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Mapping Contemporary History II

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at Graz University | Exemplarische Forschungsfelder aus 25 Jahren
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National Socialism | Nationalsozialismus

Steirische Gusstahl A.G. WERK K. Braunsfeld
Wir danken unserem Führer

Ohne Titel [im Gusstahlwerk Judenburg], 1938.
Archiv: Multimedia Sammlungen, UMJ.
FotografIn: anonym.

**„... in spite of not making any concessions and
the fact that my pan-German views are well known among
colleagues in the field ...” Notes to Karl Haiding (1906–1985).**

Ursula Mindler

At the time of National Socialism folklorist/ethnologist Dr. Karl Haiding had been a high-ranking official in the so-called *Amt Rosenberg* (Rosenberg Bureau). Throughout his life he neither denied his support of National Socialism nor expressed regret for losing the position he held during National Socialism and the subsequent end to his scientific career following the war. He expressed this attitude in many of his correspondences. For example in 1974, he wrote to a friend that, “A few years ago [1971] I was even appointed as honorary professor of *Volkskunde* [folklore/ethnology] at [Graz] University. In the case of *Volkskunde*, this is the first such appointment in Austria, and this in spite of not making any concessions and the fact that my pan-German views are well known among colleagues in the field. Because of the constraints [I have faced] what I have achieved is only satisfactory under the circumstances but is not a life’s achievement. But has anyone of our *verheizte* [burnt out/sacrificed] generation fared any better?”¹ Although Haiding’s former rival, university professor Richard Wolfram (a former member of *SS-Ahnenerbe*/Protective Guard

¹ Karl Haiding to Hedwig von Löhlhöf, Stainach, October 3, 1974. Universalmuseum Joanneum (UMJ), Schloss Trautenfels (Trautenfels), Nachlass (NL) Karl Haiding (KH). Currently Karl Haiding’s legal estate is not open to the public but there are plans underway to develop an index and detailed description of his biography. Thus, sources cited in this article refer to his entire legal estate. This article is based on a research project on Karl Haiding which was carried out by the author in 2009 on behalf of Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte Graz and Landesmuseum Joanneum (today UMJ). Its aim was to comprehensively reconstruct Haiding’s biography, particularly his National Socialist past by using his legal estate. Cf. Ursula Mindler, Dr. Karl Haiding. Eine biographische Skizze, unpublished final report of the research project, Graz 2009. Special thanks go to Uwe Baur, Stefan Benedik, Swen Uwe Devantier, Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Katharina Krenn, Gerald Lamprecht, Ernst Mindler, and Eduard Staudinger. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by Ursula Mindler. For translations of terminology cf. Hannjost Lixfeld, *Folklore and Fascism. The Reich Institute for German Volkskunde, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1994*, 214–255; James Dow and Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Austrian Volkskunde and National Socialism. The Case Study of Karl Haiding, born Paganini*, in: *The Folklore Historian* 22 (2005) 35–57, and Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, reprint Hertfordshire 1998.

Ancestral Inheritance) was at the centre of attention in post-war society, and particularly in the academic sphere² this should not undermine Haiding's wide range of power during National Socialism as well as his respectable position in the academic world after 1945.

This article is an interim report of a research project on Karl Haiding. While the larger project considers Haiding's folkloristic work as well as issues surrounding his private and professional networks, in this article I limit discussion to Haiding's biography as it relates to his involvement in and relationship to National Socialism. In the following section, I begin first with an overview of the existing (albeit meagre) academic literature available on Haiding. In recent years some pioneering, well-documented and carefully investigated studies on the role of (Austrian) *Volkskunde* before, during and after National Socialism have been published.³ Nevertheless, there is no detailed biography of Haiding available; the above-mentioned literature as well as some shorter articles make reference to him, albeit sporadically.⁴ Also available are some biographical sketches which were written on the occasion of anniversaries (mostly without citing sources)⁵ or in the context of larger studies.⁶ The only comprehensive and well-cited study on Haiding to date is one written by James

-
- 2 From 1939 until 1945 and from 1959 until 1972, Wolfram was a university professor in Vienna. Cf. ia. Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, In memoriam Richard Wolfram (1901–1995), in: *Volkskunde und Bruchtumspflege im Nationalsozialismus in Salzburg*, Salzburg 1996, 399–400; Olaf Bockhorn, ed., *Kulturelles Erbe und Aneignung. Festschrift für Richard Wolfram zum 80. Geburtstag*, Wien 1982.
 - 3 E.g. regarding Austria Olaf Bockhorn, *Der Kampf um die „Ostmark“*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Volkskunde in Österreich, in: Gernot Heiß et al., eds., *Willfähige Wissenschaft. Die Universität Wien 1938 bis 1945*, Wien 1989, 17–38; Wolfgang Jacobeit et al., eds., *Völkische Wissenschaft. Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wien et al. 1994; Lixfeld, *Folklore*; James R. Dow and Olaf Bockhorn, *The Study of European Ethnology in Austria*, Ashgate 2004.
 - 4 Cf. Wolfgang Brückner, *Bildgebrauch und Kreuzzug gegen die Bauern im 13. Jahrhundert. Oder die Nazis in Stedingen*, in: *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 15 (1988), 91–97. Although Brückner does not cite sources, many researchers rely on his article.
 - 5 E.g. Sepp Walter, *Karl Haiding 75 Jahre*, in: Volker Hänsel and Sepp Walter, eds., *Volkskundliches aus dem steirischen Ennsbereich. Festschrift für Karl Haiding zum 75. Geburtstag*, Liezen 1981, 11–18; unfortunately this text does not cite sources but because of Jontes' friendship with Karl Haiding, it remains of special interest: Günther Jontes, *Zum 100. Geburtstag von Karl Haiding. Gedanken zu Leben, Werk und Wesen des Volkskundlers*, in: *Da schau her* 27/4 (2006), 13–22. Although details in this text are at times inaccurate, it is worthwhile for its abundance of cited sources: Elfriede Moser-Rath, *Haiding, Karl*, in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, vol. 6, Berlin and New York 1999, 383–385.
 - 6 E.g. Dow and Bockhorn, *Study*, 159–168.

Dow and Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann.⁷ Very valuable – although also very subjective – are the memories of Doris Sauer who was Haiding’s collaborator in 1942 and 1943, and then again from 1983 until her death in 1993.⁸ As I show throughout this article, we can gain new insights by going through Haiding’s private and academic legal estate. This information was released for the first time within the context of this research project.

“My path to *Volkskunde* derives from *Volkstumpfle*ge and *Grenzlandarbeit* ...”

Karl Haiding was born Carlo Cyrill Andreas Paganini on July 3, 1906, in Vienna. Little is known about his family except for the fact that they were well off and his father was a building contractor. In his CV Haiding has himself written that he was a member of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP) in Vienna in 1923 and 1924, and for a short time also leader of a local NSDAP group.⁹ After the fragmentation of the Austrian NSDAP he joined the *Freikorps Oberland*¹⁰ in 1924, where he was an active member until March 12, 1929 when he joined the army.¹¹ There (again, according to Haiding) he was dismissed in July 1933 for his support of National Socialism,¹² after which he joined the NS-

7 Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*. Cf. Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Karl Haiding – vor 100 Jahren geboren. Ein Leben in dunkler Zeit, in: *Märchenspiegel* 17/4 (2006), 40–45.

8 Doris Sauer, *Erinnerungen*. Karl Haiding und die Forschungsstelle „Spiel und Spruch“, Wien 1993.

9 CV Karl Haiding, June 14, 1939. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BA) NS 15/717. Most documents give 3.332.498 as his membership number, Jontes mentions 26.787. Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 14. So far, the only piece of evidence giving “26.787” has been a letter of Gauleiter Frauenfeld to the “Mitglieder-Sammelstelle” from Jan. 26, 1938. BA, ehemals (chem.) Berlin Document Center (BDC), Parteikorrespondenz (PK), Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906. According to the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv* (WStLA) Haiding appears in Vienna “neither in the criminal files of the Regional Court for Criminal Matters nor in our archives’ *Gauakten* [Gau files] of the Viennese *Ortsgruppen* [local groups]”. Letter from Dr. Rigele to Ursula Mindler, Vienna, Jan. 21, 2009.

10 *Freikorps Oberland* was pursuing *völkisch* (national) aims and closely collaborated with the NSDAP. From 1921 onwards, its successor *Bund Oberland* was the core of the Bavarian SA (storm-troopers). Cf. “Historisches Lexikon Bayerns”. http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_44349 (Feb. 2, 2010).

11 CV Karl Haiding, June 14, 1939. BA NS 15/717. Q.v. CV Karl Haiding, April 23, 1937. BA, chem. BDC, RK/Personalakten d. staatl. Hochschule, Haiding Karl; q.v. “Dienstbestätigung”, May 10, 1933. BA, chem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906.

12 In a letter from 1937, Haiding described it in more detail, “During my military service I was not a member of the party but since I refused to sign the statement against the NSDAP which was presented to us in autumn 1932, and since I supported National Socialism, I was discharged together with many of my

DAP (again).¹³ In 1926 he graduated the technical school *Technisch-gewerblichen Bundeslehranstalt* in Vienna and began conducting scholarly research that concentrated mainly on “*brauchtümlich* [traditional] children’s game and their origins as well as folk songs and their *volkstümlich* [folksy] sayings, rhymes and customs”.¹⁴ He carried out his folklorist field research in Burgenland where he visited selected villages and analysed local nursery rhymes, children’s games, “folk dances”, and “folk narratives”.¹⁵

Descriptions of his “*völkisch* [national] awakening” typical throughout his correspondences, showing how, to use Pierre Bourdieu’s terminology, “the autobiographical story is always at least partly underlied by an interest in giving meaning”.¹⁶ Said otherwise, personal documents are an important source which allow us to gain insight into an individual’s processes of remembering, patterns of processing and coming to terms with life, making sense out of strategies for overcoming hardship and tendencies of action.¹⁷ In that respect Haiding’s correspondence is to be read. Repeatedly there are remarks in his correspondence on his growing interest in *Volkskunde* but he does not differentiate between a “*völkisch* event of awakening” and his academic involvement with *Volkskunde* as a discipline, “My path to *Volkskunde* derives from *Volkstumspflege* [maintenance of national customs and traditions] and *Grenzlandarbeit*.^[18] Today [1975], as our discipline is facing subversive difficulties

comrades in July 1933 for political reasons. Only after my discharge did I join the NSDAP again.” BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906.

13 Solemn affirmation of Haiding, undated. BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906.

14 Expert’s record by Edmund Mudrak, Aug. 1, 1955. Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv (StLA), L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/1980. For Mudrak (1894–1965) – supporter of the „Wiener mythologische Schule“ (Viennese Mythological School) – q.v. Olaf Bockhorn, Von Ritualen, Mythen und Lebenskreisen. *Volkskunde im Umfeld der Universität Wien*, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 500–501.

15 Cf. also confirmation by R. Dechant, June 6, 1955. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/1980.

16 Pierre Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft. Zur Theorie des Handelns*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 76. Cf. also Reinhard Sieder, *Gesellschaft und Person. Geschichte und Biographie*. Nachschrift, in: Reinhard Sieder, ed., *Brüchiges Leben. Biographien in sozialen Systemen*, Wien 1999, 234–264; Jürgen Straub, *Identität*, in: Friedrich Jaeger and Burkhard Liebsch, eds., *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften. Grundlagen und Schlüsselbegriffe*, vol. 1, Stuttgart and Weimar 2004, 277–303.

17 Christiane Lahusen, *Zur autobiographischen Interpretation von Diskontinuitäten. Methodische Anmerkungen*, in: *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien* 42 (2008), 24.

18 The so-called “*Grenzlandarbeit*” (working in the borderland area) referred to the former Western Hungarian and now Austrian state of Burgenland where Haiding – among others – carried out research. Cf. Arthur Haberlandt, *Volkskunde des Burgenlandes*. *Hauskultur und Volksfest*, Wien 1935.

[*umstürzlerisch bedrängt*],^[19] this is again of particular importance.²⁰ Years before, Haiding had written to his friend and colleague Gottfried Henßen²¹, “Based on circles of the *Youth Movement*, which I had also organizationally been a part of since 1924, I started a working group in Vienna of young people who were especially motivated to pursue *Volkskunde* but who were also dealing with many other questions. In particular, we performed folk songs and folks dance and for years we also carried out *Volkskunde*-based *Grenzlandarbeit* [borderland studies] in Burgenland. In this group there were, among others, members of the Austrian *Wandervogel*^[22] and the *Deutscher Schulverein Südmark*^[23] (Austrian equivalence of the VDA).^[24] [...] My intention to go to the *volksdeutschen* [ethnic German] settlements every year remained unfeasible.”²⁵ The foundations for networks laid in this sphere

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- 19 He felt this “umstürzlerische Bedrängung” in various ways – esp. with regard to language, “By the way, [today] even the term *Volk* is criticised for being *belastet* [loaded with specific meaning as National Socialist].” Letter from Karl Haiding to Friedl Mudrak, Stainach, Nov. 25, 1969. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.
- 20 Letter from Karl Haiding to Karl Dietrich, Stainach, March 14, 1975. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.
- 21 Henßen was head of the *Zentralarchiv der deutschen Volkerzählung* and a close friend of Haiding’s. Haiding even sent him a letter where he complained about the “Verpflichtung zur Ausmerzung des Nazismus” (“duty to exterminate National Socialism”) in post-war Austria, to which he added “Please destroy this note”. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.
- 22 The ÖVV website says, “The Austrian *Wandervogel* [ramblers’ association, ÖVV] [...] was founded following the example set by the German *Wandervogel*. Although the basic idea [...] was to go rambling, journey, community, singing, love of nature, dancing and abstinence were also just as characteristic features. [...] At this time, the ÖVV was characterized by a lively interest in questions such as *Volkskunde* and *Volkstumspflege*. [...]” References to the ÖVV’s closeness to the *völkisch*/German National milieu are missing. Cf. www.wandervogel.at/gruppierungen/geschichte (Feb. 2, 2010).
- 23 The *Deutsche Schulverein Südmark* (German School Association “Südmark”) was a German National and “völkischer Schutzverein” (“folkish protection-association”). From 1925, he claimed leading power among the “nationale Schutzarbeit” (“national protective work”). Cf. Andreas Streibel, *Die nationale Schutzarbeit in Österreich 1880–1938. Politische und bewusstseinsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, unpublished final report of the research project, Sigless, oJ (1995), I. Q.v. Heidrun Zettelbauer, „Die Liebe sei Euer Heldentum“. *Geschlecht und Nation in völkischen Vereinen der Habsburgermonarchie*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 2005.
- 24 In 1908, the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (VDA, from 1933 *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland* / *League for Germans Abroad*) came from the *Allgemeinen Deutschen Schulverein* which was initially formed in 1881. Streibel, *Schutzarbeit*, I; q.v. the entries on *VDA* in Ingo Haar/Michael Fahlbusch, eds., *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaft. Personen – Institutionen – Forschungsprogramme – Stiftungen*, München 2008.
- 25 Haiding to Henßen, Oct. 20, 1957. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. Haiding to Henßen, Oct. 21, 1957, “Under my leadership, we were a separated group within the ‘Volkschaft’ of the Austrian *Wandervogel*.” UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

outlasted several political upheavals. Until he died, Haiding regularly met members of his former *Hitler Youth* (HJ) group²⁶ and stayed in touch with members of the *Wandervogel*.²⁷

From 1929 to 1933/34, Haiding studied *Volkskunde*, ethnology and prehistory in Vienna. There he was a student of Professor Arthur Haberlandt (1889–1964).²⁸ It was in this atmosphere that the circle of *Sprachinselforscher* (researchers on linguistic enclaves)²⁹ came into being and whose aim it was to explore the “German *Sprachinseln* [linguistic enclave] in the East”. Some of its members, such as Haiding and Wolfram, had also been active in the *Youth Movement*.³⁰

In 1933, Haiding joined the NSDAP under the name Paganini.³¹ His name is found in the *NSDAP-Gaukartei* (Gau card index) with the membership number 3.332.498 dated December 1, 1933.³² Since the NSDAP was forbidden in Austria during this time, Haiding was deemed a so-called *Illegaler* (illegal). He was actively working for the party, especially by way of giving “training in cultural leadership” in Hitler Youth camps and writing articles on *Volkstumsarbeit* (practical folk-national work), “folk songs”, games and fairy tales for National Socialist training brochures.³³

26 Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 36.

27 Cf. all of correspondence. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH; q.v. *Wandervogel*-circulars in UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Cf. Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 172. Nevertheless, friends within the *Wandervogel* groups also came into conflict with each other. Cf. also Mindler, Haiding, 53.

28 For Michael and Arthur Haberlandt q.v. Bockhorn, *Rituale*, 501–510.

29 Cf. also Walter Kuhn, *Eine Jugend für die Sprachinselforschung. Erinnerungen*, in: *Jahrbuch der schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 23 (1982), 225–278.

30 Bockhorn, *Rituale*, 508; Haiding to Henßen, April 7, 1952. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

31 Solemn affirmation of Haiding, undated. BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906; cf. footnotes 9 and 12.

32 BA, ehem. BDC, NSDAP-Gaukartei. Memo for the *Reichsleiter*, Jan. 4, 1943. BA NS 8/260, 54; cf. footnotes 9 and 12. The rather high membership number can be attributed to the fact that it was backdated to 1938. Cf. CV Karl Haiding, June 14, 1939. BA NS 15/717. – The literature is contradictory on that topic. However, there is a detailed correspondence on the question of proof of his membership because after the “Anschluss” Haiding applied for a backdated admission to the NSDAP. After having investigated for several months, the *Reichsleitung der NSDAP* (Reich Leadership of the NSDAP) came to the conclusion, “[...] Today, backdated to Dec. 1, 1933 and with the membership number of 3.332.498, Dr. Karl Haiding is admitted to the NSDAP [...] *Ortsgruppe* [local group] Berlin.” Cf. Letter of the *NSDAP Reichsleitung* to the fiscal and party administration in Austria, Dec. 21, 1938. BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906. This date is also mentioned in the *NSDAP-Gaukartei* (Gau card index).

33 Testimony of A. Plügel, Dec. 12, 1936; confirmation of H. Stumfohl, Nov. 7, 1936. Both BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906. It is not very likely that Haiding was also involved in the “illegal Hitler Youth” (HJ) as Brückner writes – at least, his name is not found on the list of members and he himself

“Being a German folklorist”, Haiding did not want “to bear an Italian name”³⁴ and because the church “formerly called the rural populace who did not want to accept Christianity ‘paganus,’ i.e., pagans”,³⁵ he changed his family name from “Paganini” to the German equivalent “Haiding”. This became legally effective on February 19, 1935.³⁶ “To him, this [the change of name] was an ideological confession and remained as such until his death in 1985”,³⁷ which was evident from the fact that from then on he never again even quoted his own published writings as Paganini.³⁸

It was in this period of time that he made the decision to become a researcher in *Spielforschung* (game research). Under the supervision of Arthur Haberlandt he wrote his doctoral dissertation on *Beiträge zur Quellen- und Wesenserschließung des volkstümlichen Kinder-gutes* (Contributions to the Sources and Interpretation of Folk-National Children’s Lore) in 1936. One year later he became head of the *Forschungsstelle für Kinderspiel und einschlägiges Volksgut* (Research Post for children’s game and relevant folk goods).³⁹

From autumn 1936, Haiding lived in Berlin.⁴⁰ There he married Erna Ascherl (1904–

claims in 1939 to have joined the HJ on Sept. 15, 1936 (No. 3.588.593), at a time when he was already working for the *Reichsjugendführung* (Reich Youth Leadership), living in Berlin. Brückner, Bildgebrauch, 92. Q.v. CV Karl Haiding, June 14, 1939. BA NS 15/717.

34 Jontes quotes Sauer. Jontes, Geburtstag, 14; q.v. Sauer, Erinnerungen, 124.

35 Quoted from Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Volkskunde, 37. Cf. WStLA, M. Abt. 1/II 1521/35; Hannjost Lixfeld, Aufstieg und Niedergang von Rosenbergs Reichsinstitut für Deutsche Volkskunde, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., Wissenschaft, 291. Regarding the supposedly “grammatically correct calque” cf. Jontes, Geburtstag, 14. Cf. and Sauer, Erinnerungen, 125 and 210 footnote 15.

36 On Feb. 19, 1935, the change of name was legally effective. The literature is contradictory on the date, also mentioning 1934 and 1936. However, on March 8, 1935 the municipal authorities in Vienna issued a certificate that the change of name had been approved on Feb. 19, 1935. A copy of this certificate is to be found in BA, ehem. BDC, PK, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906.

37 Brückner, Bildgebrauch, 91.

38 Cf. the bibliography in Haiding’s legal estate. Q.v. Sauer, Erinnerungen, 125.

39 Cf. expert’s record by Arthur Haberlandt, July 30, 1955. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80. Q.v. the notes on approved fundings in BA, ehem. BDC, RFR, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906.

40 It is yet to be settled if this move was a result of his illegal activity within the NSDAP but it is not very likely because until March 1938 he remained an Austrian citizen and was not denaturalized as he would have been had he had to flee Austria because of his illegal activity. Only Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Volkskunde, 37 mention repeated house searches. As a reference they cite Erna Haiding, Sauer and Brückner. In her book, Sauer refers to a conversation with Karl Haiding as well as to Brückner. Again, Brückner does not cite any sources. According to Sauer, Karl Haiding had told her that his room was once searched by policemen but without any results. He claimed that he had been suspected of being “illegal” because he had always worn *Wandervogel* clothes (short leather trousers, white shirt, and white

1991) in 1936, a woman who was as National Socialist minded as Haiding himself⁴¹ and who always supported him in his research.⁴²

Haiding's career in *Amt Rosenberg*

In Berlin Haiding was an instructor and later, head of the division at the *Kulturamt* der *Reichsjugendführung* (Cultural Office for Reich Youth Leadership). He was responsible for the magazine *Spielschar*, held lectures and taught folk dancing. Additionally he was associate lecturer for the education of full-time HJ-*Musikreferenten* (music leaders) and also worked at the *Amt Rosenberg* – first voluntarily, then full-time.⁴³ This meant that he was working at the central cultural political bureau of the *Reichsleitung der NSDAP* (Reich Leadership of the NSDAP), which aimed at the “reestablishment of the ideological ‘German unity’”.⁴⁴ *Amt Rosenberg* represented “*Volkskunde* on the basis of racism” and orientated itself towards the representatives of the *Viennese Mythological School* such as Karl von Spieß, Georg Hüsing, and Edmund Mudrak.⁴⁵ In 1937, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für deutsche Volkskunde* (Working Community for German *Volkskunde*) was founded. It was meant to be the structural organisation of the *Reichsinstitut für Deutsche Volkskunde* (Reich Institute for German *Volkskunde*) which was in turn part of Rosenberg's *Hohe Schule der NSDAP* (Advanced School of the NSDAP) which was then still in its planning stage. Haiding was head of the *Referat Volkstumsarbeit* (Department of practical folk-national work) within the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* and he also established the *Mittelstelle Spielforschung* (Intermediate

socks). Cf. Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 123. So far, no relevant files could be found in the Viennese archives which would support this account. Nevertheless, it has to be taken into consideration that not all police and court records are preserved.

41 E.g. “The only comfort is the *Alpenvereinsjugend* [Youth of the Alps Association], the children of former Nazis. Industrious in work and enjoying nature. They go hiking and climbing.” Erna to her uncle Karl Ascherl, Oct. 4, 1957. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. Erna Haiding's correspondence with her family. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH; cp. Erna Haiding to *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* Graz, Dec. 4, 1947. StLA, L.-Reg. 15-Ka 60/1946. Karl and Erna Haiding did not have children.

42 Cf. correspondence in Haiding's legal estate. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

43 Mindler, Haiding, 20–23. The *Amt Rosenberg* was named after the politician and “chief ideologue” of the NSDAP, Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946, executed in Nuremberg).

44 Hannjost Lixfeld, *Weltanschauung und politische Zielsetzung in Alfred Rosenbergs „Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts“*, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 184.

45 Hannjost Lixfeld, *Die weltanschauliche Volkskunde des Amts Rosenberg und ihr Wissenschaftstheoretiker Matthes Ziegler*, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 200–201.

Post for Game Research).⁴⁶ Within the field of *Volkskunde* the *Amt Rosenberg* was major competition for Heinrich Himmler's *SS-Ahnenerbe*⁴⁷ (where Richard Wolfram was working) – a competition that characterized National Socialist *Volkskunde* in general and which must always be taken into consideration when dealing with activities of the *Amt Rosenberg* or *Ahnenerbe*.

On September 25, 1939 Haiding was called to do military service,⁴⁸ but soon after ended up in the military hospital due to rheumatic fever.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, he continued to teach at the *State Academy for Music Education*.⁵⁰ On December 2, 1941 he was discharged from the army for being “unfit” having been classified as “*u.k. [unabkömmlich / indispensable]* for the *Ostarbeit* [work in the East]”.⁵¹ This *Ostarbeit* referred to his “field research” within the framework of the “war services of the humanities” which were classified “important to the war” and highly subsidised, conducted by the *Volkskunde* umbrella organizations of Rosenberg and Himmler.⁵² In 1940, the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)* (Implementation Staff of Reich Leader Rosenberg) was founded which – partly camouflaged as “field trips” – undertook the systematic divestment of the Eastern regions occupied by the National

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- 46 Cf. Hannjost Lixfeld, *Aufbau und Aufgaben von Rosenbergs Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Deutsche Volkskunde*, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 205–206. An organigram may be found in Gerd Simon, *Rosenbergs „Hohe Schule“ als Hehlerin von NS-Verbrechen*. <http://homepages.uni-tuebingen.de/gerd.simon/HSText.pdf> (July 15, 2009). Q.v. Circular of the NSDAP *Reichsleitung*, Jan. 5, 1937. BA NS 8/128 45. The *Reichsjugendführung* made Haiding available to the *Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft* (Reich working community) for scholarly and political purposes. Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 291. Brückner calls him the “main initiator and intermediary between Berlin and Vienna from 1939 until 1945.” Brückner, *Bildgebrauch*, 91.
- 47 Cf. Michael H. Kater, *Das „Ahnenerbe“ der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, München 2001.
- 48 “Kennzettel”, Nov. 14, 1941. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Archiv der Republik (AdR), Wehrstammbuch (WStB) Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906. Q.v. Haiding to *Reichsjugendführung*, Sept. 21, 1939. BA, ehem. BDC, RK/Personalakten d. staatl. Hochschule, Haiding Karl geb. 3.7.1906. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann write that he did his military service in Germany in 1938. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 37.
- 49 ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906. From April 1, 1940, Haiding was in the reserve military hospital Jugenheim Schloss Heiligenberg. *Ibid.*
- 50 Note, March 10, 1940. BA, ehem. BDC, RK/Personalakten d. staatl. Hochschule, Haiding Karl. Besides, he was on “working holidays” several times. ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906, Soldbuch, 23.
- 51 Haiding to the *Staatliche Hochschule*, Dec. 12, 1941. BA, ehem. BDC, RK/Personalakten d. staatl. Hochschule, Haiding Karl; Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 128; Letter of the company commander to the military service registration office Charlottenburg, Dec. 2, 1941. ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906.
- 52 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 269.

Socialists.⁵³ Doris Sauer wrote down a remark Haiding made with reference to the *Einsatzstab*, "One day [in 1943] Haiding told a visitor laughing that much to Rosenberg's 'Einsatzstab Ost's regret the SS 'fetched' the Jews which had always until then so exemplarily cleaned the working rooms in Wilna."⁵⁴

Rosenberg's date book is an important source for information on Haiding's periodical work meetings with the *Reichsleiter*. Apparently Haiding was very well connected on this milieu, often taking an active part in discussions with heads of the various departments.⁵⁵ In July 1941 he presented his memorandum *Die Aufgaben der Volkskunde bei der politischen Neuordnung Osteuropas* (The mission of Volkskunde at the political reform of Eastern Europe)⁵⁶ to Rosenberg which included his concept of a *Sonderstab Volkskunde* (Special Staff for Volkskunde) within the *Einsatzstab* for the "cultural-political guidance and control of the peoples of Eastern Europe" and the "carving out of the originally Aryan *Volksüberlieferung* [folk lore]".⁵⁷ The *Sonderstab Volkskunde* was established and Haiding became a member of staff.⁵⁸ In this capacity he aimed at discovering the supposedly old "Aryan"-cultic myths in children's games ("Germanic legacies")⁵⁹ and to this end, conducted several "field trips" in the occupied regions (a.o. Zips, today Slovakia, Bohemian Forest, and Ormsö in Estonia/Sweden). There, he, his wife and some members of staff documented and photographed traditional children's games. Haiding tried to provide evidence for the "Germanic heritage" of the "Ostland"⁶⁰ through comparative research on children's games and was eager to

53 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 270–271.

54 Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 154–155. Jontes writes, "In the 1960's, one of his younger acquaintances had married and established a family. After some time, when he found out about his wife's Jewish roots, which up to that point had been unknown to him, he got divorced and also renounced his children. When Haiding heard about this, he found the words, 'How can one just be *that* way?' which was opposed to his own philosophy of life as well as to his attitude towards the Jews." Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 19.

55 BA NS 8; cf. e.g. the meeting of the heads of department from March 4, 1943, "Suggestions on improving the mental warfare". "Stichwort-Protokoll" March 4, 1943. BA NS 8/131, 8.

56 BA NS 8/245, 60–62.

57 BA NS 8/245, 60. Also cited in Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 292.

58 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 292. Sauer writes, "I think it is possible that Haiding was a member of the *Einsatzstab Ost* for some time ... In 1985, I asked Erna Haiding about this, when she went through the Wormsö-pictures for Sweden and picked out the pictures showing her husband in uniform. The answer: She would have repeatedly helped him record things but she wouldn't have had any insight into his official concerns." Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 211 footnote 27. Today the photos are in the *Salzburger Landesinstitut für Volkskunde* (SLIVK). Cf. Memo for the *Reichsleiter*, Jan. 4, 1943. BA NS 8/260, 54.

59 Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 129.

60 Das *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (Reich Civil Administration for Occupied Soviet Territories in the East) consisted of the occupied territories Latvia, Lithuania, and the biggest part of Western Belorussia and Estonia.

document that this was due to a shared “Germanic-Aryan” origin.⁶¹ When on June 5, 1942 the *Institut für deutsche Volkskunde* (Institute for German Volkskunde) was established as part of the *Hohe Schule*, Haiding was appointed director “for the duration of the war”.⁶² He also became head of the research posts “*Volkspiel (Spielforschung)* [folk games]” and “*Spiel und Spruch* [Research Post for Games and Sayings]” which were part of the institute.⁶³ This meant “the great chance of his life”, as Lixfeld has phrased it.⁶⁴ Lixfeld reduced the fact that Haiding was only appointed director “for the duration of the war” to internal conflicts as well as to Haiding’s controversial academic qualifications. As Lixfeld wrote, “for Haiding’s appointment the following was decisive: the lack of better qualified scientific experts at *Dienststelle* [Bureau] *Rosenberg*, his desperate state of health which made him – unlike most of the others – unfit for military respectively war services, his manifold proven, unwavering loyalty to the political idea of the ‘Mythus’, and his undeniable eagerness to fulfil his duty.”⁶⁵ Though it is unclear how much power Haiding actually held at the time the *Ahnenerbe* perceived Haiding and the *Amt Rosenberg* as competitors.⁶⁶

61 Karl Haiding, *Volkspiel im Ostland*, unpublished manuscript, o.J. [1943/44], 196. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. A detailed discussion of the content of Haiding’s work offer Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 45–48 as well as Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 132–143.

62 Rosenberg, June 5, 1942. BA NS 8/128, 110. He reported regularly on his activities for Rosenberg. Cf. daily appointments of Rosenberg, BA NS 8/133, 60, NS 8/133, 151, NS 8/134, 29, NS 8/131, 3, NS 8/134, 44 and NS 8/131, 67, NS 8/131, 92 and NS 8/131, 102, NS 8/134, 82, NS 8/134, 83, NS 8/134, 130, NS 8/135, 70. Q.v. Haiding to Rosenberg, Nov. 5, 1943. BA NS 8/264, 8.

63 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 284–285, 289. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann write that “during this same period Haiding became the Division Leader [...] of yet another Rosenberg office, the ‘Office for Folklore and Celebration Planning,’ [*Amt für Volkskunde und Fei ergestaltung*] founded in 1941 under the leadership of Hans Strobel.” This is not mentioned in the other specialized literature but in 1943, Haiding gave “Reichsleitung der NSDAP, Amt Volkskunde und Fei ergestaltung, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, Bismarckstraße 1” as work address. (Letter from Karl Haiding to the *Wehrbezirkskommando* Berlin, April 12, 1943. ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906). It is taken for granted that in Strobel’s absence in 1944, Haiding took over his responsibilities. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 39. Cf. Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 293–294.

64 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 291.

65 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 290.

66 Q.v. Wolfram’s memo in May 1944 that “Haiding in Graz, Ruprecht in Salzburg, Spiess in Wien” would engage “the best photographers” as well as Wolfram’s bitterness towards the better financial provision of the “Rosenbergians”. Cited from Helmut Eberhart, *Von der „gläubigen Wissenschaft“ zum „Ahnenerbe“ der SS: Salzburg und die nationalsozialistische Volkskunde*, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 555. Bockhorn also quotes this memo, citing that from this act of ‘engaging’ one could see “with which financial and organisational costs the opposing side was operating”. Cf. Olaf Bockhorn, „Mit all seinen

In February 1943 the reconstruction work for the *Hohe Schule* was stopped due to the war,⁶⁷ while the *Institut für deutsche Volkskunde* remained. Nevertheless, again and again its members came into conflict with each other because the departments' areas of responsibilities were not always clearly defined.⁶⁸

Relocation to Styria

For a lengthy period there had been plans for the relocation of the *Institut für deutsche Volkskunde* to Styria, particularly as the research post *Spiel und Spruch* had already been established in Graz.⁶⁹ In spring 1943, the institute moved to the confiscated Rein monastery next to Graz,⁷⁰ and on October 3, 1943 the grand opening took place.⁷¹ Due to a lack of source material it is only possible to reconstruct some aspects of what happened there between 1943 and 1945.⁷² What is known is that Karl and Erna Haiding lived and worked in the former monastery, accompanied by some collaborators such as Doris Sauer whose memoirs of this time constitute the main documented evidence available.⁷³ Although the country was at war, the institute was occupied with *Spielforschung* and Haiding himself tried to play an active part in the propaganda and in the Styrian *Gauschulungsamt* (Gau Schooling Office).⁷⁴ When

völkischen Kräften deutsch“: Germanisch-deutsche Volkskunde in Wien, in: Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 571 und 574, footnote 113.

67 Rosenberg to Bormann, Feb. 19, 1943. BA NS 8/188, III.

68 Conflict took place especially between Haiding and the head of *Volkskunst und Bäuerliches Handwerk*, Otto Thiele. Cf. “Stichwort-Protokoll”, Rosenberg, March 10, 1943. BA NS 8/131, 16 as well as “Stichwort-Protokoll”, Rosenberg, March 31, 1943. BA NS 8/131, 67. Cf. also Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 292.

69 Cf. BA NS 8/207, 90. Cf. letter from Rosenberg to *Reichsschatzmeister* (Reich treasurer), Sept. 30, 1942. BA NS 8/207, 97. However, the sources and the literature (which are by all means combined with one another) give different versions of this. Cf. Mindler, Haiding, 33–34.

70 Sauer gives contradictory dates of the move. Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 16–17, 85 and 129. On p. 129 she writes that the field trip would have taken place before the evacuation. On p. 85 it is reversed. On p. 16–17 the date is open to interpretation.

71 Cf. invitation to the opening, Sept. 14, 1943. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. Koeppen to Haiding, Sept. 23, 1943. BA NS 8/265, 5. The program was arranged with Rosenberg. *Ibid.*

72 Cf. Mindler, Haiding, 30–37.

73 Cf. also Haiding's reports on his work, e.g. Haiding to Strobel, Sept. 19, 1944. BA NS 8/245, 170.

74 Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 293; q.v. BA NS 8/267, 19; Strobel to Koeppen, Sept. 28, 1944. BA NS 8/245, 169; “Stichwort-Protokoll”, Rosenberg, Oct. 9, 1944. BA NS 8/131, 103; letter from Strobel to Rosenberg, Aug. 22, 1944. BA NS 8/245, 163.

Haiding temporarily took over the scope of Hans Strobel's field of activity⁷⁵ it marked a significant advancement in his career as he was now responsible for the "folklore issues" of the *Amt Rosenberg* including the *Sonderstab Volkskunde im ERR*. Strobel was killed on December 24, 1944 at which point Haiding was at the height of his career.⁷⁶

System discontinuity after 1945 – (no) biographical break?

When the Red Army approached, Karl and Erna Haiding left the Rein monastery and sought refuge in Ennstal (the Enns Valley in the Austrian Alps) in the Styrian district of Liezen where they would live for the rest of their lives.⁷⁷ In the summer of 1945, Erna Haiding managed to travel to the Rein monastery in order to rescue part of the archives of the *Institut für deutsche Volkskunde*. For a long time a rumour had been going round that Haiding's extensive photo collection had been destroyed at the end of the war.⁷⁸ In reality however, his collection of negatives was preserved⁷⁹ as well as the "carbons of all records" which had been – according to Haiding – "stored at some other place, partly because of fire danger".⁸⁰ After the end of the war the monastery's administration department asserted its claim to the entire property of the *Hohe Schule*, but contrary to the postulated rumours that Haiding family had lost all its assets in 1945, Erna Haiding obtained private furniture,⁸¹ and Karl Haiding retrieved all books which bore his name.⁸²

Years later Karl Haiding described the immediate postwar period in the following way, "In May 1945 we [my wife and I respectively] started [to work] as a farmgirl for cows and a horse groom in the upper Styrian district of Liezen, [equipped only with] the contents of a rucksack.^[83] [...] Both of us had the duty to register [for having been National Social-

75 Folklorist Dr. Hans Strobel (1911–1944) was *Mythus*-scientist and one of the most high-ranking officials in the field of *Volkskunde* in *Amt Rosenberg*. For Strobel and his theory on custom and celebration cf. Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 271–280.

76 *Ibid.*, 293–294. Cf. also BA NS 8/245, 178 and 179. Q.v. Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 122.

77 For a detailed account, see Mindler, Haiding, 41–43.

78 Cf. also expert's report by Edmund Mudrak, Aug. 1, 1955. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80.

79 Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 131.

80 Haiding to Henßen, March, 15, 1951. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

81 Detailed in Mindler, Haiding, 37–40. Cf. also the court records StLA, L.-Reg. 15-Ka 60 /1946 and StLA, L.-Reg. 15 Re-36/1954.

82 Haiding to Kretzenbacher, June 9, 1947. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH; Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 165; q.v. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 43.

83 The permanent references to the profound personal decline at the end of the war as well as having to start

ists]. I was for many 'a man wanted'.⁸⁴ Nonetheless there are neither files on Karl Haiding's denazification nor indications of a longer imprisonment or a trial.⁸⁵ Haiding was also a "wanted man" because he was supposed to appear as a witness at the Nuremberg Trials "to prove that Rosenberg facilitated the cultural institutions in the Baltic States and that he created new ones".⁸⁶ Until 1947, however, Haiding was considered "missing".⁸⁷ This is astonishing because from August 1, 1945 (!) he was already conducting folkloristic investigations in almost every community of the district of Liezen and volunteered his time working as a collaborator in the *Ennstaler Arbeitskreis für Kultur- und Heimatpflege* (Ennstal working group on the maintenance of culture and *Heimat* / home) as well as *Referent für volkskundliche Forschung* (referee for folkloristic research).⁸⁸ From May 1948 he worked on the

over on a lower social level after 1945 as a starting point for a "story of success" in the Second Republic are also to be found in the memories of other former leading (male and female) National Socialists (cf. denazification records, records of "Volksgerichtsverfahren" etc.). Thus it has to be seen as having symbolic importance as well as strengthening ideologies by passing on the message, "Nobody is going to break us!" Uhl states that war veterans regarded themselves as "betrayed victims" of an again 'cruel' time". Cf. Heidemarie Uhl, *Vom Opfermythos zur Mitverantwortungsthese. NS-Herrschaft, Krieg und Holocaust im österreichischen Gedächtnis*, in: Christian Gerbel et al., eds., *Transformationen gesellschaftlicher Erinnerung. Studien zur „Gedächtnisgeschichte“ der Zweiten Republik*, Wien 2005, 55.

84 Haiding to Hedwig von Lölhöfel, Oct. 3, 1974. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

85 StLA, LAD Entnazifizierungsakten-Index 1945–1950: The denazification-indexes were searched for Erna and Karl Haiding / "Paganini". Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann (*Volkskunde*, 36) also refer to the absence of a denazification process. There is also no indication of denazification in the personal file on Haiding held by his employer, the Austrian state of Styria. Cf. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80. Erna Haiding wrote that he was not charged in Austria but he himself never knew this. Cf. Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 130. The only source claiming Haiding had been arrested was Haiding himself. In his private correspondence he mentions twice that he had been "temporarily" "taken away" by the "Eastern occupying army". Karl Haiding to Heinz Ohlendorf, Jan. 13, 1968. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH"; Karl Haiding to Henßen on March 15, 1952. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Sauer writes (without citing sources) that Haiding was supposed to be "taken away" into the Caucasus because he had dared to enter Russian occupation territory. Allegedly the transport was already assembled but in the end all would have stayed there, and "Haiding had neither been arrested at the end of the war nor at a later time". Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 130. Haiding's service record book, his military pay book and his health book are in the Austrian State Archives.

86 *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof Nürnberg*, Nürnberg 1947, vol. VII, Nachdruck München and Zürich 1984, 564. Cf. Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 16.

87 Geramb to Haiding, Dec. 13, 1947. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

88 Confirmation of the *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* Liezen, Sept. 29, 1955. Q.v. Haiding's petition for crediting the years he had been working before being employed by the State of Styria, Oct. 17, 1955. Both StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80.

construction of the Dachstein cable car. In his spare time, he continued doing “folkloristic research”.⁸⁹ In May 1953, for the first time since the end of the war he gave a lecture at an international congress.⁹⁰ Scholars’ opinions differ on Haiding’s post-war position within the international academic community. Jontes argued that the fact that Haiding’s (post-war) “research was confined to mostly regional issues” was due to the fact that “he had no foreign language competence at all and thus failed to have a view of the international world of scholarship”.⁹¹ This assumption is rather implausible for in 1941 Haiding stated that he had knowledge of French and Dutch⁹², and there are also foreign letters in his legal estate to prove this.⁹³ Furthermore, his correspondence indicates that he was very well networked within the European academic community, although he was primarily in touch with scholars of his generation and those involved with *Spielforschung*. It should also be taken into consideration that he – according to his own personal documents – had been the first Austrian post-war academic to become a member of the *International Society for Folk-Narrative Research* in 1961.⁹⁴

After the end of the war, Haiding committed himself mainly to re-establishing his *Spielforschung* as well as getting employed by the state of Styria. Whereas all attempts in regard to the former were in vain, he finally succeeded in getting appointed by the state of Styria. On May 1, 1955 he took up employment as an academic staff member by the state of Styria⁹⁵ and was entrusted with the set-up and the administration of the museum of

89 Cf. Mindler, Haiding, 42–43.

90 “After 8 years (1953) I could for the first time distinguish myself again with a lecture on an international congress. It took such a long time in the *Heucheldemokratie* (hypocritical democracy)”. Haiding to Hedwig von Lölhöfel, Oct. 3, 1974. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Again and again, German-national and/or disparaging remarks about the political development in Austria after 1945 are to be found in Haiding’s private correspondence.

91 Jontes, Geburtstag, 21. It is also necessary to question why regional research as well as international networks had to exclude one another.

92 “Kennzettel”, Nov. 14, 1941. ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906.

93 However, most of the correspondence is in German.

94 CV Karl Haiding, May 1971. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Volkskunde, 49 give 1960.

95 “[Statement from Erna Haiding:] If he [Karl Haiding] would have become a member of the SS-Ahnenerbe [...] most likely nothing would have happened to him – as to Wolfram und Pramberger. [...] Thus in 1955 he was only employed as an unskilled worker by the [Styrian] government (setting up the *Landschaftsmuseums Schloss Trautenfels* [Landscape Museum Castle of Trautenfels]) and he was also paid this way until he retired. [...] I got to know from another source that this could be proven. Thus in the case of Haiding a kind of ‘punishment’ had taken place”. Sauer, Erinnerungen, 131. These assertions are not true. Haiding was employed as a “Vertragsbediensteter des Höheren Dienstes” (employee of the higher

Trautenfels located in the Ennstal.⁹⁶ In order to get credit for the years he had worked prior to 1945, Haiding obtained recommendations from some of the leading scientists of the National Socialist period, such as Edmund Mudrak, Arthur Haberlandt, Gottfried Henßen, and Kurt Ranke. As a result and at the request of Josef Krainer sen. – at this time governor of Styria – the federal state government credited all of Haiding's pre-war working years and from then on he received a higher salary. The notification states that the state government took into account the time he worked “at the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* [German Research Council] from January 1, 1937 until March 31, 1942, at the *Institut für deutsche Volkskunde* of the *Höbe Schule* from April 1, 1942 until April 30, 1945, for the *Ennstaler Arbeitskreis* from August 1, 1945 until April 30, 1945 [correctly 1955]” which meant a total of 18 years and 1 month.⁹⁷ In the end, half of that total amount, that is, nine years and 15 days, was deemed necessary in order to be included in a higher salary bracket.

When compared to the correspondence and files of other National Socialists, it is conspicuous that Haiding did not obtain any references from a representative of a religious community. This might be due to the fact that he had already found supporters from the highest political level. It may also be related to Haiding's pronounced antipathy towards everything connected to religion.⁹⁸

At this time, Haiding worked with great energy particularly in the field of the *Sachkultur* (material and workers' culture) as well as in the area of narrative research,⁹⁹ and he left a remarkable collection at the museum of Trautenfels. Additionally, he was responsible for exhibitions, worked as a museum guide¹⁰⁰ and cultivated friendships as well as correspondence with many (former) leading folklorists and other scientists or their bereaved families. His correspondence does not show any kind of ideological break with National

sections of the civil service) and he was even credited for the years he had worked at the time of National Socialism. Cf. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80. Q.v. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

96 Telegram from the head of the provincial government Krainer to Haiding. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

97 StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80. Cf. also UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

98 Cf. also Lixfeld, *Aufbau*, 209; Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 14 and 19; Lixfeld, *Aufstieg*, 293. Haiding regarded the church as an “ideological enemy”; ÖStA, AdR, WStB Karl Haiding geb. 3.7.1906. Cf. also letter from Viktor Theiß to Haiding, July 10, 1957: “[...] The situation in the Folklore Museum is extremely unsatisfactory. For the time of K.'s [Hans Koren's] political activity, Kr. [Leopold Kretzenbacher] is entrusted with the provisional management. O these Christians! We savages are the better people!” StLA, A. Theiß, Viktor, *Nachlass*: K.7/H88.

99 A very good overview of his narratology is given by Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Haiding.

100 Cf. Walter, Haiding. Again and again, Haiding's contract of employment was extended by the state of Styria – until April 30, 1975. Letter of the legal department 1 to Karl Haiding, Nov. 21, 1974. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80. Cf. also certificate of delivery, April 30, 1975. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

Socialism. Haiding – as well as some of the people he was in correspondence with – continued to use National Socialist terminology as if it were the most natural thing in the world. He tried hard to avoid using “foreign words”,¹⁰¹ he never denied his German-national / National Socialist attitude,¹⁰² and he denied the Holocaust with statements such as, “The six millions of Jews killed are an intentional deception. If they had all really perished, then we would not have a Middle East Crisis today”.¹⁰³ Despite this well-known attitude of his, from 1956 until 1964 Haiding taught *Volkskunde* at the *Bundeslehranstalt für Alpine Landwirtschaft* (Advanced Federal Institute for Alpine Agriculture) in Raumberg next to Trautenfels.¹⁰⁴ In 1969 he started teaching *Volkskunde* at Graz University and in 1971 he was even appointed a honorary professor. Haiding received scores of awards, among others *Erzherzog-Johann-Forschungspreis des Landes Steiermark* (Arch Duke Johann Award of the state of Styria) in 1968, *Österreichisches Ehrenkreuz für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Austrian Honorary Cross for Scholarship and Art) in 1969, *Michael Haberlandt Medaille* (Medal) in 1979, *Großes Ehrenzeichen des Landes Steiermark* (Great Honorary Decoration of the state of Styria) in 1982, and *Europapreis für Volkskunst* (European Prize for Folk Art) in 1984. He was still attending conferences, carrying out field trips, giving lectures and publishing articles.¹⁰⁵ Additionally he mapped out a detailed plan for establishing a *Forschungsstelle für Kinderspiel* (research post for children’s games) which was to be tied to his research post *Spiel und Spruch*.¹⁰⁶ He established contact with leading researchers on children’s games and exchanged experiences and opinions about this topic.¹⁰⁷ In 1953 he was confident that he could re-establish “his” *Spielforschung* and his wife publicly showed support of these

101 This is noticeable throughout the entire correspondence. Jontes also refers to this, Jontes, Geburtstag, 22. Cf. “Stichwort-Protokoll” on the meeting of the office directors, March 4, 1943. BA NS 8/131, 9.

102 “Haiding never distanced himself from the pejorative and meliorating language use of the National Socialist regime.” Cited from Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 48. Q.v. Haiding to Theiß, July 5, 1956. StLA, A. Theiß, Viktor, Nachlass: K.7/H88.

103 Haiding to Tillhagen, Sept. 15, 1980. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH; Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 36. It is also reported by several contemporary witnesses that Haiding denied the Holocaust.

104 On his teaching aims cf. Haiding to Henßen, Dec. 20, 1956. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80; Teacher’s manuals and registration books. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 49.

105 Cf. also StLA, L.-Reg. Ha 65 a 1970/80; UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

106 Cf. *Die Aufgaben einer „Forschungsstelle für Kinderspiel“* (the assignments of the research post for children’s game), dating from Dec. 5, 1953 or *Aufgaben der Spielforschung* (assignments of game research), March 1, 1959. It based on an undated manuscript, obviously dating in the time of National Socialism. All in UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

107 Cf. also Mindler, Haiding, 46–50.

endeavours.¹⁰⁸ However, his attempt to re-organise and reconstruct his archives with the help of his close friend Gerhard Heilfurth¹⁰⁹ and his *Institut für mitteleuropäische Volksforschung* (Institute for Central-European Volk Research) at Marburg University ultimately failed.¹¹⁰ The *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* refused financial support because the expert's report stated, "Dr. Haiding, the extreme follower of Hüsing and Spieß, was known for being a pronounced Nazi of the Rosenberg-line. His political past is also known in today's Austria."¹¹¹ Haiding was furious and spoke of "an anonymous intriguer," noting that, "if the Forschungsgemeinschaft dared to commission a man abroad with the political past of a Richard Wolfram [former SS-Ahnenerbe], it could also do this with much less reservations toward me".¹¹² He subsequently wanted to convince well-known politicians and scholars to argue in favour of his project, but failed. Until his death he worked on re-establishing "his" *Forschungsstelle* "*Spiel und Spruch*", he tried to expand his collection and to file it systematically with the help from his former collaborator Doris Sauer.¹¹³ Although he was in poor health and despite numerous stays at hospitals and at health resorts he remained professionally active.¹¹⁴ Karl Haiding died on March 20, 1985.¹¹⁵ A funeral service was held at the Graz crematorium¹¹⁶ and afterwards he was buried in the Hietzing Cemetery in Vienna.¹¹⁷

108 Haiding to Viktor Theiß, Sept. 8, 1953. StLA, A. Theiß, Viktor, Nachlass: K.1/H.13.

109 Folklorist Gerhard Heilfurth was a former member of the NSDAP, Hitler Youth, SA and other other NS formations. Cf. BA NS 15/717 Heilfurth Gerhard.

110 Haiding to Heilfurth, June 3, 1960. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

111 See the expert's report, cited in Heilfurth to Haiding, Nov. 9, 1961. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

112 Haiding to Heilfurth, Nov. 13, 1961. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH.

113 Note Haiding's from Sept. 17, 1983. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Haiding got money from the Austrian Research Funds. Haiding to Herwigh, May 31, 1983. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Cf. also Sauer, *Erinnerungen*, 166.

114 Cf. e.g. the correspondence with Erna Haiding when he stood at a health resort. UMJ, Trautenfels, NL KH. Q.v. letters from Haiding, to be found in the legal estate of Tremel. StLA, A. Tremel, Ferdinand, Nachlass: K.1/H.11.

115 The definite place of death is not indisputable. It's safe to say it was somewhere in Styria. Jontes mentions the hospital of Rottenmann (Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 22), Kammerhofer-Aggermann the hospital of Graz (Kammerhofer-Aggermann, Haiding, 40) and Stainach (Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 50).

116 On the ceremony cf. Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 22.

117 A photograph of the gravestone is to be found in Jontes, *Geburtstag*, 22.

Conclusion

Bockhorn notes that although Austrian National Socialist *Volkskundler* [ethnologists] were removed from their posts in 1945, “all of them – albeit by different means – returned in the fifties, and picked up professionally from where an unfair twist of fate, as they perceived it, although which now united them, had interrupted their work for [the case], i.e. *Volkskunde*.”¹¹⁸ At the same time it should be noted that these people mourned the “good old times” when they had been powerful. In doing so, they ultimately changed their role from perpetrator to victim. Accordingly Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann state, “Karl Haiding can be counted among the garde of ‘two-hundred percenters’ and unrepentant National Socialists, and he can certainly not be counted among those who were forced to carry out their functions.”¹¹⁹ However, in his autobiographical documents, Haiding’s post-war career is depicted as a long and burdensome ordeal – without any reflection on the role he once played, on his work and his deeds during the period of National Socialism. He never regarded himself in any way as perpetrator or an abettor to a criminal regime; to him the discontinuity after 1945 did not mean any ideological or biographical break (as was also the case with many other former leading National Socialists).¹²⁰ For incomprehensible reasons Haiding managed to escape denazification, he was not even imprisoned, and ended up regarding himself as a victim. After 1945, contrary to some friends and colleagues, he ostensibly could not continue his academic career (in the sense of being appointed to a professorship at a university) and was “only” director of a museum and honorary professor at Graz University. Nonetheless he continued to work in a scholarly capacity and was also well connected to the scholarly community. Despite his many awards, Haiding felt that he and his work were not sufficiently appreciated. From his point of view, he only gained recognition within a network that he had already built occupationally and privately before

118 Bockhorn, Kampf, 31. He also published a list of names and people’s positions in the scientific scene after 1945. The “amazing rehabilitation and re-integration into the Austrian *Volkskunde*” is described in detail in „Dritter Akt: Zwischen Geist und Materie – Volkskunde nach 1945“ in Jacobeit et al., eds., *Wissenschaft*, 590.

119 Dow and Kammerhofer-Aggermann, *Volkskunde*, 35.

120 Cf. for the area of Styria also Ursula Mindler, „... weil Portschy trotz seines hohen Ranges neben Uiberreither keine wesentliche Rolle in der NSDAP gespielt hat...“. Handlungsspielräume regionaler nationalsozialistischer Eliten am Beispiel der Biographie von Tobias Portschy, in: *zeitgeschichte* 36/3 (2009), 165–182. For the question of self-representations of National Socialist elites q.v. Christine Müller-Botsch, *Biograficanalysen unterer NSDAP-Funktionäre – ein Fallbeispiel*, in: Helgard Kramer, ed., *NS-Täter aus interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, München 2006, 327–347; Lahusen, *Interpretation*.

1938 and which was based on the *Wandervogel* movement. This network survived all political upheavals and changes and was constantly based on the idea of both exclusion and inclusion which was still valid although the parameters had changed. During National Socialism Wolfram and Haiding, for example, had been representatives of two rival research institutions (*SS-Ahnenerbe*, *Amt Rosenberg*) which both demanded exclusive positions while excluding each other. On the contrary, after the war and despite these barriers and former antagonisms they grew closer to one another, suggesting the “inclusion” of leading former National Socialist scholars into networks based now on the link of *völkisch*-National Socialist “tradition” in a society that had nonetheless changed its values in the meantime. In this context they redefined shared concepts of the enemy (such as the “subversive left wing *Volkskunde*”) and created a new “alliance” based on the idea of inclusion and exclusion. This did not necessarily mean personal friendships but there was a connectional basis which made the setting of concerted goals possible.

Much has already been written in detail about the relationship between the discipline of *Volkskunde*, and National Socialist ideology and the exercise of power. Scholars’ opinions differ on Karl Haiding’s effective power during National Socialism – the documents available suggest that it must not be underestimated.

After 1945 Haiding took advantage of living in a country and under political conditions which were amenable to quickly re-integrating former National Socialists rather than forcing them to confront their past. Thus neither in Haiding’s academic writing on the subject of *Spielforschung* nor in his body of thought was there ever a break with or a reinterpretation of the *völkisch*-National Socialist ideologies.