Hambach Castle

Historic and Contemporary Cultural Claims

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

30.000 Menschen zogen 1832 von Neustadt an der Haardt hinauf zur Ruine des Hambacher Schlosses, um für nationale Einheit, Freiheit und Volkssouveränität zu streiten. Seitdem wird dieser Ort immer wieder politisch vereinnahmt. Der Artikel verknüpft Fakten und Interpretationen und setzt diese in Bezug zu Ort, Raum, Bausubstanz und Zeitgeschichte.

Unbeschadet der Neuordnung Europas im Wiener Kongress war es in der zum Königreich Bayern gehörigen Rheinpfalz gelungen, die Errungenschaften der französischen Institutionen fortzuschreiben, was die Pfalz zu einer Hochburg des europäischen Frühliberalismus machte. Die zum Fest führende Initiative ging von Herausgebern diverser Zeitschriften aus und wurde von Redakteuren, Schriftstellern und Vaterlandsvereinen begeistert aufgenommen. Unter den Festteilnehmern waren nicht nur Deutsche der besitz- und bildungsbürgerlichen Opposition, sondern auch zahlreiche Franzosen und Polen. Das Hambacher Schloss wird folglich als Wiege deutscher und europäischer Demokratiegeschichte gesehen.

Die wechselnden Deutungshoheiten der letzten 200 Jahre führten zu regen Bautätigkeiten, neuen Nutzungen und gegensätzlichen Narrativen. Die Weimarer Republik glorifizierte das Hambacher Schloss und auch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland nutzte dessen Symbolkraft. Die CDU-geführte Landesregierung schloss 1982 alle anderen politischen Kräfte von der Planung einer Dokumentationsstätte aus. 1985 stellte die in der Opposition befindliche SPD sich hier dem Besuch Ronald Reagans entgegen.

Das Hambacher Schloss gehört seit 2007 zur Straße der Demokratie und trägt seit 2015 das Europäische Kulturerbesiegel. Und dennoch – oder gerade deshalb – wurde es jüngst von demokratiefeindlichen Kräften der rechtspopulistischen Szenen als Kristallisationspunkt obskurer Geschichtsinterpretationen auserkoren.

ABSTRACT

In 1832, 30,000 people marched from Neustadt an der Haardt up to the ruins of Hambach Castle to fight for national unity, freedom and the sovereignty of the people. Since then, this place has been politically appropriated time and again. The article combines facts and interpretations and relates these to the location, space, building fabric and contemporary history.

Notwithstanding the reorganisation of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, the Rhine Palatinate, which belonged to the Kingdom of Bavaria, succeeded in continuing the achievements of French institutions, making the Palatinate a stronghold of early European liberalism. The initiative leading to the festival came from the publishers of various journals and was enthusiastically received by editors, writers and patriotic associations. Among the participants were not only Germans from the propertied and educated middle-class opposition, but also numerous French and Poles. Hambach Castle is therefore seen as the cradle of German and European democratic history.

The changing interpretations of the last 200 years have led to lively construction activity, new uses and conflicting narratives. The Weimar Republic glorified Hambach Castle and the Federal Republic of Germany also utilised its symbolic power. In 1982, the CDU-led state government excluded all other political forces from planning a documentation centre. In 1985, the SPD, which was in opposition, opposed Ronald Reagan‘s visit here.

Hambach Castle has been part of the *Straße der Demokratie* since 2007 and has borne the European Heritage Label since 2015. And yet - or precisely because of this - it has recently been chosen by anti-democratic forces in the right-wing populist scenes as a crystallisation point for obscure interpretations of history.

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Fig. 1: Hambach festival by Chr. Heinfeld, contemporary pen and ink lithograph, 21.8 x 26.7 cm (1832).

Introduction

This article on Hambach Castle and its associated historic and contemporary cultural claims has to start with the *Hambacher Fest* (Hambach Festival). The Hambach Festival was celebrated on 27–30 May 1832 at Hambach Castle, near Neustadt an der Haardt in the then Bavarian Rhine district, an exclave of the Kingdom of Bavaria.[1] The event was disguised as a non-political gathering in order to circumvent censorship and other restrictions. Approximately twenty- to thirty-thousand people walked up the hill to meet at the ruins of Hambach Castle.[2]

The event was one of the main public demonstrations in support of German unity, freedom, and democracy in the first half of the 19th century, thereby making Hambach Castle an icon of the German democratic movement.[3] Participants came from all layers of society: Workmen, women, students, and members of parliament.[4] They travelled from all over Germany as well as from France, Poland, and even England.[5] The main demands of the meeting were liberty, civil and political rights, as well as national unity.

The festival cemented the combination of black, red, and gold as symbolising a democratic Germany. After World War I, these colours were adopted by the Weimar Republic, and still comprise the flag of the present-day Federal Republic of Germany.

A watercolour painting reproduced in numerous variations[6] shows a joyful procession winding its way up to the castle, comprising women, men, and children in festive dresses, most wearing hats and fine shoes. A marquee is shown to the left of the castle and firecrackers are being set off. The men in the foreground are carrying the black, red, and gold flag. Immediately next to it is the white and red flag of the Polish participants, and on the right edge of the picture the blue, white, and red tricolour of France.

According to the caption, the picture is based on an older black and white sketch. A coloured version is included as Fig. 1, showing the flag in the historically correct reverse order, corresponding to the tricolour introduced by the student fraternities. If we superimpose the two images, we first notice only one flag in the foreground, suggesting that the Polish flag was added later in honour of the officers and soldiers who were forced to flee their homeland.[7] The tricolour has also been edited. Formerly horizontal red, gold, and black stripes, it was later recoloured to depict the vertical bars of the blue, white, and red French tricolour.

Countless variations of this image have been published, differing in their colouring and details. One even shows the procession ascending the hill in the opposite direction. The fact that the modified version (but lacking the French tricolour) found its way onto a German postage stamp in 2007 is therefore rather remarkable.

In 2013 the procession scene was reproduced by Bruno Peeters as a diorama for the *Historical Museum of the Palatinate* (now on display at the Hambach Castle),[8] utilising 402 *Playmobil* figures. It should be mentioned in passing that the Playmobil diorama displays the historically accurate flag of 1832 (gold, red, and black), which is hoisted on the keep.

One of the flags purportedly carried at the Hambach Festival now hangs in the newly remodelled state parliament of Rhineland-Palatinate.[9] Another flag embroidered by Palatinate women with the words *„Deutschlands Wiedergeburt"* is preserved in Hambach Castle.[10] However, the two words, *„Germany's rebirth"*, cannot be clearly assigned: Which German state could one have referred to in 1832, given that unification did occur until several decades later and was not formally completed until 1871?

The Hambach Festival was characterised by numerous speeches, listing more than 20 well-known individuals: The speakers discussed the sad condition of Germany[11]; its insignificance in the council of European nations; its decline in trade and commerce; the division into thirty-eight states[12], large and small, with their different laws, currencies, weights, and measures, and – most of all – the customs barriers between each state.[13] The speech by Johann Georg August Wirth, one of the leading figures of the Hambach Festival, ended with the excla-

Fig. 2: Hambach Castle by Theodor Verhas, watercolour, 10 cm x 15 cm (1839).

mation: *„Cheers! Three cheers for the confederate republican Europe!"*[14]

A delegation of approximately 20 Polish emigrants took part in the procession from the Neustadt marketplace up to the castle ruin. The reason for this was the suppression of the Polish National Government by Russian troops. About 10,000 emigrants (other sources cite significantly higher numbers) fled Poland in the so-called Great Emigration, travelling to France via the German states. They were well received, especially in Saxo-ny, Baden, and Bavaria, where several pro-Polish patronage associations arose. This pro-Polish support expressed at Hambach was the climax of German liberals' enthusiasm for Poland.[15]

Three of the Polish emigrants gave a speech at the Hambach Festival, among these a young ensign, the bearer of the regimental flag. In view of this history, it was certainly logical to invite representatives of the Polish opposition, namely members of the Solidarność trade union, to the 150th anniversary celebrations in 1982. When peace activists proposed this, Germany's ruling Christian Democrat Party vigorously objected.[16] Similarly, the entire history of the festival and the castle concerns repeated attempts at politically motivated inclusion, exclusion, and appropriation.

Building History

In spring of 1832, Hambach Castle was in ruins. The roof and false ceilings were missing and the walls had partially collapsed (Fig. 2). It seems paradoxical that this old manor house became the "cradle of German democracy"![17]

The building's ruinous state was due to its uselessness as a castle, combined with the effects of numerous armed conflicts during the past centuries and many changes of ownership: In the first construction period, it was the Romans and Celts who formed small settlements here.[18]

The Salian dynasty had the first castle built as an imperial fortress in the first half of the 11th century, the so called *Kästenburg* (in High German: Kastanienburg). The name derives from the chestnut trees introduced by the Romans, which still characterise many townscapes in Palatinate.

In the 11th century, the building passed to the cathedral monastery in Speyer, which then owned it for around 700 years. During the Peasants' War (1524–1525) insurgents occupied the castle. According to legend, the zeal with which they quickly and violently smashed the wine barrels stored in the cellar was their undoing, as they subsequently drowned in a flood of the divine drink.[19]

The French then devastated the estate during the Palatinate War of Succession in 1688. The castle fell into disrepair and remained unused. As a result of the French Revolution in 1789 and the occupation of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, it fell to the French state, which had no interest in this symbol of extinct dynasties.

Following the Vienna Congress of 1815, the historic Palatinate region and hence Hambach Castle became part of the Kingdom of Bavaria. Fortunately, Bavarian authorities retained some constitutional rights from the Napoleonic era. Therefore, the formerly French Palatinate became a refuge of last resort for liberal authors and intellectuals.

In 1822, the castle passed into the private ownership of ten Palatinate citizens for 625 guilders.[20] In January 1832 a number of journalists established a democratic association for freedom of the press and speech, which was almost immediately banned by the state government. In turn, the initiators called for a festival at Hambach Castle, as overt demonstrations were prohibited.

The Hambach events prompted the German Federal Convention[21] to issue its decree of 28 June 1832, which once again tightened the Carlsbad Decrees (20 September 1819) and completely suppressed freedom of expression. As a result, three of the four main organisers of the meeting, Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer[22] and the lawyers Friedrich Schüler and Georg Ferdinand Geib, fled the Bavarian Rhine district, while a fourth, Johann Georg August Wirth, decided to stay and was sentenced to two years in prison.

Around ten years after the Hambach Festival, a group of citizens formed who wanted to give the castle to the Bavarian Crown Prince Maximilian[23] on the occasion of his wedding. Perhaps surprisingly, the group included participants from 1832.

After King Ludwig I,[24] the crown prince's father, had accepted the gift, the royal family commissioned August von Voit to draw up plans for the Maxburg.[25] Beforehand, however, the crown prince commissioned the building councillor Friedrich Ziebland draw up site and floor plans and had the civil inspector Ferdinand Jodl conduct a detailed build-ing survey, which remains an impressive elaboration today.[26]

August von Voit designed a palace with the appearance of a fairytale castle in a Gothic Reviv-

al style: Many turrets, walls crowned with battlements, and numerous larger windows, which is why the outer walls had to be demolished down to the lowest storey and then rebuilt with thicker walls to provide sufficient stability.[27]

Construction initially progress well, but stagnated around 1846. This was partly due to the looming revolution of 1848, which culminated in the general assembly of democratic forces at St Paul's Church in Frankfurt. On the other hand, Ludwig's amorous entanglements also played an important role. In 1846, he met and fell in love with the Irish dancer Lola Montez. As this relationship was intolerable in many respects, Ludwig voluntarily abdicated on 20 March 1848 in favour of his eldest son Maximilian.

However, he wanted to continue the construction of Villa Ludwigshöhe in the nearby Edenkoben, which had been in planning since 1843. In these difficult times for the royal family, it was by no means opportune to invest large sums in two prestigious buildings – the villa and Hambach Castle. As a result, the construction of Maxburg Castle ceased.

Anniversaries

Apart from the use of the grounds for family picnics, the castle was only visited on the anniversaries of the Hambach Festival. On the first anniversary in 1833, the Bavarian military controlled the area, despite the fact that the Castle was still private property! In addition, they dispersed all attempts to hold another gathering.[28]

The 40th anniversary of the Hambach Festival was celebrated in 1872, the year after the founding of the German Empire. The focus was on Germany's unification after the war against France.[29] Ten years later, the Social Democrats (still called the Socialist Labour Party of Germany) took the opportunity to commemorate the 50th anniversary. The festival was again commemorated in 1922, by the German Democratic Party, a left-liberal party of the Weimar Republic.[30]

The working group of the Palatinate press was responsible for the 100th anniversary celebrations in 1932: German Unity and Freedom Day was celebrated in this last year of the Weimar Republic. The announcement was dominated by an oversized eagle, as was also customary in the Third Reich.[31] Even then, before the Nazis came to power, they protested against the participation of members of the Jewish religious community. Incidentally, the Nazis were the only party (to date) that did not lay claim to the castle.

In 1956, the town of Neustadt bought the building. The castle itself was in a largely ruinous state, and therefore various smaller construction projects began in the 1960s. The palace building was roofed

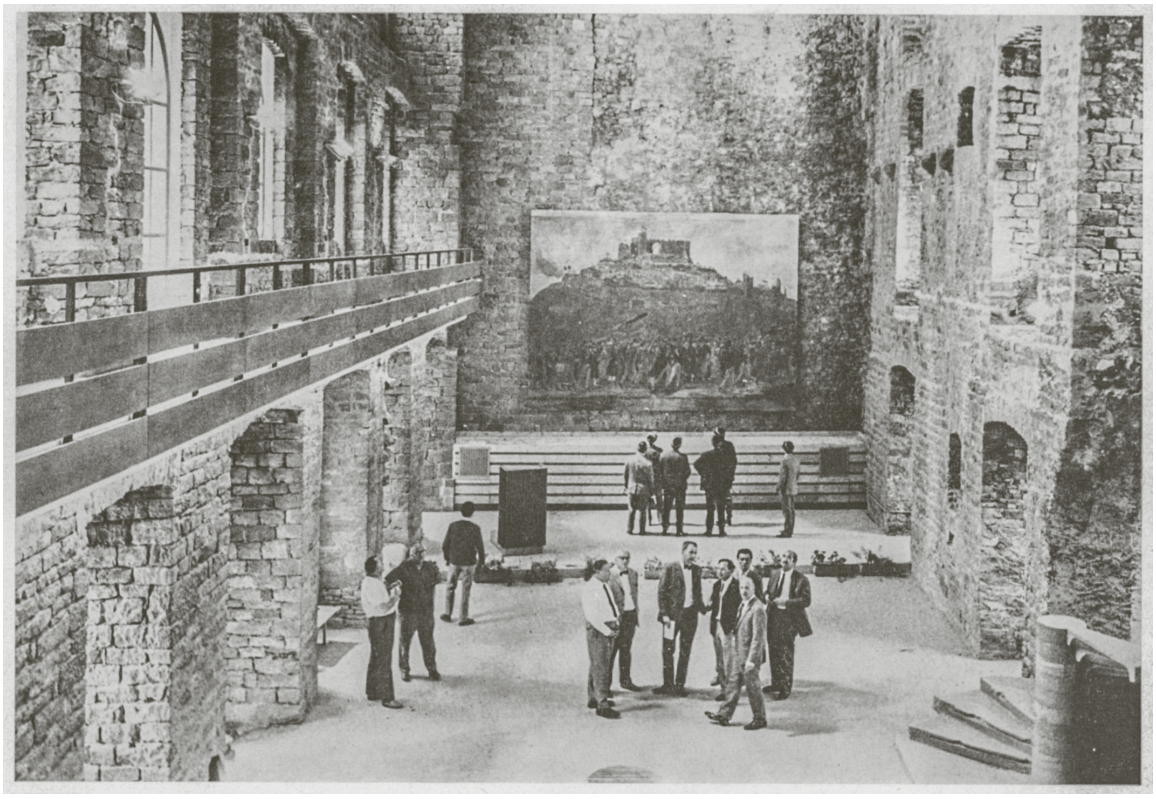

Fig. 3: Hambach Castle's banqueting hall (1969).

and fitted with windows and a heating system, enabling events to be held regardless of the weather. At that time, Hambach Castle was still a "disregarded cradle of the history of democracy."[32]

Contemporary Reconstructions

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary celebrations in 1982, extensive renovation and expansion measures were initiated after the public had been asked for their opinion and general approval seemed to be secured. Whatever the public, like the experts of the time, understood by a reconstruction that was as "true to the original as possible".[33]

The conditions and procedures were the same as at the start of the construction work on the Maxburg, 136 years earlier: Before reconstruction could begin, extensive areas had to be cleaned and dismantled. This was followed by extensive refurbishment of the façades and strengthening of the masonry, with the district of Bad Dürkheim (to which Neustadt belonged at the time) assuming the role of building owner. In the entrance area in particular, the remnants of various demolitions and cancelled renovation measures were left as untouched as possible. The ballroom was redesigned on the basis of conservation considerations, which also included the removal of a gallery installed in the 1960s.[34] Fig. 3 shows representatives of the state monument conservation authorities inspecting the room during the 1960s, with the iconic painting (depicting the 1832 Festival-goers ascending the hill to the castle, see Fig. 1) still hanging on the wall.

In keeping with the taste of the time, the interior was largely finished in wood and wrought iron, with wooden beams being specially procured from the Black Forest.[35] In 1982, 150 years after the Hambach Festival, the work was completed. The German flag fluttered on the keep, and the flags of the village, town, and country stood guard for the festival guests.

Political Utilisation

As Theodor Heuss[36] noted in 1932 at the 100th anniversary of the Hambach Festival: "There have been times when the celebrants only wanted to feel the national German élan, others when all memory gathered around the catalogue of bourgeois freedoms, others who found the undertone of social revolutionary currents as the new and future right of that movement."

On the occasion of the anniversary celebrations in 1982, Minister President Bernhard Vogel of the Rhineland-Palatinate ruling Christian Democrats gave a speech. Representatives of the social-liberal federal government, on the other hand, were not involved.[37] The Greens presented three memorials: a stone for Hiroshima, a tree of life, and the symbol of swords to ploughshares.[38] The processions were led by numerous honourable citizens wearing black, red, and gold sashes. A larger number of hippies – the great countercultural youth movement – also took part in the event, often bare-chested. All in all, countless citizens of all ages and of different social backgrounds took part in the 1982 festival. But without good food and plenty of wine, the festival in the Palatinate would not be conceivable – as pictures of the banquet show.[39]

When US President Ronald Reagan was invited by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Christian Democratic Party to visit Hambach Castle in 1985, the harmony was over: Saarland Minister President Oskar Lafontaine of the Social Democratic Party organised a counter-demonstration on Neustadt's market square, termed a celebration for peace.[40]

After a quarter of a century, remodelling work was due to start again in 2006, mainly affecting the technical building systems. A competition was held for renovation, conversion, and modernisation of the building, which was won by the architect Max Dudler. The ballroom ceiling was replaced, the lighting renewed, and the fire suppression systems brought up to date.

The most visible change was the adaptation of a restaurant on the edge of the plateau. What should it have been called, if not "1832"? But nowhere in Dudler's descriptions is any reference to 'democratic building'.[41] The interventions and extensions were honoured with the German Architecture Prize in 2013.[42]

Continuous maintenance and careful modernisation should be an unavoidable process that must be financed accordingly.[43] The castle's banqueting hall is therefore often used for celebrations, honours, and awards or other official occasions by the district council, local and regional politicians, and even the police and armed forces.[44]

Historical and Contemporary Claims

The Hambach Castle now stands, large and imposing, with the black, red, and gold flag on its tower. It has been used to serve, for example, as the lead

story for the Christian Democratic Union's flyer in the state election campaign. This party would perhaps refer to Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the prize named after him, which was awarded at the castle in 1970.[45]

The liberals go further back, emphasising that their own kind had led the Hambach Festival.[46] No, the Social Democrats will answer: It was the workers and farmers who made up the largest section of the 30,000 protesters. Even the textbooks from the German Democratic Republic contained positive reflections, seeking to commemorate the brush-maker Johann Philipp Becker, a participant in the Hambach Festival and a friend of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

That remains our foundation today: The achievement of social justice, peace among nations, and international solidarity will complement the Left. Yes, internationalisation is an important aspect, as Switzerland can confirm. Without the group of Swiss citizens who advised the Palatinate freedom fighters on questions of grassroots democratic decision-making processes, the Hambach Festival could not have been so successful. In contrast, Germany's western neighbour will claim that the basis was – without question – the French Revolution of 1789.

Furthermore, the contribution of Polish officers and soldiers should not be overlooked. Without their exemplary courage in the fight for Polish autonomy, the wave of enthusiasm in Hambach would not have materialised. But there is still an ecological aspect, since (as the Greens would point out) winegrowers were already struggling with fluctuating climatic conditions back then.

The LGBTQ community might focus on the fact that women were deliberately involved in the discussion process, which meant that gender categorisation took a back seat for the first time.

There are still the eternally *yesterday's people*, who lie about the blue in the sky, propagate a *New Hambach Festival*, and want to introduce a different democracy.[47] They run up to the castle with a roar and carry the flag in its earlier inverted form.[48] To avoid misunderstanding, the recent *Playmobil* diorama felt obliged to revert from that historical flag to the Federal Republic's present-day orientation (black, red, and gold).

Finally, Hambach has significance even for the tourism sector: from their perspective, the Hambach Festival was the first international, extremely successful promotion of Palatinate wine! This potential is utilised today by creating awareness through signage on motorways, and diverse products (ranging from baked goods to deckchairs) displaying the year 1832. Furthermore, a well-known real estate manager – not wishing to be excluded – painted the entire façade of a prominent building in Neustadt city centre to depict a child swinging over Hambach Castle.

Even today, you can't miss the castle. Countless signs and information boards indicate the way up the hill. On festival days, flags are hung, women in historicising costumes hand out flyers, and bread and wine are served under temporary marquees. The motto of 2024 was *„Wine and Democracy"* (not the other way around!).[49] In addition, the group *Friends of Hambach Festival 1832* was honoured by the *Federal Agency for Civic Education* in the *„Active for Democracy and Tolerance"* competition of December 2024.[50]

You could relax, eat, and drink while gazing at Hambach Castle. Chilled drinks were served from large glasses dating from the 175th anniversary.[51] The castle, the flags, and the slogan were not to be missed: Unity and freedom for Germany and Europe! Sitting on a black, red, and gold bench, one may ponder how everything is connected to everything else in the history of European democracy.

It is therefore not surprising that Hambach Castle has been awarded the *European Heritage Label.* Europe begins here, says the plaque – making the castle a symbol of the struggle for civil liberties in Europe, says the short description. Right here at Hambach Castle; right here at Hambach in the middle of the European Union.

End and Thanks

In addition to the work on the general historical background and regional history, the research for this article also included contemporary sources on the reconstruction measures of the 1960s, 1980s, and 2000s. This was supplemented by a study of mostly current local newspaper articles.

Our insights into the current factual situation and mood as well as the monument worthiness and interpretive sovereignty of Hambach Castle were deepened through conversations with scientifically engaged or politically committed respondents.

First of all, special thanks are due to Dr. Kristian Buchna, a research assistant at the Hambach Castle Foundation[52] since 2020, who took time for an intensive exchange in August 2024. The authors

Fig. 4: Hambach Castle and the “1832” Restaurant (2013).

would also like to thank Ruth Ratter, former member (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) of the Rhineland-Palatinate State Parliament, who has been intensively involved for several years in the field of remembrance and remembrance work in the Palatinate district parliament that is close to her heart, and who had a personal conversation with the two authors in September 2024.

The diverse assessments of the appropriations were supplemented by personal memories from Achim Schulze[53] (local SPD chairman, Deidesheim), and feedback from Isabel Mackensen-Geis, who has represented the SPD in the German Bundestag since 2019.

The aforementioned exchanges made it clear that the intangible heritage of the Hambach Festival is clearly in the foreground for today’s actors. To build on this in a contemporary way is the task of all democratic forces. There was also agreement that the actions of populist groups should be viewed critically, and require a defensive public.

For all respondents (as well as for the architects involved in recent decades), the material heritage of Hambach Castle – in the understanding of the genuine, original, or authentic – receded into the background.

Figures

1 Verlag u. Druckerei D. Meininger GmbH (Ed.), *Die Pfalz am Rhein,* Neustadt a. d. W., 1982, p. 189.

2 Hiltrud Funk and Gerhard Hofmann, *Die malerische und romantische Pfalz,* Museum der Stadt Neustadt a. d. W. 2024, p. 33.

3 Landratsamt Neustadt a. d. W. (Ed.), Hambacher Schloß, Ein Denkmal der deutschen Demokratie, Beiträge zur Erneuerung des Hambacher Schlosses, Neustadt / Weinstraße 1969, p. 159.

4 Archives Birgit Franz and Georg Maybaum

Endnotes

1 Located in present day Neustadt an der Weinstraße, Rhineland-Palatinate, southwest Germany.

2 Karl Moersch, *Geschichte der Pfalz, Von den Anfängen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert,* Landau 1987, p. 474–483.

3 Thomas Handrich, *Erinnerungsorte der Geschichte der Demokratie, Auf den Spuren der Demokratiebewegung in Rheinhessen und der Pfalz (1789-1849),* Oppenheim am Rhein 2024, p. 51–54, p. 132–140.

4 Wilhelm Fensterer, *Der ‚gantze Landrath' zog mit hinauf zum Schloss,* in: Anon, Die Pfalz am Rhein, Mitteilungen des Bezirksverbandes Pfalz, Festausgabe: 150 Jahre Hambacher Fest, Mai 1982, No. 3, 55th volume, Neustadt 1982, p. 207–212.

5 Stiftung Hambacher Schloss, *Hambach Castle: Discover History, Experience Culture, Strengthen Democracy* (double-sided printed flyer); Conversation with Kristian Buchna (29 August 2024): Wirth's mention of two participants from Manchester is credible, but has not been substantiated to date: Johann Georg August Wirth, *Das Nationalfest der Deutschen zu Hambach,* Neustadt a. H. 1832 (reprint 1981), p. 14.

6 Watercolour of the Hambach Festival on 27 May 1832, https://www.bpb.de/kurz-knapp/hintergrund-aktuell/508682/vor-190-jahren-hambacher-fest/ (© picture-alliance, akg-images) (29 January 2025).

7 Nahuel Vollmer, *Polnische Fahnen beim Hambacher Fest* [Palatinate Revolution: Polish Flags at the Hambach Festival], in: Die Rheinpfalz (25 October 2024).

8 Neues Exponat: *Playmobil-Festzug hält Einzug im Hambacher Schloss,* in: *Pfalz-Express* (18 March 2015), https://www.pfalz-express.de/neues-exponat-playmobil-festzug-halt-einzug-im-hambacher-schloss/ (29 January 2025).

9 One of the two flags is said to have been in the attic of Palais Schaumburg, the former seat of the Federal Chancellery, during Konrad Adenauer's time. Conversation with Kristian Buchna (29 August 2024).

10 The associated exhibition was recently updated and expanded in terms of media. *Die Rheinpfalz* (19 August 2024), *Animierte Geschichte.*

11 Here, *'Germany'* refers to the ideal image of a united nation: J. W. Wirth 1832 (See note 5) calls the events of 1832 *'The National Festival of the Germans'* and begins his book with the word *'Deutschland…'*.

12 Then as now, 38 states were named, although Hesse-Homburg was already admitted as the 39th state in 1817.

13 The following are named as speakers: Philipp Hepp (Neustadt), Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer (Rheinbaiern), Johann Georg August Wirth (Rheinbaiern), Lucien Ray (Strasbourg), Nikolaus Hallauer (Lichtenberg), Carl Theodor Barth (Lauterecken), Karl Heinrich Brüggemann (Prussia), Friedrich Deidesheimer (Neustadt); Johann Philipp Becker (Frankenthal), Eduard Müller (Mainz), Ludwig Frey (Neustadt), Gottfried Widmann (Würzburg), Franz Joseph Stromeyer (Mannheim), Friedrich Schüler (Saarbrücken) and Johann Jakob Schoppmann (Neustadt) as well as Franz Grzymala, Oranski and Zatwarnicky from Poland.

14 Wirth 1832 (See note 5), p. 48.

15 Klaus-Peter Westrich, *Neustadt und die Polenhilfe um 1832,* in: Anon 1982 (See note 4), p. 237–239, https://rpb.lobid.org/107t01150954.

16 Alfred Mechtersheimer, *Das Hambacher Fest und die Friedenbewegung,* in: Anon 1982 (See note 4), p. 157–158, https://rpb.lobid.org/107t120431.

17 Landratsamt Neustadt a.d.W. (Ed.), H*ambacher Schloß, Ein Denkmal der deutschen Demokratie, Beiträge zur Erneuerung des Hambacher Schlosses 1968/69,* Neustadt/Weinstraße 1969, p. 7.

18 Rudolf Lembcke, *Hambacher Schloß und Hambacher Fest – Bilder aus der Geschichte einer Traditionsstätte der deutschen Demokratie*, in: Ibid., p. 15.

19 Karl Heinz, *Das Hambacher Schloß, Geschichte, Bauperioden, Hambacher Feste,* Neustadt a.d.W. 1982, p. 110.

20 Ibid., p. 113.

21 The German Federal Convention was the only central decision-making institution of the German Confederation.

22 Anke Herbert, *Hambacher Fest lässt grüßen, Es war ein Tag, an dem Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer, einer der Protagonisten des Fests von 1832, stolz auf Neustadt gewesen wäre. Tausende sind aufgestanden, um eine wehrhafte Demokratie unter Beweis zu stellen.* in: Die Rheinpfalz (29 January 2024).

23 Maximilian II. Joseph of Bavaria (* 28 November 1811 in Munich; † 10 March 1864 in Munich) of the Wittelsbach dynasty was King of Bavaria from 1848 to 1864. His marriage to Marie Friederike of Prussia produced Kings Ludwig II and Otto I of Bavaria.

24 Maximilian II's father, Ludwig I (* 25 August 1786 in Strasbourg; † 29 February 1868 in Nice), was King of Bavaria from 1825 to 1848.

25 The term 'Maxburg' for Hambach Castle was first used by the former mayor of Mannheim, Valentin Möhl in the 1840s: Heinz 1982 (See note 19), p. 166.

26 Landratsamt Neustadt a.d.W. (see note 17), Figs. 16–18 and 26–28.

27 Ernst Gall describes these conversions as *„severely impairing the historical building stock"*, in: Georg Dehio, newly edited by Ernst Gall, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Pfalz und Rheinhessen,* München/ Berlin 1951, p. 235–236.

28 Anon 1982 (See note 4), p. 275.

29 Illustrierte Zeitung (22 June 1872), *40 Jährige Gedenkfeier des Hambacher Festes,* https://static.demokratiegeschichte.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/hambacher_fest/ZeitungsberichtJubilaeum1872.jpg (20 January 2025).

30 Anon 1982 (See note 4), p. 276, p. 278.

31 Poster: *100 Jahr-Feier des Hambacher Festes von 1832.* https://static.demokratiegeschichte.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/hambacher_fest/PlakatJubilaeum1932.jpg (20 January 2025).

32 Conversation with Kristian Buchna (29 August 2024).

33 Heinz 1982 (see note 19), p. 16.

34 Ibid., p. 11 ff.

35 At that time, the clients, planners, and contractors were proud to have also used 175,000 kg of cement.

36 Theodor Heuss, first President of the Federal Republic of Germany (1949–1959), in: Wirth 1832/1981 (See note 5), preface, chapter I.

37 In the accompanying interview, Vogel refers to the difference between the legitimised representatives, including himself, and the other groups, who only speak for themselves, in: Heinz 1982 (See note 19), p. 59.

38 Heinz 1982 (See note 19), p. 62.

39 Ibid., p. 38.

40 SPD-Bezirk Pfalz and Jusos Rheinland-Pfalz, *Ein Fest für den Frieden, 153 Jahre Hambacher Fest, Unsere Botschaft an Reagan,* Neustadt a.d.W. 1985, p. 64.

41 Max Dudler, *Umbau und Neubau Hambacher Schloss*, undated, p. 1–10; In the folder accompanying the Hambach Castle Foundation's press release on the ground-breaking ceremony on 26 March 2013 is at least talk of *"immaterial identity".*

42 Wolfgang Bachmann (Ed.), *Rebuilding in the Palatinate – Using Built Spaces, Reviving Places, Saving Resources,* Munich 2022.

43 Die Rheinpfalz (16 March 2024), *150.000 Euro Förderung für das Hambacher Schloss (Federal Programme* „Investments in Nationally Significant Cultural Institutions").

44 Die Rheinpfalz (7 September 2024), *Das hauptberufliche Ehrenamt* (district council/Bezirkstag); Rheinpfalz (2 August 2024), *Abschied am ‚Gipfel der Demokratie'* (Police); Rheinpfalz (18 May 2024), *Stadtrat bekundet Entschlossenheit* (Meeting of the City Council with a contribution from Kristian Buchna); Rheinpfalz (23 March 2024), *Da kann man eben doch was machen* (Honouring the German–American author Nora Krug (*'Belonging'* from 2018) with the Gerty Spies Literature Prize of the State Agency for Civic Education; Rheinpfalz (13 March 2024), *Preisträger gekürt. Neustädter Verein erhält Abresch-Preis – Freiheitspreis für russische Aktivistin* (Honouring Irina Scherbakowa).

45 Konrad Adenauer Prize, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konrad_Adenauer_Prize (20 January 2025).

46 FDP, Election advertising, undated, Unser Deutschland soll ein Land der Freiheit und Chancen sein.

47 Kristian Buchna commented that he sometimes had the impression that Hambach was *"the most contested place in the history of democracy in Germany."* (conversation on 29 August 2024); Kristian Buchna, *Versammlungen am Hambacher Schloss, Kein anderer Demokratieort in Deutschland ist ähnlich umkämpft. in: DÜW-Journal* (2024), Vol. 01, p. 19, https://rpb.lobid.org/107t240976.

48 Die Rheinpfalz (26 February 2024): *Politische Wölfe in Schafspelzen;* Rheinpfalz (15 May 2024): Dass alles friedlich und gewaltfrei bleibt; Rheinpfalz (10 December 2024), Sind 15 Trommler angemessen?

49 Die Rheinpfalz (11 June 2024): *Wein und Demokratie, Fest Schwarz-Rot-Gold am Wochenende in Hambach,* (9 March 2024): Gemeinsam für die Demokratie.

50 Die Rheinpfalz (13 December 2024): *Einsatz für Demokratie mit Preis gewürdigt.*

51 Former Federal President Richard von Weizäcker and Minister-President Kurt Beck (SPD) spoke at the 175th anniversary event, as documented by two differently illustrated versions of the special supplement in the regional newspaper: Rheinpfalz (26 May 2007) with a picture of Weizäcker, and Rheinpfalz (27 May 2007) with a picture of Beck.

52 Since 2002 the castle is owned by the foundation Stiftung Hambacher Schloss, established and financed by the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, the district of Bad Dürkheim, the District Association of the Palatinate, and the town of Neustadt.

53 Achim Schulze was one of the demonstrators against the awarding of the Konrad Adenauer Prize in 1970 (See note 45) and during Ronald Reagan's visit in 1985 (See note 40).