therefore easily embarrass the married man with a polemic question about "the embraces of your Sara, your Ninon."[179] In Eugenius' marriage, his wife assumes the place of a mother; such marriages of convenience were considered questionable by definition from a churchly perspective. His dreams of an angelic young bride promptly trigger a deep revulsion against the old professor's widow in the young man. He subsequently pours a poisonous powder into the Datura fastuosa, his wife's favorite plant, and it is only fortuitous circumstances that prevent him from becoming a murderer. Towards the end of the tale, Hoffmann added a barb targeting the Order of Jesus as well: The fake count and Fermino are traveling on the Jesuits' behalf with the aim of recruiting new followers and staff. In this context, the order employs "the strangest mystifications […]; but nothing binds more firmly than crime, and Fermino therefore rightfully thought himself unable to ensure the youth's allegiance in any better way than by awakening with might and main the slumbering passion of love, which would then lead him to the execrable act."[180]

6 The Historical Novel

As the statistical analysis of the prohibition lists shows, works in French were the most frequent targets of censorial intervention besides German literature. During the *Vormärz* period, English and French novels were the most common works in other languages on the German-speaking book market. A total of 1,051 French and 199 English prose titles found their way onto the prohibition lists between 1815 and 1848.[181] The apparent prevalence of French over English literature is confirmed when looking at the authors most often found on the lists: Anna Eliza Bray and James Fenimore Cooper had six forbidden titles each, Edward Bulwer-Lytton had seven, and George Payne Rainsford James had nine.

179 Ibid., 70: "den Umarmungen deiner Sara, deiner Ninon."

180 Ibid., 99: "der seltsamsten Mystifikationen […]; nichts kettet aber fester als das Verbrechen, und Fermino glaubte daher mit Recht sich des Jünglings nicht besser versichern zu können, als wenn er die schlummernde Leidenschaft der Liebe mit aller Gewalt weckte, die ihn dann führen sollte zur fluchwürdigen That."

181 Cf. the complete listing in Norbert Bachleitner (ed.): Quellen zur Rezeption des englischen und französischen Romans in Deutschland und Österreich im 19. Jahrhundert. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1990, 60–93.

Only the 17 banned works of Walter Scott are in the range of some of the most frequently prohibited French writers: Honoré de Balzac with 39 titles, Frédéric Soulié with 27, Paul de Kock with 25, Eugène Sue with 20, Paul Lacroix ("Le Bibliophile Jacob") with 19, and George Sand with 17 titles. *Vormärz* literature featured the afterglow of the gothic novel (for example in works by Balzac and Jules Janin), the Newgate novels (Ainsworth, Bulwer-Lytton), tales of seafarers and pirates (Cooper, Frederick Chamier, Edouard Corbière), and novels on contemporary society (Balzac, de Kock, Sand, Soulié, Sue). For a long time, however, it was the historical novel that dominated the field of prose with works by William Harrison Ainsworth, Anna Eliza Bray, Bulwer-Lytton, Thomas Colley Grattan, G.P.R. James, Horace Smith, and Cooper—respectively Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Léon Gozlan, Victor Hugo, Charles Victor d'Arlincourt, Théophile Dinocourt, Victor Ducange, Paul Lacroix, Prosper Mérimée, "Mortonval," and Xavier Boniface Saintine. In addition, a number of forgotten German authors like Luise Mühlbach, Karl Spindler, and Heinrich Zschokke wrote historical novels as well—and were met with as little indulgence by the censors as was the more renowned Ludwig Tieck.

6.1 *Walter Scott*

The archetype of all these authors—the man who had initiated the trend of the historical novel in the 1820s and 1830s—was not absent from the prohibition lists himself. The following 17 works by Walter Scott were banned between 1822 and 1841, either in their original versions or in French or German translations: *Anne of Geierstein*, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *The Crusade*, *The Pirate*, *Waverley*, *The Black Dwarf*, *The Talisman*, *Tales of my Grandfather*, *Ivanhoe*, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, *Paul's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, *Marmion*, *Peveril of the Peak*, *Quentin Durward*, *A Legend of Montrose*, *Rob Roy*, and *Woodstock*.

From a present-day perspective, Scott's novels seem ideologically balanced and conciliatory, generally leaning towards an endorsement of kingship, established religion, and other values upheld in Austria rather than the opposite. This naturally begs the question what aspects of the inveterate Tory's works the Austrian censorship considered so dangerous for the state and its subjects that it felt it had to deny them his bestsellers. An older study addressing this question[182] merely contrasts the principles of Metternich and Francis I with the content of Scott's books to draw conclusions regarding the latter's

182 Sybil White Wyatt: The English Romantic Novel and Austrian Reaction: A Study in Hapsburg-Metternich Censorship. New York: Exposition Press 1967.

objectionability. Like for many other works, the most relevant sources pertaining to the censorship of Scott's novels—the censorial reports themselves—are unfortunately not available to us. But in the case of translations, there is a further reliable way of determining which passages were rejected by the authorities.

Theoretically, the inclusion of any one edition of a literary work in the prohibition lists automatically banned all further editions (including translations) as well. However, this rule could not be applied in practice if the various editions differed significantly from each other, as was the case with the German translations of Scott's books. What was more, several separate Austrian complete editions were published in order to circumvent the proscription: one by Mausberger in Vienna from 1825 to 1830,[183] a second by Strauß, likewise in Vienna, between 1825 and 1831,[184] and a third by Kienreich in Graz from 1827 to 1830.[185] All three included the forbidden titles. Perusal of these Austrian editions reveals that they contain numerous abridgements and alterations, and that they were partly based on existing German translations—sometimes precisely the translations that were included in the prohibition lists. Since reprinted editions generally featured identical text versions, the deletions and changes are particularly obvious. In all likelihood, they are the result of censorial intervention. As stipulated in the censorship regulations, the Austrian publishers presumably submitted the German translations to the authorities as "manuscripts" and subsequently received "expurgated" versions for use as printer's copies. Perhaps the publishers also assigned their own editors to the task of preemptively abridging and redacting the texts. But regardless of whether the process was a formal one or pure self-censorship, the links between the apparent changes and expectable censorial intentions are very clear.

One of Scott's novels with an Austrian version created on the basis of a forbidden German translation was *Woodstock; or, the Cavalier. A Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred and Fifty One* (1826). The key theme of this tale set in the English Civil War, namely the religious and political conflicts between Oliver Cromwell and the supporters of the later King Charles II, is ideally suited for identifying the characteristics that caused the censors to deny the Austrian readership many of Scott's works in their original versions. The first aspect of note is that the three Austrian editions featured different deletions: Wordings or sections

183 Werke in 93 Bänden.
184 Auserlesene Werke in 74 Bänden.
185 Werke in 78 Bänden.

removed in one edition were often allowed by the reviewer or editor of another; there was only occasional consensus regarding passages to be eliminated. The two versions of *Woodstock* published by Mausberger in Vienna[186] and Kienreich in Graz[187] were treated with comparative leniency by the authorities. The edition published by Strauß in Vienna is best suited for our purposes, since it was based on a template included in the prohibition list and features the greatest number of abridgements.[188] Disregarding the missing chapter mottos, which other translators likewise dispensed with, as well as occasional orthographic and stylistic corrections, the Strauß edition was edited in around 120 places, ranging from the omission of individual words to the deletion of sections several pages long. Categorizing the interventions by censorial motives, we see that they are more or less equally divided into theologically and politically objectionable passages (knowing full well, of course, that these two areas cannot be strictly separated). A scant few edits pertain to moral questions—but they may just as well be assigned to the realm of the politically unacceptable, since the novel deals with the excesses of the royalist cavaliers as well as a Cromwell follower.

The very first chapter, which presents a controversy between the Calvinist Presbyterians and the independent Cromwell supporters in the Woodstock church, already elicited numerous interventions, thus offering a suitable overview of the character of the censorial deletions. To provide an impression of the frequency of the edits, the following pages will at least mention all significant deletions within the first chapter. The first of them pertained to a jest made by Scott in his description of the changes in the composition of the congregation, pointing in particular to the fact that the older noble families loyal to the king stopped attending church during the civil war:

> Bevis [the dog of royalist Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley], indeed, fell under the proverb which avers, "He is a good dog which goes to church;" for, bating

186 Woodstock, oder: Der Ritter. Eine Erzählung aus dem Jahre eintausend, sechshundert und ein und fünfzig. Von Walter Scott. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Georg Nicolaus Bärmann, der Weltweisheit Doctor und der freyen Künste Magister. 3 Bde. (Walter Scott's Werke 58–60) Wien: Mausberger 1828. Bärmann's translation had previously been published by Schumann in Zwickau.

187 Woodstock, oder der Cavalier. Aus dem Englischen des Sir Walter Scott. 2 Theile. (Walter Scott's Werke. Neu übersetzte, verbesserte Ausgabe 43+44) Grätz: Kienreich 1829.

188 Woodstock, romantische Darstellung aus den Zeiten Cromwell's von Walter Scott. Übersetzt von C.F. Michaelis. 3 Theile. (Walter Scott's auserlesene Werke 58–60) Wien: Anton Strauß 1827. The edition published a year earlier under the same title by Herbig in Leipzig served as the template for this translation.

> an occasional temptation to warble along with the accord, he behaved himself as decorously as any of the congregation, and returned as much edified, perhaps, as some of them.[189]

Scott proceeds to describe the proponents and the standpoint of the Puritans, who rejected not only the Catholic and Anglican rites but the Presbyterian system as well as a form of established church. The censor deleted the following portrayal of their views:

> The presumption of these learned Thebans being in exact proportion to their ignorance, the last was total, and the first boundless. Their behaviour in the church was anything but reverential or edifying. Most of them affected a cynical contempt for all that was only held sacred by human sanction—the church was to these men but a steeple-house, the clergy man, an ordinary person; her ordinances, dry bran and sapless pottage, unfitted for the spiritualized palates of the saints, and the prayer, an address to Heaven, to which each acceded or not, as in his too critical judgment he conceived fit.[190]

When the Presbyterian minister demands that the independent zealot attempting to prevent him from entering the pulpit respect his vestments and ordination, the latter replies (deleted passages in parentheses):

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189 Walter Scott: Woodstock; or, the Cavalier. A Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred and Fifty-One. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.; London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green 1826, vol. I, 6. ("Von Bevis [dem Hund des königstreuen Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley] galt allerdings das Sprichwort: "das ist ein guter Hund, der in die Kirche geht:" denn eine gelegentliche Versuchung ausgenommen, bei dem Gesange laut zu werden, betrug er sich so anständig, als irgend Jemand von der Gemeinde, und ging vielleicht eben so erbaut von dannen, als manche unter ihnen.")—This and the following German citations in the footnotes are from the aforementioned Leipzig edition (Woodstock, romantische Darstellung aus den Zeiten Cromwell's von Walter Scott. Übersetzt von C.F. Michaelis. 3 Theile. Leipzig: Herbig 1826); each reference to a page in this edition is followed by a slash and a reference to the corresponding place (that is, place of omission) in the Vienna edition published by Strauß, here I, 3–4/7.

190 Ibid., I, 9. ("Der Eigendünkel dieser gelehrten Thebaner stand in genauem Ebenmaaß zu ihrer Unwissenheit; dieß war eine gänzliche Unwissenheit, und ihr Eigendünkel war grenzenlos. Ihr Benehmen in der Kirche war alles Andre, als andächtig oder erbaulich. Die meisten affectirten eine cynische Verachtung alles dessen, was blos durch menschliche Verfügung als heilig galt; die Kirche war diesen Leuten nur ein Haus mit einem Thurme, der Geistliche ein gewöhnlicher Mann; die Kirchenordnungen gleich trocknen Kleien und geschmacklosen Brühen, unpassend für den geistigen Gaumen der Heiligen; und das Gebet, eine Anrede an Gott, welcher sich Jeder anschloß oder nicht, je nachdem es seinem überkritischen Urtheil angemessen dünkte." I, 6–7/9).

> "I see no more to respect in the cut of thy cloak, or in the cloth of which it is fashioned," said the other, ("than thou didst in the Bishop's rocket—they were black and white, thou art blue and brown). Sleeping (dogs) every one of you, lying down, loving to slumber—shepherds that starve the flock, but will not watch it, each looking to his own gain […]".[191]

After finally succeeding in crowding the minister out of the pulpit, the independent speaker chooses a passage from Psalm 45 ("Gird thy sword upon thy thigh …") as the motto of his sermon. The German translator had originally used Martin Luther's translation of the psalm in the body text and added the text of the English translation chosen by Scott (translated back into German) in a footnote. The Austrian edition placed the German translation of Scott's English version in the body text and eliminated Luther's translation.[192] It was not just the introduction itself that appeared suspect to the censor, but parts of the sermon as well. The preacher applies the verses aimed at King David and the coming of the Messiah to Cromwell, and the successes of Cromwell's sword so drastically emphasized in this fashion were promptly deleted:

> You were all too busy making whittles for the lazy crapemen of Oxford, bouncing priests, whose eyes were so closed up with fat, that they could not see Destruction till she had them by the throat. But I can tell you where the sword was forged, and tempered, and welded, and grinded, and polished. When you were, as I said before, making whittles for false priests, and daggers for dissolute G—d d—n-me cavaliers, to cut the people of England's throat with—it was forged at Long Marston Moor, where blows went faster than ever rung hammer on anvil—and it was tempered at Naseby, in the best blood of the cavaliers—and it was welded in Ireland against the walls of Drogheda—and it was grinded on Scottish lives at Dunbar—and now of late it was polished in Worcester, till it shines as bright as the sun in the middle heaven, and there is no light in England that shall come nigh unto it.[193]

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191 Ibid., I, 13. ("Ich finde am Schnitt Deines Mantels oder im Tuche, woraus er gemacht ist, (so) wenig zu respectiren, […] (als Du am Chorrock des Bischoffs respectirtest; der war schwarz und weiß, Du gehst braun und blau.) Schlafende (Hunde) seid ihr (allesammt), legt euch nieder, schlafet ihr—Hirten, die die Heerde verschmachten lassen, aber sie nicht hüten; Jeder sucht nur seinen Gewinn." I, 10/12).

192 I, 17–18/17.

193 Ibid. I, 19–20. ("Ihr waret Alle zu geschäftig, Taschenmesser für die faulen Flormänner zu Oxford zu verfertigen, für prahlerische Priester, deren Augen so vom Fett verschlossen waren, daß sie das Verderben nicht eher sahen, als bis es sie bei der Kehle

Step by step, the preacher approaches his ultimate goal—the denouncement of kingship in general, and in particular that of the legitimate heir to the throne, the later Charles II, along with his supporters (deleted passages once again in parentheses):

> You [...] are you not now plotting, or ready to plot, for restoring, as ye call it, of the young Man, the unclean son of the slaughtered tyrant—the fugitive after whom the true hearts of England are now following, that they may take and slay him?—"Why should your rider turn his bridle our way?" say you in your hearts; ("we will none of him; if we may help ourselves, we will rather turn us to wallow in the mire of monarchy, with the sow that was washed but newly." Come, men of Woodstock, I will ask, and do you answer me. Hunger ye still after the flesh-pots of the monks of Godstow? and ye will say, Nay;—but wherefore, except that the pots are cracked and broken, and the fire is extinguished wherewith thy oven used to boil?)[194]

The preacher is interrupted by a royalist, who is rebuffed with the following words that were likewise edited out of the Austrian version:

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faßte. Doch ich kann Euch sagen, wo das Schwert geschmiedet wurde, und gehärtet und geschweißt, und gewetzt, und polirt. Als Ihr, wie ich zuvor sagte, Taschenmesser für falsche Priester, und Dolche für ausschweifende verdammte Cavaliere machtet, dem Englischen Volke die Kehle damit abzuschneiden—wurde es zu Long-Marston-Moor geschmiedet, wo die Schläge schneller auf einander folg[t]en, als je von einem Hammer oder Ambos wiederhallten—und es wurde zu Naseby gehärtet, im besten Blut der Rojalisten—und es ward geschweißt in Irland an den Mauern von Drogheda—und es ward gewetzt am Leben der Schotten zu Dunbar—und nun wurde es neuerlich polirt in Worcester, bis es so hell schimmert, wie die Sonne mitten am Himmel, und da ist kein Licht in England, das ihm nahe kommen soll." I, 17/18)—It hardly needs to be mentioned that the Puritans' favorite insults applied to Catholics and Anglicans, namely "Papisten" (in the original: "Papists") respectively "Prälatisten" ("Prelatists"), were omitted along with their common supplements "faul" ("slothful") or "verblendet" ("deluded") (I, 19/19, I, 21/20, and elsewhere).

194 Ibid., I, 21–22. ("Schmiedet Ihr nun nicht Complotte, oder seid bereit, sie zu schmieden, um den jungen Mann, wie Ihrs nennt, wieder einzusetzen, den unreinen Sohn des geschlachteten Tyrannen—den Flüchtling, den die treuen Herzen von England jetzt verfolgen, damit sie ihn ergreifen und tödten mögen?—"Warum soll Euer Reiter [d. i. Cromwell] seinen Zügel nach unserm Wege lenken?" sprecht Ihr in Euern Herzen; ("wir wollen nichts von ihm wissen; wenn wir uns selbst helfen können, so wollen wir uns lieber im Koth der Monarchie wälzen, mit der Sau, die nur erst gewaschen war."—Wohlan, Ihr Männer von Woodstock, ich will fragen, und Ihr sollt mir antworten. Hungert Ihr nach den Fleischtöpfen der Mönche von Godstow? und Ihr werdet sagen: nein. Aber warum? nur, weil die Töpfe zersprungen und zerbrochen sind, und das Feuer ausgelöscht ist, womit man in Deinem Ofen zu kochen pflegte?)" I, 19/19).

> One of your park-keepers, I warrant, that can never forget they have borne C.R. upon their badges and bugle-horns, even as a dog bears his owner's name on his collar—a pretty emblem for Christian men! But the brute beast hath the better of him,—the brute weareth his own coat, and the caitiff thrall wears his master's. I have seen such a wag make a rope's end wag ere now.[195]

The final deleted passage in the Cromwell supporter's speech pertains to the Woodstock denizens' habit of shooting game in the park attached to the local royal residence. He alludes to rumors of a parliamentary resolution slating the king's estate near Oxford for destruction and sale.

> And ye have a princely Lodge therein, and call the same a Royal Lodge; and ye have an oak which you call the King's Oak; and ye steal and eat the venison of the park; and ye say, "This is the king's venison, we will wash it down with a cup to the king's health—better we eat it than those round-headed commonwealth knaves." But listen unto me, and take warning. For these things come we to controversy with you. And our name shall be a cannon-shot, before which your Lodge, in the pleasantness whereof ye take pastime, shall be blown into ruins; and we will be as a wedge to split asunder the King's Oak into billets to heat a brown baker's oven [...].[196]

This is the last of the censorial interventions in the first chapter, which summarily suffice to illustrate their primary intentions: Their foremost goal was to protect the Catholic faith as well as the creed of the English royalists, between

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195 Ibid., I, 23–24. ("Gewiß einer von Euern Park-Aufsehern, die nie vergessen können, daß sie C.R. auf ihren Schildern und Hüfthörnern trugen, gerade wie ein Hund den Namen seines Herrn am Halsbande trägt—ein schönes Sinnbild für Christenmenschen! Aber das unvernünftige Thier hat noch den Vorzug vor ihm—es trägt sein eignes Fell, und der armselige Sklave trägt den Rock seines Herrn! Ich habe so einen Schalk unlängst hängen gesehen." I, 20–21/20).—C.R. is presumably the abbreviation for Carolus Rex.

196 Ibid., I, 24–25. ("Und Ihr habt eine fürstliche Waldhütte darin, und Ihr habt eine Eiche, die Ihr die Königs-Eiche nennt; und Ihr stehlt und esset das Wild des Parks; und Ihr sagt: dieß ist des Königs Wildpret, wir wollen es mit einem Becher auf des Königs Gesundheit hinunterspülen—besser wir essen es, als jene stutzköpfigen republikanischen Schurken. Aber horcht auf mich, und laßt Euch warnen. Um dieser Dinge willen kommen wir mit Euch zu streiten. Und unser Name soll ein Kanonenschuß seyn, vor welchem Euer Parkhaus, in dessen Anmuth Ihr Euch die Zeit vertreibt, in Ruinen zerfallen soll; und wir werden seyn wie ein Keil, der die Königseiche in Scheite zersplittert, einen braunen Backofen zu heizen [...]." I, 22/21).

which analogies could easily be drawn, against denigration by the Puritans. The latter articulate their views and positions on numerous occasions in *Woodstock*, frequently emphasizing the perceived superiority of their religious convictions with drastic statements. For example, they consider themselves immune to apparitions and other spooks, as "devils or evil spirits [will not] come against one who bears in his bosom the word of truth, in the very language in which it was first dictated."[197] They also take pride in their handling of the Bible, which they hold in high esteem, but "not in the wicked sense of periapts, or spells, as the blinded Papists employ them, together with the sign of the cross, and other fruitless forms."[198] The expression of their belief that "sanctity resides in the intention and the act, not in the buildings or fonts, or the forms of worship"[199] was deleted from the text, as were Cromwell's words claiming that it was a misunderstanding by the Presbyterians to assume "that churches are tall large houses built by masons, and hearers are men—wealthy men, who pay tithes, the larger, as well as the less; and that the priests, men in black gowns or gray cloaks, who receive the same, are in guerdon the only distributors of Christian blessings."[200]

Besides preventing the revilement of established churches, the censorial authorities also sought to suppress overly fierce attacks on the monarch and his supporters, or on the institution of kingship in general. Even passing mentions of regicide were deleted, especially when it was welcomed from the perspective of the followers of Cromwell. Several statements by Cromwell himself regarding kingship were also considered too provocative—for example, when he reproaches the royalist cavaliers as follows:

> Fools! are there no words made of letters that would sound as well as Charles Stuart, with that magic title beside them? Why, the word King

197 Ibid. I, 256. ("keine Teufel oder bösen Geister gegen Jemand losgehen, der in seinem Busen das Wort der Wahrheit trägt, in derselbigen Sprache, in der es zuerst eingegeben worden." I, 240/205).

198 Ibid., II, 132. ("nicht in der gottlosen Bedeutung der Amulete oder Zaubersprüche, wie sie die verblendeten Papisten nebst dem Zeichen des Kreuzes und andern fruchtlosen Formen anwenden"; II, 123/110).

199 Ibid., II, 71. ("die Heiligkeit in Gesinnungen und Thaten, nicht in den Gebäuden, den Taufsteinen oder Formen des Gottesdienstes wohne"; II, 65/60).

200 Ibid., III, 164. ("die Kirchen seien große, mächtige Häuser, erbaut durch die Maurer; die Hörer aber seien Männer, reiche Männer, welche Zehnden, höhere sowohl, als niedrigere, bezahlen; und die Priester—Männer in schwarzen Talaren oder grauen Mänteln, welche eben jene einnähmen,—seien dafür zum Lohn die einzigen Vertheiler der christlichen Seligkeit"; III, 136).

> is like a lighted lamp, that throws the same bright gilding upon any combination of the alphabet, and yet you must shed your blood for a name![201]

Elsewhere, Cromwell attributes royalty exclusively to military skill:

> Yet what can we see in the longest kingly line in Europe, save that it runs back to a successful soldier? I grudge that one man should be honoured and followed, because he is the descendant of a victorious commander, while less honour and allegiance is paid to another, who, in personal qualities, and in success, might emulate the founder of his rivals dynasty.[202]

Allusions to political mistakes or moral misconduct by a king were likewise not allowed to stand: The royal hunting lodge in Woodstock, for example, is referred to as "many a rare monument of old wickedness" that is to be destroyed to the end "that the land may be cleansed from the memory thereof, neither remember the iniquity with which their fathers have sinned."[203]

By the same token by which negative aspects of the portrayal of the king and his followers fell victim to the censor's quill, some passages characterizing Cromwell were apparently considered too favorable. The usurper and murderer of the king could not become "the saviour of the state […] under the aid of Providence," as was the case in an intentionally flattering letter by one of his supporters,[204] nor "our great leader, with whom Providence has gone forth in this great national controversy" and "our excellent and victorious General Oliver, whom Heaven long preserve."[205]

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201 Ibid., I, 225. ("Ihr Thoren! gibt es keine aus Buchstaben gebildete Worte, die eben so gut klingen würden, als Karl Stuart, mit dem zauberischen Titel daneben? Das Wort König gleicht ja nur einer angezündeten Lampe, welche die nämliche Vergoldung auf jede Verbindung des Alphabets wirft, und doch müßt ihr euer Blut für einen Namen vergießen!" I, 210–211/180).

202 Ibid., III, 338–339. ("Doch was können sie in der längsten königlichen Linie in Europa erblicken, außer daß sie in einen glücklichen Krieger zurückläuft? Das aber wurmt mich, daß einem Manne darum Ehre und Gehorsam zu Theil werden soll, weil er von einem siegreichen Feldherrn abstammt, dagegen ein Anderer sich mindrer Ehre und Anhänglichkeit erfreut, welcher an persönlichen Eigenschaften und glücklichem Erfolge mit dem Begründer der Dynastie seines Nebenbuhlers zu wetteifern vermöchte?" III, 324/274).

203 Ibid., I, 77. ("seltenes Denkmal alter Verruchtheit", "damit das Land von dem Andenken daran gereiniget werden möge, und nie wieder sich an die Ungerechtigkeit erinnere, mit welcher seine Väter gesündigt haben"; I, 71/62).

204 Ibid., I, 159. ("Retter des Staats", "mit Hülfe der Vorsehung"; I, 150/128).

205 Ibid., II, 54. ("große[r] Anführer, mit welchem die Vorsehung in dieser großen National-

At first glance, many of these alterations made to the text of the German translation may appear incidental and insignificant. Summarily, however, they have a considerable impact on the structure of the novel and its potential effect on the reader. The changes made to the characterizations of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell as well as their respective followers shift Scott's carefully crafted balance in favor of the royalists. It was not enough for the censors that the Puritans are described with a mildly ironic undertone throughout *Woodstock*, nor that the plot refutes their ideas and ends with their defeat. The royalist party had to maintain its superiority even during the time of its greatest distress. Scott's account of the developments from a balance set askew by the Puritan takeover to the restoration of the kingdom was considered undesirable as a whole. Both the story and the actual history were thus robbed of their dynamics: Where Scott kept the plot alive and moving by way of conflicting ideas and principles, the expurgated Austrian edition supplanted the ebb and flow of unfolding events with the changelessness of the time-transcending ideals of monarchy and state religion. And where Scott described conflicts resulting from the clash of convictions, the censored version left only personal disputes. The novel's overall conflict potential was significantly reduced, and the removal of the sharply worded and metaphor-laden verbal aggression used by Scott to evoke the atmosphere of the civil war blurred the sharp contours of the parties. This applied to both sides, however; it would be incorrect to assume that Scott's depiction of Cromwell's party as particularly heinous and caught up in political and religious extremes correlated with the interests of Austria respectively its censorship.

In searching for the motivations causing the authorities to include many of Walter Scott's novels on the prohibition lists, we should first remind ourselves that liberal educators of the people attributed to historical novels the ability to help readers achieve awareness of their "civic standpoint and right" and enlighten them with regard to the "sum totals of the thoughts, attitudes, ambitions, drives, and vital forces that manifest themselves in a certain process of things with fixed causes and effects." Hermann Münzenberger, the author of the quotes above (which clearly apply to Scott's novels), goes on to state even more explicitly:

> It is only this proper recognition of our political standpoint in the world and among men, which we have obtained through our own education

streitigkeit erschienen ist", "treffliche[r] und siegreiche[r] General Oliver, den der Himmel lange erhalte"; II, 48/46)

> and by our glance cast onto the canvas of the world, that provides us with the proper and worthy concept of state, of nation and prince, and by the same means allows us to fill in, even out, and make approachable the great divide between throne and hovel. […] But once we have acquired the proper concept of nation and prince, then gazing upon reality, we can also ask ourselves: Is this concept truly recognized? Is it realized in life? Not as an ideal, but in the striving for the ideal, properly comprehended? Here the novel offers itself to us as a guide to the court.[206]

The historical novel thus possesses the potential to enlighten, since it makes historical developments traceable and the current circumstances appear alterable. As evidenced before by the impact of *Werther*, the boundary between the empirical reality of life and literary fiction was not as firmly delimited as one would assume today. A reenactment of the events of 1651 in Woodstock in the Austria of the 1820s by readers ignoring or overlooking all of the signals employed by Scott to distance himself from Cromwell's party would have been disastrous indeed.

Although Scott went down in literary history as a respectable Tory and implicitly welcomes the restoration in *Woodstock*, there is at least one passage in which he makes it clear that he saw mistakes on both sides—or at least that he was not prepared to exonerate one party from all blame regarding the calamitous historical developments whose driving factors he set out to expose. It comes as no surprise that the Austrian censorship cropped this passage as well (deleted sections once again in parentheses):

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206 Hermann Münzenberger: Beleuchtung des Romanes oder Was ist der Roman? Was ist er geworden? und Was kann er werden? Straßburg: Treuttel und Würtz 1825, 114–115; cited in Hartmut Steinecke: Romantheorie und Romankritik in Deutschland: Die Entwicklung des Gattungsverständnisses von der Scott-Rezeption bis zum programmatischen Realismus, vol. 2: Quellen. Stuttgart: Metzler 1976, 40–41: "Erkenntniß seines bürgerlichen Standpunktes und Rechtes […] Summen der Gedanken, Gesinnungen, Anstrebungen, Triebe und lebendigen Kräfte, die in einem bestimmten Fortlauf der Dinge mit gegebenen Ursachen und Wirkungen sich äußern. […] Dies richtige Erkennen unsers politischen Standpunktes in der Welt und unter Menschen, das wir durch die eigene Bildung und durch den in das Weltgemälde geworfenen Blick verschafft haben, giebt uns erst den richtigen und würdigen Begriff vom Staat, von Volk und Fürst, und mit demselben Mittel, die große Kluft zwischen Thron und Hütte auszufüllen, zu ebenen und zugänglich zu machen. […] Haben wir uns aber den richtigen Begriff von Volk und Fürst angeeignet, so können wir auch, in die Wirklichkeit blickend, uns fragen: Ist denn dieser Begriff wirklich anerkannt? Ist er realisirt im Leben? nicht als Ideal, aber im Streben nach dem Ideale, richtig aufgefaßt? Da bietet der Roman sich uns an als der Führer an dem Hof."

(It was wonderful to behold what a strange variety of mistakes and errors, on the part of the King and his Ministers, on the part of the Parliament and their leaders, on the part of the allied kingdoms of Scotland and England towards each other, had combined to rear up men of such dangerous opinions and interested characters among the arbiters of the destiny of Britain.)

Those who argue for party's sake, will see all the faults on the one side, without deigning to look at those on the other; those who study history for instruction, will perceive that nothing but the want of concession on either side, and the deadly height to which the animosity of the King's and Parliament's parties had arisen, could have so totally overthrown the well-poised balance of the English constitution. But we hasten to quit political reflections (, the rather that ours, we believe, will please neither Whig nor Tory).[207]

6.2 *James Fenimore Cooper*

An example of a forbidden historical sea novel is James Fenimore Cooper's *The Jack O'Lantern, or the Privateer*, which relates the adventures of a French privateering vessel routinely confounding its opponents off Elba and the Italian coast in the years 1798/99. These adversaries are primarily the English, though Austria is not entirely spared either. The majority of the events take place in Porto Ferrajo on Elba, a "port of his Royal and Imperial Highness."[208] Among the people duped by the French privateer captain Raoul are the Podesta of

207 Ibid., I, 283–284. ("(Es war seltsam zu betrachten, welche sonderbare Menge von Mißgriffen und Irrthümern, von Seiten des Königs und seiner Minister, von Seiten des Parlaments und seiner Anführer, von Seiten der verbündeten Königreiche England und Schottland gegen einander, sich verbunden hatten, Menschen von so gefährlichen Meinungen und selbstsüchtigen Charakteren zu Schiedsrichtern über das Schicksal Englands empor zu bringen.) Diejenigen, welche für Parteien streiten, werden alle Fehler auf der einen Seite sehen, ohne jene auf der andern eines Blicks zu würdigen. Jene, welche Geschichte zur Belehrung studiren, werden bemerken, daß nichts, als Mangel an Nachgiebigkeit auf beiden Seiten, und die tödtlich gewordene Erbittrung zwischen den Parteien des Königs und des Parlaments, so gänzlich das wohl abgemessene Gleichgewicht der Englischen Constitution erschüttern konnte. Aber wir eilen, politische Reflexionen zu verlassen (, um so mehr, da den Unsrigen, wie wir glauben, weder Whig noch Tory gefallen wird)." I, 264–265/225).

208 James Fenimore Cooper: The Jack O'Lantern; (Le feu-follet;) or, The Privateer. 3 vols. London: Bentley 1842, here vol. 1, 22. ("Hafen Seiner Kaiserlich Königlichen Hoheit"; James Fenimore Cooper: Das Irrlicht oder der Kaper. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. 2 Teile. (Sämmtliche Werke, vol. 184–189) Frankfurt: Sauerländer 1843, here I, 27). It was this translation of the novel that was prohibited.

Porto Ferrajo and the Vice-Governor of Elba—essentially Austrian officials in the broadest sense, since the island was under Habsburg rule as part of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Although the Frenchman's heroics are thus in part to the detriment of Austrian interests, his military undertakings alone would hardly have resulted in the novel's prohibition. But Raoul is also a declared freethinker who repeatedly makes derogatory remarks about the Catholic Church and its representatives. He has the following to say about the pope, for instance:

> I found him a peaceful, venerable, and I firmly believe a *good* old man [...]; but *only* a man. No infallibility could I see about him; but a set of roguish cardinals, and other plotters of mischief, who were much better calculated to set Christians by the ears than to lead them to Heaven, surrounded his chair.[209]

This is counterbalanced by the captain's pious lover, whose attempts to persuade him to accept the faith remain in vain, even as she ties her consent to marrying him to his conversion. This hindrance provides Raoul with a reason to vilify the clergy:

> "*Peste!* These priests are scourges sent to torment men in every shape. They inflict hard lessons in childhood, teach asperity in youth, and make us superstitious and silly in age. I do not wonder that my brave compatriots drove them from France; they did nothing but devour like locusts, and deface the beauties of Providence."[210]

Raoul's criticism of religion is supported by his friend and comrade-in-arms Ithuel Bolt, an American adventurer and inveterate republican and Protestant. Bolt speaks out frankly with regard to the prevailing opinion on the Catholic

209 Ibid., I, 180. ("Ich fand in ihm einen friedlichen, ehrwürdigen, und, wie ich fest glaube, guten alten Mann [...]; aber nur einen Mann. Ich konnte keine Unfehlbarkeit an ihm gewahr werden; aber eine Schaar schurkischer Kardinäle und anderer Unheilstifter, welche eher im Stande schienen, die Christenheit in Zank und Hader zu bringen, als sie für den Himmel vorzubereiten, umgaben seinen Thron." I, 160).

210 Ibid., III, 143. ("Peste! diese Geistlichen sind wahre Geißeln, welche geschickt worden sind, den Menschen in jeder Gestalt zu quälen. Sie schärfen schwere Lehren in der Jugend ein, predigen Enthaltsamkeit in der Jugend, und machen uns abergläubisch und einfältig im Alter. Ich wundere mich nicht, daß meine wackern Landsleute sie aus Frankreich gejagt haben. Sie thaten nichts als gleich Heuschrecken fressen und die Reize der Schöpfung verunstalten." II, 275).

rites in America: "Look here, Signore,—we don't call your ceremonies, and images, and robes, and ringing of bells, and bowing and scraping, a religion at all."[211] In words reminiscent of the ones used by the Puritans in Scott's *Woodstock*, he describes the veneration of saints as "idolatry, the awfullest of all sins, and the one to which every ra' al Christian gives the widest bairth. I would rather worship this flask of wine, any day, than worship the best saint on your parson's book."[212]

The censor's opinion that such statements were reprehensible and dangerous was obviously not countervailed by the fact that Cooper's narrator occasionally intervenes to rein in the Protestant firebrand, for example by pointing out that one should expect that the "American, who has lived long enough to witness the summersets which have been thrown in the practices and creeds of most of the more modern sects of his own country, within the last quarter of a century, would have acquired something like a suitable respect for the more stable and venerable divisions of the Christian world,"[213] and explicitly describing him as a fanatical sectarian: "His mind was stored with the most vulgar accusations of an exceedingly vulgar set of sectarian distinctions; and he fancied it a high proof of Protestant perfection, to hold all the discarded usages in abhorrence."[214]

6.3 *George Sand*

The first French representative of the historical novel to be discussed here is George Sand, with a work partly set in Vienna and referring to Austria in less than gracious fashion. In *Consuelo*, Sand assails the monarchy and its deputies forthrightly, her main criticism being that absolute power corrupts a person's character. The following words are applied to Maria Theresa, for instance: "that she was proceeding down the fateful path of absolutism, which

211 Ibid., I, 114. ("Seht Signore,—wir nennen Eure Ceremonien, und Bilder, und Gewänder, und Glockenläuten, und Verbeugen und Scharren gar nicht Religion […]." I, 105).

212 Ibid., I, 107. ("Götzendienst, die schrecklichste aller Sünden—eine Sünde, vor welcher jeder wahre Christ den gerechtesten Abscheu hat. Ich wollte lieber diese Weinflasche anbeten,—ja, ja—als den besten Heiligen in dem ganzen Buche Eures Pfarrers." I, 99).

213 Ibid., II, 8 ("ein Amerikaner, der lange genug gelebt hat, um die Luftsprünge der meisten neuern Secten seines Vaterlandes in den letzten fünf und zwanzig Jahren mitanzusehen", "eine Art gebührender Achtung gegen die ständigern, ehrwürdigen Abtheilungen der christlichen Welt fühlen"; I, 271).

214 Ibid., II, 6–7. ("Die gemeinsten Beschuldigungen einer äußerst gemeinen Rotte sectirender Ansichten waren in seinem Kopfe aufgehäuft, und er hielt es für einen hohen Beweis protestantischer Vollkommenheit, alle die Gebräuche, denen man sich entschlagen, zu verabscheuen und zu verfluchen." I, 269).

slowly eradicates faith even in the most generous minds."[215] Consuelo and the figure of Joseph Haydn come to the conclusion that the empress is letting herself become corrupted by the moral dissemblance prevailing at her court: "So there is hypocrisy at the court of Vienna? Consuelo asked. Between you and me, Joseph replied quietly, I fear that our great Maria Theresa has been slightly infected by it."[216] The gifted singer Consuelo is unable to gain a foothold in Vienna because her detractors purport an amorous relationship with Haydn. Her profligate competitor Corilla, on the other hand, triumphs because she claims to be married. During an audience, Maria Theresa offers to sponsor Consuelo if she agrees to marry Haydn. Sand accuses the empress of following the development of love intrigues machinated by her chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, with great interest and attempting to morally sugarcoat these goings-on by eventually marrying off actresses and singers. She derides this pursuit as "matrimoniomanie."[217] Furthermore, she recognizes hypocrisy in the practice of welcoming converts with open arms even if their history is far from illustrious or in fact includes criminal activity. Sand offers the story of the Margravine of Bayreuth, who had her own daughter raped by a footman out of jealousy, as an example. Finally, the Austrian sovereign also exhibits double standards in her treatment of the infamous Pandur Trenck: Once she is no longer in need of his services, she drops him, citing atrocities he had committed in Bohemia during the War of the Austrian Succession, and appropriates his assets.

But Maria Theresa is not the only monarch to be criticized in *Consuelo*: With reference to the cruel recruitment methods of the Prussian army and the inhumane drill practiced within it—respectively to Frederick the Great's responsibility for this situation—Consuelo concludes ironically: "[…] the kings are always right, and they are innocent of the injustice committed to please them."[218] The king himself suggests that these circumstances would have to lead to revolt sooner or later in a bon mot purported by Sand: When his nephew

215 George Sand: Consuelo—La Comtesse de Rudolstadt. Texte présenté et annoté par Simone Vierne et René Bourgeois. 3 vols. Meylan: Éditions de l'Aurore 1983, here vol. 2, 240: "qu'elle fût en train de descendre cette pente fatale du pouvoir absolu, qui éteint peu à peu la foi dans les âmes les plus généreuses."

216 Ibid., vol. 2, 210: "Cette cour de Vienne est donc bien hypocrite? dit Consuelo.—Je crains, entre nous soit dit, répondit Joseph en baissant la voix, que notre grande Marie-Thérèse ne le soit un peu."

217 Ibid., vol. 2, 312.

218 Ibid., vol. 2, 79: "[…] les rois n'ont jamais tort, et sont innocents de tout le mal qu'on fait pour leur plaire."

marvels at the extraordinary accumulation of strapping young men during a parade, Frederick replies that he himself is far more astonished by the fact "that we, you and I, are safe in their midst."[219]

Considering the ignoble deeds of various rulers described in the novel, it comes as no surprise that the protagonists occasionally express their corresponding misgivings in harsh words that an assiduous censor could not allow to stand. Maria Theresa gets off rather lightly when she is referred to as a "commère"[220] (gossipmonger) by Consuelo for her involvement in numerous court intrigues, while Frederick the Great is called an "ogre" with regard to the circumstances in his army.[221]

Austria figures in the book as a power of political and religious oppression under which the Bohemian people in particular are suffering. Through her protagonists, Sand offers a correspondingly tendentious summary of the Bohemians' heroic but as yet unsuccessful fight against the Austrian (respectively Roman) yoke from the time of Jan Hus to the contemporary present, the years after the War of the Austrian Succession. Thus indoctrinated, Consuelo is impressed by the drastic portrayals of the misdeeds of monks and generals, and she professes: "[…] I hate Austria with all my heart already."[222]

Albert, the youngest scion of the von Rudolstadts, who submitted to Austria and converted to Catholicism during the Thirty Years' War, is one of the key advocates of the people and a confirmed enemy of the kings and popes. He sees himself as a reincarnation of the Hussite Jan Žižka, canvassing the ideal of poverty and advocating communion under both kinds along with other heretical notions. The history of the family's conversion organized by a roguish priest had to appear objectionable enough—let alone the direct attacks on the Catholic Church, which according to one female protagonist "was always desirous of the lifeblood of nations, of the work and the sweat of the poor."[223] Albert himself explains the decision of the Council of Basel to bar laypersons from receiving communion by the chalice:

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219 Ibid., vol. 2, 83: "C'est que nous soyons en sûreté, vous et moi, au milieux d'eux." Haydn offers a similar picture of the hatred felt by lackeys for the powerful men in the world due to their misdeeds when he describes their attitude: "Vengeance, subterfuge, perfidy, adversity, and eternal enmity to the lords who feel superior to us and whose turpitudes we reveal!" (Ibid., vol. 2, 208: "Vengeance, ruse, perfidie, éternel dommage, éternelle inimitié aux maîtres qui se croient nos supérieurs et dont nous trahissons les turpitudes!").

220 Ibid., vol. 2, 243.

221 Ibid., vol. 2, 81.

222 Ibid., vol. 1, 205: "[…] je hais déjà l'Autriche de tout mon coeur."

223 Ibid., vol. 1, 280: "a toujours été affamée de ce suc de la vie des nations, du travail et de la sueur des pauvres."

> The Council of Basel had forbidden giving laypersons the blood of Christ in the shape of wine because—note the ingenious reasoning!—his body and blood were contained in both species and therefore by eating the one, one was simultaneously drinking the other as well. Do you understand?[224]

Consuelo scoffs in response: "I believe the Council Fathers failed to understand themselves."[225]

The heresies of the Hussites cross over into the realm of superstition, the evoking of which will likewise have been viewed as offensive by the censors. Last but not least, *Consuelo* repeatedly taps the pool of gothic novel themes. An example are the nightmarish events taking place in the system of underground tunnels leading from the Rudolstadts' castle to Schreckenstein, a site of old crimes. Although Sand explicitly distances herself from Ann Radcliffe, the intertextual links between her book and typical gothic novels are readily apparent. Besides the mentioned inacceptable passages, this similarity provided the authorities with an additional argument for removing *Consuelo* from circulation.

6.4 *Alexandre Dumas*

The next examined work serves as an example of a historical novel that contained no direct references to Austria but had the censors worried about readers drawing analogies. Alexandre Dumas' novel *Sylvandire* is set in the milieu of the disempowered and impoverished landed gentry suffering under Louis XIV's rule, which concentrated all wealth and societal grandeur in Versailles. Despite representing merely a "paltry little opposition,"[226] these noble families nevertheless constitute a challenge for the absolute monarchy. One such oppositional clan are the d'Anguilhem residing near Loches on the Indre, a tributary of the Loire. The narrator and protagonists repeatedly make derogatory remarks about the camarilla in Versailles. In d'Anguilhem's opinion, all careers including those in the military are reserved for "the favorites of Madame de Maintenon [Louis XIV's mistress], of Père Lachaise [the king's confessor], and of M. du

224 Ibid., vol. 1, 279: "Le concile de Bâle avait prononcé que c'était une profanation de donner aux laïques le sang du Christ sous l'espèce du vin, alléguant, voyez le beau raisonnement! que son corps et son sang étaient également contenus sous les deux espèces, et que qui mangeait l'un buvait l'autre. Comprenez-vous?"

225 Ibid.: "Il me semble que les Pères du concile ne se comprenaient pas beaucoup eux-mêmes."

226 Alexandre Dumas: Sylvandire. Bruxelles et Leipzig: Meline, Cans et Cie. 1843, vol. 1, 7: "pauvre petite opposition."

Maine [one of Louis' sons]." It is no wonder that the baron "despised the old woman, the Jesuit, and the bastards with all his heart."[227] The king himself is harshly criticized as "the old machine," "the old, always ill-humored king," and "this great cadaver who was called Louis XIV [...] and struck by the hand of God with his sons and grandsons."[228] The relevant passages, of which only a handful are cited here, certainly satisfied the definition of lèse-majesté of a legitimate monarch. By comparison, the satirical songs aimed at the Marquise de Maintenon, which included the following skit, must have appeared almost insignificant from the censorial perspective:

> Nothing that the Maintenon does,
> Will ever end well.
> This sempiternal old woman,
> Has declared war on the neighbors.
> And I believe that Pulcinella
> Will soon be Finance Minister.[229]

It is not just the characterization of the king and his courtly circles that is extremely irreverent, however—his actions likewise lack dignity and equity. A certain Comte d'Olibarus is incarcerated for ten years for stating "that the king was becoming blind because he was seeing everything only through Madame de Maintenon's eyes,"[230] and the main character suffers the same fate because a courtier desires his wife Sylvandire as lover.

A further dubious aspect of the novel is its portrayal of religion and its representatives. The youthful hero Roger d'Anguilhem discovers his love for Constance, a neighbor's daughter who is thereupon sent to a convent by her parents to protect her from his affections. Roger outwits the mother superior in order to visit his beloved, however, and after he has been caught and put in a Jesuit convent himself, he dupes the educators there as well to escape to Constance once more. During this time, he learns to feign piety to help him reach

227 Ibid., vol. 1, 17: "favoris de madame de Maintenon, du Père Lachaise, et de M. du Maine [...] exécrait cordialement la vieille, le jésuite et les bâtards."

228 Ibid., vol. 2, 46: "la vieille machine" respectively 49: "vieux roi toujours de mauvaise humeur" respectively 245: "ce grand cadavre qu'on appelait Louis XIV [...], frappé par la main de Dieu dans la personne de ses fils et de ses petits-fils."

229 Ibid., vol. 2, 145: "Tout ce que fait la Maintenon / Ne saurait jamais être bon. / Cette vieille sempiternelle, / A donné la guerre au Voisin. / Et je crois que Polichinelle / Aura les finances demain."

230 Ibid., vol. 2, 132: "que le roi devenait aveugle si bien, qu'il n'y voyait plus qu'avec les lunettes de madame de Maintenon."

his goals. Whenever the book tells of rapturous religious feelings experienced by the two lovers, devoutness and more mundane stirrings of love intermingle in unseemly fashion. The only function of convents in *Sylvandire* is to shelter persons from undesired courtship or to accommodate frustrated lovers—but they clearly represent the less attractive alternative. After eventually having to abandon his pursuit of Constance due to his parents' resistance, Roger decides to become a Jesuit even though the confreres seem like a "terrible herd of black men" to him.[231]

Likewise somewhat suspect is Roger's approach to the sacrament of marriage. He reneges on his promise to marry his beloved Constance and instead weds Sylvandire, the daughter of a corrupt advocate who makes the union a condition for a court decision in favor of the d'Anguilhem in an inheritance dispute. After being cheated on by Sylvandire and imprisoned at her lover's instigation, Roger gets his revenge by selling her to a Tunisian pirate and human trafficker and having her pronounced dead, which finally allows him to marry Constance. But Sylvandire returns to Paris after an adventurous journey with her purchaser, who has since become her new husband, and threatens Roger's newfound happiness. Ultimately, a deal is struck under which she waives any future entitlements of a Madame d'Anguilhem in return for a financial settlement.

It should be mentioned in Roger's defense that he is plagued by his conscience with regard to his bigamous relationship—as he is earlier concerning his disloyalty to Constance; ultimately, however, one of the main reasons for his hesitation to align himself with courtly cynicism is the fact that bigamy is punishable by death. Although Roger (and with him the "pure" love) triumphs over the corrupt courtly camp, he has to resort to using the latter's own means to beat it. While in prison, he realizes that fighting the honest fight is pointless and learns to dissemble in worldly matters as he previously did in religious ones, striking from ambush when the situation is opportune. Upon entering the treacherous arena of the Parisian court, the squire quickly understands the rules prevailing there. The narrator has the following appreciative words to say about Roger's coup: "The knight Roger Tancrède d'Anguilhem had quite simply sold his wife to a Tunisian corsair [...]. Not a bad maneuver for a provincial."[232]

Finally, Roger also claims the blessing of God for his machinations. Upon receiving the message that his friend has killed Sylvandire's lover in a duel, he

231 Ibid., vol. 1, 146: "terrible troupeau d'hommes noirs."

232 Ibid., vol. 2, 206: "Le chevalier Roger Tancrède d'Anguilhem avait purement et simplement vendu sa femme à un corsaire tunisien [...]. Ce qui n'était pas mal ingénieux pour un provincial."

reasons: "There is apparently a god for the decent people, for this god delivers my pursuers to me one by one. There is a reason why the proverb says: Help yourself, then God will help you."[233]

7 English Plays

Printed theater plays for reading represented a comparatively small section of the book market and the prohibition lists. By limiting ourselves to English-language drama, we can further reduce the number of relevant titles considerably. The database of books forbidden in Austria between 1750 and 1848[234] includes 1268 theatrical texts, of which only around 54 are in English or translated from English.[235] Perusing the list of banned English plays in chronological order, we first come across Shakespeare, whose *King John* was disallowed in a translation published in Altona in 1796. Other proscribed works by the Bard were *Richard III* and/or *King Henry VIII*,[236] an adaptation of *Hamlet* for puppet theater,[237] and an apocryphal piece entitled *Der lustige Teufel von Edmonton* (The Merry Devil of Edmonton), which was included in nineteenth-century Shakespeare editions and which even Ludwig Tieck still assumed might have been written by the master of Elizabethan drama.[238] Likewise on the prohibition lists was a French translation of Ben Jonson's comedy *Volpone* (1605).[239] Less prominent representatives of early seventeenth-century theater were Henry Chettle with his play *The Tragedy of Hoffmann: or a Revenge for a Father*

233 Ibid., vol. 2, 236: "il parait qu'il y a cependant un Dieu pour les honnêtes gens, puisque ce Dieu me délivre l'un après l'autre de tous mes persécuteurs. Le proverbe a bien raison de dire: Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera."

234 Verpönt, Verdrängt—Vergessen? (http://www.univie.ac.at/zensur, last accessed on 12/13/2021).

235 The exact number of titles cannot be determined, since several collected editions like *The Best Tragedie's And Comedie's Selected from the Works of Addisson. Banks. Shakespear. Philips. Rowe. Thomson. Howard. Farquhar* (London: Booksellers 1765 ff.) as well as parts of Christian Heinrich Schmid's seven-volume series *Englisches Theater* are on the prohibition lists.

236 Shakspeare's Schauspiele von Johann Heinrich Voß und dessen Söhnen Heinrich Voß und Abraham Voß, vol. 6,1. Stuttgart: Metzler 1824.

237 Johann Friedrich Schink: Prinz Hamlet von Dännemark. Marionettenspiel. Berlin: Himburg 1799.

238 Tieck included the play in his *Altenglisches Theater. Oder Supplemente zum Shakspear* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1811).

239 Volpone ou le renard (Paris 1835).

(1602, printed 1631), which is considered a response to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, translated into German (*Der Herzog von Danzig oder die Rache für einen Vater* [The Duke of Danzig or the Revenge for a Father]) as well as Philip Massinger, whose collected works in four volumes[240] were forbidden. The author duo of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, which was popular throughout Europe, was also banned. For the two Jacobite dramatists, it was volumes 1 and 2 of their collected dramatic works edited by Karl Ludwig Kannegießer in 1808, which contained the plays *Die Braut* (The Bride) and *Die Seereise* (The Sea Voyage) in volume 1 and *Der Beste Mann* (The Best Man) and *Die Geschwister* (The Siblings) in volume 2, as well as *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (1625) in a translation from 1836 entitled *Das schöne Schenkmädchen* (The Beautiful Barmaid) that were prohibited in Austria.

Among the late seventeenth-century authors, we encounter John Dryden with *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1674), an adaptation of Milton's biblical epic for opera that was never performed. William Wycherley's most famous play *The Plain-Dealer* (1676), inspired by Molière's *Misanthrope*, is a work of early restoration comedy. Internationally little-known playwrights of this epoch who made it onto the prohibition lists are John Crowne with his play *Sir Courtly Nice, or: It Cannot Be* (1685), Thomas Shadwell, whose Shakespeare adaptation *The History of Timon of Athens or the Man-Hater* (1687) was banned, and George Granville, 1st Baron Landsdowne, whose *She-Gallants* (1695) was forbidden both in its original version and in the German translation.[241] Likewise proscribed in original and German versions was Thomas Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678),[242] whereas only the German translation (entitled *Kalliste*) of Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1702/03) was disallowed. The eminent representatives of the restoration comedy—John Vanbrugh, William Congreve, and George Farquhar—are naturally also to be found on the lists. Vanbrugh's best-known plays *The Provok'd Wife* (1697) and *The Relapse* (1696) saw their original versions banned, and the latter its German translation as well.[243] Questioning the institution of marital fidelity had already caused much commotion in England and given rise to treatises like Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*. Collier's contemporary and specializer in the comedy of manners, William Congreve, incurred the Austrian censors' disapproval with his works

240 Dramatic Works (London 1761).
241 Die weiblichen Liebhaber (Herrnhut [= Hamburg] 1751).
242 Freundschaft nach der Mode (Frankfurt und Leipzig 1770).
243 Der Rückfall oder die Tugend in Gefahr (Göttingen 1750).

The Old Batchelour (1694) and *Der Arglistige*, a translation of *The Double-Dealer* (1693), along with the English original and a German version of *Love for Love* (1695). Farquhar's plays *Sir Harry Wildair* (1701) and *The Recruiting Officer* (1706) were likewise forbidden, and Colley Cibber's early work *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion* (1696) can be mentioned in this lineup as well. The majority of Susanna Centlivre's oeuvre was produced around a decade later; her play *The Wonder: A Woman Keeps a Secret* originally appeared in 1714 and was eventually banned in Austria in a 1759 edition.

For the Georgian era, the prohibition lists include Henry Fielding's *The Wedding-Day* (1729) and the resolutely anti-Catholic *The Old Debauchees* (written in 1732, revised and printed under the title *The Debauchee or the Jesuit Caught* in 1745). Both plays had their German translations forbidden.[244] *The Minor* (1760), a satire on the Methodist preacher George Whitefield by mid-eighteenth-century actor and dramatist Samuel Foote, was likewise disallowed. David Garrick, who was no doubt better known for his acting than his writing, saw the German translation of his play *Bon Ton, or High Life Above Stairs* (1775)[245] prohibited in Austria. Created at roughly the same time were Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Duenna* (1775) and *A Trip to Scarborough* (1777), whose French respectively German version were banned.[246]

Among the best-known British playwrights of the nineteenth century to be found on the lists is Lord Byron. His verse dramas *Cain*, *Sardanapalus*, *Marino Faliero* (all 1821), and *The Deformed Transformed* (1824) were rejected by the Habsburg censors. As we have seen in chapter 3.2., Byron was frowned upon in Austria not only because of his works but because of his political activity (participation in the Greek War of Independence, contacts among the Italian Carbonari, …), and was under police surveillance. His close colleague and friend Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote *The Cenci*, whose German translation (Stuttgart 1819) can be found on the index. Walter Scott saw not only seventeen of his novels but also a play, *The House of Aspen* (1829), forbidden. Likewise on the list is Mary Russell Mitford with her tragedy *Rienzi* (1828) in a Berlin reprint of 1837. Finally, Edward Bulwer-Lytton appears with *The Duchess de la Vallière* (1837), a play dealing with one of the numerous mistresses of Louis XIV who wavered between excesses and moral contrition before joining a convent.

244 *Der Hochzeitstag* (Kopenhagen 1759) and *Die Nonne oder der ertappte Mönch* (Leipzig 1782).

245 Der Ton der großen Welt (Gotha 1825).

246 *La Duègne* (Paris 1835) respectively *Ein Ausflug nach Scarborough* (Gotha 1828).

7.1 *Beaumont and Fletcher*

The German translation (Weimar 1836) of Beaumont and Fletcher's drama *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (1625) received a verdict of "erga schedam" in November 1836. In fact, the authorship of this play included in the so-called "Beaumont and Fletcher canon" is uncertain: The editors of *Dramatic Works* at Cambridge University Press assume that Philip Massinger and John Webster were at least co-authors,[247] while the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* speculates that "The Fair Maid of the Inn was probably the result of a collaboration between Fletcher and Massinger, possibly with the assistance of Jonson, Webster and Rowley."[248]

The drama features two young men who have grown up with fake identities: Cesario is the biological son of a falconer's family foisted on his supposed father, the Florentine admiral Alberto who desperately wanted a child, with good intentions by the latter's wife Mariana. Bianca, on the other hand, is the daughter of Juliana and Baptista, a captain in the Florentine fleet and friend of Alberto's. She had been placed in an innkeeper's custody after her father was taken as a prisoner of war by the Turks. Following various convoluted developments and the revealing of their actual origins, all involved parties receive their preferred lovers. After Alberto has allegedly drowned, Mariana discloses Cesario's true identity to assure her daughter Clarissa's inheritance. The Duke of Florence thereupon requests that she marry her foster son to spare him the social descent. Mariana refuses to enter into such an immoral relationship, but the libertine Cesario suddenly wishes to wed her and expresses his intent with drastic words. Despite seeking Bianca's favor only moments before, he now prompts Mariana to remember her wedding night with his foster father Alberto and do the same with him:

> Thou com'st as I could wish; lend me a Lip
> As soft and melting as when old *Alberto*,
> After his first Night's Trial, taking farewel
> Of thy Youth's Conquest, tasted.
> *Mar*. You're uncivil.
> *Cesa*. I will be Lord of my own Pleasures, Madam
> Y' are mine, mine freely; come, no whimpering henceforth,
> New con the Lessons of Loves best Experience,

247 The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon. Vol. 10. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, 752.

248 Margaret Drabble (ed.): The Oxford Companion to English Literature. Revised Edition. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 1998, 353.

That our Delights may meet in equal Measure
Of Resolutions and Desires; this Sullenness
Is scurvy, I like it not.[249]

Cesario's abrupt shift from Bianca to Mariana and the circumstance that the latter is presumptively a widow still in mourning had to be considered objectionable by the censor. Shortly thereafter, when Mariana delivers a well-deserved rebuff and suggests a sham marriage to obey the duke's order instead, Cesario begins to take interest in her daughter Clarissa. Although his attitude towards women is now sufficiently characterized by his behavior, he insists on clearly expressing it himself as well: "What handsome Toys are maids to play with?"[250]

While Cesario is portrayed as a veritable rake, at least in terms of his views and intentions, the host couple who have taken Bianca in effectively become matchmakers. Shady figures frequent their tavern, with most of them after Bianca—and since he depends on them for his income, the innkeeper turns a blind eye to these goings-on. "These are your In-comes," his wife reminds him, "Remember your own Proverb, that, the Savour Of every Gain smelt sweet; thank no body but your Self for this Trouble."[251] He thereupon asks his foster child: "For an Host, Girl, Girl, Girl, which of all this Gally-maufry of Mans flesh appears tolerable T' thy Choice? speak shortly, and speak truly: I Must and will know, must and will; hear ye that?"[252] Being only thirteen years old, the girl does not dare to object. A wedding with one of the suitors (a tailor, a dancer, a lawyer's secretary, a donkey herder, a jester, and a schoolmaster) does not take place, however: For the candidates are ostensibly examined

249 The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher. Volume the Ninth. London: Tonson and Draser 1750, 388. ("Cesario. Reich' mir die Lippe, / Sanft schwellend, so wie sie Alberto einst, / Nach dem Verlauf der ersten Nacht, bei'm Abschied, / Nachdem er dich besiegt, genoß. / Mariane. Unbändiger! / Cesario. Soll ich nicht Herr von meinen Freuden seyn! / Ihr seyd jetzt mein; wozu die Ziererei! / Studirt der Liebe Künste wieder ein, / Daß sich in uns Genuß, sehnsüchtig' Wünschen / Entgegen kommen. Dieses Sprödethun / Gefällt mir nicht!" Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher: Das schöne Schenkmädchen, Tragi-Comödie in fünf Acten, nach Beaumont und Fletcher. Weimar: A. Tantz & Comp. 1836, 85–86).

250 Ibid., 388. ("Was ist ein Mädchen für ein schönes Spielzeug!" 85).

251 Ibid., 369. ("Daran seyd Ihr selbst Schuld; denkt an Euer eignes Sprichwort: der Duft jedes Gewinnes riecht gut; dankt also niemand als Euch für die Unruh." 54).

252 Ibid., 369. ("Höre, Mädchen, welcher von diesem Mischmasch von Mannsfleisch scheint Deiner Wahl erträglich. Sag's kurz und rede wahr; ich muß und will es wissen, muß und will: hörst Du?" 54–55).

with regard to their suitability by another pair of guests, the wandering mountebank Forobosco and his assistant, who in reality simply con and swindle them.

Forobosco, who claims to be a successful alchemist in a pact with the devil, must have been a highly questionable character in the eyes of the censorial authorities. The schoolmaster tells him of his wish to establish new sects in Amsterdam, which he expects will generate ample profits. As cults already abound in the city, he imagines the undertaking to be easy and asks Forobosco for suggestions regarding the alignment of the sects to be founded. The assistant named Rüpel (ruffian; in the original: Clown) then reveals Forobosco to be a swindler, challenges him, and lets the alleged conjurer demonstrate his magic on him. Among other things, he reports that the alchemist had used beer soup as a universal remedy in the Netherlands and called it his "Catholick Med'cin; sure the *Dutch* smelt out 'T was butter'd Beer, else they would never have Endur'd it for the Name's sake." Here the translator inserted one of numerous footnotes: "As is well known, anything called Catholic was as dislikeable to the Dutchman as he otherwise was, and presumably still is, a friend of beer soups."[253] Despite sounding reasonably factual, such comments from the Protestant perspective were considered inappropriate in Austria. Even more objectionable were jests concerning violations of the requirement to fast on Good Friday: When Forobosco bets that he can make Rüpel dance by summoning the dark forces, his assistant replies that this is entirely impossible, for he is too heavy: "I have too solid a Body, and my Belief Is like a Puritan's on Good-Friday, too high fed With Capon."[254] He also claims that Forobosco had previously pursued his unsavory dealings in England under the name of Dr. Lambstone. Here, too, the translator added a footnote: "Presumably an allusion to the famous Dr. Lamb, great sorcerer under Jacob I."[255] This link between the dark arts and a royal court was surely unacceptable to the censor as well, especially since Forobosco reports that the ladies there had beleaguered him by the dozens in order to "further their Lust, or revenge Injuries."[256]

253 Ibid., 399. ("Gewiß schmeckten die Holländer, daß es Biersuppe war, sonst hätten sie es um des Namens willen nicht genossen."—"Alles was Katholisch hieß, war dem Holländer bekanntlich ebenso zuwider, als er sonst ein Freund von Biersuppen war und wohl noch ist." 107)

254 Ibid., 400. ("und ist, glaube ich, mein Leib, wie ein gutter Puritanerbauch am Charfreitag, zu dick mit Capaunen gefüttert." 109).

255 "Vermuthlich eine Anspielung auf den berühmten Dr. Lamb, großen Zauberer unter Jacob I." (127).

256 Ibid., 410. ("ihrer Lust zu fröhnen, oder Beleidigungen zu rächen"; 127).

7.2 *Shakespeare, Adapted by Johann Friedrich Schink*

Our second example will be Johann Friedrich Schink's German adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* for performance as a puppet play, published in 1799. The book was banned immediately by way of a court decree, an unusual course of action. The censor—in this case presumably a member of or advisor to the Viennese court—did not have far to read to find reasons for a proscription: The murdered king is the epitome of an oafish and idle ruler whose primary pleasure is eating. The queen and the murderous uncle are nothing but sinners and criminals; the uncle is also a heavy drinker and the queen voluptuous. Hamlet initially appears as a perky critic of the monarchy, and once enthroned becomes an enlightened ruler akin to Joseph II. In addition, he marries the "bourgeois" Ophelia and justifies this union in abstract terms with the principle of equality—compelling a listener to comment that "this smacks strongly of democracy."[257]

On the very first page, while wandering around at night, the king is referred to as "the fat thing"[258] by one of two watchmen. The second, doubtful guard is told: "You will see. Come eleven o'clock, / He will surely appear, led by his belly."[259] As early as the prologue, Schink makes it clear that the well-fed king's girth is a result of the exploitation of his people. It would be better, he writes, if some kings were made of wood:

> This would prevent a lot of harm,
> No mistresses would milk the land;
> How much harm is a star and a band around wood?
> There are far worse marionettes
> Of flesh and bone, guided by the wires
> Of councilors and priests! Especially the fat ones,
> The fatter they are, the gaunter the state![260]

Jokes pertaining to the king's waistline pervade the entire play as a leitmotiv of sorts. If the drama has any tendency, it is to propagate the reform of absolute monarchy. The priests mentioned in the above citation are likewise repeatedly

257 Schink: Prinz Hamlet, 175: "das schmeckt sehr nach Demokratie."
258 Ibid., 7: "das dicke Ding."
259 Ibid., 8: "Du wirst schon sehn. Kömmt eilf heran, / Bums ist er da, der Bauch voran."
260 Ibid., 3–4: "Von vielem Unheil würde das retten, / Da melkten keine Maitressen das Land; / Was schadet um Holz wohl ein Stern und ein Band? / Da giebt's weit schlimm're Marionetten / Aus Fleisch und Bein, gezogen am Draht / Von Räthen und Priestern! Besonders die Fetten, / Je fetter sie, je mag'rer der Staat!"

vilified throughout the text, for example when Hamlet talks about his mental state: "And I am all in pieces too, I no longer read or think, / And like the head of a capitular, my skull is empty."[261] Even the pope himself is denigrated when Hamlet rhymes:

> Have not some wethers worn Peter's holy crown as well?
> And been embellished with praise and glory?
> Oldenholm. A wether as the prince of Rome! Oh, my!
> That seems quite brash for the Holy Father.[262]

The notion that kings are controlled like puppets by their advisors also appears repeatedly. Ophelia's father Oldenholm asks:

> You think a king must act, hear, see himself? –
> This, sadly, as they say, occurs in Berlin.
> He is a king, too, of a kind unique, my child!
> Woe to all court marshals if there were more like him.[263]

Whether the allusion to young Frederick William III's independence is serious or ironic is still left to the reader (respectively the audience) at this point. Later, however, during the play within the play, the puppet king—who exonerates himself of all responsibility and obligations and views the philosopher on the Prussian throne as his role model—muses with regard to the young ruler:

> Of the young king himself now gracing Frederick's throne,
> It is said that, sadly, he rules by action alone.
> But if this were the fashion on all thrones,
> Who, by the hangman, would remain a prince? And not refuse the honor?
> [...]

261 Ibid., 14: "Auch bin ich ganz kaput, ich les' und denk' nicht mehr, / Und, wie ein Dommherrnkopf, ist mir der Schädel leer."

262 Ibid., 128: "Trug nicht schon mancher Schöps selbst Peters heil'ge Krone? / Und ward mit Preis und Ruhm geschmückt? / Oldenholm. Ein Schöps, als Fürst von Rom! Ei, ei! / Vom heil'gen Vater ist das doch ein wenig frei."

263 Ibid., 52: "Meinst Du, ein König müß selbst handeln, hören, sehen? / Das, leider! Wie man sagt, soll in Berlin geschehen. / Der ist ein König auch, ganz eigner Art, mein Kind! / Weh allen Hofmarschall'n, wenn mehr dergleichen sind."

> Duty is not for the lord, duty is for the servitors only,
> And anyone saying otherwise is—a Jacobin.[264]

Frederick William III is the praiseworthy but unfortunately sole exception of a ruler who takes his duties seriously. And although it was positive, any reference to a ruler currently in power had to be considered undesirable. Aside from the objectionable topic itself, Hamlet's description of the regicide and his planned revenge exhibit a lack of courtly etiquette:

> Then I shall take him by the head, ere he notices the ruse,
> And strike him behind the ear, that he shall fall limp.
> He beat to death my father in the prime of his life,
> Therefore I shall wring his neck.
> Captain: What noble temper![265]

As noted before, the king's considerable paunch is brought up regularly. His overindulgence causes problems with regard to the royal love life as well, as the queen laments in the (puppet) play. She wishes him a long life,

> But your heart is no longer in the fun and games,
> And come the night, you sleep but all too much.
> Though you love me, I know it, beyond measure,
> Good food and drink provide you with more pleasure.[266]

This although she obviously considers herself to be beyond all amorous flirtation:

> I've nearly reached the age of fifty, dear,
> No j'ai l'honneur leers at my bosom now.

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264 Ibid., 113–114: "Vom jungen König selbst, der Friedrichs Thron itzt ziert, / Sagt man, daß, leider! Er durch Thaten nur regiert. / Allein, wenn Mode das auf allen Thronen wäre, / Wer Henker! Bliebe Fürst? Und dankte nicht der Ehre? / [...] / Pflicht ist für keinen Herrn, Pflicht ist nur für die Diener, / Und, wer es anders sagt, der ist ein—Jacobiner."

265 Ibid., 19: "Dann nehm' ich ihn bei'm Kopf, eh' er die List entdeckt, / Und schlag' ihm hinter's Ohr, daß er die Viere streckt. / Er schlug den Vater todt in seines Lebens Blüthe, / Drum dreh' ich ihm den Hals. / Hauptmann. Welch nobeles Gemüthe!"

266 Ibid., 107: "Nur hängt dein Herz nicht mehr an Scherz und Spiel, / Und kömmt die Nacht, schläffst du fast allzuviel. / Zwar liebst du mich, ich weiß es, ohn' Ermessen, / Doch mehr noch liebst du guten Trunk und Essen."

No poet's quill sings of my appeal,
And my hand is only kissed in leather.[267]

She is later mercilessly unmasked by Hamlet:

A gentle lamb you were, now are a crone of hell,
Wife of a nasty newt, displeasing even for devils.[268]

The references to the queen's moral conduct and the king's belly as a symbol for the exploitation of his subjects were aimed precisely at the Prussian king Frederick William II, who ruled from 1786 to 1797. As was the case with his French paradigm, life at his court was characterized by wastefulness and the omnipresence of mistresses, which gave rise to much resentment among the population to the extent that Prussia was threatened by revolutionary revolt. A contemporary graphic representation offers a presumably realistic image of the king's stature (Figure 9) that earned him the nickname "Dicker König von Kanonenland" (Fat King of Cannonland). Caricatures of the period portrayed him with a similarly stately bulge: The example in Figure 10 shows him busily pinning flowers to his coat while his longtime mistress Wilhelmine Encke plunders the state coffers in the background.[269]

Schink's drama also contains general contemplations on the political situation in Germany. The circumstance that large parts of the territory are subjugated by France is at the center of a play performed by the puppeteer as a sample of his skill. The play is entitled "Deutschlands Konstituzion" (Germany's Constitution), with this constitution represented by an allegorical figure.

Do you see this lady here, clad in rags and tatters,
With only half a shirt, the chest and shoulders naked?
Twisted in her build, her head and foot distorted?
Do you see her pale and sickly, the cheeks without roses,
A rattling pile of bones? Oh, she has the—Frenches![270]

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267 Ibid., 108: "Ich bin schon an die funfzig, Schaz, / Kein j'ai l'honneur schielt mehr nach meinem Laz. / Von meinem Reiz singt keine Dichterfeder, / Und meine Hand küßt man nur noch—im Leder."

268 Ibid., 143: "Ein sanftes Lamm war't ihr, seyd nun ein Höllenbesen, / Weib eines garst'gen Molchs, kaum Teufeln angenehm."

269 A list of forbidden contemporary works on the scandalous couple can be found in Sangmeister: Vertrieben vom Feld der Literatur, 117.

270 Ibid., 75: "Seht ihr die Dame hier, behängt mit einzeln Fetzen, / Mit halbem Hemde nur, die Brust und Schultern nackt? / Im Gliederbau verrenkt, an Haupt und Fuß kontrakt? /

FIGURE 9
Portrait of Frederick William II
ETCHING BY WILHELM CHODOWIECKI

The anachronism in the shape of references to Napoleon's campaigns returns when Hamlet is sent to Nelson's fleet by his uncle to help fight the French enemy.

Hamlet is a proponent of rationalist criticism, especially that of Kant; the fact that he dissembles at the beginning of the play by quoting Fichte—and in particular his theory of the I and the not-I—and others earns him a reputation of insanity. He even drafts a trial version of the Lord's Prayer using Fichte's jargon. Furthermore, he ridicules the custom of linking religion and the conservation of worldly power. After the planned murder of his uncle, Hamlet tries to protect himself by producing a miracle in the shape of an "undecayable" saint:

> As well I shall create a saint,
> for many years remaining undecayed in the grave;
> Presenting him as proof of fate's benevolence

Seht ihr sie bleich und blaß, die Wangen ohne Rosen, / Ein klapperndes Geripp? Ach! Sie hat die—Franzosen."

FIGURE 10
Contemporary caricature of Frederick William II and Wilhelmine Encke

> With me and my employment of the scepter,
> With my laudable, most fortuitous government.
> Will order him to be displayed for veneration,
> And priests all 'round will loudly take my side.[271]

Having successfully occupied the throne in a happy ending, Hamlet announces his agenda: He intends to practice self-restraint so that his people need not feel

271 Ibid., 160: "Noch will ich obendrein für einen Heil'gen sorgen, / Der unverweslich blieb im Grabe viele Jahr; / Den stell' ich als Beweis des Wohlgefallens dar / Der Vorsehung mit mir und meiner Zepterführung, / Mit meiner preißlichen, höchst glücklichen Regierung. / Befehle, dass man aus ihn zur Verehrung stellt, / Und laut erklärt für mich sich rings die Priesterwelt."

ashamed of him; he wishes to be his subjects' benefactor, defend the human rights and the freedom of mind, and commit himself to the Enlightenment:

> A king's first duty is to spread enlightenment,
> It is the throne's support, and remains it evermore.[272]

Such a government program had to be deemed highly improper in post-Josephinian restoration Austria. Subsidiary motives for the proscription may have been Hamlet's suicide monologue ("My life is balderdash"[273]) and the ghostly apparitions reminiscent of the gothic novel from the time around 1800. Incidentally, despite attempting to achieve comical effect largely by conventional and relatively simple means, Schick's *Hamlet* was by no means intended for the masses. It included numerous allusions to contemporary personalities—philosophers as well as members of the literary and dramatic realms—and their works. The most problematic aspect from the censorial point of view was of course the criticism of Frederick William II and the circumstances at his court. At best, extensive deletions could have rendered the play suitable for the tastes and knowledge level of habitués of popular theater. But the Viennese court apparently deemed it inappropriate even for educated audiences, and it was therefore prohibited entirely.

7.3 *Henry Fielding*

Henry Fielding's third drama, the comedy *The Wedding-Day*, was written in 1729. It could initially not be performed because the designated director refused to stage it, however. Only in 1743 was it put on at the instigation of and starring David Garrick, and printed as well.[274] The play already faced problems in London, with the licenser (censor) at first refusing his approval; the role of the matchmaker Mrs. Useful had to be trimmed down before it could be staged, but rumors of the comedy's immorality nevertheless spread quickly and the audience avoided it.

After leaving his lover Clarinda, the rake Millamour treats her with disdain. Following the end of this affair, Clarinda marries Mr. Stedfast, whose daughter Charlotte is chased by Millamour's friend Mr. Heartford despite being promised

272 Ibid., 206: "Der Kön'ge erste Pflicht ist, Aufklärung zu verbreiten, / Sie ist des Thrones Stütz', und bleibt's zu allen Zeiten."

273 Ibid., 37: "Mein Leben ist ein Quarck."

274 Cf. Miscellanies by Henry Fielding, Esq. With an Introduction and Commentary by Bertrand A. Goldgar. The Text Edited By Hugh Amory. Vol. 2. Hanover, New Hampshire: The University Press of New England—Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993, xliii–xlix.

to Mr. Mutable. Disguised as Lord Truelove and Doctor Gruel, Millamour prevents the marriage between Clarinda and Stedfast from being consummated. At the same time, he is able to delay Charlotte's wedding with Mutable, who is already dithering, thereby giving Heartford time to win over his beloved. Near the end of the play, the matchmaker Mrs. Plotwell discloses that she is Stedfast's abandoned lover and Clarinda their daughter. Following this surprising turn of events, Stedfast consents to his two daughters marrying Millamour and Heartford. The happy end is ultimately facilitated by Millamour's libertinism, whereas compunction and betterment would have led to an incestuous and a forced marriage. The final elucidation is owed to his good rapport with Plotwell. Ultimately, the rake is neither punished nor condemned—rather, he serves love and the desire it legitimates.[275]

The anonymous German translation published in Copenhagen in 1759 was forbidden in Austria in 1762.[276] An edition published in Vienna in 1764,[277] on the other hand, had been cleansed of objectionable passages and was approved; in fact, it was even deemed appropriate for performance at the *Hoftheater*. We will compare these two versions in the following. The Viennese edition omitted a number of scenes entirely, not least because an entire character (Lucina) was removed. This measure should not necessarily be interpreted as an act of censorship, however, but rather as an adaptation to the requirements of the stage. The reworking of several other scenes likewise clearly served dramaturgical purposes and not censorial demands. Where Fielding merely had Stedfast's daughters married according to their wishes, the Viennese edition sees Stedfast himself wedding his former lover Plotwell as well, resulting in a merry wedding day with three celebrations. This may have been a homage to Maria Theresa's "matrimoniomania."[278]

Looking at the deleted and adapted passages, two motives for the changes are apparent. It is no surprise that the protagonists' lack of morals provided

275 Cf. Tiffany Potter: Honest Sins: Georgian Libertinism & the Plays & Novels of Henry Fielding. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1999, 67–73.

276 Der Hochzeitstag ein Lustspiel wie es auf dem königlichen Theater in Drury-Läne ist aufgeführet worden, und Eurydice ein Nachspiel, so wie es ist ausgepfiffen worden auf dem königlichen Theater in Drury-Läne beyde aus dem Englischen des Herrn Henry Fielding übersetzt. Kopenhagen, auf Kosten der Rothenschen Buchhandlung 1759.

277 Der Hochzeittag, oder der Feind des Ehestandes. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen, nach dem Englischen des Henry Fielding. Aufgeführet auf der Kayserl. Königl. Privilegirten Schaubühne zu Wien. Wien, zu finden im Kraußischen Buchladen, nächst der Kaiserl. Königl. Burg 1764.

278 A term apparently coined by George Sand, as mentioned in the discussion of her novel *Consuelo—La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*, cf. p. 325.

the main reason for censorial interventions; the protection of religion was a secondary motivation. As before in London, the matchmaker characters were obviously considered particularly objectionable. In fact, the term itself was avoided in the Austrian translation: Instead of a "Kuplerinn,"[279] (matchmaker) the Viennese version featured an "Aufwärterin"[280] (attendant). Likewise deleted was a passage in which Millamour wraps up his libertine philosophy in praise for the matchmaker Mrs. Useful, juxtaposing it with legitimate marriage:

> *Mill.* […] Thou hast united more Couples than the Alimony-Act has parted, and sent more to bed together, without a Licence, than any Parson in the *Fleet*.
> *Mrs. Use*. I wish I could have prevented one Couple from doing it with a Licence.
> *Mill*. What, has some notable Whore of thy Acquaintance turn'd Rebel to thy Power, and listed unter the Banners of *Hymen*?—But be not disconsolate at thy Loss—My Life to a Farthing she returns to her Duty.—Whoring is like the Mathematics; whoever is once initiated into the Science is sure never to leave it.[281]

The fact that his lover Clarinda weds a rich old man is actually beneficial to Millamour, for they are "two excellent Qualifications for a Husband and a Cuckold, as one could wish."[282] The Austrian edition practically reversed the meaning of this statement by having Millamour say: "Rich and old—this choice is a credit to her wits."[283] In fact, the pair are not even married in the Viennese version; they are merely engaged, thus precluding formal adultery a priori. Heartford's analogy between prostitutes and courtiers was of course also deemed unsuitable for the stages of the *Hoftheater*: "*Heart*. What, is your Levee dispatch'd? I

279 Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 3.
280 Der Hochzeittag 1764, 5.
281 Henry Fielding: The Wedding-Day. A Comedy. London: Millar 1743, 3. ("Millam. […] Sie haben mehr gepaaret, als das Gesetz der Unterhaltung geschieden hat, und Sie haben mehr ohne Erlaubniß miteinander zu Bette geschicket, als irgend ein Priester in Fleet. Fr. Usef. Ich möchte wünschen, daß ich ein Paar hätte verhindern können, es mit Erlaubniß zu thun. Millam. Wie, hat etwa eine einträgliche Hure sich wider Ihre Macht aufgelehnet, und sich unter die Fahne des Hymens begeben? Trösten Sie sich über diesen Verlust.—Ich setze mein Leben gegen einen Heller, sie wird bald zu ihrer Pflicht zurückkehren. Das Huren gleicht der Mathematic; wer einmahl eingeweyhet ist, kann gewiß seyn, er werde sich nicht wieder herausziehen." Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 4).
282 Ibid., 4. ("zwo so fürtreffliche Eigenschaften für einen Ehemann und einen Hahnrey, als man sich nur wünschen mag"; 6).
283 Der Hochzeittag 1764, 7: "Reich und alt—diese Wahl macht ihrem Verstande Ehre."

met antiquated Whores going out of your Door as thick as antiquated Courtiers from the Levee of a Statesman, and with as disconsolate Faces.—I fancy thou hast done nothing for them."[284] Potential references to the Viennese court—though not originally intended as such by Fielding—were likewise removed. Where Fielding let Stedfast state once again that his decisions were final—and that, for example, he would not give his daughter to anyone other than the man she was promised to, even if the "emperor" were to ask for her hand[285]—the Viennese editor replaced the latter with a "king."[286]

The repeated mentions of Millamour's intention to make Stedfast a betrayed husband challenged the values of patriarchy and the nuclear family.[287] And Stedfast's statement "I thought Cuckoldom the most general Distemper in the Kingdom"[288] when he assumes his wife Clarinda to be spreading an infectious disease with her infidelity summarizes the censorial misgivings regarding the contagiousness of ideas disseminated in print quite succinctly. The matchmaker Mrs. Useful likewise pokes at the foundations of patriarchy and marriage, advising Clarinda to accord Millamour her favor despite her marriage (in Vienna: engagement) to Stedfast. She asks Clarinda whether she wishes to be locked up for all time "in that old fusty Chest, the Arms of your Husband?"[289] The same scene also reveals that the matchmaker has persuaded Clarinda to flee from a monastery in France with Millamour because she believes the life of a nun would be "not consistent with the Health of your Soul."[290] Originally spanning one and a half pages, this entire scene questioning marriage as well as religion was bridged with a mere few sentences in the Viennese edition.

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284 "Heartf. Nun, ist dann Ihre Levée vorbey? Ich begegnete einigen veralteten Huren, die so stolz die Treppe herabgiengen, als alte Hofleute von dem Levée des Ministers zurückkommen, aber auch mit einem ebenso verdrießlichem [!] Gesicht." (Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 14–15; vgl. Der Hochzeittag 1764, 15). Where two page numbers separated by a slash appear here and in the following, the first number refers to the respective passage in the Copenhagen edition, the second to the corresponding passage (or in some cases, omission) in the Viennese edition.

285 Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 71: "Kayser." In Fielding's original, the passage reads: "to see her a-bed with the Emperor of Germany" (The Wedding-Day, 42).

286 Der Hochzeittag 1764, 56: "König."

287 E.g. pages 21/19.

288 The Wedding-Day, 78. ("die Hahnreyschaft ist wohl die allgemeinste Krankheit im ganzen Reich"; Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 132).

289 The Wedding-Day, 37. ("alten verschimmelten Kasten, den Armen ihres Mannes"; Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 64).

290 The Wedding-Day 1759, 38. ("dem Heil Ihrer Seele nachtheilig wäre"; Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 64).

Surprisingly, the comparison of love to religion, both of which are described as nothing but illusions, was allowed to stand in principle. When Heartford asserts that there was much dissemblance, and that even atheists had been seen kneeling before their "altars,"[291] the Viennese edition protected Christian sensitivities by rephrasing to "kneeling before their idols and lovers."[292] Similarly astonishing is the fact that a censorship sheltering all religions as a matter of principle permitted the likening of the Muslim faith to "folly," deleting only the comparison with the papacy: "In short, it is dangerous to ridicule Folly any where openly; as to speak against *Mahometism* in *Turkey*, or *Popery* in *Rome*."[293] That invocations of the devil were removed appears obvious; but even Charlotte's statement that the matchmaker Mrs. Useful could feign being a "saint"[294] was attenuated to "angel."[295]

8 French Drama of the July Monarchy

Of the 1268 dramatic texts included in the censorship database, 284—or slightly more than one fifth—were written in or translated from French. Of these, exactly 170 are from the period between 1830 and 1848, the time of the July Monarchy. This specific corpus of forbidden French drama consisted largely of historical plays[296] and vaudevilles.[297] In addition, we find themes

291 Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 29: "Altären."

292 Der Hochzeittag 1764, 21: "vor ihren Götzen und Geliebten kniend."

293 The Wedding-Day, 18. ("Heart. […] Kurz, es ist eben so gefährlich öffentlich über die Narrheit zu spotten, als in der Türkey gegen den Mahometanischen Glauben zu reden, oder in Rom gegen das Pabstthum." Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 31–32); vgl. Der Hochzeittag 1764, 23.

294 Der Hochzeitstag 1759, 120: "Heilige."

295 Der Hochzeittag 1764, 97: "Engel."

296 For example: Lucien Arnault: Cathérine de Medicis, aux états de Blois und Gustave-Adolphe, ou La bataille de Lutzen; Michael Beer: Struensée; Henri Bonnias: Le 9 Thermidor; Alexandre Dumas: Henri III et sa cour; Charles Désiré Dupeuty: Napoléon, ou Schoenbrunn et Sainte-Hélène; Joseph Philippe Lockroy: Un duel sous le cardinal de Richelieu; Joseph-Bernard Rosier: Charles IX. This category also included works by well-known authors that can be considered Romanticists, like Casimir Delavigne: Marino Faliero and Louis XI; Victor Hugo: Le roi s'amuse; Prosper Mérimée: Théâtre de Clara Gazul; Alfred de Musset: Lorenzaccio; George Sand: Les Mississipiens and Cosima ou la haine dans l'amour.

297 E.g. Jean-Francois-Alfred Bayard and Louis-Emile Vanderburch: Le gamin de Paris; Anne-Honoré-Joseph Duveyrier, dit Mélesville: Michel Perrin; Adolphe d'Ennery: L'idée du mari; Paul de Kock: Dupont mon ami; Michel-Nicolas Balisson de Rougemont: La fille du cocher.

from contemporary social life (as in Honoré de Balzacs *Vautrin*), operas,[298] and dramatized novels.[299] The following pages discuss examples from the two most frequent genres of historical drama and vaudeville, as well as one play on contemporary topics.

8.1 *George Sand*

George Sand's historical play *Les Mississipiens* (1840)[300] was placed on the prohibition list in 1840 with a verdict of "erga schedam." It is a variation on the topic of love defeated by materialistic thinking, which Sand used in many of her novels, against the background of financial speculation during the early eighteenth century. The plot sees Julie de Puymonfort marrying the wealthy Jew Samuel Bourset, whose uncle is a financier of King Louis XIV and the French state, at the instigation of her mother and the latter's former lover, who is introduced only as "Le duc, ami de la maison." Julie's cousin and erstwhile lover, the Chevalier de Puymonfort, is forced to withdraw by means of an arrest warrant for an insignificant unpaid debt. He emigrates to America and only returns to France incognito 16 years later, in 1719, using the name George Freeman. Julie entertains thoughts of revenge, but eventually arranges herself with Bourset and supports him in his financial speculations, which she assumes to serve the state and thus the common good. After his return, Puymonfort/Freeman encounters Julie's 15-year-old daughter Lucette, who is being used by Bourset as a matrimonial lure for rich aristocrats. Puymonfort is able to put her up in a convent to protect her from these machinations. As a leading member of the company of the "Mississipiens," a society for the development of the French possessions along the lower Mississippi, he is well-informed about the goings-on in the region. He threatens to inform the investors who have purchased shares in the company of the fact that there is no gold there, which would uncover Bourset as a swindler. Upon receiving the false news that her mother has fallen ill, Lucette returns from the convent. She is to be married to the aged Duc in order to secure his inheritance as soon as possible. Puymonfort advises Bourset to mollify the investors disgruntled by the loss of value of their shares by showing them the cash he has hoarded in his vaults in violation of a royal mandate and offering them a payout in hard currency. The investors subsequently regain their trust

298 Étienne Jouy: Guillaume Tell; Giacomo Meyerbeer: Robert der Teufel; Eugène Scribe: Die Hugenotten and La juive.

299 Examples for this category are Paul Féval: Le fils du diable or Eugène Sue: Les mystères de Paris.

300 Les Mississipiens. Proverbe. In: Œuvres de George Sand, vol. 25. Paris: Magen et Comon 1841, 177–386.

and decide not to convert their shares. Bourset attempts to persuade Puymonfort to become a business partner and offers him Lucette's hand in marriage, but Puymonfort opts to decline and return to America. Julie ultimately realizes that Bourset's undertakings boil down to theft; she leaves him and retreats to a country house with her daughter. The unreformable Bourset plunges into new speculations in reaction to Puymonfort's suggestion that he might be better off investing into agricultural property in future.

At the end of the play, Sand included two footnotes describing many of the mentioned details as authentic. And indeed, the entire background of the story—the events surrounding public debt and financial speculations—was based on historical facts. Around 1715, at the end of Louis XIV's reign, French public debt had reached enormous dimensions. The exiled Scotsman John Law, a fervent proponent of paper money, had the banknote press fired up and metallic currency converted into shares and government bonds more or less compulsorily. The second pillar of Law's financial system was the Compagnie d'Occident, which was to transform the French possessions along the Mississippi into a source of wealth by issuing bonds. News of the discovery of gold attracted a large number of investors who, motivated by the high stock prices, began to sell their shares in the Compagnie in 1720 and reinvest them in real estate elsewhere. The dramatic price drop caused the majority of investors to lose huge amounts, and the money press had to be stopped to stabilize the paper currency. In short, an early financial bubble burst in unprecedented and consequential fashion.

From the Austrian perspective, Sand's play will have appeared problematic for several reasons. The most important of these were the financial speculations that Louis XIV and his successor, the "Regent" Duc d'Orléans, are involved in. If successful, the purpose of these speculations is the uncontrolled enrichment of the aristocrats and nouveau-riche members of the bourgeoisie, while the state and the "people" shoulder the risks. But even the investors are dissatisfied, and the Duc voices harsh criticism of the state's money policy in their name: "If this paper is better than the silver, then it shall be taken back if we no longer want it; we shall be given back the base metal we are quite satisfied with. Confound it! This is a very bad joke, Mr. Bourset!"[301] Participation in the Mississippi speculations is described as careless stupidity: "Cross your heart, Bourset, do you not believe that France and the regent are jointly com-

301 Ibid., 342: "Si ce papier est meilleur que l'argent, qu'on nous le reprenne quand nous n'en voulons plus, et qu'on nous rende ce vil métal dont nous voulons bien nous contenter. Que diable! Ceci est une plaisanterie de fort mauvais goût, monsieur Bourset!"

mitting the world's greatest idiocy?"[302] There is also mention of contending factions within the government and the circumstance that the people might take revenge on their rulers for the financial ruin. Internal conflicts and uprisings resulting from them were a theme treated with particular severity by the Austrian censorship.

Les Mississipiens also presented marriage as an arena of speculation in which young girls are employed like shares as instruments of enrichment. The image of women underlying such processes, respectively their role as "lures," is laid out plainly early on:

> Women formerly used to be better; it is a fact, they sometimes loved us for our own sake; not often, but it did happen, whereas today one cannot even receive a glance without paying for it … The Maintenon and her pietism have introduced this practice …[303]

Church attendance and monastic life are characterized disrespectfully as well. The Duc, an old bon vivant, says about weddings at church: "[…] I will catch a cold in your bedeviled churches! […] It is arduous enough to have to endure the king's mass if one wishes to be seen at court."[304] Regarding life at Catholic monasteries, the Marquise considers joining a convent to be an unsuitable pastime for a beautiful girl: "But are you so crazy, pretty as you are, to consider taking the veil?"[305]

Finally, the play also features some anti-Semitic undertones: Samuel Bourset is the deplorable "modern Shylock"[306] who provides the upper classes with money respectively shares while at the same time ruining them financially—in Sand's portrayal, entirely intentionally. The censors in Austria attempted to keep anti-Semitism at bay like all other potential internal conflicts; what was more, the Austrian readership would have almost inevitably drawn associations between Bourset and the financier Salomon Rothschild, who was influential and important for the country.

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302 Ibid., 235: "En votre âme et conscience, Bourset, vous ne pensez pas que la France et le régent fassent de compagnie la plus grande sottise du monde?"

303 Ibid., 182: "Autrefois les femmes valaient mieux; c'est un fait, elles nous aimaient quelquefois pour nous-mêmes; pas souvent, mais enfin ça se voyait, tandis qu'aujourd'hui il n'y a pas un regard qu'il ne faille payer au poids de l'or … La Maintenon, et avec elle la dévotion, a introduit cet usage …"

304 Ibid., 180–181: "[…] je vais aller m'enrhumer dans vos diables d'églises! […] C'est bien assez qu'il faille avaler la messe du roi quand on va faire sa cour."

305 Ibid., 290: "Mais tu es donc folle, jolie comme tu l'es, de songer à prendre le voile?"

306 Ibid., 274: "Shylock moderne."

8.2 *Honoré de Balzac*

Honoré de Balzac's play *Vautrin* is our representative of drama dealing with contemporary issues.[307] It received a verdict of "erga schedam" in July 1840, the same month as Sand's *Les Mississipiens*. At the time of *Vautrin*'s premiere, the title figure was already known from the novel *Le père Goriot* (1834); it would later appear in *Illusions perdues* (1837–1843) and *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (1838–1847) as well. Returning from exile unauthorized, Vautrin is a former *bagne* (penal camp) convict who has repeatedly been involved in criminal activities, though always with the purpose (at least in his own opinion) of doing good and serving justice.

The play employs the motif of a child growing up under a false identity whose true origins are ultimately revealed. The popularity of this plot during the mid-nineteenth century is largely ascribed to the collapse of the Ancien Régime and the general social mobility of the period, which caused many people to experience social demotion (aristocrats, but also middle-class families like those of craftsmen supplanted by the industrialization of their trade, and of course the proletarianized rural population).

In *Vautrin*, Louise de Vaudrey gives birth to a son seven months after marrying the Duc de Montsorel. The timing has her husband doubting his fatherhood, and suspicion falls on Louise's former lover Langeac. The Duc forces Louise to refrain from recognizing the child and give it away instead, and a boy sired by Montsorel with a Spanish courtesan is raised as Louise's son in place of her legitimate child Fernand. At the beginning of the play, the lost son reappears under the name Raoul de Frescas and solicits the hand of the beautiful Inès de Christoval. Their marriage is initially impeded by Raoul's lack of pedigree, however: He was found on the roadside at the age of twelve by a released convict named Jacques Collin alias Vautrin and raised to be a perfect nobleman. The blemish on this feel-good story is that the requisite capital for Raoul's education and luxurious lifestyle comes from the criminal activities of a gang led by Vautrin. Inès is therefore to marry Albert de Montsorel, the Duc's bastard son, instead. Vautrin proceeds to invent a respectable provenance for Raoul and a compelling reason for his marriage to Inès: Disguised as a Mexican general, he tells Inès' mother that her husband, who had defended the kingdom against the revolutionaries in Mexico, had been saved from execution by the insurgents at the last moment by a wealthy mine owner named Amoagoas. Christoval had allegedly promised the hand of his daughter Inès to Amoagoas' son as reward.

307 Vautrin. Drame en 5 actes, et en prose. In: Œuvres illustrées de Balzac. Paris: Maresq et Compagnie, Gustave Havard 1853, 92–112.

Out of modesty and hoping to be loved for his virtues rather than his riches, he had presented himself in Paris under the name de Frescas. Vautrin's ingenious plan fails in part due to the integrity of Raoul, who confesses his true history to Inès, and in part due to Louise, who does not wish to bring disrepute to her son with a fantastic provenance yarn. She talks Vautrin into relinquishing his foster son Raoul, and Vautrin even provides her with papers proving her innocence in the boy's exile. The Montsorels make amends and Raoul/Fernand marries Inès, while Vautrin—effectively the "good" character in the plot—is forced to return to the *bagne*. He vows to flee detention soon, however.

Since Vautrin, who plays the role of fate in Balzac's drama, is a convicted criminal and employs unlawful means, the play could superficially be considered immoral—as evidenced by the reaction of the Parisian critics to its premiere: The French censors had rejected the piece twice because the title figure was too reminiscent of the robber Robert Macaire, a figure that stopped at nothing.[308] Vautrin explains his motives for the social ennoblement of Raoul de Frescas to one of his associates: "In exchange for the branding applied to me by society, I am giving it a man of honor: I am entering into a contest with destiny; do you want to join in? Obey!"[309] What is more, Vautrin compares his position outside of all laws with the station of the king as well as those of God and the devil:

> Vautrin: Child, there are two types of men who are almighty.
> Raoul: And they are?
> Vautrin: The kings, who are above the law; and … this will annoy you … the criminals, who are below it.
> Raoul: And since you are not a king …
> Vautrin: Exactly! I rule below.
> Raoul: What kind of terrible joke are you making, Vautrin?
> Vautrin: Did you not say that the devil and God have contributed to creating me?[310]

308 Cf. Henri Troyat: Balzac. Paris: Flammarion 1995, 363–364.

309 Balzac: Vautrin, 101: "En échange de la flétrissure que la société m'a imprimé, je lui rends un homme d'honneur: j'entre en lutte avec le destin; voulez-vous être de la partie? Obéissez!"

310 Ibid., 103: "Vautrin. Enfant, il y a deux espèces d'hommes qui peuvent tout. / Raoul. Et qui sont? / Vautrin. Les rois, ils sont ou doivent être au-dessus des lois; et … tu vas te facher … les criminels, qui sont au-dessous. / Raoul. Et comme tu n'es pas roi … / Vautrin. Eh bien! Je règne en dessous. / Raoul. Quelle affreuse plaisanterie me fais-tu là, Vautrin? / Vautrin. N'as-tu pas dit que le diable et Dieu s'étaient cotisés pour me fondre?"

This arrogation by a figure that flouts divine and earthly justice and considers itself above them was likely a reason for the Austrian censors to ban the play. In addition, Balzac's drama also contains multiple political references that were doubtless considered undesirable, for example an allusion to Louis XVIII, who ruled on the basis of a constitution after the fall of Napoleon and thus—to the chagrin of the radical royalists—no longer absolutely. Criticism of the lax morals under Louis XV can be found in the scene in which Vautrin asks an allied servant to open the rear entrance to the castle for him at night. Alluding to the moral corruption under Louis XV, Vautrin notes: "Here there is virtue, the hinges of this door are rusted; but Louis XVIII has nothing in common with Louis XV."[311] Vautrin's fabricated episode from the Mexican War of Independence with the goal of deposing the king was certainly also considered objectionable. While talking to the Duchess, Vautrin draws the generalizing conclusion that revolutions are in the air everywhere:

> The Duchess of Christoval: What a strange century we live in!
> Vautrin: The revolutions follow one another and are not alike. Everywhere they imitate France. But I would ask you, let us not talk about politics; it is a delicate topic.[312]

Under these circumstances, designations like "traitor" or "liberator" become somewhat ambivalent and exchangeable from one day to the next; Raoul is uncertain whether to consider himself deserving of damnation or admiration for his alleged Mexican descendancy. Vautrin apologizes for obscuring his name to Inès: "But, young lady, I still do not know whether his father's name is that of a traitor or that of a liberator of America."[313]

There was an additional specific motive for the prohibition of *Vautrin* as well, for the year 1834 had seen the first performance of a Robert Macaire play. In this type of free drama, which would soon become immensely popular, the main character stood out with cynical comparisons between honorable society and criminals as well as with improvised jokes of all kinds, especially about religion. When the actor Frédérick Lemaître, who played Robert Macaire, appeared on

311 Ibid., 93: "On est vertueux ici, les gonds de cette porte sont bien rouillés; mais Louis XVIII ne peut pas être Louis XV."

312 Ibid., 106: "La Duchesse de Christoval. Dans quel siècle étrange vivons-nous! / Vautrin. Les révolutions s'y succèdent et ne se ressemblent pas. Partout on imite la France. Mais, je vous en supplie, ne parlons pas politique, c'est un terrain brûlant."

313 Ibid., 107: "Mais, mademoiselle, il ignore encore si le nom de son père est celui d'un coupable de haute trahison ou celui d'un libérateur de l'Amérique."

stage one evening with a pear-shaped headdress obviously designed to make him look like King Louis Philippe, the play was forbidden by the police. These events repeated with Balzac's *Vautrin*, with the same actor wearing an identical wig. In addition, the director of the Porte Saint-Martin theater had somewhat carelessly initiated rumors of an impending political scandal prior to the premiere in Paris. When Frédérick Lemaître as Vautrin did indeed enter the stage wearing the infamous pear-shaped headdress known to the audience from numerous caricatures (cf. Figure 11), the king intervened and prohibited all further performances—with the play's immorality stated as the official reason. The loss was presumably bearable for Balzac himself, but the theater had to be closed in March 1840, shortly after the events.[314] Word of these goings-on at French theaters had likely reached Austria as well—and as mentioned before, the Austrian monarchy was intent on suppressing any criticism of reigning heads of state.

8.3 *Balisson de Rougemont*

Our final example serves to show that praise of Napoleon and his officers still constituted grounds for prohibiting works of fiction in the 1830s. The accolades for the former French ruler are the only discernible motive for the banning of Balisson de Rougemont's play *La fille du cocher*,[315] which was rated "damnatur" in June 1834.

A carriage accident brings the Comte de Morville into contact with the figure of the Colonel, a cavalry officer in the Napoleonic army on leave for a family visit. A coachman named Durand had previously saved Morville's life when he had been sentenced to death in 1794 and assumed custody of his daughter Julienne. Now Morville needs money to repay old debts; he intends to sell his chateau and marry off his daughter to a man befitting her rank. One of Napoleon's generals would seem to represent a desirable "catch" in this regard. Morville has been treated extremely well by Napoleon after returning from exile: His entire property has been restituted and he has been made treasurer. The Comte also believes Napoleon to be taking a hand in his daughter's advantageous marriage. Durand, on the other hand, is furious at no longer being allowed to see his foster daughter and signs on unrecognized as Morville's

314 Cf. L.[ouis]-Henry Lecomte: Un comédien au XIX^e^ siècle. Frédérick-Lemaître. Étude biographique et critique d'après des documents inédits. Deuxième partie 1840–1876. Paris, chez l'auteur 1888, 4–9.

315 Michel-Nicolas Balisson de Rougemont: La fille du cocher. Comédie-vaudeville en deux actes. Paris: Marchant 1834. Since the text is printed in two columns, the following references specify the respective column (l, r) after the page number.

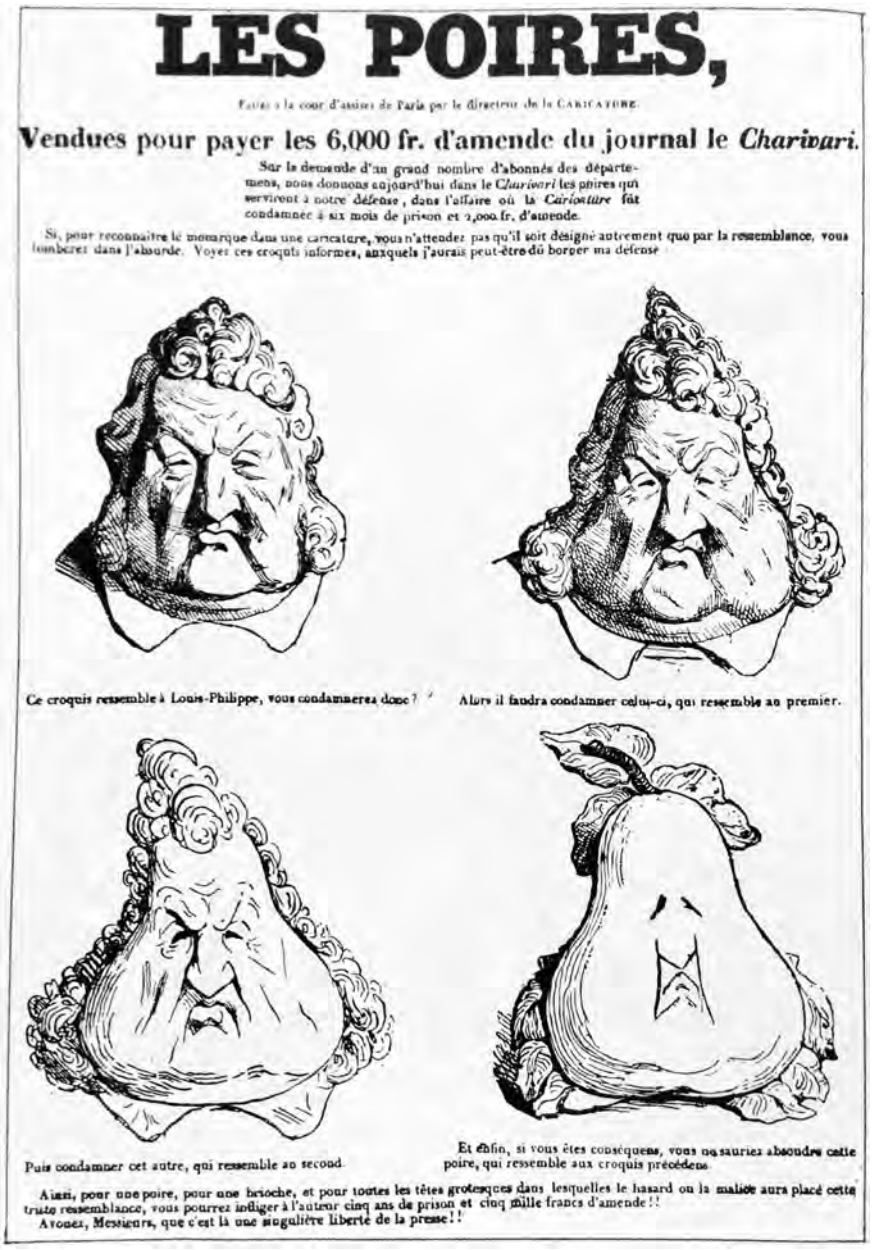

FIGURE 11 Caricature of the "Citizen King" Louis Philippe in *Le Charivari*, April 16, 1835

coachman. He wants to wed Julienne to his son, who is none other than the returned Colonel. Having become rich through grain speculation and the purchase of assignats after the revolution, Durand is able to buy Morville's chateau

as a dowry for Julienne and gift his son 200,000 francs as well. When the news arrives that Napoleon has recommended the Colonel, who has since been promoted to general and made a baron, as Julienne's husband, the stubborn Comte finally consents to the love match as well.

The play is not exactly flattering with regard to the nobility. When the wealthy bride declines marriage to a noble suitor in favor of a successful businessman, she does so with the following remark: "Listen, the villain has a noble air, / And honestly, the nobleman is very bad."[316] The Colonel values the new merit nobility more highly than the old hereditary one, which has only historical qualities to show: "[…] with regard to the nobility, do we not also have our own, the new one … which owes its titles to its courage, its exploits … and which in a hundred years will be as esteemed as the other?"[317] His father the coachman agrees with him; the old nobles consider the common people inferior, they are "kneaded from a different dough."[318] Reference is also made repeatedly to the expulsion of the aristocracy by the revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the primary reason for the drama's prohibition was certainly its praise of Napoleon. Among other things, it asserts in his support that he reinstated the legitimate rights of the nobility, as corroborated by his own marriage: "Napoleon's marriage to an Archduchess of Austria is proof that he is determined to reinstall the old aristocracy."[319] Mention of this tactical union was surely not welcome in Austria. In addition, Napoleon is addressed as "His majesty the emperor and king"[320]—too much reverence from the Austrian perspective, since he had crowned himself emperor and the kingdom could hardly be called legitimate either. Napoleon is also very generous to his successful officers, as the Colonel reports:

> Everywhere I fought under Napoleon's eyes … and never does he leave a deed without recompense […] My advancement, my decorations … all of them I received from the hands of the emperor and on the battlefields! […] One more campaign with him and I would have become brigadier general![321]

316 Ibid., 5r: "Ecoutez donc, le vilain a l'air noble, / Et franchement le noble est fort vilain."

317 Ibid., 10r: "[…] en fait de noblesse, n'avons-nous pas aussi la nôtre, la nouvelle … qui doit ses titres à son courage, à ses exploits … et qui, dans cent ans, ne vaudra pas mieux que l'autre?"

318 Ibid., 11r: "pétri d'une autre pâte."

319 Ibid., 6r: "Le mariage de Napoléon avec une archiduchesse d'Autriche est une preuve qu'il est décidé à rétablir l'ancienne noblesse."

320 Ibid., 15r: "sa majesté l'empereur et roi."

321 Ibid., 10r: "Partout j'ai combattu sous les yeux de Napoléon … et jamais il ne laisse une

On the other hand, the Colonel criticizes Napoleon's interference in the marriage market; he considers it an abuse of power, and the resulting unions are "acts of tyranny": "To force a girl to wed an embroidered suit … two epaulettes that she has never seen before! […] That is suffering, not marriage! And if the powerful destroy the hopes of two hearts, then it is murder, an unpardonable crime."[322] Julienne also avers that neither Napoleon nor the Prussian king or the Austrian emperor, in fact not even all the European rulers together could force her to utter a wedding vow. Upon being awarded the hand of her beloved by the French sovereign, however, even she declaims: "Ah! vive l'empereur!"[323]

action sans récompense? […] Mon avancement, mes croix … j'ai tout reçu des mains de l'empereur, et sur les champs de bataille! […] Encore une campagne avec lui, et j'étais général de brigade!"

322 Ibid., 12l: "actes de tyrannie […] Forcer une jeune fille à épouser un habit brodé … deux épaulettes qu'elle n'a jamais vues! […] c'est un supplice et non pas un mariage! et quand ces caprices de pouvoir s'attaquent à deux cœurs dont ils brisent les espérances, alors c'est un meurtre, c'est un crime impardonnable."

323 Ibid., 16l.

CHAPTER 7

Outlook

During the eighteenth century, censorship fluctuated in the spirit of the Enlightenment between advancing what was viewed as salutary and suppressing what was considered to have no benefit. In the nineteenth century, the focus shifted towards the repression of writings deemed harmful to the political system and religion. Following the paternalistic system applied during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, censorship experienced a liberal intermezzo under Joseph II before developing into a fully paternalistic-authoritarian organization and practice during the *Vormärz* period. The effects of this overall tendency as well as of numerous specific cases on literary, political, and scientific life have been demonstrated in the preceding chapters. It should be sufficiently clear to the reader by now that the influence of the Austrian censorship on authors, journalists, publishers, booksellers, librarians, critics, theater producers and performers, artists, composers, and other contributors to the literary and cultural scenes can hardly be overstated. The autonomy of the literary field remained heavily curtailed until 1848, as did the freedom of science. The state and the Catholic Church—the latter with progressively reduced competencies—defined the norms governing what was permissible and desirable. The crucial question whether censorship was necessary (or perhaps even salvific) in the sense of protecting religion and the institutions of the Ancien Régime or whether it was simply a product of the arrogance and paranoia of the ruling caste cannot be answered conclusively by our study, however. Depending on the point of view of the individual observer, conclusions may lean strongly towards one or the other side of the outlined spectrum. As is often the case, the "truth"—if it exists at all—may perhaps be found in the middle ground, somewhere between the pathos of the proponents of censorship, who credited it with preserving spiritual wellbeing, peace, prosperity, and general welfare, and the vitriolic comments of its liberal opponents, who viewed it as nothing but obstruction, narrow-mindedness, stagnancy, and obscurantism.

Further investigations could seek to carve out the peculiarities of censorship in Austria in more detail by way of comparisons with censorial systems in the German territories as well as in non-German-speaking countries like Hungary or France. The main differences will concern the focus of censorship, the specific norms considered worthy of protection, and the margins of tolerance. Fracture lines can likely be found between territories dominated by Protestantism and Catholicism, but also between multi-national and multi-

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confessional empires like Austria and territories seeking (or already having achieved) national consolidation and self-determination. Besides such differences, however, a certain canon of writings forbidden nearly everywhere seems to exist as well. Works of political and religious criticism like Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* (1748), various treatises by Voltaire and Rousseau, the *Encyclopédie*, Helvétius' *De l'esprit* (1758), or Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794–1807) were widely frowned upon and prohibited. The different states also largely worked along the same lines in combating pornography. In other words, comparative censorship research holds the promise of separating regional and confessional particularities from common censorial practices.

It was not possible within this study to collect comprehensive information on the censors and censorial officials across the discussed epochs. Systematic review of their personal and professional profiles along with their social and financial situations could potentially corroborate and render more precisely the apparent transition from learned and voluntary dignitaries, court officials, and clerics during the eighteenth century to an "intellectual proletariat" of usually subordinate clerks and underemployed authors in the period when censorship was delegated to the police. What is more, the lists of writings and manuscripts *permitted* in Austria were only exemplarily surveyed for a period of several decades in this investigation; they still await comprehensive and systematic analysis. Existing research shows that they are not fully preserved in archives and libraries—and that the tremendous amounts of data they contain can only be properly processed by dedicated teams of investigators.

The employed and repeatedly mentioned database of books forbidden between 1751 and 1848 offers material for many more case studies in various different scientific disciplines. Inquiries by specialists for prohibited theological, historiographic, philosophical, economic, medical, or natural science writings could deliver valuable complementary knowledge to the case studies on subgenres of the belles lettres collected here. Analysis of para-scientific and practical self-help literature—from the *Anweisung, wie man unfehlbar im Zahlenlotto gewinnen könne: ein patriotischer Beytrag zur Würdigung der itzt in der Kammer der Abgeordneten aufgeworfenen Frage: Ob dieses Spiel in Baiern abzuschaffen sey?* (Instruction on How to Win Unfailingly at the Lottery: A Patriotic Contribution to the Appraisal of the Question Now Raised in the Chamber of Representatives Whether this Game Should Be Abolished in Bavaria; 1819) to *Die Hausarzneimittel und deren schickliche Anwendung in Krankheiten: nebst einer genauen Anweisung, aus denselben allerlei nützliche Arzneien, als Pflaster, Salben, Essenzen, Tinkturen, Syrupe, Thee u. dergl. zu verfertigen; für Aerzte und Familienväter in der Stadt und auf dem Lande* (The Household Remedies and Their Proper Application in Diseases: Besides a Precise Instruction on Creating

Sundry Useful Medicines from Them, Like Bandages, Salves, Essences, Tinctures, Syrups, Tea, and the Like; for Doctors and Family Fathers in the Town and Country; 1838)—promises insights into the history of mentalities and everyday life. Forbidden sculptures, musical works, and everyday items like games are likewise deserving of detailed study.

The old system of preventive censorship was abrogated on March 31, 1848. Provisional regulations subsequently governed what was called "abuse of the press," which was now defined as a violation of criminal law. Bales of books arriving from abroad were once again reviewed beginning in April 1849, and lists of forbidden writings were compiled from January 1851; they only included 255 titles over a period of less than three years, however. The *Pressordnung* (Press Ordinance) of May 1852 stipulated the review of all printed works by the authorities prior to their publication. But attention was now focused primarily on the daily press, while books were prohibited comparatively rarely. It was only the *Pressgesetz* (Press Act) issued on December 17, 1862 that provided a comprehensive legal framework for the process. In case of suspicion of a violation of laws, the public prosecutor could file charges against printed works, and a court would hear the case and issue a verdict. Since already printed editions were also evaluated and judged, publishers often faced severe economic loss. Compared to the previous preventive censorship, the Press Act increased the pressure on producers of books and news media to avoid problems a priori by practicing self-censorship.[1] A systematic study on the censorial activities between 1848 and 1918—based on the prohibitions documented primarily in the *Central-Polizei-Blatt* (Central Police Gazette)—remains a research desideratum that would supplement and complete the account of censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century provided here.

1 On censorship after 1848, cf. Bachleitner, Eybl, and Fischer: Geschichte des Buchhandels, 165–167 and 202–204.

Appendix

Censorship Records

Censorship Commission minutes and the opinions and verdicts of the censors are preserved only fragmentarily. Transcriptions held by the *Wienbibliothek* (the Municipality of Vienna's official library) were used for the eighteenth century, and the following selection was made with the intent to maximize representativeness in terms of genres and reasons for prohibitions.

From: Minutes of the Study and Book Censorship Court Commission, October 23, 1789[1]

No. 45 the Court Commission unanimously agrees with Censor Rosalino that the treatise: Versuch über den Ursprung menschlicher Seelen, allen wahren Psychologen und Theologen freundschaftlich gewidmet [Attempt at the Origin of Human Souls, Amicably Dedicated to All True Psychologists and Theologists], Leipzig 1789 in octavo format is eligible for prohibition because the author claims therein that our souls are produced by the body, that the soul is no separately existing entity, that the soul is nothing without the body, that it is a comical notion to consider the human soul to be an effluence of God, and the like.

No. 46 the [Philosophische] Betrachtungen über Pfaffen, Wunderwerke, und Teufel [Philosophical Observations on Priests, Miracles, and Devils], Rome [Zurich: Orell] [1]790 in octavo are likewise recommended for prohibition because they contain various sordid anecdotes on monks and nuns for the purpose of vilification of the clergy, and because the story of the fall of the first humans, out of which the author has made an outright tale of inveiglement, is particularly offensive.

Excerpts from censorship reports from the year 1805[2]

[Hans Heinrich Ludwig von Held:] Patriotenspiegel für die Deutschen in Deutschland. Ein Angebinde für Bonaparte bey seiner Krönung [Patriotic Looking Glass for the Germans in Germany. A Gift for Bonaparte at His Coronation]. Teutoburg 1804, octavo.

1 Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Abschriften nach Akten des Ministeriums des Inneren, Bücherzensur Bd. 1 (1762–1793), 128r–128v.

2 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle, H11/1805.

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This brochure contains a scathing reply to the treatise: Ueber Napoleon Kaiser der Franzosen [On Napoleon, Emperor of the French] published by von Bülow in 1804. The anonymous author agitates here quite fiercely not only against the Emperor of France but also against other regents, and rejects all revealed religions. According to the proposal by Censor Heinze, this treatise is eligible for the strictest prohibition.

Alessandrini, oder die Räuberrepublik in den Apenninen. Eine romantische Geschichte. Im Reichs-Commissions und Industrie-Bureau [Alessandrini, or the Robber Republic in the Apennines. A Romantic Tale. At the Imperial Commission and Industry Bureau]. Octavo.

In this novel, the papal government is described as tyrannical and the Romans of the time as slaves who calmly allow themselves to be shorn by an idle shepherd. At the same time, abuse of the Catholic clergy, swindlers, and stories of inveiglement occur. Censor Fejervary therefore recommends prohibition.

Edmont et Cécile, ou le nouveau Werther. Par P.V. V**. 2 tomes [Edmont and Cécile, or the New Werther. By P.V. V**. 2 volumes]. Paris 1804, octavo.

A run-of-the-mill novel. Two lovers are separated by an avaricious and overambitious father. The girl is locked away in a cloister and the lover kills himself. The second part, pages 17, 23, 37, 48, 149–153, 169, 173 contains principles about the destination, duties, and perpetuity of man, as well as about free will and suicide, that are highly dangerous, wherefore this novel is to be prohibited according to the proposal by Censor Baron von Retzer.

Excerpts from censorship reports from the year 1810/11[3]

Clotilde de Hapsbourg ou le tribunal de Neustadt. Par Mme. Barthelemy H*** [Clothilde of Habsburg or the Tribunal of Neustadt. By Mme. Barthelemy H*** (Marie-Adélaïde Barthélemy-Hadot)]. Paris [Pigoreau 1810], octavo.

This work has no value with regard to invention, arrangement, expression, and the other features constituting the nature and merits of an epic poem. It does not violate morals; but it is difficult to gauge the intentions that stirred the author to select the closest relatives of Emperor Rudolph, the founder of the Habsburg Austrian House, his brothers and sisters, and their collective mother as the heroes and most important persons of the novel, and to present some of them as unnaturally dissolute and deplorable while the others, the oppressed, are portrayed as virtuous and likeable. There is no justification for this to be found in history. It is nothing but empty fictions, contrived solely for a poetic purpose. But the intention of this poetic work of art being what it may, it

3 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Polizeihofstelle, 97k/1811.

always seems unbecoming to introduce such execrable characters and persons as the alleged Clotilde and the alleged Casimir as the oldest siblings of Emperor Rudolph are as being among the forebears and relatives of the Habsburg House, and to let them circulate as such among the audience. For this reason, Censor Hammer believes to be obligated to propose the prohibition of this novel.

D. Balogh von Almas: Zahntinktur [Tooth Tincture]

The author of this advertisement is simultaneously the manufacturer of the tooth tincture mentioned therein. As he is not a physician, and has in no way been licensed to manufacture this tincture, it is clear that he is but a pharmaceutical bungler. Since this advertisement simply serves the purpose of promulgating a secret medicament, with the greatest charlatanerie underlying it, the health of the public is best provided for if the same is removed from all circulation. Censor Court Councilor Stift therefore proposes the prohibition of this advertisement.

L.[orenz] P.[hilipp] G.[ottfried] Happach: Ueber die Beschaffenheit des künftigen Lebens nach dem Tode. 2tes Bändchen [On the Nature of the Prospective Life after Death. 2nd volume]. [In: Ansicht der Bibel. Nebst einer Widerlegung der unnatürlichen und unbiblischen hiehergehörigen Behauptungen des Herrn D. Franz Volkmar Reinhard in den Predigten am Grünendonnerstage 1809 von L.P.G. Happach, Prediger und Schulinspektor zu Mehringen bey Aschersleben.—View of the Bible. Together with a Refutation of the Unnatural and Unbiblical Assertions Belonging Here by Mr. D. Franz Volkmar Reinhard in the Sermons on Holy Thursday 1809 by L.P.G. Happach, Preacher and School Inspector in Mehringen near Aschersleben] Quedlinburg [Basse] 1811. Octavo.

In this second volume, the author considers the earth with its atmosphere to be a cohesive whole, the earth for the residence of mankind in visible forms, the atmosphere for the heavens where men live on in invisible forms after discarding their earthly shell. Like on earth, they will busy themselves in the aerial regions and require food, drink, and dwellings. Heaven and hell border upon each other so closely here that Abraham could discourse with the rich wastrel; in hell, the wicked people will be plagued and castigated by evil kings until they all mend their ways. Christ holds sway over the earthly universe and could thus become visible at will, as well as placing the heavenly dwellers into interaction with the earthly dwellers once again. All of this the author finds in the Bible, and his belief in it is so strong that he declares the fata morgana to be inexplicable if one does not regard it as a reflection of the heavenly dwellings. Such notions of the prospective life may appear entertaining to educated readers; since they do not conform to the Christian fundamental tenets and might mislead unpracticed thinkers to new fallacies, however, Censor Pöhm proposes treating the second part in the same manner as the first, that is with damnatur.

[Georg Christian Otto] Georgius: Handels- und Finanz-Pandora der neuesten Zeiten [Trade and Finance Pandora of the Most Recent Times]. Nürnberg [Schrag] 1810. Octavo.

The author examines the workings of the European trade, discusses the financial situation of the most important European states, compares and appreciates it. The language in which he presents this is extremely presumptuous and insulting to the courts. Most objectionable in this regard is his treatment of Austria. For this reason, Censor Hall considers this work eligible for restriction with erga schedam.

Regulations, Censorship Guidelines, Reports

In contemporary terminology, directives issued by the emperor and his highest officials were known as *Verordnungen* (regulations) and *Hofdekrete* (court decrees), but their legal status was that of laws. Not all regulations and decrees were published; if they applied only to the activities of government agencies, or if their contents seemed inappropriate for the public eye, they were only circulated internally and not included in the established compendia of laws of the monarchy. Some regulations were only published in individual countries despite being valid (at least theoretically) throughout the entire monarchy. Furthermore, there existed various guidelines and reports on the process of book censorship that were usually compiled by leading censors (like the previously mentioned texts by Van Swieten and Hägelin).

Mandate concerning "Sectischer Bücher-Verbott" [Prohibition of Sectarian Books], issued by Archduke Ferdinand of Austria on 03/12/1523[4]

We bid everyone and anyone living in our lands, whom this our letter or credible copy thereof reaches or to whom it is proclaimed, our grace and all the best; Although our Holy Father Pope Leo X in His Holiness' bulls identified the writings, books, and teachings written, preached, and in other ways disseminated in Latin and German language by one known as Doctor Martin Luther, of the Augustine Order in Wittenberg, as false, insurgent, and unsavory to our Holy Faith and to Christianity in general, and bid them exterminated everywhere, and thereupon our dear lord and brother Emperor Charles at the Diet of Worms with the counsel and will of the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire issued against the mentioned Martin Luther, his books, writings, and teachings as well as their adherents and successors a serious edict and open mandate, that no one should adopt, preach, defend, or adhere

4 Cited according to Wiesner: Denkwürdigkeiten der Oesterreichischen Zensur, 22–24.

in any way to such Lutheran and other depraved teachings that had previously been dismissed and forbidden by the Councils and Holy Fathers with the joint will of the Christian churches. Still it is clear to see and generally known that the books, writings, and teachings of the abovementioned Luther and his successors are circulated, purchased, sold, read, and disseminated everywhere in our Lower Austrian lands in violation of the Papal Declaration and Imperial Edict, whereby many fallacies, discord, disobedience, and reluctance were awakened and arose in our Christian religion; to achieve that the same take further root where we as lord and territorial prince have no access, so that from this more ill might develop and accrue. So that no one be inveigled by such Lutheran writings and teachings, nor led into fallacy, and in general that unity and peace be maintained within our Christian faith; therefore we recommend to all of you, and in particular earnestly commanding each of you, and wish that you henceforth no longer accept, possess, purchase, sell, read, copy, print, or have printed any writings, books, and teachings that have hitherto been published by the mentioned Martin Luther or his successors or may in future be published in violation of Papal and Imperial prohibitions, nor allow anyone else to do so. And where you find few or many of the same for sale at book printers, booksellers, and merchants in Our Lower Austrian lands, or otherwise come across them, to take them by force, and that each and every tax, toll, or customs officer and other public official pay attention diligently and assure as best possible that such Lutheran writings and books are not let through but taken away by them, and to not act differently herein nor appear disobedient, under threat of our disfavor and punishment. Anyone found to be in disobedience of this our prohibition shall be punished with fines or in other ways according to the means of the individual person, and such punishment shall unfailingly be reported to Our High Chancellor and Court Councilor of Our Lower Austrian lands immediately. Against any bailiffs, magistrates, administrators, mayors, judges, councilors, and others approved to dispense justice who fail to punish persons acting iniquitously and contemptuously in violation of this prohibition, we will take appropriate action.

From: "Kurze Nachricht von Einrichtung der hiesigen Hofbüchercommission" [Brief Report on the Establishment of the Local Court Book Commission], February 1762[5]

The sessions [of the Court Book Commission] are held at his [President Van Swieten's] house once or several times each month depending on circumstances; the seven Cen-

5 Compiled by Gerhard van Swieten as information and guideline for the Censorship Commission in Graz; cited according to Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 418–420.

sors including the Secretary are to participate, and in doing so are to report on books they found objectionable during the assigned examination. At the end, they read the questionable passages aloud in the session. If these passages are now recognized to be of such content and of such foul nature that thereby either religion is mistreated, reviled with sacrileges or denigrations, or the state is attacked, the reverence owed to the high ranks is ignored or various things that could be to their detriment are asserted, or if good morals and respectability are transgressed by bawdiness, ribaldry, and travesties, or grace of charity by spiteful calumniations; then the book is recorded by the Secretary, and if returned from the highest place with most graceful confirmation, included in the Catalogum prohibitorum at the end of the year. Lutheran, Calvinist, Orthodox, and Jewish prayer books and dogmatic works, so long as they do not malign the true Catholic Church, are left to their owners, if the latter are devoted to the religion of the book and that religion is tolerated in the country, individually for their own use. Furthermore, the condemned books retained by the Secretary during the month are brought to the session, their listing read aloud, whereby the names of the owners are specified, and thereupon by all the Censors and himself immediately torn to pieces and destroyed, with only the theological or political books with which the imperial or archiepiscopal library is not yet furnished are excluded from this. No lenience can be applied in materia lubrica, but in Theologicis and the Statisticis, a reflection concerning the erudition and the office of a person asking for permission can be made. The Secretary maintains his station daily in the morning and afternoon at the Review Office, a place rented for this purpose by the government and located across from the Main Customs Office. All books arriving from Customs, together with the notice to whom they belong, shall be taken there. He examines them; what is condemned among them, he retains and enters it into his Commission List; what is questionable or new, and thus unknown to him, is sent by him with a written consignment to this or the other Censor depending on the contents of the book, and if the same is returned from censorship with admittitur, sent back to the applicant. Everything else, however, insofar as it is recognized as good and passable by him, is consigned immediately. Furthermore, nothing may be put to print that has not previously been reviewed and approved by book censorship, regardless of how innocent the item may seem. And to save the Censor from having to read twice a book sent to print, and so that he may be certain that it subsequently goes unchanged to print in the shape he has read and approved it, two identical manuscript copies of all works to be printed must always be submitted to the Commission Secretary, with one of them sent with his accompanying note to the censor and the other taken into safe custody until the return of the censorship copy, where he then applies either the imprimatur or the reycitur [rejection] to the copy he has retained until then and consigns it after it returns from the Censor with an admittitur or non admittitur, while keeping the censorial copy and placing it in safe storage.

From: Pro Memoria des Professoris Sonnenfels Die Einrichtung der Theatral Censur bet[reffend] [Memorandum by Professor Sonnenfels Concerning the Institution of Theater Censorship] [Resolution by Joseph II on March 15, 1770][6]

I have decided to assign to Sonnenfels the censorship of German theater, and not just with regard to the contents of the plays themselves but also with regard to their manner of performance, with the following observations.

First, that he shall not allow anything during censorship that insults religion, the state, or good morals in the least, or is obvious nonsense and crudeness and therefore unworthy of the theater of a capital or residence city.

Second, not only all newly proposed but also the already performed plays, be they designated for printing or merely for performance, are to be subjected to this censorship because, especially in older times, various things have crept in due to oversight which cannot persist under the firmly determined rule prescribed for the future.

Third, the theater management, or whoever else wishes to bring a play to the stage, must submit it to the Censor in duplicate no less than 14 days prior to its printing or performance, so that he may review it with the proper diligence besides his other official business, and retain one copy for his legitimation while returning the other with the admittitur.

Fourth, with extemporization already having been forbidden, any deliberate addition, altering, or improvising of addresses to the audience by the actors without prior approval by censorship shall be forbidden most strictly and under threat of such actor or actress, regardless of who they be, being placed under arrest for 24 hours immediately after the end of the performance for the first violation, and being unforbearingly removed from the theater entirely in case of a second violation.

Fifth, the Censor shall in particular also apply the closest supervision to the performance of the plays, either himself or by others for which he shall be liable, so that modesty is transgressed neither by gestures nor the use of obscene so-called props or attributes not mentioned in the text submitted for censorship, with the same punishment to apply as for extemporizing. [...]

From: Gerard van Swieten: Quelques remarques sur la censure des livres [A Few Remarks on the Censorship of Books] (14. Februar 1772)[7]

There is no doubt that the number of harmful books has increased considerably during the eighteenth century. Every month, the Commission discovers numerous new books,

6 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatsratsakten, Protokollbuch 1770/II, fol. 816; cited according to Günter Brosche: Joseph von Sonnenfels und das Wiener Theater. Doctoral thesis, Vienna (typewritten) 1962, 112–113.

7 Cited according to Fournier: Gerhard van Swieten als Censor, 457–466. The text is an account-

often in different languages; sometimes terrible propositions on Christianity and Christian morals are contained in treatises about very useful subjects.

[…]

The revelation is repudiated, the Holy Scripture ridiculed; some of these godless persons even deny the existence of God, although their number is quite small. For creation irrefutably prove[s] the existence of the Creator to every thinking being; therefore atheists, if they exist, are rare. Deism, on the other hand, is more frequent: Its adherents believe in a God who must be worshipped by every man, and at the same time they believe that the shape of this worship makes no difference. I have known several Protestants who leaned towards religious indifferentism, provided that one worshipped a single god in one way or another. Such doctrine arises quite naturally from the Protestant religion. They say the Holy Scripture is the law, and it suffices. Anyone reading it is enlightened by the spirit and understands what is required for his salvation. Luther says that a simple old woman who reads the Holy Scripture understands it better than the Pope, etc. From this, they draw a number of absurd conclusions: They deny the eternal punishment because God in His grace could not cast a man into eternal unhappiness for a brief pleasure. The so-called great minds continually use this dogma in their speeches and use it in their writings, which are always prohibited by censorship. The immoral books, full of the most outrageous obscenities, sometimes describe appalling crimes against nature; they are thus forbidden and destroyed unremittingly. Printed or drawn immoral images are treated with the same rigor.

There are many books full of superstition that mention indulgence for thousands of years; others say it is sufficient to carry a prayer book in one's pocket without ever reading it. The Catholic Church has strongly condemned such foolishness, which is simultaneously often quite ridiculous. The theological censors are very precise in the elimination of such booklets; each year, the Jesuits produce new ones, as well as tales of miracles, and this without the permission of the Diocesan Bishop, which is forbidden by the Council of Trent.

One currently encounters numerous in part impertinent and seditious treatises attempting to prove that the possessions of clerics are exempt from all taxation, that ecclesiastics are not answerable to worldly judges in civil matters nor in the most severe criminal cases like lese-majesty, etc. This is called ecclesiastic immunity allegedly based on divine law. It is written that the Pope arrogates a right to the worldly possessions of all faithful, that he can even depose and expropriate kings and dispose their crowns, etc. The theological censors and the jurists have shown how horrible such books are, they have been unanimously designated as eligible for prohibition in the minutes of the Commission, and that is how they are treated.

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ability report of sorts by the president of the Censorship Commission, Gerard van Swieten, to Empress Maria Theresa.

[…]

During the establishment of the Censorship Commission, the presidency was delegated to a member of the hereditary nobility so as to lend greater respect and authority to the assembly of censors. To me, however, it seems that a president of the Censorship Commission should have knowledge of multiple languages and scientific disciplines, and that he must love the work and be used to it. It is therefore not easy to find suitable persons for the presidency of the censorship among the high aristocracy. This activity requires permanent presence so that the president may be consulted whenever needed, and the need will occur often. Censorship knows no holidays and no interruption.

[…]

Since the Censorship Commission was an entirely new commission when it was founded in 1751, no remuneration was stipulated for this work; as a result, censors had to be employed who made their living with other occupations they already practiced. The office of censor thus remained entirely voluntary. I believe that the four faculties can remain as before so as to not strain the exchequer unnecessarily. This means that the censors for theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy can continue to work in an honorary capacity. Their task is less arduous, and while doing so they learn new things from their field, which they must cultivate anyway. I am convinced that I, even in my old age, as long as my eyesight allows, will be able to act as a censor of medicine without difficulty. […]

One should, however, give the censors hope of someday receiving compensation for their efforts, the theological censors by way of a canonry, a position at the court chapel or the like, the others by way of the prospect of a professorship or a different occupation compatible with the censorial office. The president of the Censorship Commission should be content with the honor connected to his office, which requires less work than that of a censor. But those entrusted with the censorship of the "materies mixtae," the novels, poems, anecdotes, songs, etc., that cannot be allocated to any of the four faculties, have the most difficult and tedious work to perform. What a task for a scholar, to spend a large part of his life with the reading of books that are not only useless but often downright wicked, scandalous, and ungodly, and to be glad if nothing of them remains in his memory! I know from experience how unpleasant and tedious this work is, and I am convinced that the censors in this category deserve recompense commensurate with this arduousness.

Every censor must be of mature age.

Censorship must be performed strictly but nevertheless with great care. For this reason, books are forbidden here in Vienna exclusively by the assembly of all censors, which is called the Court Censorship Commission. It is sufficient cause for prohibition that reading a book could be dangerous to the youth, even if it contains very useful things for those of more advanced age. For example, books about procreation, preg-

nancy, childbirth, diseases of certain body parts, and the like are never useful at a young age. But it must also be remembered that public censorship only prohibits the very worst books. The parents and guardians must carefully select those books from the permitted ones that are appropriate in the individual case.

[…]

There remain some considerations regarding the number of Censorship Commissions. As has been explained here, it is obviously difficult to establish a well-functioning censorship.

The necessary knowledge of various languages and scientific disciplines, the immense continuous and uninterrupted reading, the uprightness and pertinacity required to withstand the solicitations of very respectable persons, are not easily found. I also believe that the Viennese censorship can suffice for a large area. For the largest number of books, including new publications, arrive most quickly in the capital. Each year, the other cities receive the catalog of books prohibited during the previous year. The Chancellery even sends out the ongoing list of recently forbidden books every month; in this way, bad books are quickly made known everywhere. In every city, it is easy to find someone who compares the newly arriving books with the catalog of forbidden books and sorts out the bad ones—even though it would be impossible to establish a satisfactory Censorship Commission in the respective city. The examples of the Censorship Commissions established in Graz, Innsbruck, Olmütz, Brünn, Linz, etc. were not successful.

[…]

From: Censorship Regulation by Joseph II, issued on June 1, 1781[8]

His Majesty has decided that His supreme purposes shall be served by making a change to the hitherto practiced appointment of book censorship, so as to make it easier and simpler to handle in future. With this aim, He has mandated that only one Central Book Censorship Commission shall henceforth exist for all hereditary lands, and shall be located in Vienna, and that the decisions made by the same shall serve as the uniform standard with regard to permitted and prohibited books in Vienna as well as in the provinces, and that the hitherto existing Censorship Commissions in the lands shall be abolished, with only a Book Review Office maintained in every province, and that the administration of the circumspection to be applied in the provinces in the field of book censorship shall be left and entrusted to the care of each provincial office.

8 This is the frequently mentioned "Zensurpatent" (Censorship Patent) issued by Joseph II; the text follows: Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung. Enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1780 bis 1784. Erster Band. Wien: Moesle 1785, 517–524.

In so doing, the paramount intentions are the following.

That one be strict towards everything containing immoral scenes and absurd ribaldry, from which no erudition, no enlightenment can ever arise, but all the more indulgent towards all other works in which erudition, knowledge, and proper sentences are to be found, since the former are read only by the masses and by weak minds while the latter come into the hands of prepared minds and souls more steadfast in their principles.

Works that systematically attack the Catholic and more commonly the Christian religion cannot be tolerated, nor can those which publicly portray the hallowed religion with derision and ridicule in order to provide entrance to the widespread theories of disbelief, or with disdain through superstitious distortion of the characteristics of God and false, fanciful devotions.

Critiques, if they are not pasquils, may they target whomever they will, from the sovereign to the lowliest subject, shall not be forbidden, especially if the author has his name printed alongside, thereby presenting himself as warrantor for the truth of the matter, since every lover of truth must take pleasure if said truth comes to him in this way.

Entire works or periodical writings shall not be prohibited for individual objectionable passages if useful things are contained in the same work, and because such large works rarely fall into the hands of persons for whose minds such objectionable passages could have harmful consequences. However, if subsequently an issue of such a periodical writing, to be viewed as a simple brochure, should indeed have to be relegated to the category of forbidden books, the issue should thus be dispensed only to those persons who had subscribed to the entire work or hold a reservation for its purchase in entirety, and refused even to them if such issues treat religion, morals, or the state and the sovereign in a most objectionable fashion.

[…]

With regard to the publication of writings put to print in any province, all works of a certain importance that have significant impact on erudition, studies, and religion must be brought to the book censorship in Vienna for approval, but in such manner that each shall be accompanied from the province whence it arrives by a certificate from a scholar, professor, or spiritual or worldly leader versed in the subject matter, whose name must be undersigned, stating that nothing violating religion, morals, and provincial laws is contained therein, and that it is commensurate with sound reason. Less important writings that do not constitute entire works, however, are to be simply approved or rejected at the provincial office by way of submission of a similar certificate. Anyone considering a rejection to be inequitable shall be free to approach the Censorship Commission in Vienna for revision, with the costs to be borne by the losing party. Regarding notices for display, newspapers, prayers, and the like, the official responsible for censorship at the provincial office shall merely examine them briefly,

ensuring in the case of the latter that they are commensurate with the true spirit of the Church, and issue the imprimatur.

Because the reprinting of books coming into the hereditary lands from abroad where they are approved is permitted and viewed merely as a branch of the business, and therefore the issuance of the reimprimatur to be requested in each case is left to the provincial offices without restriction, but since nevertheless an already permitted book might contain more or less unkind statements against the own or a foreign state, against religion and ecclesiastical customs, or against the clergy that were originally allowed to pass for the reading of the book but, if they were reprinted in the hereditary lands, could indicate a mark of justification and public endorsement and cause unpleasant sensations among a certain rank of persons: Therefore everything read and permitted in Vienna shall be distinguished as follows in future using the three designations Admittitur, Permittitur, Toleratur in order to face no further problems in the case of reprints being applied for: That such works where no concerns could impede a planned reprint be furnished with the first verdict, while those containing various bold sentences that one would not wish to endorse entirely, at least not publicly, with respect to morality, politics, and the appearance of religion be furnished with the second, which however shall only amount to the following difference: That for works of this second category the original printing location or some other foreign place be specified, and the addendum: And to be found in Vienna, Prague, Linz, etc. be applied. Finally, the third verdict shall apply to those works featuring stronger statements attacking religion or the state that cannot in any way be justified, and that are only allowed because such passages perhaps occur not in great numbers, while the remaining contents are informative, and whose reprinting within the hereditary lands, at least without prior mitigation of the objectionable passages, is thus not permissible.

[…]

From: Hofdekret an sämmtliche Länderstellen vom 22. Februar, und an die Niederöstreichische Regierung vom 30. Mai, kundgemacht durch die Regierung ob der Enns unter dem 24., durch das Tiroler Gubernium den 27., durch das Gubernium in Steiermark und Krain unterm 28. März, durch das Böhmische den 15., durch das Mährische Gubernium unter dem 16. Mai, durch die Niederöstreichische Regierung unter dem 3. das Gubernium in Triest unterm 7. Junius 1795

[Court decree to all Provincial Offices on the 22nd of February, and to the Lower Austrian Government on the 30th of May, announced by the Government above the Enns on the 24th, by the Tyrolean Gubernium on the 27th, by the Gubernium in Styria and Carniola on the 16th of March, by the Bohemian on the 15th, by the Moravian Gubernium on the 16th of May, by the Lower Austrian Government on the 3rd, and by the Gubernium in Trieste on the 7th of June 1795].[9]

9 Sammlung der Gesetze welche unter der glorreichen Regierung des Kaisers Franz des II. in

No one shall, under threat of the penalties for smuggling, import printed matter under deliberate circumvention of the Customs Offices and Review Offices and offer it for sale prior to censorial approval.

A bookseller selling a book, brochure, or printed matter that is forbidden or restricted erga schedam without a special certificate of permission, which only the General Directorate or, in the provinces, the Provincial Office may issue, shall be punished for a first offense with 50 fl. for each copy, and for a second offense besides this fine with loss of the trade license.

[…]

No printer shall put even the smallest work to print without previously submitting the manuscript, in legible script and with proper pagination, and furnished with a margin left white, to the Review Office and receiving approval from the Censorship Department.

This approval is not granted by the censors, and the admittitur provided by them is not sufficient; rather, due to the order and manipulation required for censorial matters, it must be confirmed by way of the imprimatur added to the manuscript by the reviewer with his own hand and signature, which is issued either without or with the apposition omissis deletis (under omission of the words or passages deleted from the manuscript) or with the apposition absque loco impressionis, as a consequence of which the work may be printed, but either no location or a non-domestic location must be specified.

[…]

Anyone at whose expense a book or a smaller work is to be printed, be he a printer, bookseller, publisher, or author, is required to add his name and profession as well as his address legibly at the beginning of the manuscript submitted for censoring, or of the original if it is a reprint or new edition, and the Review Office shall accept nothing in which these or other requirements stipulated for manuscripts are disregarded.

[…]

Anyone surreptitiously printing or reprinting works belonging in the category of crimes as per criminal law shall suffer the same punishment stipulated for the authoring of such works in the laws.

No one shall send abroad for printing and distribution a work for which a manuscript was submitted to a Review Office in a German hereditary land but approval was not granted.

[…]

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den sämmtlichen K.K. Erblanden erschienen sind in einer Chronologischen Ordnung von Joseph Kropatschek. Fünfter Band enthält die 1te Hälfte des Jahres 1795. Wien: Mösle n.d., 182–194.

No one shall hawk or peddle books and thereby do business surreptitiously; violators will be arrested and all books found in their possession confiscated, and depending on appraisal of the degree to which the books thus sold are morally corruptive, contrary to religion, or subversive to the state, they will be subjected to severe punishment, and if they are foreigners, expelled from the country.

[…]

If a bookseller or private person submits an application for permission to use forbidden or erga schedam restricted printed works, and in doing so either uses a false name for the person applying for the permission or after receiving permission adds a forbidden or restricted book not specified on the application form during submission, he shall be subject to a fine of 50 fl. in any case.

[…]

From: Denkschrift Franz Karl Hägelins, gedacht als Leitfaden für die Theaterzensur in Ungarn [Memorandum by Franz Karl Hägelin, intended as a guideline for theater censorship in Hungary] (1795)[10]

According to the principal rule, theater is to be a school of morality and good taste. One would wish that the dramatic authors remained faithful in practice to this true rule they so often preach. However, when writing plays, they often seem to forget themselves. It thus seems, as with some moralists, that one must pay more attention to their works than to their words. The abovementioned principal rule, as far as it applies to morality, concerns censorship in the strictest sense, while good taste [concerns censorship] only to the degree that it concerns the decorous, the proper and reasonable with regard to morality itself, and the conventional or the natural and political decorum that detests paradoxical inconsistencies violating welfare.

[…]

Secondly, it should be noted that theater plays are of different genres. The most well-known classification is their oldest division into tragedies and comedies. In tragedies, the virtues and vices of men are presented in order to establish the former as examples for emulation, the latter as examples for revulsion. Comedy deals with the follies and bad habits of men in order to cure them thereof by way of farcical mockery.

[…]

Thirdly, it is self-evident that theatrical censorship must be much stricter than common censorship for the mere reading of printed works, even when the latter consist of plays as well. This arises from the different impression that a work set in vivid action to

10 Archiv des Ministeriums des Inneren, IV, M. 6 in gen. 1795; cited according to Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theatercensur, 298–340.

the point of illusion must make in the minds of the audience compared to that achieved by a printed play merely read at a lectern. The impression left by the former is infinitely stronger than that left by the latter, since the former occupies eyes and ears, and is even designed to enter the spectators' will to generate the intended emotions, which mere reading cannot achieve. Book censorship can restrict books and thus allow them only for a certain type of readers, whereas the theater is open to the entire audience consisting of people of every class, every rank, and every age.

This taken as a given, it now depends on the details censorship is to see to while censoring plays. Primarily, censorship shall examine three aspects when assessing plays: firstly, the play's subject matter, then its morals, and finally the dialog.

[…]

The general rule applies that virtue must always appear likeable, whereas vice must always appear despicable. The former may contend with obstacles and hardships but must never falter or slacken, just as the latter may never triumph but must instead be punished. This punishment consists not only of physical castigation, however, but sometimes of public hate and contempt, like in *Fanatism* [*Mahomet*] by Voltaire. In the same way, Count Ottomar is punished in Brandes' *Ottilie*; the betrayed Ottilie reaches for the dagger out of despair, holding it to Ottomar's chest with the implication that she would stain it with his blood if that were not too iniquitous; she therefore stabs herself, and Ottomar is left looking so contemptible that any woman meeting a man similar to him after this spectacle might feel the desire to spit in his face.

[…]

There follows secondly the closer examination of deficiencies present in the subject matter of the play that could prevent its approval, to which one may add simultaneously the moral thereof, as it is immediately visible in the subject matter; these deficiencies can be broken down into three main rules.

Deficiencies of the subject matter with regard to religion

In general, religion and religious matters may never become a subject of dramatic performances. Religion is too exalted and dignified to be allowed to be debased by profane, and especially comical, theater.

[…]

It is well known that the Old Testament also contains the political history of the Jewish people, and events of the Jewish state can be brought onto the stage insofar as their storylines originate from natural incitements. In French, for example, we have the play: *Athalie* [by Racine]. From Christian history, the tragedy: *Polieucte* [by Corneille] has likewise become a subject of drama; in German, we have *Olint and Sophronia* [by Baron Johann of Cronegk] from the Christian epoch. But everything that happens in them is natural. More pious subjects are used for the so-called spiritual Singspiele or oratories that are commonly performed during the Lenten season.

This taken as a given, it must be noted that:

a) no subjects may be brought to the stage that concern religion directly and exclusively;

b) likewise none that are related to the Christian, and especially to the Catholic, religion that touch upon or allude to its customs, ceremonies, mysteries, doctrines, or received views and could cast an unfavorable light upon them.

c) Similarly, no plays may be permitted that feature any clerical or God-serving person of the Catholic or the Protestant Church appearing therein; this is to be applied from the Pope down to the humblest monk or priest, and including male and female monastics.

[…]

d) Christian zealots, and religious dissemblers in general, may not be brought to the stage as persistent main characters under any circumstances, since their outward actions and behaviors border too closely on those of true devoutness, and the latter could thereby be ridiculed at the same time. Not even Gellert's Protestant female zealot [*Die Betschwester*] should ever have been allowed to appear in a Protestant theater. Sanctimonious aunts and other such matrons can be tolerated in drama, but they must not bring prayer books to the stage or utter ostentatious exercises of devotion before the audience; however, they may speak with moderation about the honorable times of their youth and the ungodly times of the current age in which they have become older, as well as about their observations and charitable works.

[…]

e) No subject matter may be performed whose primary contents are Christian tolerance or the equality of the different divine services; such subjects are objectionable in profane drama.

f) The discussions about the rights of the Roman court and the worldly princes, or the ultramontane principles, would likewise be objectionable if they were treated dramatically.

g) Theoretical fallacies against the natural or Christian religion, meaning the persistent characters of atheists, libertines, freethinkers, deists, or of heretics, teachers of false doctrines, sects, whatever their names may be, may never be brought to the stage in this their character if they make their views the subject of their actions. Jews as businessmen or Quakers as smooth, stiff fellows may be staged without objection if their actions are otherwise permissible and their religious theory is not made a central theme. Reproach of the spread of Christian religion by means of weapons and persecution likewise cannot be a permissible subject matter; therefore, plays dealing with crusades and including this criticism must be examined carefully.

[…]

Deficiencies of the subject matter with regard to politics, or against the state

a) In a monarchic state, no plays may be performed whose content aims at debasement of the monarchic form of government or gives preference to the democratic or some other [form of government] over the monarchic one, or vilifies the corporative constitution of a country. In this regard, the former French drama under the kings is the best and purest model.
[…]

b) Also, no events from the history of the archducal house may be performed whose outcomes were detrimental to these regents. E.g. the insurrection of the Swiss Confederation, which eluded the Austrian scepter; likewise the Swiss hero Wilhelm Tell; likewise the rebellion of the United Netherlands through which they evaded the rule of the Spanish-Austrian house; and suchlike.

c) Likewise, no plays may be permitted in which the regents, and especially the national ones, are portrayed in detrimental or derogatory characters. […]

d) Events disadvantageous to monarchs or degrading mistreatment of the same, if they constitute the subject matter of a play, may not be brought to the stage. […] It would also be an objectionable mistreatment if a regent were locked in a dungeon like a malefactor, and court was held over him; it would likewise be objectionable if a regent, like in *Tancred* [by Voltaire], which play was performed without objection in Vienna as late as the 1770s, was ignominiously treated or defied by one or more vassals.
[…]
Executions of regents cannot be brought to the stage in monarchic states. For example, that of Charles I in England, that of Maria Stuart of Scotland, or of course that of Louis XVI, King of France. On this occasion, a general reminder is in order that there exists a fundamental rule that civilized theater may never be stained with blood; that is, that no real execution, e.g. on the scaffold or in another ignominious manner, may be performed on the stage. The reasons are obvious: For the fine arts shall bear nothing ghastly and suffer no revulsion, without even considering other reasons.

e) Subject matters or characters through which entire nations, especially the friendly ones, could be mistreated or portrayed as reprobate, may not be permitted. Never shall dispraise fall on entire nations, on entire ranks, especially on the nobler ones and on the rank of authorities in general; it must everywhere be applied only to personal vice, immorality, or foolishness. The poet often requires only scoundrels or dissolute characters to present his virtuous hero in a better light thanks to the former's shadow, and to elevate him. Depending on the subject matter, such plays are then also not worrisome.

f) The clergy may not be touched in drama at all, even if it is to be portrayed as virtuous. *Jean Hennuyer, Bishop of Lisieux* [by Louis-Sébastien Mercier], may thus

never be brought to the stage. Besides this rank, that of the military is to be treated with particular care so that no dishonorable activity or criticism is imputed to this reputable class, whose most delicate side is the point d'honneur; for the same reason, no criticism or alluding dispraise regarding the condition or outfitting and customs of the domestic military may appear.

[…]

g) Injurious prejudices and the banishment of the same are a purpose of the stage; only if political prejudices exist whose combatting might disturb the country's peace can these not be controlled by way of theater. Religious prejudices are entirely out of the question in drama.

h) The legislature of a state or its existing laws may not be mentioned with criticism in any subject matter. E.g. the state has a keen interest in the preservation of lawful marriages; philosophical clandestine marriages can therefore never form the subject matter of performable plays, especially if their establishment under natural law would be approved of.

[…]

Suicides are likewise frequent topics of drama; if they occur as a consequence of and punishment for vices, they are instructive and thus permissible. But they must never appear as action worthy of imitation or be praised as acceptable. There will be more on this below. Nor may resistance to the force of the authorities ever be condoned in dramatic plots.

In addition, it must be remembered that ghastly, unnatural, and horrible crimes may never be performed, e.g. witting, premeditated murder of parents or children, or crimes against nature. Ostensible crimes that disappear in the resolution of the play are not in this category. But even real, witting, and crude abuse of parents is conspicuous and not easily permitted. Such subject matters are of themselves against the good taste of drama.

[…]

Deficiencies of the subject matter with regard to morality

The subject matter of a play or the content of a performed plot may never represent an immoral doctrine or a real immoral act or crime. Real incest, adultery may never constitute the subject matter of a dramatic plot. This does not apply to attempted crimes or assassinations or ostensible crimes, but if the characters in the play presume or believe a crime to be committed by the main character or another character and the embroilment is based on it, the audience must be instructed regarding the error as in the play: *Das Scheinverbrechen* [The Ostensible Crime, by Joseph Heinrich von Collin].

Male persons may attempt to lay traps for virtue, make attempts and culpable proposals; but a woman may never consent, and be it only in pretense. If a woman consents

to the lover's proposal in pretense or pretends to give the culpable lover a rendezvous, e.g. to humiliate him, then the audience must know this and not for a moment be in doubt regarding the permitted intent, which often occurs by way of the woman revealing her intent to dissemble to her friends.

[…]

Lightheaded coquettes and womenfolk who are wasteful or afflicted with other flaws of propriety, or misguided, appear aplenty in dramatic plays and are, if the subject matter is treated appropriately, not objectionable but instructive. Outward chastity must never suffer, however. Censorship must also see to it that two lovers never leave the stage together unaccompanied.

[…]

Cleanliness of the dialog with regard to religion

In the dialog, no expressions, phrases, or words are tolerated here that are of biblical, catechetic, or hierarchic origin. This includes:

Firstly, texts from the Holy Scripture, like: Be fruitful and increase in number; Lord, you may now dismiss your servant in peace; It is finished; and innumerable similar ones of all kinds. It is obvious that ridiculed biblical passages or expressions, e.g. he understands it like Balaam's donkey, can be tolerated even less.

Secondly, biblical symbolism: old as Methuselah, wise like Solomon, mute like Lot's pillar of salt; as alternatives could be used: old as Nestor, wise like Solon, mute like a fish, etc. He looks like the Impenitent Thief, instead: like a castaway. He is fat as a cathedral provost, instead: fat as a rich leaseholder, etc.

Thirdly, all words are to be avoided that refer to a clerical office or profession: pope, bishop, provost, abbot, parish priest, pastor, minister, preacher, etc. If it is sometimes difficult to replace a word like "pastor," "magister" can be used instead, which is a common title for pastors among Protestants but does not sound as clerical as "pastor" when the term "sexton" is not sufficient; "monastery principal" can be used in place of "abbot, abbess." "Conscience counsel" is used in place of "confessor," "avowing" in place of "confessing," "singing praises" instead of "singing Te Deum Laudamus."

The word "holy" as a personal characteristic is tolerated nowhere, except when it applies to duties; instead, if it cannot be avoided, "transfigured" shall be used. E.g. he or she "is a saint" could be written: he or she "is transfigured." Or it is converted into "pious," as well the expression "a pious person" can be converted into "an example of virtue," since the word "pious" likewise sounds religious. "Guardian spirit" instead of "guardian angel." The word "heaven," if it refers to sensual pleasures, can be converted into the less conspicuous word "earthly paradise," e.g. "her life is an earthly paradise," etc.

Fourthly, it is known that passages often appear in which suffering persons doubt the providence or mercy of God. Since every character can speak according to the sit-

uation it finds itself in, censorship must attenuate the all too harsh or conspicuous expressions so that no unsavory impression is provided to the audience; or the character searches its own soul immediately and corrects itself, or is refuted by another. Such expressions are commonly: Heavens! Where does your thunder rest, etc.; If you were just, you would interfere, etc.; You would not abandon virtue, etc.

[…]

Extraordinary curses and expletives must be either avoided or attenuated. Such curses are often found in Schiller's *Robbers*. The swearwords "Mordio," "Sackerment" etc. cannot be tolerated. Exclamations to the tone of liturgical church prayers must either be omitted or adapted, like "almighty eternal God!" where the spectator could immediately think of the continuation of the church prayer: Heavenly Father etc.

Christian exclamations like: "Jesus and Mary," "Saint Antonius," "you dear Saints," etc. are not to be permitted. The catechetic word "sin" is also not easy to allow; it can generally be replaced by "wrongdoing," "crime," "iniquity," "mistake," "misconduct," "youthful escapade," or "offense." If it appears as part of common and inoffensive profane usage, it can be left as is, such as: "it is a sin and a shame that" etc. The expression "alter Sündenbock" [old sinner; literally "scapegoat," a reference to the goats offered by Aaron in Leviticus 16] is disgusting and can be replaced by "old miscreant," "fool," "hoopoe," "greybeard," etc.

Deficiencies of the dialog with regard to the state

This item is easy to appraise, since one need see to nothing but the fact that regents, authorities, entire ranks, especially the higher ones, and existing laws are not touched, satirized, or ridiculed by general abusive language. […] The expressions: tyrant, tyranny, despotism, oppression of subordinates must be avoided on stage as far as possible. E.g. in one play it occurred that superstition and despotism misled someone to a certain action; this was replaced by: delusion and arbitrary violence, etc., and the passage lost its conspicuousness as a result.

Deficiencies of the dialog with regard to morals

This item is inexhaustible, and one cannot provide a censor with a better practical rule as this one: The audience must be viewed as a civilized, well-mannered society, the esteem for which shall not be violated. What can therefore be said in such society without offense, be the subject matter whatever it may, can also be said upon the stage. Hence it is clear that:

Lewd expressions, ribaldry, and equivocation that would cause decency to blush may not be permitted. But good luck to the censor who is able to know all the little sayings, words, and figures of speech that are equivocal and abused in this manner by various classes of persons.

[…]

It is known that in a civilized society, one tends not to mention all objects, especially the lewd ones by their true name, but instead enunciates the matter in such a way that chaste and civilized ears are not affronted. Therefore, if e.g. adultery is discussed in comedic plays, it is replaced with "marital unfaithfulness," "breach of fidelity," "infidelity." The expressions: "cuckold," "make a cuckold of," etc. are not to be tolerated; instead should be written: "betray the husband," "breach the faith" etc.

[…]

Notes on the current circumstances

[…]

Freedom and equality are words that should not be used in jest, and that must not be made contemptuous with dispraise nor ridiculed with mockery, just like the youthful love implanted in human nature, for the latter can only be ridiculous in an old man. Turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor. The treatment of freedom in the political sense, that is if it does not mean liberation from captivity etc., is therefore permitted in the theaters subordinate to the undersigned neither in comedy nor in tragedy, neither in earnest nor in jest.

It is to be noted in this regard that plays containing insurgencies, revolts, or conspiracies against the regents or other lawful governments, whether those vices are ultimately punished or not, currently may not be staged. This also applies to plays containing revolts by negro slaves in colonies against the local governors or plantation overseers.

[…]

Epicureanism is a favorite subject of certain fashionable authors; therefore, they tend to describe the pleasures of sensual love quite fervently. This love is described as the divine source of all virtues; in a word, the inclinations of nature and the so-called reason are canonized so as to make positive religion appear suspicious and dispensable. Adjectives of religious usage are transferred to the portrayal of the same [sensual love] and applied to nature in order to transfer the venerable to the latter. It is therefore often written: the dignity of nature, sacred nature or sacred drives of nature; pleasures, joys, fervent bliss. Although the latter expression may sometimes be allowed to stand depending on the circumstances, care should be taken in general to be aware of the author's mind.

The dignity of man and the rights of man are also often propounded; previously it was written: noble disposition, charity, and acts of humanity (officia humanitatis). Christian virtue sanctifies men by the power of religion, for it is through this that they become mirrors of divine perfection. In future, however, it is nature and its drives that are to hallow him; in other words, the intention is to make religion—and with it the current constitutions—dispensable. This is also the aim of the philosophical marriages occurring without legal union.

[…]

Abuse directed against the old and new nobility, against the validity of the noble patents must also be avoided, although all manner of fools, including ones imbued with ancestral pride, may appear on stage, if only the rank as a whole is spared. [...] To prevent the words "nobility," "cavalier" from being placed too often in the mouths of the protagonists, it can e.g. be written: he believes himself allowed to do this because he is of condition, of status, of good provenance. This prevents the word "nobility" from permanently ringing in the audience's ears; it should likewise be seen to that a rank, e.g. the rank of burghers or of peasants, is not by comparison elevated above a more noble one in a demeaning fashion, if the latter also fulfills its duty.

The word "Enlightenment" is not to be mentioned on stage, as are freedom and equality; for the new philosophy may even speak out against what these words mean, since its only intent is to familiarize the audience's ears with them. In the substance of the matter, however, it is never earnest. When principles of the so-called Enlightenment are brought up in a play, they are only discountenanced in pretense by way of the character rebutting them very weakly or merely being bewildered by them.

[...]

The orderly Enlightenment, however, can dispel many prejudices and benefit the state, so long as it is supported by thorough knowledge; for if stringent reason, the mother of solid science and eternal duration, persistently maintains its household regiment and the knowledge originating in the nether forces of the soul, meaning the children of witticism, of memory, and of imagination, is always kept within the boundaries prescribed for the household servants and in a state of respect for their matron. If this is done, the Church and state will forever stand erect, and never the sad case occur that ensued in the demise of Roman greatness, where corruptive folly indulged in lies and silenced the truth; where jokers laughed about ideas while many provinces cried about them.

From: Zensur-Vorschrift vom 12. September 1803. Anleitung für Zensoren nach den bestehenden Verordnungen [Censorship Regulation of September 12, 1803. Instructions for Censors According to the Existing Ordinances][11]

The Book Review Office sends to each of the censors those works and manuscripts pertaining to the discipline assigned to him; a slip of paper shall be attached to each work specifying

a) the name of the submitter, [and whether] he is a bookseller, book printer, or private person;

11 Cited according to Nagler: Regierung, Publizistik und öffentliche Meinung, I–XIV.

b) the day of the submission;
c) the full title of the book besides its place of printing, the year, the number of volumes, and
d) if a work is published under two titles, the second title as well.

If the work is a translation from a foreign language or a new edition or a continuation, the verdict on the original or the preceding editions or volumes of the work must be noted on the slip by the Review Office; if this is not done, the censor shall send the work back to the Review Office and request said verdict.

[…]

Admittitur designates such works which in the censor's opinion may not only be publicly advertised and sold but also reprinted in the imperial royal states under specification of the domestic place of printing and the name or company of the domestic publisher (if they are not from the territory of the German Federation states) without further inquiry with the Court [Police] Section and without alterations, precisely in the way they were submitted.

[…]

Transeat designates such works which may be sold by the booksellers in their stores but may be announced neither in the catalogs nor in the newspapers, nor be displayed or reprinted.

The Concessio erga schedam is the first degree of prohibition. A work receiving this designation is held back by the Review Office and given only to those educated persons to whom the Court [Police] Section decides to grant permission for the same in the familiar manner and under certain safety precautions.

Damnatur designates the actual strict prohibition. A work adjudged in this way shall be approved for individually verified and accredited persons by the Court Police Section only rarely, and only if special considerations apply.

[…]

If the censor has deleted or changed something in a manuscript, or instructed the author to make a change, a note shall be added to the verdict that the manuscript was approved either omissis deletis or correctis corrigendis, or mutatis mutandis. If the author himself has been ordered to make changes to his work, he must submit the adapted manuscript to censorship once more prior to printing.

Manuscripts that do not have a censorship-meriting tendency but are botched down in a most wretched tone or without accuracy and order in the thoughts, or in any other way are entirely without value and yield, are rejected with typum non meretur. All other manuscripts whose spirit and tendency are incommensurate with the censorship laws, or which contain so many objectionable passages that adaptation by the censor or author is unfeasible, are rejected with non admittitur.

[…]

Eligible for prohibition are all writings which:

1.) are directed either against the Christian religion in general and the Catholic one in particular, or against individual fundamental dogmas of the same; preach deism, materialism, Socinianism, or other fallacies endangering religion; advance faithlessness or superstition rejected by the Church itself; pursue the vilification of the hierarchic constitution of the clergy and essential church customs; any of this occurring in the shape of inquisition or in a tone of mockery.

2.) All writings which directly or indirectly question the monarchic form of government, incite the people to displeasure with the same, to dissatisfaction with the person or the decrees of the regent, the ministers, and the authorities, or indulge in mockery or wanton reproof of the same; openly or clandestinely advocate conspiracies, revolutions, and violent changes of state; preach or defend freedom and equality; portray the relationship between princes and people in a dangerous or erroneous manner, or generally contain such political principles and fallacies which, if transferred into the political realm, could provoke unsagaciousness, disdain for the state administration, disorder, unease, mistrust, dissatisfaction, or even revolt.

3.) All writings which, without contributing to the culture of the mind or the heart, merely excite and occupy the imagination, fill it with fantastic ideals, or even lend crime a semblance of greatness, such as: novels, tales, and plays from the world of knights, ghosts, bandits, swindlers, etc., portrayals of secret brotherhoods or conspiracies, and in general all novels having no, or at most insignificant, aesthetic value.

4.) All writings which directly or more vaguely violate morality and appeal to sensuality.

5.) All writings which advocate secret societies, Freemasonry, Rosicrucianism, Illuminatism, or in which the statutes of these and other secret orders are portrayed in an appealing manner or defended.

6.) All writings intended for the people which contain either instructions for internal or external medications or other remedies that are injurious to health, or even superstitious recipes; all cabalistic writings and calculations pertaining to the lottery; all instructions on forbidden games.

7.) All journal issues containing listings of the books forbidden in Vienna.

[…]

To be treated with particular rigor are: smaller brochures of miscellaneous contents; popular writings of all kinds, which considering the current reading fervor includes poems, novels, and plays even among the lowest ranks; inscriptions; newspapers; calendars for the people and the elegant world, etc.; regardless of whether these products are submitted as manuscripts or in already printed form.

[…]

If the censor finds a work eligible for approval in one or another degree, he shall note on the censorship sheet, with the explicit term and under addition of his name, the degree of approval. He is responsible for this decision.

If the censor finds a work eligible for prohibition, however, his opinion, which simultaneously expresses the degree of prohibition clearly, must be motivated, meaning that he shall characterize in concise brevity the work in terms of its contents and spirit, and specify by citing the page numbers of the most striking passages that determined his opinion.

All works whose prohibition the censor recommends must be submitted to the Court Police Section, which then decides after the work has been read and examined closely once more by the expert. Therefore, the censor must always annotate to his opinion: "Exhibeatur to the Court Police Section."

[…]

As the Protestants of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession are tolerated in the imperial royal states, His Majesty has extended this tolerance to the religious and pedagogic writings intended for the Christians of these confessions; however, they are to be permitted with admittitur (permittitur, toleratur) or transeat under the following circumstances:

1) if they do not contain Socinian or deist tenets;
2) if they do not engage in abusive language against the Catholic Church or its dogmas and customs;
3) if they do not pursue proselytization; and
4) if they overall contain no offensiveness violating the general censorship regulations in one or another way.

[…]

The main considerations according to His Majesty's supreme will are always: promotion of religion, of morality, of the serious sciences, and of everything that is truly good, true, beautiful, and for the public good; wherever possible, suppression of anything that might lead to irreligion, to immorality, to dissatisfaction, to philosophism, to Enlightenmentism.

From: Instruktion für die Theaterkommissäre in den Vorstädten von Wien, 5. Dezember 1803 [Instruction for the Theater Commissars in the Vorstädte of Vienna, December 5, 1803][12]

With regard to His Majesty the Emperor's firmly expressed wish that the degenerated theaters in the outskirts be returned to their true purpose, namely public entertain-

12 Cited according to Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens I, 59–64.

ment without danger for mind, heart, morals, and mood of the people through continued stern measures by the police, the Court Police Section has deemed it necessary to separate the supervision of these theaters with respect to morals from the supervision of theaters with respect to order, peace, and security, and to assign the former to dedicated commissars.

The sphere of influence of these commissars is restricted to the theater, the play, and the actors while they stand before the audience. The policing of the theaters in all other respects remains exclusively with the police departments of the districts as before.

[…]

The Theater Commissar is obligated to be present during the dress rehearsal of every new play or play to be staged for the first time during his theater supervision, as well as during the first performance of the same. But beyond this first performance he shall also attend the theater assigned to him as often as his other business permits, and especially during the repeated performance of plays in which violations of morality by way of extemporized additions or inverted expressions or gestures are more possible or likely than in others due to the arrangement of the characters and the plot.

[…]

For every Theater Commissar, his own feeling for morality and decency, his mature insight into the spirit of the age, especially into the current mood of the people, and his gaze onto the influence of theater on the morals and culture of the younger generations must and will set out the boundary between what may or may not be said to such a large crowd, what may or may not be portrayed before it, far more reliably than can be done here considering the great diversity of subjects and the variedness of each of them. However, the supervision of the Theater Commissars is not restricted to what is recited or sung. It extends in the regards mentioned above to portrayal by action, to the costumes of the actors and actresses, and to the stage decoration as well.

Not only may no clerical persons of any Christian religion be brought to the stage, but it must generally be seen to that no theatrical costume possesses an obvious characteristic similarity to official, monastic, or churchly garb of the same. Likewise, the exterior or interior of a church, a chapel, or a monastery, or a crucifix or image of a saint may not appear on stage.

No frivolous or improvident abuse directed against religious objects or persons may be tolerated. Even with regard to actors whose scenes are set in the ancient past or in a non-Christian country, attention must be paid that passages do not slip through which seemingly only portray the priesthood of those times and countries from a spiteful or derisive perspective, but upon closer examination of the spirit and the context of the play often appear as very profane and malicious allusions to the priesthood of our time and our religion.

Furthermore, all passages shall be deleted or adapted which, and be it only by way of vague indication, reprove or ridicule any law or ordinance or an institution of the

state administration, portray princes, ministers, or state officials in such a way as to cast an invidious shadow onto the entire rank or expose an individual person to quibbles of the audience; likewise all satirical or insulting abuse aimed at ranks of the civil society, especially the nobility and the military; all passages lending a semblance of rightfulness to clearly illegal actions and an appearance of greatness to vice or crime, spreading misguided or dangerous notions regarding the relationship between regents and subjects, rousing a sense of freedom or generally written in a revolutionary spirit or tone; all passages which might be objectionable or insulting in one or another regard to a power maintaining friendly relations with the imperial royal court, bring forth memories of the outcome of the last war, or could be viewed as allusions to unfortunate events and persons during the same; all passages directed against named or recognizably portrayed persons or public authorities, especially against the police. One may trustfully expect of the Theater Commissars that as police officers, they are dutifully familiar to a more than superficial degree with the mood among the people and with the overall impression that current events, ordinances of the state administration, obligations, price increases, and other circumstances make upon them. They are therefore to ensure with particular strictness that subjects which might evoke an unpleasant, discontented mood among the populace are not touched upon in the slightest during such an era.

Violations of morals must be considered in a more rigorous sense. It is not enough to simply delete only real obscenities, salaciousness, and ribaldry. The more oblique ambiguities, especially ones where the actual meaning is explained or revealed through activity, posture, or mode of expression; the warmer descriptions of love, if they touch the material part of the same in a lubricious manner and arouse sensuality; the lightheaded joking that exposes innocence, virtue, and marital fidelity to derision; the impudent, lascivious embraces and touching between the actors and actresses must be banned. Likewise, it shall be seen to that the clothing of the actresses always remains within the boundary of modesty, even if fashion transgresses it.

The same as, especially with local plays in which persons from the lower ranks play roles, the rough tone of the rabble, which is in itself an affront to good taste and the more civilized audience, must be gradually pushed back, so the Theater Commissars must see to it that: a) no figures or images appear in the decorations that violate morality or decency; b) that neither the uniform of an imperial royal regiment, including the police department, nor the uniform of the Aulic War Council is brought on stage, and in general that no passage is allowed in the plays themselves that involves a vilification of the military rank; c) that no costume provoking disgust or horror be shown on stage.

Particular heed must be paid to the primary source of much nuisance, the often and strictly forbidden extemporizing. An actor is guilty of extemporizing: a) if he inserts into his speech any passage not included in the copy of the text approved by censorship,

even if the insertion is of a truly inoffensive nature; b) if he recites a passage deleted by censorship or the Theater Commissar, or c) if he does not recite a stipulated change at the time and in the manner he has been ordered to. However, if that which the actor inserts or does not leave out is an immorality, an ambiguity, or otherwise objectionable in any way, then he is guilty not only of noncompliance with a clearly enunciated order by the police but also of indecent behavior. In case of a violation of one or the other kind, the Theater Commissar shall file a report, without delay and without confronting the actor beforehand, with the High Police Directorate, which will subsequently coordinate further action.

[…]

From: Vorschrift für die Leitung des Censurwesens und für das Benehmen der Censoren, in Folge a. h. Entschließung vom 14. September 1810 erlaßen [Prescription for the Direction of Censorship and for the Behavior of the Censors, Issued in Consequence of the Supreme Resolution of September 14, 1810][13]

His Majesty, unremittingly endeavoring to advance common welfare and that of the individual in every way, convinced that the dissemination of useful knowledge, the refinement of insights, together with the betterment of attitudes, are among the most exquisite means of effecting the former; knowing full well that an appropriately governed freedom of reading and writing is particularly suitable for bringing it about; but at the same time bearing in mind the supreme regental and fatherly duties that encompass intellectual and moral education as well as care for the physical wellbeing, and preclude allowing the subjects to suffer of the mind and the heart, nor of their bodies; has most graciously deigned to set out the following principles for the future administration of censorship and rules for the behavior of the censors.

No ray of light, wherever it may come from, shall remain disregarded and unnoticed in the monarchy in future, or be deprived of its possible useful effectiveness; but with a careful hand, the hearts and minds of the irresponsible shall also be protected from the pernicious products of hideous fantasy, from the poisonous exhalations of self-serving tempters, and from the dangerous fabrications of eccentric minds.

§ 1. In the appraisal of books and manuscripts, a particular distinction must be made between works whose contents and treatment of the subject matter is intended only for scholars and persons dedicated to the sciences, and brochures, popular writings, books for entertainment, and products of humor.

§ 2. Not the scope of a book but the importance and nature of the treated subject matter, and the manner of treatment of the same, qualify it as a scholarly work.

13 Cited according to Marx: Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz, 73–76.

§ 3. Scholarly works themselves are again divided into two classes. The first consists of works characterized by new discoveries, by concise and illuminating presentation, by the uncovering of new views, etc.; the second of the sapless and insubstantial repetitions of what has been said a hundred times before, and the like.

§ 4. The works of the first type are to be treated with the utmost leniency, and shall not be prohibited without exceedingly important reason. If a restriction is necessary, they shall not be allowed to be advertised.

§ 5. Works of the second type deserve no leniency, for they offer no benefit and their contents can be derived from better sources. They are therefore to be treated according to the existing censorship laws.

§ 6. Brochures, popular and youth writings, and entertainment books must be treated with the full rigor of the existing censorship laws. Not only must everything be removed here that goes against religion, morals, respect for and adherence to the ruling house, the existing form of government, etc. directly or more covertly, but also all writings of the type beneficially affecting neither the mind nor the heart, whose only tendency is to lull sensuality, shall be removed. It should thus seriously be sought to put an end to the so detrimental reading of novels. It is self-apparent that this does not apply to the few good novels serving to enlighten the mind and ennoble the heart; it does, however, to the endless mass of novels that revolve solely around flirtation as their eternal axis, or fill the imagination with phantasms.

§ 7. The products of humor, the products of poets are calculated [for publication] in large numbers and therefore cannot effectively be separated from the category of the popular writings. And although the classic works of the art shall not be treated with the full rigor of the principle stated in § 6, they also cannot be treated with the leniency suggested in § 4—even less so since they are not suitable for advancing the true welfare of individuals or society as a whole, which is the actual tendency of the books described in § 4.

§ 8. Works in which the state administration as a whole or in individual branches is appreciated, mistakes and errors exposed, improvements indicated, means and ways of achieving benefits suggested, events in the past elucidated, etc. shall not be prohibited without sufficient other reason, even if the principles and views of the author are not the same as those of the state administration. However, writings of this kind must be formulated with dignity and humility, and under avoidance of all actual and insinuated personalia, and otherwise also contain nothing which goes against religion or morals or is ruinous to the state.

§ 9. No work is exempt from censorship, and the Review Office is responsible if any work is issued to the booksellers without the opinion of the appointed censor.

§ 10. Writings that attack the supreme head of the state and his dynasty, or any foreign state administrations, that have an intent to spread dissatisfaction and unrest, to loosen the ties between subjects and prince, to undermine Christian and especially

Catholic religion, to decay morals, to advance superstition, books that preach Socinianism, deism, and materialism, and finally pasquils of all kinds are unsuitable for elevating the happiness of individuals and the welfare of society and instead destroy the same from the ground up, and can therefore claim as little entitlement to leniency as assassins can to toleration. They are to be treated according to the rigor of the existing provisions.

§ 11. The specified principles apply not only to printed writings and works but also to manuscripts.

§ 12. Authors whose manuscripts were denied approval for printing by the Court Police Section may, if they feel unjustly treated, submit their manuscripts with their reasons for complaint attached to the political court section of their country, which shall report thereupon to His Majesty, namely whether it agrees with the damnatur of the Court Police Section or is in favor of approval.

§ 13. Works forbidden by the recensoring can, if they appear in new editions or arrive anew from abroad, be submitted to censorship once more, and assessed according to the present principles.

§ 14. The censors shall expedite the returning of books with the greatest possible swiftness, insofar as it can be done without detriment to proper censoring, and it shall in particular be seen to that books are not left to sit unnecessarily at the Review Office before being sent to the censors, as well as that they are picked up from them more quickly than has hitherto been the case.

[…]

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