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Modernity, Horses, and History in Joseph Roth's *Radetzky*

In his 1938 sketch 'Im Bistro nach Mitternacht' ['In the Bistro After Midnight'], Joseph Roth, chronicler of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in his best-known novel *Radetzky* (1932), wrote of his nocturnal wanderings in the quarters of interwar Paris. First published in *Die Zukunft* on 11 November 1938, the day following the destruction of *Kristallnacht*, the sketch portrays an old Parisian taxi driver who has lived through fundamental technological and social changes in Europe which have dramatically affected his occupation: 'All his life he had been a coachman. But then, when the human age for horses, the era when the equine race was involved with the human race, came to an end, he had become a driver'.¹ The driver's nightly alcohol-fuelled vigil at the bistro was, for Roth, 'possibly in melancholy tribute to these long-since-slaughtered beasts'² who had accompanied him on his routes through Paris.

The driver's outburst on the evolving nature of his employment incorporates a significant reflection on the role of horses and their relation to the modern world:

I know why the world is coming to grief, because I used to be a coachman. It's conscience – gentlemen – conscience has been eradicated. It's been replaced by authorization. It used to be that every man had his own conscience. And he behaved accordingly. Even my horses had a conscience. Nowadays, here's an example from my working life: You're perfectly entitled to run someone over, so long as he's not on a pedestrian crossing. [. . .] Horses are what I know, gentlemen! Every horse would hesitate when someone ran across the road in front of it. My taxi doesn't hesitate. My horses had a conscience. My car has authorization. That's where I see the distinction. In my day, when I was still a coachman, even a diplomat used to have a conscience. Today, now that I'm a driver, even a member of parliament only has powers.

No more conscience in the world! No more horses!³

Although this singular voice may initially appear to accord with the attitude to history that has seen Roth labelled 'the enemy of Modernity'⁴ – a perception strongly shaped by

the nineteenth-century world of *Radetzky* and the notion that the author embraced an idealised vision of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – the Parisian coachmen’s experience of modernising changes in society was, in fact, like Roth’s, more complex. As Nicholas Papayanis explains, the coachmen of Paris largely ‘accepted this technological transformation without protest. While in theory the introduction of the motor cab might have had a devastating effect on the occupation of coachmen, in reality the motorized vehicle accomplished for coachmen all that the horse-drawn cab had and in the process made the workday easier and more efficient’.⁵ In 1896, with a growing number of motor vehicles planned for the streets of Paris, *La Nature: Revue des sciences* observed: ‘Paris [...] shall cease being a horse’s hell: we can only applaud this humanitarian progress and wish all success to the first motor cab’.⁶

Thus, by 1938 and the publication of ‘Im Bistro nach Mitternacht’, horse-drawn taxis in Paris constituted an increasingly anachronistic vestige of the pre-war past, and Roth’s coachman speaks more for the ideals Roth associated with the nineteenth century than for the specifics of labour, transport, and technology in the early twentieth century. In contrast to the moral order of nature and conscience valued by the coachman, qualities perfectly embodied in Roth’s article by the horse, as early as 1895 *La Voie publique*, an independent cab owners’ publication, embraced the order and harmony of the new mechanised technology, noting that ‘the horse can be easily frightened, vicious, sick, hungry, thirsty or very tired; it can strike out or make a very sudden movement capable of causing an accident’.⁷ On this view, technology, or authorization, controlled and regulated such unpredictable natural outbursts.

Roth’s journalistic attention to the horse is not, then, simply a lament for an age gone by. Rather, it marks a combination of reflection on the urban landscape of the present and an exploration of the moral concerns of the past. The horse’s changing role,

and its perceived passing from quotidian history, affords Roth, both here and in *Radetzkymarsch*, a characteristically nineteenth-century subject as a means of interrogating historical development. Likewise, in its rich delineation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its portrayal of successive generations of the Trotta family, *Radetzkymarsch* devotes extensive attention to horses, frequently representing them symbolically and emphasising their important place in human cultural and economic exchanges, but also reiterating their materiality and corporeality, thereby foregrounding equine rhythms as a counterpoint to the emerging cadences of modernity. As will be examined in detail below, in *Radetzkymarsch* Roth employs the horse as a figure for evoking the sensorial qualities of the past in relation to nature and place, but also as a powerful residual symbol of diverse traditions that underscores the rapidly changing politics, society and culture of empire during the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I.

As Gina M. Dorré points out, in the nineteenth century ‘the horse emerged as an accessible and evocative signifier of the losses, crimes, and crises of humanity, in which the sin of modernization in the cultural imagination was nature, both human and animal, deformed by the preferences of the amoral, industrial, economic machine’.⁸ In his daily contact with urban modernity through his journalism, Roth views horses as representatives of a moral order traduced by technology and modernity. In an article entitled ‘Zwei’, published in *Der Neue Tag* on 6 October 1919, Roth observed the public reaction to the death throes of a neglected horse that ‘had been, once again, so unreasonable as to collapse on the street’.⁹ In ‘Spaziergang’ (‘Going for a Walk’), published in the *Berliner-Börsen Courier* on 24 May 1921, Roth began: ‘What I see is the day in all its absurdity and triviality. A horse, harnessed to a cab, staring with lowered head into its nosebag, not knowing that horses originally came into the world without cabs’.¹⁰ According to Thomas Düllo, such aspects of Roth’s journalism record ‘the levelling of

the authentic experience of nature',¹¹ and this attitude also informs Roth's fiction. In *Tarabas, Ein Gast auf dieser Erde* (1934) [*Tarabas, A Guest on Earth*], he wrote of the eponymous character's homecoming to an agrarian Europe from the supreme site of urban modernity, New York, where the *Expressmen's Monthly* had announced on September 15, 1895 that 'The day of the horse is doomed'.¹² Returned from this scene of equine obliteration, Tarabas finds compassion in the luminosity of the animal gaze:

Only the horses had really welcomed Tarabas. He felt how much he loved them. He stroked the shining chestnut bodies, hot after the drive, laid his forehead against each one's forehead, inhaled the vapour from their nostrils and felt the good coolness of their leathern skin. All the love in the world seemed to him to shine out of their large eyes.¹³

The idea of modernity constituting a sense of loss connected to the decline of human contact with the animal world has been influential. John Berger's 'Why Look at Animals', in *About Looking* (1980), echoes Roth's view of the end of the era 'when the equine race was involved with the human race'¹⁴ and scrutinises a modernity founded on the separation of man and animals owing to industrial capitalism, a process 'by which every tradition which has previously mediated between man and nature was broken. Before this rupture, animals constituted the first circle of what surrounded man'.¹⁵ Berger's essay, as Steve Baker notes, puts forward 'the idea of the inauthenticity of urban experience' and articulates a 'specifically urban or metropolitan loss, [in which] the relation of animals and humans is characterized by Berger as one of an absence of contact, which is epitomized by the pathos of an unrecognizing looking, and imperfectly-met gaze'.¹⁶

This focus on reciprocity and the gaze, which features in *Tarabas*, also figures in the post-war setting of Roth's *Die Rebellion* (1924), in which war veteran, street performer and wife seeker Andreas Pum visits the shelter of his donkey, Muli: 'There was light enough to see its eyes. They were big in the dark and amber yellow. They were damp, as though filled with sadness, but still reluctant to cry'.¹⁷ Later, on losing both economic security and the companionship of the animal to the resurgent capitalism of the post-war 1920s, Andreas watches the departure of the now spiritualised and anthropomorphic animal: 'the dear beast, the warm lovely creature. Its eyes had been golden brown, and inside its gray body dwelt a human soul'.¹⁸ What may seem a sentimental moment also operates as critique, with the removal of the animal symbolising an uncertain transition from old to new: the donkey, the classic beast of burden, has no place in the new realm of mechanised capitalism. It will not be replaced by one of its own kind.

Roth's writing, a product of the author's urban experience of Europe's capitals, echoes Berger's 'metropolitan loss' and posits a decline in animal and human interaction to offer a lament for human sympathy, an idea delivered more generally in *Radetzky* in its evocation of the period 'before the Great War . . . [when] it was not yet a matter of indifference whether a man lived or died'.¹⁹ Indeed, in modern European literature the transitions of modernity, such as those expressed by Roth's Parisian coachman, are often predicated on the decline of contact between horses and humans, much of which connects to Weberian and Frankfurt School understandings of the disenchantment of modernity. Roth's treatment of horses offers a parallel to elements of social and political thought in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, especially those emerging from Marxist interpretations of non-synchronism, such as Ernst Bloch's *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (1935) (*Heritage of Our Times*), which focus on the presence in modernity of disappearing traces of former social and cultural realities.²⁰

Changing human interaction with horses coincides with the emergence of a brutalised age, especially in the context of the First World War, with no-man's-land associated with the development of the mechanised tank in a landscape that also serves as the muddy grave of the horse. Echoing the celebrated depiction of wounded horses on the battlefield in Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929) [*All Quiet on the Western Front*], Robert Graves wrote in *Goodbye to All That* (1929) that 'I was shocked by the dead horses and mules; human corpses were all very well, but it seemed wrong for animals to be dragged into war like this'.²¹ Such reflections continue a tradition of the plight of horses symbolising or triggering the emotional crises of modernity, from Rashkolnikov's dreams of the brutal beating of a horse in *Crime and Punishment* to Nietzsche's mental breakdown, reportedly on seeing the whipping of a horse in Turin in 1889.²² An encounter with the brutalization of the equine frequently punctures the soundscapes of the urban metropolis in literary modernism, notably in Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907), where Stevie, later the victim of extreme technological violence, responds to 'dramas of fallen horses, whose pathos and violence induced him sometimes to shriek piercingly in a crowd'.²³

Stevie's experience illustrates an important shift in treatments of the equine in a modern urban setting. In contrast to emotive nineteenth-century representations, Modernism saw the 'discrediting of sympathetic and sentimental engagement with animals in the aesthetic sphere'.²⁴ Roth's *Die Rebellion* strongly ironizes Andreas Pum's attachment to animals by reiterating his simplicity and political naivety in the context of the emerging political and economic forces of the post-war world, and Roth's work ultimately offers a Janus-faced gaze that regards horses both emotively *and* as a focal point for scrutinising changing political, social and cultural landscapes. *Radetzky* illustrates this method by first drawing conventional attention to 'the bony mares in

harness' that 'clattered from the station to the hotel, from the hotel to the border and back into the little town'.²⁵ However, there is a concurrent contrasting of the splendour of horses at the centre of imperial history and those engaged in the routine labour of the borderlands of empire. This contrast is at its most marked when Roth renders the spectacle of the imperial cavalry and the martial spirit of the empire alongside a corresponding portrait of the unsung labour of anonymous beasts:

Twice a week, the regiment rode through the streets of the little town. The metallic blare of the trumpets interrupted, at regular intervals, the regular clatter of the horses' hooves, and the red trousers of the riders on the sleek, chestnut bodies of their mounts filled the town with a kind of sanguinary splendour. People stopped by the roadside to watch. The shopkeepers left their shops, the idle patrons of the cafés left their tables, the town policemen their regular posts, and the peasants, who had come from their villages to the marketplace with fresh vegetables, their horses and carts. Only the drivers of the few cabs that waited near the town park remained seated impassively on their boxes. From their elevation, they had an even better view of the spectacle than the people standing by the roadside. And the old horses seemed to greet the dazzling arrival of their younger and healthier fellows with dull equanimity. The cavalry steeds were distant cousins of those drab nags who, for fifteen years, had done nothing but pull cabs to the station and back. (64-65)²⁶

This passage illustrates a number of important responses to horses that recur throughout the novel: the physicality of the animals, the positioning of horses as part of a network of animal relations that form a counterpart to the bonds of family and nation in the rest of the novel, and the spectacle of the cavalry as an equine embodiment of the empire.

Radetzky opens with Joseph von Trotta, infantryman and descendant of Slovenian peasants, saving the life of Emperor Franz Joseph in the midst of the Battle of Solferino (1859), an act which leaves him both ennobled for his services to the Emperor, and feeling 'cut adrift from the long line of his peasant forebears' (8).²⁷ Roth charts the fortunes of the Trottas in relation to their varying proximity and distance from Vienna and the borderlands of the empire, and by the time the novel explores the life of the grandson, Carl Joseph, before the outbreak of the First World War, the geographical focus lies at the outposts of the Austro-Hungarian frontier with Russia.

Roth engages in a dialogue with specific aspects of the equine as a means of sharpening his focus on the shifting periods of Austrian history. According to Malcolm Spencer, *Radetzky* symbolically contrasts ‘a Western modernity that is “artificial” with an Eastern premodernity that is “natural”’,²⁸ while Peter Branscome has explored nature symbolism in the novel, particularly how birds, such as ravens and geese, feature as portents of death, calamity, and ‘the evil signs of modernity’.²⁹ Horses likewise emerge as a natural, pre-modern force, employed to bring into relief the effects of modernity on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the three generations of Trottas, and other central characters. A case in point is Carl Joseph’s friend, Dr. Max Demant, who ‘came from one of the villages in the eastern marches of the Empire’ (84).³⁰ This Eastern pre-modernity evokes the equine. Around Demant lingers a ‘smell of dung and milk and horses and hay’,³¹ and ‘With strong hands, he unharnessed the horses himself and led them to his stables’ (84).³² In the midst of this world, horses are living embodiments of an historical and natural constant, something that becomes especially pointed to Demant before the duel which will end his life: ‘the bells rang out bravely, the chestnut horses lifted their cropped tails and dropped large, yellow steaming balls of dung on to the snow. Suddenly, the regimental doctor, who had been indifferent to animals all his life, felt nostalgia for his mount. It will outlive me! He thought’ (117).³³

A number of elements in the novel, such as the rescuing of Emperor Franz Joseph’s portrait from a brothel, symbolise ‘an historical process’,³⁴ and horses are significant here as emblematic sites where the changes wrought by history can be observed. For example, in the borderlands of the empire, concomitantly a site of both the agrarian past and of the political forces that will forge the future breakup of the empire, the appearance of the Cossacks foregrounds a harmony between man and beast that is a mark of Roth’s vision of the past. The Cossacks appear with ‘[their] bodies

pressed flat against their horses' backs, the mouths of man and horse side by side in brotherly fashion. . . . Their manes lifted like wings, their tails stood upright like rudders, their fine heads were like the trim bows of a speedy vessel' (145).³⁵ The image, however, becomes 'an enormous chimera-like hybrid of man and horse, a flying Cyclops' (145).³⁶ Here, the equine at once brings together both European mythology and the emerging technology of weaponry and naval transport that will transform Europe through the First World War, as harmony between man and nature gives way to the experimental age of science and chemistry. As Count Chojnicki remarks: 'Electricity and nitroglycerine will be the end of us. You'll see, it won't be long now, it won't be long at all!' (177).³⁷

If the presence of horses allows Roth to convey a sense of changing time and place in *Radetzky* in the traditions of realist fiction, it has also been argued that the novel 'depicts an aesthetic transition from realism to a modernist subversion of realist conventions'.³⁸ Since Georg Lukács labelled Roth a '*Schriftsteller-Realist*'³⁹ in 1939 and deemed *Radetzky* a work of historical fiction, the text has become central not only to an understanding of Roth's treatment of Austrian history and culture, but also to his positioning as a Modernist author. Margarete Johanna Landwehr asserts that although '*Radetzky* appears at first glance to be a realistic historical novel, this realist paradigm is undermined' throughout the text, with the narrator consistently drawing attention to 'the inadequacy of an anachronistic novelistic form for depicting twentieth-century reality'.⁴⁰

While in one respect horses figure in *Radetzky* as a means of capturing a particular type of historical realism, such as the equestrian detail found in the paintings of nineteenth-century French artist Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815-91), they are simultaneously employed at key points to foreground the novel's narrative self-

consciousness in relation to historical shifts and impending disintegration. Initially, the cavalry and its routine serve to establish a distinct sense of place, mood and season:

Winter came. When the regiment rode out in the mornings, the world was still in darkness. Thin ice crusts on the roads splintered under the horses' hooves. Clouds of grey vapour spilled out of the muzzles of the animals and the mouths of the riders. (97)⁴¹

On such mornings, 'The officers of the dragoon regiment were waiting for some extraordinary event to interrupt the monotony of their days' (97).⁴² The narrator then foregrounds an historical process unreadable to the dragoons, but repeatedly signposted by the novel's temporal awareness: 'At the time none of them was able to hear the machinery of the great hidden mills that were already beginning to grind out the Great War' (98).⁴³ Such machinery of war, poised to enter the frontier garden of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the winter air fraternally mingles the breath of horse and rider, will splinter this bucolic vision of man and animal, just as the narrator's historical foreshadowing fragments the realist aesthetic of cavalry manoeuvres at daybreak.

Carl Joseph's development is intertwined throughout with the two 'pillars of empire', namely 'the bureaucracy and the military'.⁴⁴ However, just as important is the distinction between the infantry and the cavalry. Part of Carl Joseph's keenly-felt fate lies in his return to the infantry, implying a cyclical reading of familial history alongside the slow decline of the empire, with Carl Joseph journeying away from the imperial prestige of the cavalry that Roth connects to Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian stability:

He would have to switch to the infantry. His mounted comrades felt contempt for foot soldiers, they would feel contemptuous of Trotta when he transferred. His grandfather

[the hero of Solferino] had been nothing more than a plain captain of infantry. Marching on foot over home soil was almost a return to one's peasant forebears. (124)⁴⁵

The competing traditions of infantry and cavalry form part of the novel's 'mythology of masculinity'⁴⁶ while also illustrating the Trotta's dwindling social fortunes by foregrounding the lingering romance of the dragoons. While in general 'aristocratic elements began to melt away'⁴⁷ from the Austrian army as a whole in the late nineteenth century, at the same time 'cavalry regiments remained especially popular with the sons of the nobility, who associated the concepts of "Reiter" [Rider] and "Ritter" [Knight] all too readily'.⁴⁸

Horses and the cavalry, however, are linked not only to the fate of the Trottas, but also to the larger protean subject of Austrian historiography. Writing before the First World War, Dorothea Gerard asserted in *The Austrian Officer at Work and at Play* (1913) that the 'Austrian cavalry officer's ambition' was 'Nurtured upon legends' of 'equestrian feats',⁴⁹ such as those of Andreas Baumkircher (1420-71), who saved the life of Emperor Friedrich III through his daring horsemanship at the siege of Wiener Neustadt by rebel Austrian forces in 1452. Indeed, Emperor Franz Joseph I addressed Baumkircher's place in Austrian military history in 1863, declaring him worthy of 'everlasting emulation'.⁵⁰ An infantryman when he saves the Emperor at the beginning of *Radetzky's march*, the 'Held von Solferino' (hero of Solferino) is rewarded with ennoblement. However, Baron Joseph von Trotta later finds an account of his exploits in his son's history primer and discovers that his deeds have been misrepresented, becoming part of 'the Habsburg myth [in which] the transformation of reality that belongs to every poetic creation is grafted onto a particular historical-cultural process'.⁵¹ In the historical account, Joseph's acts are

wedded to the majesty of the equine that augments the order of the empire, and he appears as a figure from legend:

‘In the Battle of Solferino’ – thus the narrative began – ‘our King and Emperor Franz Joseph I found himself in grave danger.’ Why, Trotta himself even put in an appearance! But in what a transformation! ‘Our monarch,’ it said, ‘had advanced so far in the heat of the battle that he saw himself ringed by enemy horsemen. In that instant of his direst need, a youthful lieutenant galloped up on a sweating bay mare, swinging his sabre. Whish! How the blows came down on the heads and necks of the foe!’ (10)⁵²

Horses are written into the centre of the historical record. When Trotta questions the Ministry of Education as to the transformation of his deeds, explaining that ‘I’ve never served in the cavalry’ (11),⁵³ he is given a clear lesson in the appropriate transmission of historical knowledge and the ideological power of historical narrative:

It has long formed part of our educational philosophy to depict heroic actions by our military personnel to the schoolboys and schoolgirls of the Monarchy, in such a way as to render them conformable to both the childish character, and to the imagination and patriotic feeling of the coming generation - not altering the substance of the events depicted, but avoiding a drily factual tone that discourages patriotic feeling and fails to fire the imagination. (12)⁵⁴

Joseph’s adherence to historical fact in the face of the falsified record positions him against the controlling narrative of the empire, one that seeks to draw upon the equine to preserve its symbolic and territorial integrity. This strengthens Roth’s thematic focus on the tensions existing within the Empire, especially the borderlands and the competing narratives of national aspirations that will ultimately undermine the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Preferring to be a *Ritter* [knight] rather than *Reiter* [rider], Joseph is interested in historical truth, labelled the ‘knight of Sipolje, the knight of truth’ (12).⁵⁵

This stance against the twisting of the historical record and the marshalling of equine nobility for patriotic propaganda exists alongside Joseph's subsequent departure from the army to become 'a little Slovenian peasant' who 'saddled and bridled his chestnut horses himself' (14).⁵⁶ Further, physical traits and behavioural characteristics betray an equine association that has passed hereditarily to his son, Franz, who 'sat upright at the table, as though holding a pair of reins in his hard hands' (30).⁵⁷ When his grandson, Carl Joseph, later joins the Xth Dragoons, his eyes are initially 'drunk with [their] own new glory' in the light of his 'scarlet cavalry trousers' (38).⁵⁸ Importantly, though, the ostensible turn-of-the-century splendour of the cavalry merits closer scrutiny, and Carl Joseph is aware that he himself is 'cut such a wretched figure on horseback' (70),⁵⁹ with such external evidence confirmed by his internal sensations: 'Sometimes he thought he felt the blood of his ancestors in his veins: they had been no horsemen' (65).⁶⁰

Indeed, it is possible to read Carl Joseph's changing relation to the equine as symbolic of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's movement away from myths of nobility and heroic exploits to an encounter with modern alienation and disaffection. When Carl Joseph is a member of the cavalry, Roth employs the leitmotif of the jangle of spurs – the identifying mark of cavalymen – at times when the characters are in existential doubt. Spurs chime or jingle throughout as markers of not only their status as members of the cavalry, but also as signs of their place within the hierarchy of empire. When Demant believes Carl Joseph is having an affair with his wife, 'the jingle of his spurs solaces him' (94),⁶¹ while their reconciliation is marked by the two friends 'march[ing] along in step, their spurs jingl[ing]' (94-95).⁶²

Yet the solace offered is false. When Demant becomes involved in a duel, a question of honour, the men in the barracks' mess find 'their spurs failed to jingle, their

swords did not rattle, their boots crept silently over a silent surface' (103).⁶³ In place of the expected acoustic accompaniment provided by the sartorial trappings of the cavalry, there is only silence. This falling silent of the spurs presages the crisis that overcomes Carl Joseph when he is transferred to a distant infantry post. Here, geographically remote from the pomp and pageantry of Vienna, the horse, symbol of Austro-Hungarian greatness elsewhere in the novel, becomes a signifier whose signified is no longer clear. Cast adrift at the edge of empire, the infantrymen become addicted to a rudimentary casino that opens in the town. Carl Joseph's colleague, Wagner, becomes heavily indebted and seeks Carl Joseph's help. For Wagner, Carl Joseph can help by selling him his horse so that he can place it down as surety against his bets, but Carl Joseph fails to see the value:

'Sell me your horse!' 'I'll give it to you!' said Trotta, moved. You're not allowed to sell a present, not even temporarily, thought the Captain, and he said: 'No, sell it to me!' 'Take it!' Trotta begged him. 'No, I'll pay for it!' insisted the Captain. (198)⁶⁴

In this dialogue we see a struggle between two camps: the traditional, embodied by Wagner, who is desperate to place value on the horse (and whose sense of tradition prevents him from taking it as a gift), and Carl Joseph, the modern, who sees the equine and its rich heritage of imperial symbolism as effectively worthless. Even when the two come up with the stratagem of selling the horse to Chojnicki so that Carl Joseph can loan Wagner the proceeds, it is difficult to claim the horse has real value: the transaction that takes place is a phantom one with no real exchange – Chojnicki, for whom 'money is nothing' (200),⁶⁵ pays Carl Joseph but immediately loans him the horse for another year. Yet, Roth does not suggest that money is a more meaningful symbol than the equine.

That Wagner should immediately lose the money thus gained, which in turn leads Carl Joseph to begin his ill-fated gambling, leaves the reader in little doubt that money too is an arbitrary sign whose value and accrual are down to little more than chance. The decline of equine symbolism may mirror the decline of the empire, but for Roth, there appears to be no easy substitute for it, confronting the modern everyman, Carl Joseph, with a vacuum.

While most critics have noted that Johann Strauss's *Radetzky-Marsch*, op. 228, forms a recurring motif for the military in the novel, from their visits to the brothel to cavalry parades, the important spectre of Field Marshall Joseph Radetzky (1766-1858), after whom Strauss's piece is titled, has been overlooked. In the context of the Austrian history and culture explored in *Radetzky*, Radetzky's name evokes a close association with equestrian achievement, for, as Alan Sked notes, Radetzky was 'one of the last great commanders to supervise battles from horseback'.⁶⁶ In 1829, Radetzky had written *Ueber den Werth der österreichischen Kavallerie, und einige Mittel ihn zu heben* (*On the Value of the Austrian Cavalry and Some Means to Raise It*), expressing concern about the 'greatly diminished value of our cavalry', while earlier, in 1807, Radetzky had established the *Equitationinstitut* (Military Riding School) at Wiener Neustadt, 'set up to nurture the art of riding'.⁶⁷

However, the period charted in *Radetzky* was characterised by concerns about the position of the Austrian cavalry and its fitness for the military challenges of the modern world. Indeed, changes to the cavalry were directly linked to the onset of imperial decline. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Captain Illia Woinovits of the Austrian General Staff addressed the fact that the 'distinction between heavy and light cavalry was abolished after the war of 1866', a conflict which had seen Austria defeated by Prussia, and an Imperial edict of July 1869 had 'decreed that the whole of the cavalry

was to be mounted on the same class of horse'. From 1874, such changes were a 'vexed question' throughout the empire, with Woinovits left in 'no doubt whatever that the light men and horses of Hungary and Galicia are quite unfit to meet the heavy men and powerful horses of Germany and Russia in the shock of the charge'. Pondering the evolving role of the cavalry and its implications for Austrian power, Woinovits observed that 'the former splendid cavalry of the Austrian Empire has, in appearance at all events, somewhat deteriorated'.⁶⁸

Such contemporary concerns about the appearance and reality of imperial power greatly occupy Roth's work, and *Radetzky* suggests that the Emperor and his court remained oblivious to decline even as the First World War loomed. Far from the borderlands of the empire, where the 'fatherland of the Trottas was crumbling and collapsing in pieces' (327),⁶⁹ the ceremony of power continues in Vienna at the procession of Corpus Christi, where imperial splendour materialises in equestrian glory: 'And there was the Emperor: eight snow-white horses drew his carriage' (211).⁷⁰ This regal equine symbolism, a 'visual performance of the Habsburg Myth',⁷¹ exists, however, forebodingly alongside the compromised avian symbols of Austro-Hungarian unity:

No lieutenant of the Royal and Imperial Army would have been capable of looking on unmoved. And Carl Joseph was one of the most impressionable of lieutenants. He watched the golden gleam that was spread by the procession, and he didn't hear the grim wing-flap of the vultures. Because the vultures were already circling above the Habsburg double eagle, its fraternal foes. (212)⁷²

The Emperor's lack of a grip on the reality of the modern world is brought into sharp focus later in this scene when the Emperor meets Carl Joseph. After the equestrian

spectacle that precedes him, the Emperor reviews his troops on foot and is introduced to Carl Joseph, who has only recently recovered from injuries sustained in a disreputable attack on striking workers:

‘I remember your father very well,’ said the Emperor to Trotta. ‘He was a very modest man, the hero of Solferino!’ ‘Your Majesty,’ replied the Lieutenant, ‘that was my grandfather!’

The Emperor reeled, as though knocked backwards by the colossal time that had suddenly thrust its bulk between the young man and himself. (247)⁷³

The encounter between Carl Joseph and the Franz Joseph, which quite literally takes the Emperor from horseback and brings him down to earth, emphasises the distance that history has placed between the ruler and his modern subjects. Depriving the Emperor of his mounted vantage point, it also signals the novel’s gradual movement away from the symbolism and pageantry of power embodied in the equestrian parade. The equine, Roth’s recurrent symbol of pre-modernity, is all but absent from the novel’s third and final section, in which war is declared and Carl Joseph finds himself leading his platoon into battle, faced not with chivalrous foes atop gallant steeds but the relentless and indiscriminate hail of machine gun fire. In a deliberate echo of the situation that first entangled the lives of the Trottas and the Emperor, Carl Joseph makes himself visible to enemy gunners as he attempts to collect water for his men. As he walks to the imagined sound of ‘the first drumming bars of the Radetzky March’ (350),⁷⁴ there is no jingling of spurs to confer a sense of purpose, nor a young lieutenant on horseback to save him as his grandfather saved the Emperor. He is hit by a bullet to the head and dies instantly.

This mechanistic death can be read as the culmination of Roth's engagement with the complexities and finalities of moving from the pre-modern to the modern in the context of the early twentieth century. A composite chronology of Roth's fictional worlds and his own life would chart a journey from the outbreak of the First World War in the closing pages of *Radetzky* to the post-war period in which Roth emerged as a writer. The disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918-19 threw Roth into an engagement with the changing urban terrain and turbulent politics of the interwar era, a period and socio-political climate that inspired some of his best fiction and journalism. Much of Roth's early work is concerned with *Heimkehrer* and their place in contemporary Europe, those who, unlike Carl Joseph von Trotta, became the surviving veterans of the First World War. Surveying this landscape, filled with the threat of fascism and violence across Europe, horses are employed as incarnations of the broken traditions of the pre-war world. In his writing of the 1920s and 1930s, the ultimate fate of horses is 'always a sight to behold',⁷⁵ with Roth's treatment of the equine both an elegy for a disappearing past and an interrogation of a darkening modernity of uncertainty and doubt.

Notes

¹ Joseph Roth, 'In the Bistro After Midnight', *The White Cities: Reports From France 1925-39*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London, 2004), p. 248. 'Er war sein Lebtag Droschkenkutscher gewesen. Als aber die menschliche Periode, die Menschheitsperiode der Pferde aufgehört hatte, war er Chauffeur geworden'. Joseph Roth, *Werke* 3, p. 825. References to Roth's works in German are to Joseph Roth, *Werke*, 6 vols, eds Klaus Westermann and Fritz Hackert (Cologne, 1989-91).

² Roth, 'In the Bistro After Midnight', p. 249. 'vielleicht in heimwehmütiger Erinnerung an seine längst geschlachteten Tiere'. Roth, *Werke* 3, p. 826.

³ Roth, 'In the Bistro After Midnight', pp. 249-50. 'Ich weiß, worin das Unheil der Welt besteht, weil ich ein Kutscher war. Das Gewissen nämlich, meine Herren, das Gewissen ist ausgelöscht. Es ist durch die Genehmigung ersetzt worden. Früher einmal hatte jeder lebendige Mensch sein eigenes Gewissen. Dem war er verantwortlich. Meine Pferde selbst noch hatten ihr Gewissen. Heute, sehen Sie, um Ihnen ein kleines Beispiel aus unserem Beruf zu geben: Außerhalb jener Nägel, die man über die Straßen gelegt hat, darf man einen Menschen überfahren. [. . .] Ich kenne die Pferde, meine Herren! Jedes Pferd hat gezögert, wenn ein Mensch über die Straße gelaufen kam. Mein Taxi zögert nicht. Meine Pferde hatten Gewissen. Mein Motor hat die Genehmigung. So sehe ich den Unterschied in allen Dingen. Zu meinen Zeiten, als ich noch Kutscher war, hatte sogar ein Diplomat Gewissen. Heute, da ich Chauffeur

bin, hat sogar ein Abgeordneter nichts mehr als Befugnisse. Kein Gewissen mehr in der Welt! Kein Pferd!' Roth, Werke 3, p. 826.

⁴ Ian Reifowitz, 'Nationalism, Modernity, and Multinational Austria in the Works of Joseph Roth', in *Austria in Literature*, ed. Donald G. Daviau (Riverside, 2000), p. 120.

⁵ Nicholas Papayanis, *The Coachmen of Nineteenth-Century Paris: Service Workers and Class Consciousness* (London and Baton Rouge, 1993), p. xiv.

⁶ Papayanis, *Coachmen of Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 193.

⁷ Papayanis, *Coachmen of Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 202.

⁸ Gina M. Dorré, *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 27.

⁹ 'Ein Pferd war wieder einmal so unvernünftig gewesen, auf dem holprigsten Pflaster einer engen Gasse zusammenzubrechen'. Roth, Werke 1, p. 50.

¹⁰ Joseph Roth, *What I Saw: Reports From Berlin, 1920-33*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London, 2003), p. 23. 'Was ich sehe, ist der lächerlich unscheinbare Zug im Antlitz der Straße und des Tages. Ein Pferd, das mit gesenktem Kopf in den gefüllten Hafersack sieht, vor eine Droschke gespannt ist und nicht weiß, daß Pferde ursprünglich ohne Droschken zur Welt gekommen sind'. Roth, Werke 1, p. 564.

¹¹ 'Die Nivellierung der authentischen Naturerfahrung'. Thomas Düllo, *Zufall und Melancholie*:

Untersuchungen zur Kontingenzsemantik in Texten von Joseph Roth (Münster, 1994), p. 87. For a discussion of Roth's socialist political leanings in his early journalism, see Uwe Schweikert, 'Der rote Joseph: Politik und Feuilleton beim frühen Joseph Roth (1919-1926)', in *Joseph Roth: Text + Kritik Sonderband*, ed. Heinz Ludwig Arnold (Munich, 1974), pp. 40-55.

¹² Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 2007), p. 174.

¹³ Joseph Roth, *Tarabas, A Guest On Earth*, trans. Winifred Katzin (Woodstock, 2002), p. 34. 'Die Pferde allein hatten Tarabas erkannt. Zärtlichkeit erfüllte ihn, er streichelte die heißen, rostbraunen, glänzenden Leiber, legte seine Stirn an die Stirn jedes Tieres, atmete den Dunst ihrer Nüstern und fühlte die wohlige Kühle der ledernen Haut. In den großen, glänzenden Augen der Pferde glaubte er alle Liebe der Welt zu sehen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 498.

¹⁴ Roth, 'In the Bistro After Midnight', p. 248. 'die Menschheitsperiode der Pferde'. Roth, Werke 3, p. 825.

¹⁵ John Berger, *About Looking* (London, 2009), p. 3.

¹⁶ Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, 2001), p. 14, p. 11.

¹⁷ Joseph Roth, *Rebellion*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London, 2000), p. 72. 'Es war hell genug, daß man seine Augen sehen konnte. Sie waren groß in der Dunkelheit und bernsteingrün. Sie waren feucht, als stünden sie voller Tränen und schämten sich doch zu weinen'.¹⁷ Roth, Werke 4, p. 289.

¹⁸ Joseph Roth, *Rebellion*, p. 81. 'das liebe Tier, das warme, kleine Wesen. Es hatte goldbraune Augen gehabt, und sein grauer Leib barg eine menschliche Seele'. Roth, Werke 4, p. 295.

¹⁹ Joseph Roth, *The Radetzky March*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London, 2002), p. 120. '[V]or dem großen Kriege [...], war es noch nicht gleichgültig, ob ein Mensch lebte oder starb'.¹⁹ Roth, Werke 5, p. 242.

²⁰ Harmut Scheible goes further and sees Roth's writing pointing forward to the work of Herbert Marcuse. See Harmut Scheible, 'Joseph Roths Flucht aus der Geschichte', in *Joseph Roth: Text + Kritik Sonderband*, p. 61.

²¹ Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (London, 1960), p. 218.

²² Also of note here is Freud's case study of Little Hans (1909), whose fears are initiated by an encounter with draught horses in an urban setting.

²³ Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent*, eds Bruce Harkness and S. W. Reid (Cambridge, 1990), p. 13.

²⁴ Philip Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity* (New York, 2008), p. 134.

²⁵ Joseph Roth, *The Radetzky March*, p. 190. All subsequent quotations from *The Radetzky March* in English translation are taken from this edition. Page numbers will follow in brackets. 'den mageren Schindmähren' that 'trabten mit klappernden Hufen vom Bahnhof zum Hotel, vom Hotel zur Grenze und wieder zurück ins Städtchen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 302.

²⁶ 'Zweimal in der Woche fanden die militärischen Übungen im südlichen Gelände statt. Zweimal in der Woche ritt das Regiment durch die Straßen der kleinen Stadt. Der helle und schmetternde Ton der Trompeten unterbrach in regelmäßigen Abständen das regelmäßige Klappern der Pferdehufe, und die roten Hosen der berittenen Männer auf den glänzenden, braunen Leibern der Rösser erfüllten das

Städtchen mit blutiger Pracht. An den Straßenrändern blieben die Bürger stehn. Die Kaufleute verließen ihre Läden, die müßigen Besucher der Kaffeehäuser ihre Tische, die städtischen Polizisten ihre gewohnten Posten und die Bauern, die mit frischem Gemüse aus den Dörfern auf den Marktplatz gekommen waren, ihre Pferde und Wagen. Nur die Kutscher auf den wenigen Fiakern, die ihren Standplatz in der Nähe des städtischen Parks hatten, blieben unbeweglich auf den Böcken sitzen. Von oben her übersahen sie das militärische Schauspiel noch besser als die am Straßenrand Stehenden. Und die alten Gäule schienen mit dumpfem Gleichmut die prachtvolle Ankunft ihrer jüngeren und gesünderen Genossen zu begrüßen. Die Rösser der Kavalleristen waren weit entfernte Verwandte der trüben Pferde, die seit fünfzehn Jahren nur Droschken zum Bahnhof führten und zurück'. Roth, Werke 5, pp. 192-93.

²⁷ 'losgelöst . . . von dem langen Zug seiner bäuerlichen slawischen Vorfahren'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 144.

²⁸ Malcolm Spencer, In the Shadow of Empire: Austrian Experiences of Modernity in the Writings of Musil, Roth and Bachmann (Rochester, 2008), p. 157.

²⁹ 'den üblen Anzeichen der Moderne'. Peter Branscombe, 'Symbolik in Radetzkymarsch', in Joseph Roth: Der Sieg über die Zeit: Londoner Symposium, ed. Alexander Stillmark (Stuttgart, 1996), p. 97. For a detailed study of themes and structures in the novel, see Hansjürgen Böning, Joseph Roths 'Radetzkymarsch': *Thematik, Struktur, Sprache* (Munich, 1968).

³⁰ 'stammte aus einem der östlichen Grenzdörfer der Monarchie'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 210.

³¹ 'schwebte der Geruch von Dünger und Milch und Pferden und Heu'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 210.

³² 'Mit kräftigen Händen spannte er selbst die Pferde aus und führte sie in die Ställe'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 210.

³³ 'Schellen klingelten mutig, die braunen Rösser hoben die gestutzten Schwänze und ließen große, runde, gelbe, dampfende Äpfel in den Schnee fallen. Der Regimentsarzt, dem alle Tiere zeit seines Lebens sehr gleichgültig gewesen waren, fühlte auf einmal Heimweh nach seinem Pferd. Es wird mich überleben! dachte er'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 240.

³⁴ Alan Menhennet, 'Flight of a "Broken Eagle": Joseph Roth's Radetzkymarsch', *New German Studies*, 11:1 (1983), 49.

³⁵ 'Oberkörper waagrecht über dem Leib des Pferdes, den Mund brüderlich an das Maul des Tieres gepreßt . . . Ihre Mähnen erhoben sich wie Schwingen, ihre Schweife standen waagrecht wie Steuer, ihre schmalen Köpfe glichen dem schlanken Bug eines dahinschießenden Kahns'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 262.

³⁶ 'ein riesengroßer, sagenhafter Vogel aus Mensch und Pferdeleib, geflügelter Zyklop'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 262.

³⁷ 'Durch Nitroglyzerin und Elektrizität werden wir zugrunde gehn! Es dauert gar nicht mehr lang, gar nicht mehr lang!' Roth, Werke 5, p. 291.

³⁸ Margarete Johanna Landwehr, 'Modernist Aesthetics in Joseph Roth's "Radetzkymarsch": The Crisis of Meaning and the Role of the Reader', *The German Quarterly*, 76:4 (2003), 398.

³⁹ Georg Lukács, 'Radetzkymarsch', in *Kulturpessimismus und Erzdhlform: Studien zu Joseph Roths Leben und Werk*, ed. Fritz Hackert (Bern, 1967), p. 148.

⁴⁰ Landwehr, 'Modernist Aesthetics in Joseph Roth's "Radetzkymarsch"', 399.

⁴¹ 'Der Winter kam. Am Morgen, wenn das Regiment austrückte, war die Welt noch finster. Unter den Hufen der Rösser zersplitterte die zarte Eishülle auf den Straßen. Grauer Hauch strömte aus den Nüstern der Tiere und aus den Mündern der Reiter'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 221.

⁴² 'Die Offiziere des Ulanenregiments warteten auf irgendein außerordentliches Ereignis, das die Eintönigkeit ihrer Tage unterbrechen sollte'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 222.

⁴³ 'Damals war keiner unter ihnen scharfhörig genug, das große Räderwerk der verborgenen, großen Mühlen zu vernehmen, die schon den großen Krieg zu mahlen begannen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 223.

⁴⁴ Kati Tonkin, *Joseph Roth's March into History* (Rochester, 2008), p. 120.

⁴⁵ 'Man mußte sich also zur Infanterie transferieren lassen. Nicht ohne Mitleid sahen die berittenen Kameraden auf die Truppen zu Fuß, nicht ohne Mitleid werden sie auf den transferierten Trotta sehn. Der Großvater war auch nur ein einfacher Hauptmann bei der Infanterie gewesen. Zu Fuß marschieren über den heimatlichen Boden war fast eine Heimkehr zu den bäuerlichen Vorfahren'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 246.

⁴⁶ Martha Wörsching, 'Misogyny and the Myth of Masculinity in Joseph Roth's Radetzkymarsch', in *Gender and Politics in Austrian Fiction*, eds Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 119, p. 120. For a further discussion of masculinity in the novel, see John Margetts, 'Die

Vorstellung von Männlichkeit in Joseph Roths Radetzky marsch', in Joseph Roth: Der Sieg über die Zeit; Londoner Symposium, pp. 79-95.

⁴⁷ Dorothea Gerard, *The Austrian Officer at Work and at Play* (London, 1913), p. 225.

⁴⁸ Ian Foster, *The Image of the Habsburg Army in Austrian Prose Fiction 1888 to 1914* (New York, 1991), p. 13.

⁴⁹ Gerard, *The Austrian Officer at Work and at Play*, p. 274, p. 272

⁵⁰ 'immerwährenden Nacheiferung'. Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, *Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum Wien: Das Museum und seine Repräsentationsräume*. (Salzburg, 1981), p. 30.

⁵¹ Phillip Manger, "'The Radetsky March': Joseph Roth and the Habsburg Myth", in *The Viennese Enlightenment*, ed. Mark Francis (London, 1985), p. 47.

⁵² '»In der Schlacht bei Solferino« - so begann der Abschnitt - »geriet unser Kaiser und König Franz Joseph der Erste in große Gefahr.« Trotta selbst kam darin vor. Aber in welcher Verwandlung! »Der Monarch« - hieß es - »hatte sich im Eifer des Gefechts so weit vorgewagt, daß er sich plötzlich von feindlichen Reitern umdrängt sah. In diesem Augenblick der höchsten Not sprengte ein blutjunger Leutnant auf schweißbedecktem Fuchs herbei, den Säbel schwingend. Hei! wie fielen da die Hiebe auf Kopf und Nacken der feindlichen Reiter!«' Roth, Werke 5, p. 145.

⁵³ 'Ich habe nie bei der Kavallerie gedient'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 146.

⁵⁴ 'In den Intentionen der hohen sowie auch nicht minder der niederen Schulbehörden ist es gelegen, den Schülern der Monarchie die heroischen Taten der Armeeangehörigen dem kindlichen Charakter, der Phantasie und den patriotischen Gefühlen der heranwachsenden Generationen entsprechend darzustellen, ohne die Wahrhaftigkeit der geschilderten Ereignisse zu verändern, aber auch, ohne sie in dem trockenen, jeder Aneiferung der Phantasie wie der patriotischen Gefühle entbehrenden Tone wiederzugeben'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 148.

⁵⁵ 'Ritter von Sipolje, des Ritters der Wahrheit'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 147.

⁵⁶ A 'kleiner slowenischer Bauer' who 'zäumte und sattelte eigenhändig die Braunen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 149.

⁵⁷ 'Aufrecht saß er am Tisch, als hielte er Zügel in den harten Händen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 163.

⁵⁸ 'trunken vom eigenen neuen Glanz' in his 'knallroten Reithosen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 170.

⁵⁹ 'so schlecht zu Pferd'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 198.

⁶⁰ 'Manchmal glaubte er, in sich das Blut seiner Ahnen zu fühlen: Sie waren keine Reiter gewesen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 193.

⁶¹ 'das Klirren seiner Sporen beruhigt ihn'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 220.

⁶² 'marschieren im gleichen Schritt, ihre Sporen klirren'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 221.

⁶³ 'Ihre Sporen klirrten nicht, ihre Säbel schepperten nicht, ihre Sohlen traten taub einen tauben Boden'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 228.

⁶⁴ '»Verkauf mir dein Pferd!« »Ich schenk's dir«, sagte Trotta gerührt. Ein Geschenk darf man nicht verkaufen, auch nicht vorübergehend, dachte der Hauptmann und sagte: »Nein, verkaufen!« »Nimm's dir!« flehte Trotta. »Ich zahl's«, beharrte der Hauptmann'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 309.

⁶⁵ Chojnicki has 'keine Beziehung zum Geld'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 312.

⁶⁶ Alan Sked, *Radetzky: Imperial Victor and Military Genius* (London, 2011), p. 81.

⁶⁷ Sked, *Radetzky: Imperial Victor and Military Genius*, p. 81, p. 82.

⁶⁸ Captain Illia Woinovits, *Austrian Cavalry Exercise*, trans. Captain W. S. Cooke (London, 1874), p. 1, p. 3, p. 4.

⁶⁹ 'Das Vaterland der Trottas zerfiel und zersplitterte'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 423.

⁷⁰ 'Und der Kaiser kam: Acht blütenweiße Schimmel zogen seinen Wagen'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 321.

⁷¹ Tonkin, *Joseph Roth's March Into History*, p. 133.

⁷² 'Kein Leutnant der kaiser- und königlichen Armee hätte dieser Zeremonie gleichgültig zusehen können. Und Carl Joseph war einer der Empfindlichsten. Er sah den goldenen Glanz, den die Prozession verströmte, und er hörte nicht den düstern Flügelschlag der Geier. Denn über dem Doppeladler der Habsburger kreisten sie schon, die Geier, seine brüderlichen Feinde'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 322.

⁷³ '»Ich erinnere mich noch gut an Ihren Vater!« sagte der Kaiser zu Trotta. »Er war sehr bescheiden, der Held von Solferino!« »Majestät«, erwiderte der Leutnant, »es war mein Großvater!« Der Kaiser trat einen Schritt zurück, wie weggedrängt von der gewaltigen Zeit, die sich plötzlich zwischen ihm und dem Jungen aufgetürmt hatte'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 353.

⁷⁴ 'die ersten trommelnden Takte des Radetzky marsches'. Roth, Werke 5, p. 444.

⁷⁵ 'immer noch eine Sehenswürdigkeit'. Roth, Werke 1, p. 51.