

Vernacular Culture and Musical Life in Suburban Vienna,
1870-1914



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D.Phil. Thesis Abstract

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This thesis argues for a recentring of musicological narratives on the subject of 'Vienna 1900' and offers four case studies that examine the transformation of vernacular culture alongside the expansion of the city from 1870 to the outbreak of the First World War. I propose an alternative set of paradigms for understanding Vienna during this period by exploring musical life in the suburbs and the impact of urban planning on street music and noise. The main themes covered in my four chapters are: a study of sound and noise abatement campaigns in relation to political theatre and social crisis, moving from the voices of working-class communities to the musical experimentation of suburban enclaves; an extended biography of the *Schrammelmusik* phenomenon, its position on the threshold of two musical worlds, and its urban-rural networks that contributed to a blurring of boundaries between mythology and reality; an analysis of *Wienerlied* texts which provide sharply etched commentaries on metropolitan life at the edge of liberal bourgeois experience and their role in tracing the shifting subjectivities of suburban dwellers; and a portrait of clocks and barrel organs that channels the familiar image of the organ grinder through the idea of fractured temporalities, as revealed in different approaches to time synchronisation and urban rhythms.

Throughout my four chapters, I emphasise the materiality of music-making at street level and the social fabric of suburban musical establishments. I aim to reposition narratives that stress *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as a place apart by adopting an expanded conception of centre and periphery relationships which reaches beyond the city and borderlands of neighbouring empires. I argue that by offering a more pluralistic notion of the vernacular, refracted through a study of acoustic and temporal environments, one can begin to understand more fully how the changing identities of Vienna's population were intimately connected with the accelerated reconfiguration of the city towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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N.B. All translations are my own unless indicated otherwise.

INTRODUCTION



Fig. 0.1 – Album 'Weltausstellung in Wien 1873': Aerial View of Vienna with the World Exhibition Grounds, Oscar Kramer (Photographer), Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 56564/1, CC0.

Vienna, one late afternoon in 1873: in the bottom right corner, a short section of the Danube appears, regulated and straightened by the major engineering works begun in 1870. In the foreground is the Vienna World's Fair located in the Prater, the central rotunda and geometric forms of the many exhibition zones sharply etched into the meadow amid the surrounding tree-lined paths and clumps of vegetation. As the eye wanders upwards towards the centre of the picture, the viewer is treated to the historical landmarks of Vienna's *Innenstadt* (Inner City), contained by the gentle curves of the Danube Canal and the ongoing construction of the Ringstrasse. Track the lines of the distant streets and residential blocks appearing above St. Stephen's Cathedral and one eventually arrives at the gentle slopes of the Kahlenberg, the highest and most famous viewing point north of

Vienna. Although the aerial photograph presented here encompasses many familiar sites, the orientation of the image reveals aspects of the city that are not always included or highlighted in popular tourist guides and cultural histories. Unlike the more famous panorama by Gustav Veith, which focuses on the historical centre and Ringstrasse, it is the expansiveness in Kramer's framing and sense of a capital on the verge of spatial transformation that are its most striking features.¹ The view looking west across to the hills and the Vienna Woods is also more unusual for a city that is known for its splendid vistas reaching out across the Pannonian Plains to the beginnings of south-east Europe. Resisting the temptation to linger in the foreground and centre of the picture, and following instead the delicate lines westwards, the outer suburbs (*Vororte*) are finally reached, gently illuminated by the crepuscular rays appearing above the lower hills. It is this peripheral landscape, located between the darkened slopes of the Wilhelminenberg and the densely packed streets of Vienna's inner suburbs, where my exploration of the city begins.

Fast forward eight decades to the 1950s and a nostalgic verse by Lea Warden conjures up a musical portrait of Vienna which harkens back to the *Gründerzeit* ('Founders Period'), captured from above by Oscar Kramer. The popular instrumental genre called *Schrammelmusik* makes an appearance, as well as the recognisable street character of the *Werkelmann*, or organ grinder, from the western suburb of Ottakring. A sentimental *Wienerlied* is also heard which captures the hearts of the locals, and we end with the familiar appeal to a golden era of music in the city.

Der alte Werkelmann aus Ottakring
 Der kennt kan Samba noch und a kan Swing,
 Er spielt verträumt ein süßes Wienerlied,
 Das noch von Schrammel is', und in die Herzen zieht.
 Und denkt, wie schön war's doch im alten Wien,
 Die Zeit, sie kommt net mehr, sie ist längst dahin.

¹ <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/en/object/374768-wien-gesamtansicht-von-sueden-von-gustav-veith-1873-reproduktion/>. Accessed 18 February 2022.
<https://www.habsburger.net/en/media/gustav-veith-panorama-vienna-city-expansion-zone-c-1873-pen-and-sepia>. Accessed 18 February 2022.

The old organ grinder from Ottakring
 He doesn't know samba and he doesn't know swing,
 He plays a sweet Viennese song in a dreamy way,
 That's still by Schrammel, and pulls at the heartstrings.
 And thinks how beautiful it was in the old Vienna,
 That time, it's not coming back, it's long gone.²

Lea Warden (text), Sylvester Schieder (music): 'Der alte Werkelmann' (1953)

The somewhat saccharine tone of Warden's song text is in keeping with the general trend of early- to mid-twentieth-century Viennese nostalgia and forms a major part of the city's identity which has continued to attract tourists ever since.³ Schrammel quartet music played in cosy cafés, *Wienerlieder* overheard in the most fashionable coffee houses, and organ grinders at popular corners near the Ringstrasse have all become intimately familiar to visitors and locals alike, so much so that their significance as *Ur-Wiener* symbols has arguably obscured the layers of history that lie beneath. As I uncover these layers, both from above and at street level, I provide a glimpse into the complex, sometimes paradoxical, role that vernacular music and culture played in Vienna from the early 1870s to the outbreak of the First World War – the period during which the city underwent its most thorough and dynamic transformation.

The entanglement of vernacular culture with the shifting identities and subjectivities of suburban life contributed to the blurring of reality and myth which performed a fundamental role in the refashioning of the city's image under the Christian Social Mayor Karl Lueger (1897–1910). This was expressed in numerous ways, but particularly through the journalistic tone of *Wienerlied* lyrics

² All translations are my own unless indicated otherwise. Where I have provided English translations of German primary source material and pre-1998 secondary literature, I have maintained the original usage as provided by the author in order to reflect the situation before the 1998 spelling reforms.

³ Examples of earlier accounts in the nostalgic vein, which contributed to the evolution of 'Alt-Wien' in the popular imagination, include Rudolf Hans Dietrich, *Wiener Volkskunst-Almanach* (Vienna, 1926); Josef Koller, *Das Wiener Volkssängertum in alter und neuer Zeit* (Vienna, 1931); Hermann Mailler, [Schrammel-Quartett: ein Buch von vier Wiener Musikanten \(Vienna, 1943\)](#); and Alexander Witeschnik, *Musik aus Wien. Die Geschichte einer Weltbezauberung* (Vienna, 1943). Similar narratives were perpetuated in later studies such as Hubert Kaut, *Lied und Volksmusik in Wien* (Vienna, 1968); Kurt Dieman, *Schrammelmusik* (Graz, 1981); and to a lesser extent in Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn 1866 - 1938* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987). Also see <https://www.wien.info/en/music-stage-shows/city-of-music/wienerlied-365880> for an example of the musical image of the city aimed at tourists and other visitors. Accessed 18 February 2022.

and the evolution of ‘Wiener Typen’ – the familiar characters encountered on the street.⁴ It is this development of an urban imaginary in the Lueger period, particularly the embellishment and appropriation of street culture, which brings us back to Kramer’s picture above. The main subject of the photograph, the 1873 Vienna World’s Fair, was intended as a spectacular forum for the liberal bourgeoisie to demonstrate their latest technological and cultural achievements, and for the Austro-Hungarian Empire to project ‘an idealized vision of itself...as a stable mediator between the East and the West.’⁵ It was also the beginning of a process that led to the Viennese promoting their own city as a *Weltstadt*, which became a ‘locus of civic pride as much as of national pride and international ambition.’⁶ The 1873 exposition, physically located on an island between the eastern and western districts of the city, offered a chance for competing world powers to display their own notion of alternative urban and imperial imaginaries, seen most strikingly in the Ottoman zone which appealed simultaneously to a Europeanised ideal of modernity and progress, and a desire for partially romanticised figures from neighbouring empires.⁷ While Vienna’s liberal classes were sampling the many exhibition halls of the World’s Fair, a very different set of social realities and myths were being played out each day on the other side of the city – in an area that Social Democrat leader Victor Adler called the ‘Wild West’, encompassing the outer districts beyond the city walls.⁸ The quotidian experiences encountered in these western *Vororte* reveal their own transnational routes and urban-rural cultural networks, as well as contributing to a distinctive remapping of musical life beyond the outer boundary line (*Linienwall*).

⁴ On the subject of ‘urban folk types’ in Vienna and Berlin, see Jens Wietschorke, ‘Urbane Volkstypen: Zur Folklorisierung der Stadt im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 110/2 (2014), 215-242.

⁵ Ahmet Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbise-i ‘Osmāniyye Album’, *Muqarnas*, Vol. 20 (2003), 188.

⁶ David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna 1700, 1800, 1900* (The Boydell Press, 2016), 6.

⁷ Ahmet Ersoy, *ibid.*, 188-201. These ‘alternative’ imaginaries in an Ottoman context will be explored in chapters two and four through the themes of spatial transformation and temporality respectively.

⁸ Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebl und Karl Kautsky* (Vienna, 1954), 378, in Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Berghahn Books, 2008), 140.

What later generations have seen as significant in the culture of Vienna around 1900, *Wiener Moderne*, was not by any means the entire culture of the city at the time, nor even a particularly large part, but the concern of relatively small elite groups.⁹

My decision to move away from a preoccupation with *Die Wiener Moderne*, and the historical centre more broadly, is a partial response to Steven Beller's reframing of traditional paradigms within 'Vienna 1900' scholarship. In contrast to the foregrounding of style and aesthetic, which has been a mainstay of scholarship on *Die Wiener Moderne* since the 1970s, I begin my exploration of vernacular culture and musical life in Vienna with a broader conception of what a musicological study of 'Vienna 1900' can encompass. This is reflected most potently in David Wyn Jones' assessment on the constrictive nature of a perspective which privileges stylistic and aesthetic dimensions over a more nuanced recognition of social and material history.

A more open-minded approach to the history of music in Vienna requires a wider remit, one that is attuned to political and cultural development in general and recognizes that human agency was not the prerogative of composers only, but routinely involved emperors, princes, publishers, institutions, administrators, scholars and others.¹⁰

It is the final category in the quote above – 'others' – which I will highlight in the current study: the working-class figures and street musicians who played a vital role in the dissemination and democratisation of popular and folk melodies around the city and suburbs, as well as the members of the Schrammel Quartet, whose various residencies in the outer districts relied on a highly developed artistic ecosystem that was often supported by the efforts of local business owners near Vienna's vineyards. I argue that providing a platform for a more intensive dialogue between musical, social, and economic elements within Vienna's civic identity can help to illuminate the everyday realities which lay behind the development of the expression *Musikstadt Wien*, which, by 'sleight of hand', projected a conviction that 'music was important than Vienna.'¹¹ Far from demoting music to

⁹ Steven Beller, 'The Influence of Jewish Immigration on the Modern Culture of Vienna 1900', in *Migration und Innovation um 1900: Perspektiven auf das Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 194.

¹⁰ Wyn Jones, *ibid.*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 154. This 'sleight of hand' refers to the impact of Carl Fromme's annual music diary, *Musikalische Welt: Notiz-Kalender für das Jahr*, [1876-1901], 26 vols., ed. Theodor Helm (Vienna, 1875-1900), which was renamed

the side-lines of history, my decision to unpick the tightly woven tapestry of cultural life in Vienna's suburbs affords an opportunity to enrich our understanding of the myriad forces that gave rise to the city's numerous musical activities.

Although familiar figures from the classical world make a brief appearance, for example, the connection between Arnold Schoenberg and *Schrammelmusik* in chapter two, I focus overwhelmingly on popular and folk styles in order to delve deeper into local narratives which, in turn, better informs an understanding of everyday life in the suburbs. Studies of the acoustic and temporal environments in the outer chapters frame a biographical portrait of the Schrammel Quartet and an analysis of urban life through *Wienerlied* texts. Running through all four chapters is a sense of the vernacular as a defining factor in the evolution of Viennese identities and self-imagining, refracted through working-class narratives, shifting notions of place, and the spatial transformation of the city. In bringing these themes together, I ask the following questions: how does an examination of the vernacular alter our understanding of Vienna's acoustic and temporal environments? What role did suburban centres and peripheries occupy in the musical life of the city? Finally, how did urban development affect the social realities of working-class districts?

When analysed through the construction of realities and myths, as well as a critique of centre and periphery dichotomies, the themes of vernacular culture, sound, and the city become more intensely enfolded. Furthermore, by interrogating the recent literature on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna from musicology, social history, sound studies, and urban geography, I provide an alternative framework for viewing and listening to the city which considers the quotidian complexities of urban life. I argue that adopting a multifocal approach to Vienna can help to build a pluralistic model that balances the discursive encounters of the street with the more prescriptive gaze from above, tracing local, suburban histories that expand to encompass transnational mobilities and that act as

Musikbuch aus Österreich: Ein Jahrbuch der Musikpflege in Österreich und den bedeutendsten Musikstädten des Auslandes, 10 vols, eds. Hugo Botstiber, Richard Heuberger, Josef Reitler (Leipzig, 1904-1913). Wyn Jones' analysis of the term *Musikstadt Wien* is closely tied to Fromme's decision to place 'the art form at the centre of that identity rather than to make it subservient to an overarching civic identity', *ibid.*, 154. For a more detailed history of the expression *Musikstadt Wien* see Lutz Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien: Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt* (Frankfurt, 2009), 143-153.

epicentres for the construction and evolution of musical identity. In another sense, my thesis draws upon different forms of wandering and journeying: from the weekend strolls of modern Austrian historians and the social reportage of Max Winter in chapter one to the tourist-musician adventures of Josef Schrammel around the Eastern Mediterranean in chapter two, and ending with the slower mobilities of the Viennese organ grinder in chapter four. By expanding the field of enquiry beyond the widespread image of the Parisian *flâneur*, my approach reflects the more unorthodox perspectives of Massimo Cacciari, who describes the act of wandering as ‘the infinite possibility of meeting.’¹² The cavalcade of real and imagined characters that appear along the routes I trace through Vienna and beyond affords an opportunity to question the place and role of the vernacular in a suburban context, and highlights a set of narratives which have remained at the margins of scholarly discourse on the musical life of the city.

Beyond ‘Vienna 1900’

The literature on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna produced between Carl Schorske’s ‘Politics and the Psyche’ and Steven Beller’s *Vienna and the Jews* cemented much of the groundwork for an understanding of the city’s intellectual milieu, as well as its cultural and political landscape.¹³ A key aspect of the accounts written during this period – particularly those by William Johnston, Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, and William McGrath – was characterised by a set of highly persuasive paradigms that formed the basis of much Anglo-American scholarship published in the intervening decades.¹⁴ Although music

¹² Massimo Cacciari, *Posthumous People: Vienna at the Turning Point*, trans. Rodger Friedman (Stanford University Press, 1996), x.

¹³ Carl E. Schorske, ‘Politics and the Psyche in Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal’, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 68 (July 1961), 930-946; Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews* (Cambridge University Press, 1989). Allan Janik sees Beller’s thesis as ‘the first overt challenge to the adequacy of the “failure of liberalism” paradigm’ created by Schorske. See Allan Janik, ‘Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems’, in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (Berghahn Books, 2001), 29.

¹⁴ William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (University of California Press, 1972); Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein’s Vienna* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (Yale University Press, 1974). The somewhat wayward, quasi-paradigmatic approach of Johnston, invoking the ‘vacuum of values’ of Hermann Broch and the ‘therapeutic nihilism’ of the philosopher Richard Wahle, paved the way for Schorske’s thesis in his 1980 volume. See McGrath (1974), 202-203. This, in turn, overlapped with and was subsequently critiqued

played a relatively minor role in studies by Johnston and Janik-Toulmin, McGrath's focus on the philosophical and metaphysical background to Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony, as well as his more provocative claims regarding a 'shared psychological framework' and 'collective outlook' in the Pernerstorfer Circle, paved the way for further scholarly dialogue between art and politics.¹⁵ Schorske's groundbreaking study built upon these foundations of intellectual history with a disarmingly simple thesis: that the 'failure of liberalism' was followed by a retreat into culture, accompanied by the rise of populist politics.¹⁶ Instead of the music being related to the material and social context of the place, however, it was subsumed within a broader narrative of frequently recurring dichotomies; such familiar notions as 'liberal bourgeois decline' and the 'aestheticist turn' became bywords for a portrait of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna which was cultivated in the popular imagination.¹⁷ Although Schorske focuses on the development of an 'inner life' through explorations of music and the psyche, in his chapter on Schoenberg's song cycle *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten* and Kokoschka's paintings from around 1908, the vast majority of his critical surveys support an ocularcentric view of the city and its intellectual achievements, nowhere more so than in his detailed aesthetic portrait of the Ringstrasse. Schorske emphasises the historicist dimensions of the many buildings through the words of liberal-era historian Heinrich Friedjung, who saw the major developments of the 1860s to 1880s as

a redeemed pledge of history, the realization of the labours and sufferings of generations of ordinary Viennese burghers, whose buried wealth and talent were finally exhumed in the late nineteenth century "like huge coal beds lying under the earth."¹⁸

by Janik and Toulmin in their formulation of the 'critical modernism' paradigm which described the activities of prominent Viennese artists, writers, and philosophers as adopting a 'cast of mind' that 'was not a rejection of modernity pure and simple, but an immanent critique of its limits.' See Janik (2001), 40-41.

¹⁵ McGrath, *ibid.*, 120-162, 1.

¹⁶ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Vintage Books, 1981).

¹⁷ Aspects of Schorske's thesis that focused on Vienna as a laboratory for twentieth-century history and western modernity were taken up and popularised by Frederic Morton in his more colourful, journalistic contributions: *A Nervous Splendour: Vienna 1888 / 1889* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), and *Thunder at Twilight: Vienna 1913 / 1914* (Da Capo Press, 1989). Also see Michael P. Steinberg, "'Fin-de-siècle Vienna" Ten Years Later: "Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit"', *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 22 (January 1991), 151-162.

¹⁸ Heinrich Friedjung, *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1912), 427, in Schorske *ibid.*, 45.

This brief spotlighting of the work of ‘ordinary’ citizens is an element I take up in chapter one, as I repurpose Schorske’s narrative of the Ringstrasse zone to listen instead to the sounds and voices of working-class demonstrations that took over the street in October 1904.

My decision to trace suburban political movements from the *Gründerzeit* to shortly after Karl Lueger’s death in 1910 builds upon John Boyer’s analysis which critiques the artificial divide that has been created between the older generation, whose careers came to fruition under earlier Liberal governments, and those younger figures who contributed to the cultural climate under Christian Social rule.¹⁹ For Schorske, ‘liberalism was little more than the set of values...that found their most perfect realization in the decoration of the buildings on the Ringstraße.’²⁰ In my effort to move away from this more reductive view of architecture and politics, I uncover what I term ‘suburban echoes’ by highlighting the sensorial elements found in contemporaneous accounts from the aftermath of the 1873 stock market crash to the Ottakring hunger riots of 1911, focusing on the evolution of socialist politics and *laissez-faire* economics in working-class districts. These echoes, when understood in a broader socio-political context, inform a portrait of urban life that contains as many continuities as disruptions, and that reaches across class divides to tell an alternative narrative of quotidian reality. This narrative of suburban resistance and spectacle was mirrored in the verbal battles of rhetoric found within the Rathaus and set against the patrician form of theatre favoured by Lueger in his enactment of municipal development plans around 1900. Boyer’s nuanced portrait of the mayor as a professional politician, whose sense of theatre owed much to Baroque ceremony and ritual, also reveals the gulf that existed between the public and private spheres, specifically in the Viennese love for ambiguity in regard to language, etiquette, and artistic taste.²¹ One of the visual consequences of this increasing divide was the extensive use of beautified façades for the many suburban tenement blocks built from the 1880s onwards. As I reveal in chapter one, this decision to

¹⁹ John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (University of Chicago Press, 1981), and *Culture and Political Crisis: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (University of Chicago Press, 1994).

²⁰ Janik, *ibid.*, 34.

²¹ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 411-421.

extend the clean aesthetics of the Ringstrasse, despite the decreasing social gradient of the tenements' interiors, is another example of the inherited values of previous eras, where ornament was emphasised as much as utility.²²

In the last two decades, a broader exploration of musical and social trends in the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been accompanied by a more considered view of the Schorskean paradigm. Scott Spector emphasises the need to wrestle ourselves away from the oft-quoted binary oppositions in Schorske's study and to move beyond 'an almost sentimental preoccupation with the Viennese centre.'²³ Although he encourages scholars to explore alternatives to this aesthetic culture of the centre, he also states that 'a consciousness of the "beyond" was inherent *within aestheticism itself*, and that 'the idealized aesthetic moment of "Vienna 1900" is best conceived not as a realm unto itself, but rather as a thin ridge...which as soon as it is reached reveals a vast and radically different terrain before it.'²⁴ By placing this approach into a broader context alongside essays by Robert Musil and György Lukács, he asks the reader to reconsider ways in which the formal elements in Schorske might be creatively re-imagined for twenty-first-century scholarship. Spector's topographical metaphor and expansion of scholarly terrain acts as a starting point for my own examination of the physical and intellectual landscape of Vienna, bringing other boundary lines and urban-rural networks into the frame. I provide an alternative focal point in the form of the outer city wall (*Linienwall*) as a way of exploring the aesthetic culture of the *Vororte*. In doing so, I contend that this recentring of the scholarly spotlight can lend itself to a more fluid understanding of the impact that

²² A fine-grained analysis of the political and economic background to housing development is given in Boyer's two volumes mentioned above, although with more emphasis on the political manoeuvrings inside central government. A more recent sociological study of Vienna's physical form, which highlights the class divides and resulting suburban poverty, is offered in Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Berghahn Books, 2008), originally published as *Anarchie der Vorstadt* (Campus Verlag, 1999). Also see Holly Watkins' analysis of Adolf Loos' 1908 essay, 'Ornament and Crime', in relation to architecture and Schoenberg's twelve-tone music – 'Schoenberg's Interior Designs', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Spring 2008), 123-206.

²³ Scott Spector, 'Marginalisations: Politics and Culture beyond *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*', in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (Berghahn Books, 2001), 136.

²⁴ Spector, *ibid.*, 136-137 [original emphasis].

vernacular culture had on the musical life of the city as a whole, in addition to interrogating the simplified binaries and physical boundaries that have existed in much post-Schorskean literature on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.



Fig. 0.2 – Map of Vienna and its suburbs, 1873, published by Ferdinand Klemm. (Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Library).

As I move further out into the *Vororte*, I draw upon the pioneering work of urban historians Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner. Their exploration of the city from the margins stems from their discontent with scholars who continue to conceive the topic of ‘Vienna 1900’ purely through the lens of intellectual and artistic achievement. Maderthaner and Musner provide valuable insights into the growing disparity between the social crisis in working-class districts, which was hidden by architectural homogenisation of the suburbs, and intensified forms of nostalgia and popular entertainment, represented by the growth of mass culture. They argue that the rapid development of working-class enclaves in the *Vororte* represented a projection of economic power which

suffocated the area's 'field of cultural perception'.²⁵ By ignoring any historical, social, or topographical differences in suburban landscape, the urban planners of the 1880s and 1890s, particularly Otto Wagner, created 'an expanding chessboard with no edges or centre.'²⁶ In the case of Ottakring, which still contained small enclaves of semi-rural communities well into the 1890s, the significant increase in speculative building had dire consequences for housing conditions – 'by 1900 only four percent of the inhabitants of Ottakring had a room of their own.'²⁷ Many of these working-class tenement blocks were built along radial arteries that extended the economic and visual power of the Ringstrasse by replicating the historicist façades outwards into the *Vororte* and prioritising transport efficiency over social cohesion, subjecting Vienna 'to the ordinance of time', as Schorske describes Wagner's development plans of 1893.²⁸

Maderthaner and Musner emphasise that the urban development of this period resulted in a significant shift from communitarian spaces to homogenised grid patterns, seen most strikingly in the spatial transformation of Ottakring during the 1890s which was based on American models.²⁹ By focusing on working-class narratives during Vienna's rapid expansion from the 1880s to 1920s, the Austrian scholars have revealed a radically different side to the city in their social history of the suburbs. More specifically, they reveal the unique characteristics of Ottakring when they describe the raucous nature of musical events such as 'the laundress balls and rag balls', and the 'territories of insubordination that turned the order of the centre into chaos and that could not be brought to heel by any government of any political stripe.'³⁰ This emphasis on extreme social difference between centre and periphery, however, reveals a tendency towards binary oppositions which are neatly separated into moral categories.³¹ In their attempt to provide a scholarly corrective to much

²⁵ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁸ Schorske (1981), 100.

²⁹ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 15.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

³¹ See particularly *ibid.*, 56-57, 66-67. The authors' insistence on intractable difference between the Inner City and outer suburbs stems from a strongly Marxist analysis of urban form which, while revealing working-class narratives that have remained absent from scholarly discourse, employs an overly deterministic theoretical

historical work on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, Maderthaner and Musner skirt dangerously close to reinscribing a reductive view of Viennese class struggle, despite their avowed intent to reject 'a monocausal relation of determination between centre and periphery'.³² Egbert Klautke explains this approach to class consciousness:

The main problem of their study is the crude class model they employ, which explains Viennese society exclusively in terms of the antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Evidently, the 'ruling classes' play a central role in this history: they seem to have conspired to manipulate, control, and exploit the working class with ever more subtle and cunning methods.³³

Despite their somewhat narrow interpretation of social life in Vienna's suburbs, which relentlessly employs a linguistic framework evoking forms of anarchy, crisis, misery, and resistance, Maderthaner and Musner nonetheless ask productive questions concerning the topography of cultural experience and how one might interpret changes in suburban living:

Can city and suburb, centre and periphery, be understood only in terms of a linear polarity, or do not both need to be analysed as elements of one and the same process of transformation? Are they not both historical formations and territories, intertwined and continually redefined by way of reciprocal perceptions, attributions, and investments of meaning?³⁴

Instead of offering the reader 'a phenomenology of the suburban', however, they miss a valuable opportunity to really engage with the paradoxes and complexities of daily life in Vienna's outer districts.³⁵ It is by employing a more pluralistic approach in analysing the physical form of Vienna's suburbs that I wish to avoid what Tanja Winkler calls 'a mechanistic, unidimensional connection between architecture and politics.'³⁶ In order to take into account the heterogeneous nature of daily life in the *Vororte*, I build upon and re-interpret first-hand accounts of suburban poverty and working-class life by highlighting the evolution of urban sound alongside musical

model that does not always account for the ability of suburban communities to resist and reformulate the encroachment of cosmopolitan life in their own distinctive manner.

³² Ibid., 6.

³³ Egbert Klautke, 'Anarchy and Noise: New Perspectives on the History of Fin-de-siècle Vienna', *Central Europe*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (November 2009), 164.

³⁴ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 21.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Tanja Winkler, 'Vienna's Ringstrasse: A Spatial Manifestation of Sociopolitical Values', *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2021), 271.

establishments within a more sensorial history of the city. While I retain certain aspects of the class-based discourse and recognition of spatial determinism inherent in Maderthaner and Musner, my exploration of suburban sites of popular entertainment, which were often situated very close to working-class enclaves, reveals more of the agency of individual musicians and ensembles in shaping their own sense of place in the context of vernacular culture.

An earlier creative response to the Schorskean model, which reflects my desire to carve out a space for histories perceived as peripheral to 'Vienna 1900', is demonstrated by Cacciari. His decision to avoid any scholarly confrontation with traditional paradigms on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna is aptly expressed in his resistance to the 'amorphous "strudel" made of waltzes, decadence, a carefree apocalypse, and theatrical destinies that in the course of the last twenty years has come to be glorified as "Grand Vienna"'.³⁷ In seeking to distance himself even further from past commentaries on the subject of Viennese culture, Cacciari deliberately ignores the physical and symbolic boundaries that conveniently isolate the liberal bourgeois centre. As Thomas Peattie observes, '[from] his metaphorical perch on the grounds of Vienna's Steinhof psychiatric hospital, Cacciari surveys a Nietzschean landscape of "posthumous people" whose borders extend far beyond the confines of Austria-Hungary'.³⁸ While the intellectual expansiveness found in his work offers a distinctive, if somewhat iconoclastic, approach to the subject of 'Vienna 1900' for musicologists and cultural historians, in Cacciari's 'aesthetic-philosophical' conception of the city, 'one may struggle to find much location – spatial or temporal – in the juncture of "Vienna at the turning point"'.³⁹ For my own thesis, I take the Italian philosopher's more fluid understanding of intellectual networks in a different direction by highlighting the distinctive local aspects of place in the *Vororte* and deconstructing the layers of that 'amorphous "strudel"' instead of resisting its siren calls. This touristic image of Vienna takes on a broader meaning when the notion of centres and peripheries mentioned earlier is expanded and multiplied beyond the borderlands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

³⁷ Cacciari, *Posthumous People*, x.

³⁸ Thomas Peattie, *Gustav Mahler's Symphonic Landscapes* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 154.

³⁹ Gail Day, 'Unchanging Obstinacy: "Posthumous People: Vienna at the Turning Point" by Massimo Cacciari', *Art History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (June 1999), 317.

If outer districts like Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld, beyond the *Linienwall*, can be considered musical and cultural centres of gravity in their own right, as I argue in chapters one and two, then an exploration of suburban establishments frequented by Josef Schrammel and the wider Austrian diaspora in Eastern Mediterranean port cities reveals a further horizon of real and imagined spaces at the periphery. Ulrich Bach's examination of 'colonial utopian narratives' in late-nineteenth-century Austrian literature highlights 'the construction of an imaginary space...by projecting Austrian colonial fantasies abroad.'⁴⁰ While I do not delve into the fictional world of colonial discourse during this period, my case study of Schrammel's 'Orientreise' in chapter two describes the activities of Austrian communities in their recreation of a typical Viennese tavern scene from the *Vororte* in the outer districts of Constantinople and Alexandria. An analysis of Schrammel's journal entries not only brings to light the mobilities of popular and folk musicians between different imperial centres and peripheries, but also opens a further avenue of enquiry for critiquing the reductive conceptions of urban modernity in both late-nineteenth-century Vienna and the major cities of the Ottoman Empire.

A Sense of the Vernacular

Recent accounts of the elite artistic climate in Vienna, most notably Kevin Karnes' study of utopian discourse and Wagnerian influence around 1900, have revealed fascinating insights into a world which contained a much stronger 'current of cultural optimism' than has hitherto been assumed.⁴¹ Although Karnes' theoretical framework runs counter to the traditional Schorskean paradigms and provides a compelling critique of the latter's pessimistic overtones, many of the musical works that are analysed flow from the same wellspring of artistic and intellectual endeavour. While adopting such a position may appear uncontroversial in musicological circles, it is nevertheless telling that the shadow cast by scholarship from the 1970s and 1980s has resulted in twenty-first-century studies

⁴⁰ Ulrich E. Bach, *Tropics of Vienna: Colonial Utopias of the Habsburg Empire* (Berghahn Books, 2016), 2.

⁴¹ Kevin C. Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World: Wagner, the Arts, and Utopian Visions in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

that still display an extreme reluctance to break away, in any meaningful sense, from the form and content of Schorskean literature.⁴² In contrast to Austrian social historians, such as Maderthaner and Musner, who have embraced alternative histories and more uncomfortable narratives that stress the social realities of the periphery, music historians in the Anglo-American sphere have yet to embrace fully the mixture of cultures in Viennese society. As Leon Botstein pointed out in 2002,

too little emphasis in the scholarly literature on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna has been placed on the evolution of street language and dialect, as well as on the vital world of popular culture, ranging from operetta to street fairs in order to gauge the influence of these elements on modernism in Viennese high art literature and music.⁴³

Although Botstein's observation is subsumed within his broader concern for exploring different facets of modernism in Mahler's symphonies, his recognition that vernacular culture was an integral part of the musical fabric of the city appears unusually striking. Part of this fabric was underpinned by a variety of local dialects influenced to a large degree by the influx of migrants from across the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the late nineteenth century. The most significant linguistic development was the growing presence of Czech speakers in suburbs such as Favoriten, which led to Czech-inflected *Wienerisch* becoming one of the most common vernacular dialects heard on the street around 1900.⁴⁴ As well as the significant impact of Slavic and Magyar vocabulary on the city's diverse linguistic identity, Jewish dialects also played a major role in vernacular culture at large, emanating mainly from the Second District, Leopoldstadt. Although more recent studies by Beller, Bohlman, and Maderthaner have highlighted the importance of language variants in understanding Vienna's popular entertainment enclaves, the sheer linguistic variety available to the historian would require a

⁴² I contend that most of the truly distinctive English-language accounts of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna that have appeared since Beller's edited volume, *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (2001), have emanated from outside musicology, with the exception of single book chapters and articles by Philip V. Bohlman (2008), Laura Dolp (2010), and Holly Watkins (2008). Examples of detailed reassessments of the Schorskean view include Deborah R. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago University Press, 2007), and Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg and Simon Shaw-Miller (eds.), *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Berghahn Books, 2013).

⁴³ Leon Botstein, 'Gustav Mahler's Vienna', in *The Mahler Companion* ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

⁴⁴ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2008), 59.

separate substantial study to do justice to the subject.⁴⁵ I have decided, therefore, to restrict my exploration of *Wienerlied* texts in chapter three to those written in both standard Austrian German and the most commonly used written form of *Wienerisch* for reasons of accessibility and concision.

Botstein's clarion call for a scholarly refocusing of attention on the vernacular was taken up by Derek Scott in his transnational study of the popular music revolution in nineteenth-century cities, and, to a lesser extent, in David Wyn Jones' transhistorical approach to Vienna's musical life.⁴⁶ Despite the different spatial and temporal frameworks adopted in these two studies, both authors stress the social and economic networks that lie behind the music-making of the young metropolis. Scott's focus on forms of capitalist enterprise in popular music, examined through a Gramscian lens in which 'the middle class is perceived not as a homogeneous body, but as a group composed of fractional interests', is allied with a detailed analysis of style in the dance music of Johann Strauss (Elder and Younger) and Josef Lanner.⁴⁷ While these composers were undeniably influential across many areas of Viennese society, they do not represent the whole story of the city. In many ways, my two central chapters in this thesis begin where Scott's chronological journey ends, by providing accounts of other well-known figures operating both within and at the boundaries of the vernacular, namely, the members of the Schrammel Quartet and the two generations of *Wienerlied* lyricists-composers from the early 1870s to 1914.

In contrast to Scott's reliance on aesthetic and ideological systems in his analysis of popular styles in the metropolis, Wyn Jones approaches the social background of Vienna's musical landscape with a much greater concern for tracing networks of patronage and changes in audience reception. His section entitled 'Beyond the Ringstrasse' highlights the activities of entertainment venues such as

⁴⁵ Steven Beller, 'The Influence of Jewish Immigration on the Modern Culture of Vienna 1900', in *Migration und Innovation um 1900: Perspektiven auf das Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Böhlau Verlag, 2016); Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 152-179; Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Berghahn Books, 2008), 25, 29, 69, 87.

⁴⁶ Derek Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2008); David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna 1700, 1800, 1900* (The Boydell Press, 2016).

⁴⁷ Scott, *ibid.*, 9, 117-143.

the Josefstadt theatre, situated in the Sixth District (an inner suburb), and more significantly, the early history of the Volksoper, which was built at the intersection of Währinger Strasse and the Währinger Gürtel in the north west of Vienna.⁴⁸ In his brief portrait of the latter venue, Wyn Jones acknowledges the prominent position that suburban cultural establishments occupied in the daily life of the city – an element which had hitherto been resisted in much English-language scholarship. Yet the placement of the Volksoper within the *Gürtel*, which was originally the old *Linienwall*, is highly symbolic in the context of my own conception of the city. Before the razing of the outer city wall in the early 1890s, this intersection would have been viewed by residents living in Vienna's *Vorstädte* as a very real, physical boundary of the city proper.⁴⁹ Beyond the Volksoper and the *Linienwall*/Währinger Gürtel lay the *Vororte*, long considered to be a loosely connected network of satellite villages and semi-agrarian communities nestled against the Wienerwald. Wyn Jones' inclusion of this major suburban venue is significant in terms of expanding our geographical understanding of musical networks in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, yet its position also reveals, once again, a curious resistance to going even further beyond the inner suburbs and into territory which is faintly familiar from a touristic perspective, but rarely explored in musicological accounts.

A recent exception, and one which lies much closer to my own topographical and musical framing of Vienna, can be found in Philip Bohlman's *Jewish Music and Modernity*.⁵⁰ In the chapter 'Parables of the Metropole', the author draws several parallels between the mobility of different styles of vernacular music and the idea of reconstituted space:

⁴⁸ Wyn Jones, *ibid.*, 174-175. These two venues offer distinctive sites of interest in their hybrid musical identity: the Josefstadt theatre provided regular folk plays, the *Wiener Volksstück*, on a modest scale, while the Volksoper, originally named the Kaiserjubiläumtheater, put on both operettas and operas in a convenient location for residents who lived in the relatively affluent *Vororte* of Währing and Döbling.

⁴⁹ The physical changes in Vienna's landscape are explored throughout the first three chapters, with particular attention paid to the effect that the incorporation of the outer districts (*Vororte*) in the early 1890s had on the social, economic, and musical life of suburban citizens. The terminology used here – *Vorstädte* and *Vororte* – cannot be easily mapped onto the English word 'suburb' due to Vienna's distinctive 'double horseshoe of boroughs', as described by Ilsa Barea. Barea's discussion of these terms stresses the differences between the *Vorstädte* that are situated between the Ringstrasse and *Gürtel*, and the *Vororte*, which are 'truly "suburban"', displaying a semi-rural identity that cannot necessarily be captured by the more unidimensional English term. See Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (Pimlico, 1966), 22.

⁵⁰ Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

In the metropole, song itself had participated in the remapping of the urban cultural space, serving as a conduit for otherness and difference as surely as the streets that radiated outward from the Ringstrasse of Vienna...and yet focused inward from the diverse regions of the Austro-Hungarian and German empires.⁵¹

This close connection between vernacular song and the spatial transformation of the city is a theme I explore in relation to the musical enclaves of Ottakring in chapter one, specifically the new experimental forms of pseudo-folk music influenced by both urban and rural traditions. The vernacular identities that defined these more modest establishments in the *Vororte* have also been used, in a different context, by Klaus Hödl in his examination of Jewish popular entertainers in Vienna.⁵² Hödl provides a distinctive voice for reconsidering well-worn notions of acculturation and difference when analysing the daily activities of the city's inhabitants, and offers an illuminating series of vignettes which assess the social and musical role of the various entertainment venues in Vienna's Second District, Leopoldstadt. Any study of vernacular culture and musical life in suburban Vienna around 1900 must, at the very least, acknowledge the significant role that Jewish popular entertainment played in the growth of the city's self-image – that of *Musikstadt Wien*. Yet such an undertaking requires not only a detailed understanding of the complex musical ecosystem in Leopoldstadt, whose population in the late nineteenth century relied heavily on local and imported oral traditions, but also the ability to sift through the numerous, and overlapping, Jewish and non-Jewish sub-cultures at play in the Second District. The latter point is complicated even further by the curious avoidance of popular cultural performances in the Jewish print media, relating specifically to well-known venues in Leopoldstadt.⁵³ My decision to forego a comparative case study of Jewish vernacular music in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna stems not from a desire to avoid duplicating the archival work undertaken by Bohlman and Hödl, but from a wish to shift the scholarly perspective away from

⁵¹ Bohlman, *ibid.*, 168.

⁵² Klaus Hödl, *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, trans. Corey Twitchell (Berghahn Books, 2019).

⁵³ Klaus Hödl makes the important point that performances in Leopoldstadt by local and visiting Jewish ensembles, such as the Lemberg Singspiel Society, 'a theatre company from Galicia', were often ignored by Jewish newspapers in favour of alternative themes that appealed across religious and ethnic dividing lines. Hödl, *ibid.*, 34-35.

coffeehouse culture, which, in the context of Jewish popular entertainment in Leopoldstadt, was entangled socially and economically with the dominance of singspiel halls and variety shows along and around the Praterstraße.⁵⁴ I take Hödl's emphasis on vernacular entertainment and alter the frame of reference to highlight, instead, the evolution of alpine-influenced popular music in Vienna's western districts within the context of tavern culture.

A study of vernacular music in a suburban context inevitably raises questions regarding the effects of cosmopolitan identity on the more rural origins of folk styles. When one looks at the development of Austrian music studies, the problem is exacerbated by the long-standing divisions between *Musikethnologie*, *Volksmusikforschung*, and *Populärmusikforschung*, as seen in the separate academic institutions devoted to each until the late twentieth century.⁵⁵ Anti-modernist and anti-urban trends in Austria meant that '[by] the end of the [nineteenth] century, a folk music revival was established as a highly ideological counter model to cosmopolitan popular culture.'⁵⁶ The activities of Josef Pommer contributed significantly to the founding and promotion of urban *Volkslied* societies in Austria and the construction of a highly Germanic form of musical and cultural identity, making a study of Austrian folk music a particularly sensitive subject until very recently.⁵⁷ Yet as Barbara Lange observes, for Pommer, 'Vienna was a particular threat, with its multilingual, multiconfessional population, a bourgeoisie that played folklike music in salons, and modernist artistic movements.'⁵⁸ It is this hybrid form – *volkstümlich Musik* (folkloric or folklike music) – which provides an alternative

⁵⁴ Ibid., 44-46.

⁵⁵ See the fraught historical discussion over these distinctions in Ulrich Morgenstern, 'Folk Music Research in Austria and Germany: Notes on Terminology, Interdisciplinarity and the Early History of Volksmusikforschung and Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft', *Musikologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (September 2015).

⁵⁶ Morgenstern, *ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁷ The career of Josef Pommer is well documented, but for more modern summaries see Barbara Rose Lange, *Local Fusions: Folk Music Experiments in Central Europe at the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 134-135; and Morgenstern (2015), *ibid.* For an analysis of the political and racial ideology behind folk music collection and research in England during this period, see Ross Cole, 'On the Politics of Folk Song Theory in Edwardian England', *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Winter 2019). Cole's examination of Cecil Sharp's 'gatekeeping actions' as a means of revivifying 'an imagined racial community' displays parallels to Josef Pommer's methodology of folk song collecting – Cole, *ibid.*, 36.

⁵⁸ Lange, *ibid.*, 134.

focus for studying the significance of vernacular culture in Vienna's suburbs. In its relationship to *Volksmusik* and *Populärmusik*, the term *volkstümlich* 'is to a lesser degree functionally bounded and...represents more the values of particular social groups and generations.'⁵⁹ Through a juxtaposition of the Schrammel tradition, which has been labelled in various ways as 'pseudo-folk' and 'popular', with the even more cosmopolitan form of *Wienerlieder*, heavily influenced by city life, I hope to demonstrate that aspects of urban mobility, social heterogeneity, and material networks all played significant roles in blurring the boundaries between popular and folk genres in suburban Vienna, while retaining strongly identifiable rural characteristics.

The mixing of genres and musical experimentation found in specific *Vororte* such as Hernals, Neulerchenfeld, and Ottakring highlights the importance of folk music imported from other provinces in Austria-Hungary. Bohlman's examination of Jewish folk melodies in Vienna and their transformation into the popular is framed by posing the question, 'Can folk music really serve as a means of accommodation and adaptation to modernity?'⁶⁰ Using the metropole as the main forum for exploring the evolution of imported rural styles calls into question the idea of stability and rootedness in the dissemination of vernacular music. George Revill reveals the crux of the issue in the following assessment:

If isolated stable societies are the basis of authentic folk music practice, then there are also considerable problems for the folk collector when accounting for the cultural practices of urban and industrial populations for whom large-scale migration, industrialization and an increasingly commercial popular culture form part of everyday life.⁶¹

The use of the term 'vernacular culture' is particularly relevant to the musical life of Vienna's *Vororte* during this period, and it is 'at the intersection of folk culture and working-class experience, tradition and modernity that the vernacular may help us understand forms of local music making.'⁶² For Revill, the very idea of vernacular culture exists 'within a more dynamic and plural conception of place as a

⁵⁹ Morgenstern, *ibid.*, 17.

⁶⁰ Bohlman, *ibid.*, 158.

⁶¹ George Revill, 'Vernacular Culture and the Place of Folk Music', *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (October 2005), 694.

⁶² Revill, *ibid.*, 701.

means of theoretically locating folk music within modern everyday life.⁶³ It is this movement back-and-forth between different localities, regions, and borderlands which constitutes a major part of how I examine the role of the vernacular in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

Throughout the first three chapters, I highlight the activities of suburban establishments and entertainment venues in the form of the many inns (*Wirtshaus*), specialist wine taverns (*Heurigen*), and larger music and dance halls, all of which were integral to the daily musical life of the *Vororte* and *Vorstädte*. These places act as suburban, vernacular counterparts to the focus on coffeehouse culture which has occupied a far more prominent role in the scholarly literature, most recently in the 2013 edited volume *The Viennese Café and fin-de-siècle Culture*.⁶⁴ This volume of essays offers a fascinating glimpse into the notion of interiority and hybrid identities in Viennese cafés. In contrast, I spotlight the culture of the suburban *Heurige*, with its own distinctive negotiations of real and imagined spaces at the periphery of urban life.⁶⁵ One outer district which was densely populated with wine taverns was Ottakring. I explore the musical hybridity and cultivation of new styles of music within this suburban enclave and ask how this ‘incubator’ of vernacular experimentation came to hold such a unique position in the cultural landscape of the city.

Elisabeth Fritz’s and Helmut Kretschmer’s *Wien Musikgeschichte Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (2006) is one of several reference volumes that I consult on the history, reception and analysis of instrumental folk music and popular song.⁶⁶ An examination of the cultural and social role of *Wienerlieder* across the city as a whole reveals how the change in the city’s boundaries in the early 1890s – from Vienna to ‘Greater Vienna’ incorporating several outer districts – was reflected in a similarly sudden shift in textual themes.⁶⁷ Closely related to *Wienerlieder* is the popular

⁶³ Ibid., 695.

⁶⁴ Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg and Simon Shaw-Miller (eds.), *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Berghahn Books, 2013). See particularly Tag Gronberg’s chapter, ‘Coffeehouse Orientalism’, 59-77.

⁶⁵ See Mike F. Keen and Gabrielle Robinson, ‘The Viennese *Heuriger*: Cultural Resilience and Commercialization amidst the Vineyards’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Summer 2001).

⁶⁶ Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (eds.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Vienna, 2006).

⁶⁷ Eva Maria Hois, ‘Wienerliedtexte der Jahrhundertwende als Spiegel sozio-ökonomischer, technischer und politischer Entwicklungen’, *Zeitschrift des Spezialforschungsbereichs Moderne – Wien und Zentraleuropa um*

instrumental style of *Schrammelmusik*, named after the eponymous quartet that was officially formed in 1884. In addition to tracing the Schrammel brothers' careers from Nussdorf into suburbs like Ottakring, I analyse the reception of their numerous residencies at suburban establishments and meteoric rise in popularity within the space of a decade before their premature deaths in the mid-1890s.⁶⁸ Outside of suburban wine taverns, I focus on the gradual disappearance of everyday musical sounds from the streets, which was part of a larger trend reflecting rapid technological progress in the late nineteenth century. One example of this happening in Vienna concerned the songs and melodies of the *Werkelmänner*, or organ grinders. By studying notated vernacular styles like *Schrammelmusik* and *Wienerlieder* alongside the oral traditions of *Werkelmänner*, I hope to discover new avenues of enquiry in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna that trace various social and material networks through shifting notions of place in both domesticated, interior settings, and the more open forum of a street scene. I also expand this sense of the vernacular to include a brief exploration of language and dialect in social reportage and song texts; a commentary on the folk art of Hans Larwin and its connection with *Heurige* culture and *Schrammelmusik* in chapter two; and finally a detailed consideration of the mundane in material objects such as clocks, sundials, and barrel organs in chapter four.

Listening to the City

The question of how sound has shaped people's perceptions of music within modern cities is one of the most pressing issues within musicology and sound studies. This can be seen in early pioneering efforts which analyse our relationship with urban and rural environments through sound, led by Murray Schafer, as well as more recent studies on sound and place by James Mansell, John Picker,

1900, Vol. 1 (March 2001); Gertraud Pressler, 'Aus Wiener Lieddrucken der Jahrhundertwende', in *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*, Studien zur Musikgeschichte Österreichs, Vol. 8, ed. Christian Glanz (Peter Lang, 1999).

⁶⁸ Kurt Dieman, *Schrammelmusik* (Graz, 1981); Margarethe Egger, *Die Schrammeln in ihrer Zeit* (Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1989); Martin Peche and Hugo Wetscherek, *Josef Schrammel, Gründer des Schrammelquartetts: kommentiertes Nachlassverzeichnis* (Vienna: Antiquariat Inlibris, 2000).

and Emily Thompson.⁶⁹ Schafer's groundbreaking study relies heavily on an ecological approach which uses terms such as 'hi-fi' and 'lo-fi' soundscapes to chart the historical progression from rural to urban areas over several centuries.⁷⁰ With its combination of discursive definitions and analytical classifications, which covers ideas of perception and morphology, Schafer's text has often been mistakenly identified as a descriptive one. Ari Kelman points out that the study adopts, instead, a 'prescriptive' approach that 'is lined with ideological and ecological messages about which sounds "matter" and which do not.'⁷¹ For Kelman, 'The devolution of Schafer's soundscape is so totalizing, so deterministic, that it provides little hope for the ears of humanity against the din of his historiography.'⁷² I would argue that this focus on soundscape 'as an aesthetic object' precludes any meaningful scholarly dialogue with its historical and social context, and also reflects Schafer's desire to 'orchestrate' the sounds of his dystopian urban environments in a manner which encourages highly selective listening.⁷³

An approach which stresses the importance of auditory experience, material networks, and cultural geography offers a more refined study of sound within an urban environment such as Vienna. In addition to scholarship on the sociological, economic and political contexts of sound and noise, ethnomusicologists and historians have also attempted to focus on the pre-phonograph age.⁷⁴ This is neatly summarised by Celia Applegate's question – 'What, one then wonders, might a history of musical aura before the age of mechanical reproduction include?'⁷⁵ Alain Corbin offers a highly creative response to this question by circumventing the problems of terminology and Schaferian

⁶⁹ R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (New York: Knopf, 1977/1994); James G. Mansell, *The Age of Noise in Britain: Hearing Modernity* (University of Illinois Press, 2016); Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (MIT Press, 2002).

⁷⁰ Schafer, *ibid.*, 43.

⁷¹ Ari Y. Kelman, 'Rethinking the Soundscape', *The Senses and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2010), 214.

⁷² Kelman, *ibid.*, 217.

⁷³ Paul Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies, Body, Sense, and Place* (Routledge, 1994), 86.

⁷⁴ The scholarship is too extensive to summarise here in any meaningful way, but representative examples include Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (University of Minnesota Press, 1985); Peter Bailey, 'Breaking the Sound Barrier: A Historian Listens to Noise', *Body & Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1996) 49-66; and Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Duke University Press, 2003).

⁷⁵ Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), 50.

polemics in his study of church bells in the French countryside.⁷⁶ His nuanced model of scholarship entirely bypasses the notion of soundscape from Schafer and focuses instead on the term ‘auditory landscape’.⁷⁷ His historically and socially embedded approach to the sonic environment in many ways echoes Peter Payer’s emphasis on local history and the significance of everyday objects in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, a stance which informs my own exploration of sound in the city.⁷⁸

‘War es in Wien um 1900 lauter als in anderen Großstädten?’⁷⁹

(‘Was it louder in Vienna around 1900 than in other major cities?’)

The urban historian Peter Payer opens the second chapter in his volume *Unterwegs in Wien* with this one simple question. However, retrieving a sense of just how loud the sounds of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna were in comparison to other capital cities involves a negotiation with silent printed records which, by their very nature, only hint at the general qualities or properties of such distant phenomena. The reader may be able to grasp the vaguest of outlines through the medium of language, but must resort to a multitude of linguistic devices to evoke a particular scene. Even the terms we use are fraught with confusion – what is considered ‘sound’ as opposed to ‘noise’? In a German context, a tripartite division complicates matters even further:

- ‘Wie können wir uns die Intensität der *Geräuschkulisse von damals vorstellen?’⁸⁰ (‘How can we imagine the intensity of the background noise of that time?’)

*Sometimes translated as ‘soundscape’, although the following term is also used:

⁷⁶ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (Columbia University Press, 1998).

⁷⁷ Corbin, *ibid.*, 306.

⁷⁸ Peter Payer’s extensive publications about Vienna display an overriding concern for the materiality of the city, encompassing sensorial histories, acoustic topographies, examinations of temporality, and social reportage. His work informs my own conception of Vienna to a large extent, particularly in chapters one and four. See Payer, ‘The Age of Noise’, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 33, No. 5 (July 2007); *Unterwegs in Wien. Kulturhistorische Streifzüge* (Czernin Verlag, 2013); *Die synchronisierte Stadt: Öffentliche Uhren und Zeitwahrnehmung, Wien 1850 bis heute* (Vienna: Verlag Holzhausen, 2015); and *Der Klang der Großstadt: Eine Geschichte des Hörens, Wien 1850-1914* (Böhlau Verlag, 2018).

⁷⁹ Peter Payer, *Unterwegs in Wien. Kulturhistorische Streifzüge* (Czernin Verlag, 2013), 25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

- *Populäre Musik in der urbanen Klanglandschaft* (Popular Music in the Urban Soundscape).⁸¹

- ' nirgendwo kann man diese Lärmpsychologie besser studieren als hier in Wien.'⁸² ('there is no better place to study the psychology of noise than Vienna.')

The various meanings – sound, noise, tone, and timbre – which are ascribed to the three German terms above go some way to distinguishing between their usage, but this still leaves much ambiguity over how they are employed in specific contexts. Monika Dommann, basing her definitions on Helmholtz's *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* (1863), states the following:

In this foundational work of modern acoustics, the physicist-physician drew a distinction between *Klang* (regular vibrations of the sounding body), *Geräusch* (irregular periodic oscillations in sound waves), and *Lärm* (connoting disturbance).⁸³

Joy Calico points out that Viennese newspapers referred to Luigi Russolo's futurist works as 'noise music' in 1913, using the terms '*Lärmkunst*' and '*Geräuschmusik*' interchangeably.⁸⁴ In a similar vein, Schoenberg also adopted the word *Geräuschmusik* in his 1911 volume *Harmonielehre*, although here it 'refers only to sound effects and tone painting for imitative purposes in program music.'⁸⁵ Despite the overlapping definitions at work above, I argue that the usage of the term *Lärm* in Austrian anti-noise movements, which covers a broad spectrum of sounds from modern machinery and transport technology to the various regular and irregular oscillations in background noise, including human voices and music-making, reveals a desire to orchestrate the sounds of the city on strongly moralistic grounds. Although the choice of words could be explained simply by stressing the highly subjective dimension of aural perception (how some individuals interpret sounds as 'disturbances'), on a social level, the use of language often took on a more uncomfortable edge in reference to particular ethnic groups or working-class communities.

⁸¹ Nils Grosch and Tobias Widmaier (eds.), *Populäre Musik in der urbanen Klanglandschaft* (Waxmann, 2014).

⁸² Theodor Lessing, 'Die Psychologie des Lärms', *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 June 1911, 1.

⁸³ Monika Dommann, 'Antiphon: Zur Resonanz des Lärms in der Geschichte', *Historische Anthropologie*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2006), 135, quoted in Joy H. Calico, 'Noise and Arnold Schoenberg's 1913 Concert', *Journal of Austrian Studies*, Vol. 50, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 2017), 39.

⁸⁴ Calico, *ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Also see Arnold Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre* (Universal, 1911), 361.

In Vienna, the phrase ‘Lärm wie in einer Judenschule’, with its background in what Ruth HaCohen calls the ‘noise libel’ against Jews, had shifted its application across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth to encompass noisemakers everywhere:

The phrase was sufficiently common in the late nineteenth century to warrant inclusion in a dialect dictionary published in Vienna in 1881 (Spiess), and Theodor Reik, one of Freud’s disciples, wrote in 1919 that the expression had “obtained peculiar popularity in our beloved city of Vienna,” where it was used to criticize all manner of noisy behaviour, either as an insult to non-Jewish noisemakers or to mark the prevalence of Jews in Vienna, particularly emigres from the east, and to blame them for the increasingly noisy state of the metropolis.⁸⁶

This evolving usage of the phrase ‘Lärm wie in einer Judenschule’ recalls Fran Tonkiss’ observation, where an immigrant’s presence is defined in aural terms and where ‘differences remain audible’.⁸⁷ In the central part of chapter one, I delve into the language used by writers in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and examines to what extent the above examples of *Lärm*, or *Geräusch*, or indeed *Klang*, ‘were depicted as aggressive signals that invaded the serene and secure “peace of an enclosed space”, thus symbolising the disturbance of the pastoral ideal.’⁸⁸ In a Viennese context, I argue that the visual homogenisation of the expanding city in architectural terms was accompanied by an equally striking manipulation of terminology in the acoustic realm which sought to simplify, flatten, and streamline a particular notion of progress deemed acceptable to a minority of the population, namely, the intellectual strata of the liberal bourgeoisie.

I would argue that a closer examination of the acoustic layers of Vienna would not only challenge Schafer’s neat assumption that music was separated from the wider soundscape, but would also help to address ‘the dearth of place-related studies of the Austro-German canon.’⁸⁹

Recent scholarship on the cultural symbolism that lay behind early noise abatement campaigns

⁸⁶ Calico, *ibid.*, 40. See Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel Against the Jews* (Yale University Press, 2011), 126.

⁸⁷ Fran Tonkiss, ‘Aural Postcards: Sounds, Memory and the City’, in *The Auditory Culture Reader*, 2nd Edition, eds. Michael Bull and Les Back (Bloomsbury, 2016), 304.

⁸⁸ Karin Bijsterveld, ‘The Diabolical Symphony of the Mechanical Age: Technology and Symbolism of Sound in European and North American Noise Abatement Campaigns, 1900-40’, *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (February 2001), 38.

⁸⁹ Holly Watkins, ‘Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 404.

stresses the distinctive features of Austrian and German approaches to the issue of urban sound and public health.⁹⁰ The urban structures in Vienna around 1900 contributed to an intensification of acoustic phenomena, which was partly a result of the numerous cobbled streets, overground streetcars, and the manner in which the architectural homogenisation of the radial arteries feeding into the Ringstrasse formed sound canyons which amplified an already noisy Inner City.⁹¹ Noise abatement became a particularly divisive issue for the middle classes in Vienna; it was not just the roar of urban machinery that concerned them, but the human sounds of the suburban working classes. Payer demonstrates, however, that public reactions to anti-noise campaigns and street musicians were fundamentally ambivalent: 'opponents of the anti-noise campaign criticized Lessing and his supporters as hypersensitive fanatics resisting progress.'⁹² Despite some vociferous opposition from those who stressed their 'right to noise', the liberal bourgeoisie advocated measures to 'civilise' these urban spaces in order to reflect their own cultural values and ideas of social progress. Human sounds and vocal communication on the street were therefore gradually drowned out by the steady flow of traffic.

My research into urban sound will focus on the distinctive characteristics of Vienna's Anti-Noise League and its connection with the writings and activities of Michael Haberlandt and Theodor Lessing. Their view of noise displayed strong elitist overtones in relation to culture; Haberlandt believed noise was 'anti-intellectual' and a threat to the nourishment of high art and a life of the mind more broadly.⁹³ By contrast, the noise abatement campaigns in New York and London were more successful in gaining support from labour unions, as they stressed the importance of public health and economic inefficiency rather than 'the right to silence' for the liberal middle classes. The

⁹⁰ Karin Bijsterveld, 'The Diabolical Symphony of the Mechanical Age: Technology and Symbolism of Sound in European and North American Noise Abatement Campaigns, 1900-40', *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (February 2001); John Goodyear, 'Escaping the Urban Din: A Comparative Study of Theodor Lessing's Antilärmverein (1908) and Maximilian Negwer's Ohropax (1908)', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction*, eds. Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill (Oxford University Press, 2011); Payer, 'The Age of Noise' (2007).

⁹¹ Payer, *ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*, 782.

⁹³ Bijsterveld, 'The Diabolical Symphony of the Mechanical Age' (2001), 46.

symbolism of sound was a crucial element in this class-bound struggle. For the Viennese, rhythmic mechanical noises were not necessarily the most important issue, but rather the unfamiliar ‘premodern’ expressions of the increasingly multi-ethnic working class. Early attempts at anti-noise campaigns in Germany and Austria placed heavy emphasis on legislating against certain types of sound, but unlike contemporaneous American movements, Lessing and Haberlandt did not distinguish between ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive’ noise.⁹⁴ The ‘unproductive’ element was often equated with the human voices and expressions from those residing in the poorest districts of the *Vororte*, and my brief detour into a sensorial history of suburban poverty in chapter one aims to place more of a spotlight on these marginalised voices, whose linguistic and musical dialects often threatened the sensibilities of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Musicology and the burgeoning literatures on sound and auditory cultures have proceeded largely in isolation from each other....research in sound studies has had little to say about music’s inhabitation of and entanglement with the encompassing acoustic environment.⁹⁵

Partly in response to Georgina Born’s concern for a more thoroughgoing exploration of disciplinary boundaries, summarised in the quote above, my research into the acoustic environment of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna seeks to combine a study of sound with the perceptions and social circumstances of street musicians, focusing on the changing fortunes of the *Werkelmänner*, or organ grinders, in chapter four. This theme also stems from my desire to complement and extend Payer’s recent work on sound with an equally detailed examination of the role street music played in differing ideas of musical and urban ‘noise’. Although Payer provides a comprehensive acoustic topography of the city and suburbs, the musical life of Vienna remains distant; my thesis aims to bring those sounds more to the forefront of scholarly enquiry.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Lawrence Baron, ‘Noise and Degeneration: Theodor Lessing’s Crusade for Quiet’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 1982), 174.

⁹⁵ Georgina Born, ‘Introduction’, in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. Georgina Born (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5.

⁹⁶ Payer, *Der Klang der Großstadt* (2018). Also see Daniel Morat, ‘Sounding Out Urban Space: Berlin Street Music around 1900’, *Colloquia Germanica*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (2013); and Morat, ‘Review: Peter Payer, *Der Klang der Großstadt*’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 309, No. 3 (2019).

The Viennese organ grinder combines both subject and object, sound and rhythm, enfolded within a broader conception of vernacular culture. It is the rhythmic element in the organ grinder's aural presence, as well as his negotiation of the city's temporal disorder, that points towards an emphasis on what Laura Marcus calls 'the energies of the city as machine', an area which binds together various strands of my research in the final chapter.⁹⁷ As well as referring to the work of Georg Simmel on the theme of sensory perception and negotiations of urban space, I explore the idea of urban rhythms and temporality within Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis*.⁹⁸ Although the term 'urban rhythm' is indelibly associated with the city symphonies in the period after the First World War, I analyse how this idea can be reapplied in the pre-cinema age with specific reference to temporal desynchronisation in late-nineteenth-century Vienna. More specifically, I assess how the temporal dimension can help to reveal a different sense of the vernacular in the public displays of time and the effect of regulation on the mobilities of the organ grinder.

The multiple ways in which vernacular culture is refracted through the four case studies I present in this thesis are closely allied with a social history of the period. I begin my first chapter with an extended description of the working-class protests and riots on Vienna's streets in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the political background which gave rise to these events. For the Viennese liberal bourgeoisie, the occupation of the Ringstrasse in October 1904 by socialist demonstrators represented a temporary threat to the management of the acoustic environment, pushed forward by laws passed in 1884 banning street musicians from the *Innenstadt* (Inner City). Newspaper reports at the time commented on the prevalence of rioting youths from the suburb of Ottakring; I use these reports as a starting point for examining the downward social gradient running from the *Innenstadt* to working-class districts at the periphery and the negative effects of homogenised urban development, as revealed in social reportage by Ivan Cankar and Max Winter.

⁹⁷ Laura Marcus, "A Hymn to Movement": The "City Symphony" of the 1920s and 1930s', *Modernist Cultures*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2010), 31.

⁹⁸ Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Free Press, 1950), reprinted in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), *Simmel on Culture* (Sage, 1997), 174-185; Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (Bloomsbury, 2013).

Within my wider analysis of Vienna's acoustic environment, I trace the echoes of the working-class demonstrations from 1904 and 1911 back to the *Vororte* and reveal the musical enclaves which contributed to the remapping of suburban identity.

As a first step towards reflecting the richness of city life, I complement the archival work undertaken by Maderthaner and Musner and place this in a broader scholarly context by considering how an excavation of vernacular music in the suburbs can help to paint a more inclusive portrait of everyday music-making in Vienna. Drawing on recent work within the field of social history and noise, I argue that public discourse on the acoustic environment in this period relied heavily on a cultural symbolism of sound that formed the basis of polemical essays by anti-noise activists like Michael Haberlandt and Theodor Lessing. The moralising overtones behind noise abatement campaigns often focused on 'unwanted sounds' from working-class communities and therefore expressed a strong desire for further social segregation. Examining the paradoxes of these alternative narratives raises more intractable questions about marginalisation, urban modernity, and the loss of cultural memory in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

The journey undertaken in my first chapter progresses from the 'unruly' sounds of human voices on the Ringstrasse to what I call the 'excess' of vernacular music-making in Ottakring. After arriving at the periphery, where I assess the role of suburban taverns in helping to cultivate new styles of song, I continue my exploration of Vienna's alternative musical centre by switching focus to the popular instrumental music of the Schrammel brothers, Johann and Josef. The second chapter begins with an overview of the term *Schrammelmusik* and its place in the cultural history of Vienna. I then offer a summary of the brothers' early years in the suburb of Neulerchenfeld and provide an account of Josef Schrammel's music tour of the Eastern Mediterranean from 1869 to 1871. After considering the mobility of Austrian folk music and the expression of multiple identities in a transnational context, I return to suburban Vienna and chart the careers of the two brothers as they progressed from their first ensemble, the Nussdorf Trio, to the founding of the Schrammel Quartet in 1884. The decade before the premature deaths of Johann and Josef in 1893 and 1895 marked the

height of their careers and coincided with the enlargement of Vienna's boundaries, incorporating many of the semi-rural *Vororte* into the metropolitan area. I assess the compositional output of the brothers during this period alongside the theme of urban modernity, highlighting how they responded in musical terms to the creation of 'Greater Vienna'.

In the final part of my second chapter, I reveal a side narrative which inverts the familiar mythologisation of the Schrammel phenomenon. The life of the older half-brother, 'Konrad the *Werkelmann*' (organ grinder), holds a mirror up to Viennese social attitudes, as well as revealing the impact of law enforcement and increased regulation on working-class families in the suburbs. If Konrad's story encourages us to look beyond a cosy *Heurige* scene, as well as to listen through the noise of the city, then the folk art of Hans Larwin and a comic photo of Arnold Schoenberg as a Schrammel cellist provide visual equivalents for examining the role of vernacular culture in musical modernism.

The expansion of Vienna in the 1880s and 1890s altered the musical landscape of the city significantly. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the striking developments of subject matter and use of language in *Wienerlieder*. Just as rapid urban development encroached onto outer districts such as Ottakring, the material, social and psychological phenomena of urban modernity began to infiltrate these song texts. The juxtaposition of working-class enclaves and semi-rural wine taverns in Vienna's *Vororte* proved to be a rich source of vernacular music-making and social commentary for composers and lyricists alike. In my third chapter, I focus on the texts of Wilhelm Wiesberg, Carl Lorens, Josef Hornig, and Ludwig Gruber, examining how they reacted with journalistic speed to the socio-economic realities of the day and reflected the shifts in urban identity experienced by many residents. The topics covered in these dialect song texts are divided into three groups: lyrics that deal with the growth of Vienna and the regulation of space, together with vignettes of suburban life; the impact of technology and the encroachment of urban modernity; and the satirical depictions of language disputes and clash of cultures between the city and suburbs. Many of these lyrics contain heavy doses of irony, sardonic humour, and cosy sentimentalism, which

are reflections of the fact that these writings were based on direct, personal experience and were grounded in the social realities of suburban life. I suggest that the contrasting geographies which are drawn upon in this study foreground the creative tension between urban and rural experience in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Although the incubators for these popular songs often lay in the borderlands of the city, I argue that far from being a peripheral concern, they provided a sharp reflection of shifting identities being forged in a rapidly expanding city.

The social realities of urban life that were expressed in satirical terms through popular song were often concerned with the mundane experiences of daily life for the city's harassed residents. One quotidian reality which has been neglected in recent assessments of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, and which I examine in my final chapter, concerns the synchronisation of time and its connection to the musical rhythms of the city. 1 May 1910 was the date set by the Viennese government for the long-awaited introduction of Central European Time, and since 1877, citizens had become accustomed to the striking, and confusing, visual display of clocks around the Ringstrasse which all showed different times. Despite the best efforts of the municipal authorities to regulate public time during this period, the city endured what became known in the press as the 'Wiener Uhrenmisere' ('Viennese clock misery').⁹⁹ This reached a crisis point in the early twentieth century, when the acceleration of other technologies for transport and the daily running of businesses relied on a single, accurate 'Viennese' time. The alarming discrepancies between clocks and the temporal confusion experienced by many citizens was akin to the aural disorientation within the inner districts, explored in my first chapter. In an effort to expand the scholarly discourse on 'Vienna 1900', this final case study channels a sense of the vernacular, represented by the slower mobilities and changing fortunes of the *Werkelmann*, through an analysis of temporality and urban rhythm, informed by Simmel and Lefebvre in their essays on perception in the metropolis. By taking into account the fragmented nature of timekeeping in late-nineteenth-century Vienna and relating it to broader European and Ottoman developments,

⁹⁹ This phrase was coined by the Austrian politician Alfred Lindheim in his commentary for the *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 February 1912. More details on this article can be found in my final chapter.

as well as examining the importance of local difference and the aesthetic role of clocks and sundials, I offer an alternative perspective on the city which returns the narrative to the realities of the street.

CHAPTER 1 | Rioting Beyond the Ring: Suburban Echoes and Everyday Musical Life

Revolutionary events generally take place in the street. Doesn't this show that the disorder of the street engenders another kind of order? The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become "savage" and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls.¹⁰⁰

The street is the site of multiple contestations in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Drawing on Lefebvre's evocation of human sounds in the public sphere, quoted above, I begin this chapter by examining the 'unruly' voices of working-class citizens from beyond the *Linienwall*, focusing on how the formation of new mass movements came to disrupt Mayor Karl Lueger's paternalistic form of political spectacle, as the crowds gathered for a mass protest along the Ringstrasse in October 1904. By tracing the sounds of protests and riots as they spiralled towards the periphery of Vienna, I analyse how a sense of aural transgression across physical and symbolic boundaries between the centre and suburbs, and between the public and private spheres, came to be expressed through the language of noise abatement. In doing so, I offer a different kind of acoustic topography of the city – one that is more socially and musically embedded – and ask how this might help to unmask the most resistant elements of Vienna's urban fabric.

The writer Heinrich Weruer described his return to Vienna in 1911 in aural terms: 'Only a few more days and we, too, will be trapped again in that stone vessel...from which the noise can no longer escape.'¹⁰¹ Written in the *feuilleton* section of the *Tagblatt* two weeks after the Ottakring hunger riots of 17 September 1911, Weruer's description of the city stresses the homogenised architectural developments of the major suburban streets – thoroughfares on which the sounds of military manoeuvres, urban resistance, and human protest would have reverberated with increasing cacophony. Strong visual traces of this urban homogenisation were still apparent in August 1997,

¹⁰⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (London: 2003), 19.

¹⁰¹ 'Noch, wenige Tage, und auch wir sind wieder in jenem steinernen Gefäße...aus dem der Lärm nicht mehr entweichen kann, gefangen.' Heinrich Weruer, 'Rückkehr in die Stadt', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 2 October 1911, 1.

when historians Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner began their exploration of the suburbs by taking a long walk through Ottakring:

One thing that first became clear to us on that hot summer day when the city seemed quite deserted was that social misery here has always been concealed behind a façade of impressive beauty evidently designed to suggest a homogeneous urban landscape modelled on the classicizing architecture of the Ringstraße. The tenement blocks of Ottakringerstraße, Thaliastraße, Koppstraße, and Herbststraße judged from their outward appearance are really splendid buildings, in many cases hardly inferior to the celebrated mansions of the Ringstraße. In their outward appearance they present not so much a contrast to the centre as its symbolic continuation, and thus they disguise the division of social space that is so characteristic of the city.¹⁰²

My examination of Vienna's urban form weaves its way between the contrasting elements on display in the two extended quotes above. The disorder and resistance encountered on the street, found in Lefebvre's description, is juxtaposed with the order and external homogeneity noticed by the two Austrian historians on their summer stroll. These different mobilities and wanderings also play a crucial role in how I conceptualise the city and suburbs, as both a text to be deciphered from above and a stage constructed at street level, one that contains various kinds of encounters – riotous, theatrical, and mundane. The first part of my chapter begins with an account of the political background to the mass demonstration on 23 October 1904, held on the Ringstrasse, and the growing tension between the two main factions of political life in Vienna during this period – the Christian Social party and the Social Democrats. I then trace the growth of suburban socialist movements from the Tramway Company strike in 1888 to the 1911 hunger riots and explore the reactions of journalists and police contingents.

In the second section, I examine the urban development of the outer districts in the 1890s and the relationship between architectural homogenisation, using Ottakringerstrasse as a case study, and noise as discussed in recent literature. This is juxtaposed with a focus on human sounds, particularly the changing fortunes of street musicians and 'Wiener Typen'. Both mechanical noise and human voices are then contextualised through the evolution of Vienna's Anti-Noise League and the noise abatement campaigns of the era, asking how Vienna relates to and differs from other

¹⁰² Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses* (Berghahn Books, 2008), 2.

European capitals within the realm of acoustic modernity. In addition, I examine the social reportage by Ivan Cankar and Max Winter, focusing on their multisensorial depiction of suburban poverty in the *Vororte*. In the final part of the chapter, I continue along Ottakringerstrasse and arrive at the major cultural establishments of this outer district, where vernacular musical experimentation – in the remixing of urban and rural styles – jostled with the growth of political firebrands. Arriving at the periphery of Vienna, I ask how this ‘breeding ground of excess’ can act as a counterweight to the various commentaries found in anti-noise literature of the era.¹⁰³

1.1 – Political Theatre and Suburban Spectacle

Accelerating trams and motorcars are set against a tapestry of imperial splendour, political power, and cultural dominance. This image has defined Vienna’s Ringstrasse since the scholarly examinations of the city by Johnston, McGrath, and Schorske in the 1970s, and right through to our own century with studies of the *fin-de-siècle* period by Steven Beller and Kevin Karnes, among others. It is a picture which shows a place of extreme contrast: one of marmoreal culture and unsettling speed, reflecting a Janus-faced vision of what the municipal government in the 1890s was negotiating, namely, a balance of priorities between various political and aesthetic factions in Vienna, and an expression of both old imperial and new cosmopolitan power. These competing political camps were neatly embodied by the verbal battles of intellect which took place in the Reichsrat (municipal council) between Christian Social Mayor Karl Lueger and the Social Democrat representative of Ottakring, Franz Schuhmeier. Press commentary from this period often described these figures as two sides of the same coin:

¹⁰³ This phrase was used in a local police report from 21 September 1911 to describe the Ottakring hunger riots. Here, I employ the term in a more varied manner in order to explore the social, political, and musical background of this distinctive outer suburb. See Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 13.

Schuhmeier's popularity in Vienna in the last few years was probably matched only by Lueger, with whose character he had a great deal in common, despite the bitterest political enmity.¹⁰⁴

Their shared sense of political theatre became a focal point for the municipal council and this scene is summarised vividly by Wolfgang Maderthaner:

Their arguments in the council chamber became legend; the quick wit, humour, and mocking sense of fun that they shared could collapse into profound hostility, but their shouting matches and wild insults just as often ended in theatrical gestures of reconciliation, and Lueger in particular harked back time and again to the original "Vienneseness" they both shared.¹⁰⁵

This 'Vienneseness' is revealed not only in their love of populist rhetoric and caustic wit, but in their backgrounds as children of the *Vorstädte*. They grew up in neighbouring districts – Lueger in Wieden, just beyond the Ringstrasse, and Schuhmeier in working-class Margareten to the south. Richard Geehr, in his biography of the Christian Social mayor, highlights the fact that 'his birthplace on the threshold of the inner city is deeply symbolic.'¹⁰⁶ His ability to straddle the worlds of the lower bourgeoisie and the older aristocracy, albeit precariously, resulted in a personality, a celebrity-like status even, that 'epitomized the successful *arriviste*, the political parvenu.'¹⁰⁷ Lueger's uneasy sense of shifting identity, one that strived to occupy that 'mezzanine' or 'second-society' level along the Ringstrasse, could not have been further from Schuhmeier's position as an early socialist firebrand who fought his way up to the Reichsrat to represent the industrial workers of the *Vororte*.¹⁰⁸

The aural and visual spectacle, or sense of theatre, that these two political figures displayed in the council chamber, constrained by institutional etiquette, reflected a mollified version of the reality outside the Rathaus. As John Boyer notes, 'by 1905...the gap between Christian Social and Social Democratic loyalists had widened to form a chasm in Viennese society'.¹⁰⁹ This tension was

¹⁰⁴ *Die Zeit*, 17 Feb 1913, quoted in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 141.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 140.

¹⁰⁶ Richard S. Geehr, *Karl Lueger. Mayor of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Wayne State University Press, 1990), 15.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ On the subject of the 'second society', see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Vintage Books, 1981), 45 and 60.

¹⁰⁹ John Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power 1897-1918* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 57.

revealed in the rapid splintering of Christian Social hegemony in the first few years of the twentieth century and would finally spill over into the central zone of Vienna on 23 October 1904. The whirl of political activity between supporters of both main parties centred on Social Democrat efforts to disrupt Lueger's plan for a mass procession by torchlight [*Fackelzug*], culminating in a rally outside the Votivkirche on 24 October, Lueger's sixtieth birthday.¹¹⁰ The political machine of the Christian Social party sprang into action by commissioning not only a twenty-four-page *Festschrift* for the mayor, printed in the expanded *Deutsches Volksblatt* on 23 October, but also the Karl Lueger-Stiftung which was to be partly subsidised by the public. Their fundraising efforts spanned a significant cross-section of society from ordinary Viennese citizens up to major business leaders like Julius Meinl, 'suggesting that the constituency base of the Christian Social party was slowly moving beyond the class of archetypal small artisan masters into more complex realms of patronage, clientage, and wealth.'¹¹¹ Excerpts from two newspaper editions printed the same day show the extent to which both Lueger's party and the Social Democrats were prepared to go in order to advance their respective causes.

The *Deutsches Volksblatt* led this charm offensive not only via the substantial *Festschrift*, which included a full score of a *Wienerlied* and instrumental melodies dedicated to Lueger, but also through the striking visual display of his name across ten additional pages with numerous birthday greetings from individuals and businesses.

¹¹⁰ A detailed account of the events in October 1904 can be found in Boyer, *ibid.*, 55-57.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

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Der Geselligkeits- und Wohltätigkeitsverein der Schachmeister im III. Bezirke Wien erlaubt sich aus Anlass des 60jährigen Geburtsfestes unserer Herrn Bürgermeisters Dr. Karl Lueger ein tausendfaches Hoch! auszubringen.	Dem hochverehrten Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger dem hochgeachteten Ehrenmitgliede des Katholischen Schulvereins die innigsten und ergebendsten Glückwünsche zu seinem 60. Geburtstage. Möge der höchst verdienstvolle Jubilar sein eigenartiges, patriotisches Wirken noch viele Jahre zum Wohle Wiens und Oesterreichs in bester Gesundheit und ungebrochener Schaffenskraft fortsetzen. Die Zentralleitung des Katholischen Schulvereins für Oesterreich.	Zum 60. Geburtsfeste unserer hochgeachteten Ehrenpräsidenten Herrn Bürgermeisters Dr. Karl Lueger entbietet die herzlichsten Glückwünsche. Der Lueger-Bund, Ortsgruppe „Landstrasse“.
Die Bürgervereinigung der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien bringt Dr. Hochwohlgeboren, dem Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zu seinem 60. Geburtstage ein freudiges donnerndes Hoch aus. Möge der Hebe Gott ihn schützen und schirmen und zum Wohle der Stadt und des christlichen Volkes erhalten. Josef Schwarz, Präsident.	Der Christliche Bürgerverein des XI. Gemeindebezirkes Simmering beehrt sich, Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zum 60. Geburtsfeste die ergebensten Glückwünsche darzubringen. Für die Vereinsleitung: Friedrich Schierke, Schriftführer. V. Kirsch, Obmann.	Ein 1000faches Hoch! unserem allverehrten, verdienstvollen Ehrenmitgliede Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zum 60. Geburtsfeste. Bei kgl. Schatzkammer-Meister-Frau „Anglauer“.
Ein tausendfaches Hoch unserem hochverehrten Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zu seinem 60. Geburtstage. Möge Gott der Allmächtige ihn lange uns erhalten. Die Strassenarbeiter des 7. Bezirkes.	Dem tapferen Führer des christlichen Volkes Dr. Karl Lueger ein tausendfaches Hoch zu seinem sechzigsten Wienfeste. Der deutschchristliche Wahlverein Baden.	Dem hochverehrten Bürgermeister der Stadt Wien Dr. Karl Lueger entbieten wir unsere herzlichsten Glückwünsche. Genossenschaft der Gold- und Metallschläger in Wien.
Die ergebensten Glückwünsche zum 60. Geburtsfeste unserer hochverehrten Herrn Bürgermeister bittet entgegenzunehmen die Genossenschaft der Pflasterer Wiens.	Herzlichsten Glückwunsch dem christlichen Volksführer zum 60. Geburtstage Genossenschaft der Marktvollhandlender in Wien. Johann Brantner, Vorsteher.	Die Bezirksorganisation christlicher Arbeiter XIII., Hietzing beehrt sich hienüt ihrem verdienstvollen Bezirksratsabgeordneten (V. Kurie) dem Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zu seinem 60. Geburtsfeste die herzlichsten Glück- und Segenswünsche zu entbieten.
Ein tausendfaches Hoch dem grossen Volksfreunde Dr. Karl Lueger! Wiener freiwilliges Rettungs-Institut (XVIII., Herbochtstrasse 9.) Dr. med. Karl Panesch.	Ein tausendfaches Hoch unserem hochverehrten Ehrenmitgliede Herrn Bürgermeister Dr. Karl Lueger zu seinem 60. Geburtsfeste. Die Ortsgruppe „Innere Stadt“ des Luegerbundes. Franz Fiedler, Obmann.	

Fig. 1.1 - Deutsches Volksblatt, 23 October 1904, p. 49

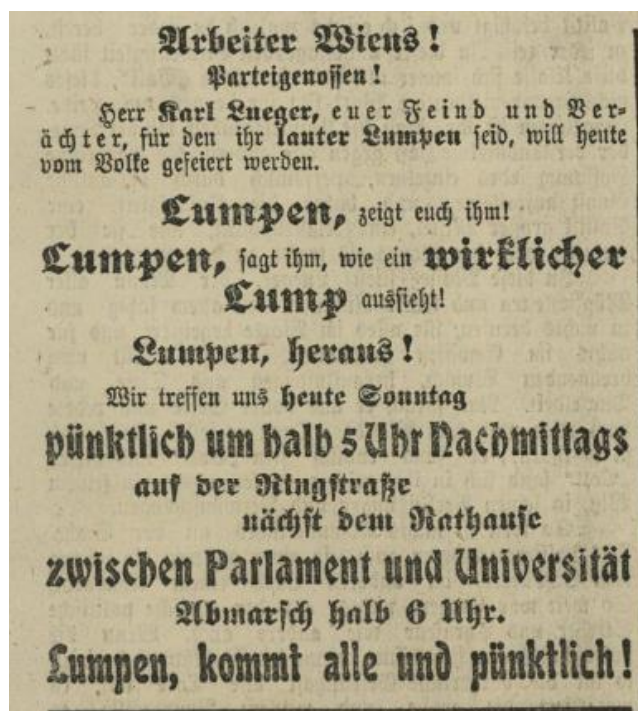


Fig. 1.2 – Arbeiter-Zeitung, 23 October 1904, front page

Workers of Vienna!
Party comrades!
Mr. Karl Lueger, your enemy and your guardian,
for whom you are nothing but rascals,
wants to be celebrated by the people today.
Rascals, show yourselves to him!
Rascals, tell him what a real scoundrel looks like!
Scoundrels, out!
We meet today, Sunday,
punctually at half past four in the afternoon,
on the Ringstrasse near the Town Hall,
between the parliament and the university.
Departure half past five.
Rascals, come out, all of you, and on the double!

Despite the extensive print devoted to Lueger's birthday celebrations and the planned *Fackelzug*, in comparison to the relatively concise slogans from the social democratic *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the Christian Social party could only summon around 8,000 individuals to participate in the procession, compared with tens of thousands of Social Democrat demonstrators. Boyer points out that 'The Christian Social party had little trouble raising large sums of money through "voluntary" political

contributions, but promises to show up and face screaming socialist crowds were more difficult to obtain.¹¹² The mass demonstration on the Ringstrasse proved to be the sharpest challenge yet to the Christian Social power base which represented the *Mittelstand* section of society – that of the artisans and small business owners. Despite Lueger's initial populist appeal to the 'little people' of the city who had been forgotten in the rush to modernise the metropolis, his hopes of staging the *Fackelzug* to take back symbolic control of the Ring were dashed. As Boyer points out,

the Social Democrats had not only embarrassed the party before the government and the Viennese public, making them seem incapable of managing their own political theatricality, but also and more importantly they showed that while Lueger might well control the Rathaus, *they* still controlled the Ring.¹¹³

The financial success of the mayor's municipalization programme, begun with the gas and electricity utilities in 1897, and his much-lauded ability to appeal to the aspiring middle classes, failed to quell the rising tide of mass socialist movements. Moreover, the tightly choreographed political theatre at work in the Reichsrat, between Lueger and Schuhmeier, was finally shattered by the echoes of suburban discontent as they grew closer to the Ringstrasse on 23 October 1904. The events of this day represented not only a disastrous spectacle for the ruling Christian Social party, but also placed the human voices of suburban labour at the front door of the political establishment. The temporary occupation of the Ring by working-class activists became a moment for the peripheral narratives of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna to be heard as well as seen, and for that 'mezzanine' level of the liberal bourgeoisie, 'where victory and defeat were transmuted into social compromise and cultural synthesis', to be brought down to the ground and forced to listen.¹¹⁴ For the workers from Schuhmeier's district of Ottakring, 'compromise and...synthesis' were no longer enough.

The development of the Wiener Tramway-Gesellschaft during the *Gründerzeit* brought a small number of the city's *Vororte* within easier reach for the comfortable middle classes, especially in

¹¹² Boyer, *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹¹⁴ Schorske, *ibid.*, 45.

their desire to escape the increasing noise of the inner suburbs at weekends. The company played a pivotal role in both the mobility of citizens and Vienna's public finances:

During the liberal era between the early 1860s and mid-1890s, the Wiener Tramway-Gesellschaft had a monopoly of the tramway lines, and in return paid the city 5 per cent of the total income. The company thus had an extremely free hand in providing transfers for citizens.¹¹⁵

Paolo Capuzzo, in his study of the urban transport systems of late-nineteenth-century Vienna, highlights the numerous challenges faced by the company in its expansion of the horse-drawn network during a period of significant economic fluctuations in the wake of the 1873 Vienna Stock Market crash. Only the upper echelons of middle-class society were able to afford the tramway fares through the 1870s and despite the favourable profits received immediately after the 1873 World Exhibition, the company's close ties to the political establishment made progress cumbersome over the next ten years. Capuzzo notes that 'a comparison between costs structure in 1872 and in 1881 shows that the biggest saving was achieved through the reduction of labour costs.'¹¹⁶ From 1882 to 1886, there was a rapid increase in transport mobility within the Viennese population, 'from 27.8 to 47.6 million' annual travellers.¹¹⁷ Yet despite the acceleration of network building through the 1880s and the small reduction in ticket prices, most journeys were still out of reach for the majority of suburban workers. From the mid-1880s to the early 1890s, this was set against a backdrop of the aggressive expansion of tramway lines, persistent reductions in the streetcar workers' wages, and failed communication between managers and subordinates. The average working day for employees of the Wiener Tramway-Gesellschaft was between sixteen and eighteen hours; penalties and additional trips were often issued if the streetcar returned to the depot just a few minutes late.¹¹⁸ In his detailed booklet on the life of Vienna's streetcar workers, Father Rudolf Eichhorn paints a vivid portrait:

¹¹⁵ Heidi Hakkarainen, *Comical Modernity. Popular Humour and the Transformation of Urban Space in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Berghahn, 2019), 82.

¹¹⁶ Paolo Capuzzo, 'The Defeat of Planning: the transport system and urban pattern in Vienna (1865 – 1914)', in *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1998), 27.

¹¹⁷ Paolo Capuzzo, *ibid.*, 30.

¹¹⁸ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 120.

Such physical stress and deprivation as the Tramway Company forces on its employees was not imposed on its members by even the strictest of medieval orders....I have first-hand knowledge of both monastic and barracks life and can add that, compared with the dependence of these slaves of capital, the often-denounced servitude in the monasteries is a paradise.¹¹⁹

This situation finally boiled over in April 1888, when further demands were made by management to increase working hours and extend certain tram routes. A year before the official founding of the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party, their future chairman Victor Adler organised a streetcar workers' strike with various epicentres spread across the districts of Favoriten, Ottakring, and Hernals. The initial organisation of this strike revealed Adler's dislike of theatricality and a concern for aesthetic considerations. Julius Braunthal notes that he 'had a disinclination for the hypothetical, the abstract, the construed....For him politics was the art of action, the art of doing what was necessary to the moment.'¹²⁰ Moreover, Adler stressed the importance of 'rationalizing the conflict, maintaining its legality, and underscoring its symbolic significance.'¹²¹ Mindful of the attitude towards striking workers in the city at large – 'they were spat at not only in the suburbs, but even by "decently dressed persons" on the Ringstrasse', he encouraged the drivers to assemble at familiar taverns near the streetcar depots, such as the gardens of the Rieha and Wiedermann Inn in Hernals.¹²² Despite a few altercations between the drivers, guests at the taverns, and hussar patrols posted to keep order, the majority of workers positioned at such establishments obeyed the authorities without any significant conflict. It was only when further military and police patrols were summoned 'with speed and precision' to the heavily working-class suburb of Favoriten that more significant violence occurred.¹²³ Here, police reports by the local district Inspector Tobias Anger

¹¹⁹ Rudolf Eichhorn, *Die weißen Sklaven der Wiener Tramway-Gesellschaft* (Vienna, 1885), 46, 48, quoted in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Julius Braunthal, *History of the International*, trans. Henry Collings and Kenneth Mitchell (New York, 1967), 272.

¹²¹ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 121.

¹²² 'sie wurden nicht nur in den Vorstädten bespuckt, sondern sogar von "anständig gekleideten Personen" auf der Ringstraße.' in Victor Adler, *Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe. Herausgegeben vom Parteivorstand der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschösterreichs*, Vol. 4 (Vienna, 1925), 50.

¹²³ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 122.

mention the 'indescribable howling and whistling' from the tenement blocks [*Zinskaserne*], accompanied by residents using pots, glasses, and flatirons as weapons against the foot-police:¹²⁴

Before we reached the street, we were met in Laxenburgerstraße by a jeering and whistling crowd who threw stones at us, coming from the direction of Quellenplatz.... There I met a jeering and whistling crowd also throwing stones, which were not badly aimed, but quickly fled when we reached them.¹²⁵

The contrast, in both aural and visual terms, between the relatively subdued tavern assemblies and the more violent episodes in Favoriten above demonstrates not only the mixture of social settings that the streetcar drivers inhabited in Vienna's *Vororte*, but also the transgressive potential of workers' movements the year before the official founding of the Social Democrat Party and almost a decade before Karl Lueger's full ratification as mayor.

These minor flashpoints intensified over the following two decades – through the years of Lueger's municipalisation programmes, the expansion of Vienna's residential districts in the 1890s, and into the politically unstable pre-war period. Despite Lueger's popularity with a significant swathe of *Mittelstand* society, his programme of municipal socialism between 1896 and 1906 was not the unqualified success his party had assumed, although Boyer points out that it was 'impressive on its own terms as a show of political will and economic achievement.'¹²⁶ In a similar manner to the verbal and intellectual 'theatre' displayed within the Reichsrat, the Christian Social mayor applied a patina of spectacle to his municipal development plans, converting 'what in other Central European cities were commonplace institutional and organizational changes into political symbols of the first order. The gasworks especially...was touted as exemplifying Christian Social "anti-capitalism" at its best.'¹²⁷ Though buoyed by the increased revenue from such programmes, Lueger's particular brand of municipal politics was 'far less "social reform" than it was an act of aggressive urban autonomy', and 'thus ironically contributed to the expansion and strengthening of...the trade union organization of

¹²⁴ Bundespolizeidirektion (BPoldion Wien), Archiv, 1888/St. 4, 'Streik der Tramwaybediensteten', Report of local District Inspector Tobias Anger, in Maderthaner and Musner, 123.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ John Boyer, *ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 6-7.

the Social Democrats, who then became his heirs.¹²⁸ Against this backdrop of grand projects and patrician spectacle was a much sharper sense of frustration with the housing and food situation during the first decade of the twentieth century. The Austrian economist Emil Sax, writing in 1869, described the building developments of the *Gründerzeit* as follows:

The housing situation has become a living calamity...the negative relationship between demand and supply, between the tremendous need for accommodation and the tiny provision available, is exploited by house-owners like a screw without end.¹²⁹

Despite being a generation earlier, Sax's description is equally applicable to the housing situation during Lueger's rule, when decades of speculative building and *laissez-faire* economics in Vienna's growing suburbs resulted in soaring rents for the migrant workers who had recently arrived from across the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Eviction notices during the 1890s reached alarming levels, and 'by 1893-95 more than one third of all tenants in Vienna had received such notices to quit, served on them by court order.'¹³⁰ Sagarra also notes that in the same decade, 'the cost of a cellar in Ottakring or Favoriten per cubic metre was actually higher in absolute terms than of a Ringstrasse apartment.'¹³¹ The combination of high rental costs, a gradual downturn in house building from 1895 to 1910, and rampant inflation that particularly affected the price of food, all contributed to the tense situation in working-class districts by the summer of 1911:

Previously the worker was just about able to rent for his family one room and a kitchen; today he has to share this cramped accommodation with two lodgers. Previously he could eat a piece of beef three times a week; today he can only afford this luxury once a week.

¹²⁸ Eda Sagarra, 'Vienna and its Population in the Late Nineteenth Century. Social and Demographic Change, 1870-1910', in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna, Proceedings of the 2nd Irish Symposium in Austrian Studies* (Trinity College Dublin, 1985), 200.

¹²⁹ 'Die Wohnsituation ist zu einer lebenden Katastrophe geworden...das Missverhältnis zwischen Nachfrage und Angebot, zwischen dem großen Bedarf und dem winzigen Vorrathe an Wohnungen wird von den Hausbesitzern zu einer Schraube ohne Ende ausgenützt', Emil Sax, *Der Neubau Wiens im Zusammenhang mit der Donauregulierung. Ein Vorschlag zur gründlichen Behebung der Wohnungsnot* (Vienna, 1869), quoted in P. Feldbauer, *Stadtwachstum und Wohnungsnot. Determinanten unzureichender Wohnungsverorgung in Wien 1848 bis 1918* (Munich, 1977), 132.

¹³⁰ Eda Sagarra, *ibid.*, 196.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

Previously he had a few pence left over for a Sunday excursion, a glass of beer, and some cigarettes; now he has to give up all this if he is to feed his children adequately.¹³²

Maderthaner and Musner highlight the febrile atmosphere of that summer in relation to daily living costs when they note that ‘the food market at Simmering, for example, could continue in business only under the protection of a large police contingent, while the tenement quarters saw regular spontaneous demonstrations against landlords or their agents.’¹³³ Similar scenes across the *Vororte* resulted in heightened tensions in Favoriten on 9 September 1911, when ‘some 4,000 participants returned through the streets of the district “amidst demonstrative shouts and song”, reaching the workers’ quarter around eight in the evening.’¹³⁴ As the authorities soon discovered, however, this was a mere prelude to the main event. The Social Democrats’ representative, Franz Schuhmeier, had organised a mass street demonstration for 17 September in a similar manner to the protest that took place in October 1904. The intervening week had given security forces time to plan for the worst, and the detailed account given in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on 18 September shows the extent to which the state drew upon all its available military power to safeguard the most precious landmarks around the *Innenstadt* (Inner City):

In the course of the morning, a total of one division of Uhlans, one division of Hussars, one division of Dragoons (Saxon Dragoon No. 3), and, as far as we could see, two battalions of the Infantry Regiment No. 32 (Hungarian). Infantry Regiment No. 32 (Hungarian), one battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 37 (Hungarian), one battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 67 (Hungarian), one battalion of Infantry Regiment No. 82 (Hungarian) and one battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment and a battalion of German masters. Moreover, the entire Viennese garrison was in strictest conscription, which went so far that even the music bands were called up in the afternoon.¹³⁵

¹³² ‘Er hat früher mit seiner Familie ein Zimmer und eine Küche allein bewohnt; heute muß er die enge Wohnung mit zwei Bettgebern teilen. Er hat früher dreimal wöchentlich ein Stück Rindfleisch gegessen; heute kann er sich diesen Luxus nur noch einmal wöchentlich erlauben. Er hat früher ein paar Heller für einen Sonntagsausflug, für ein Glas Bier, für ein paar Zigaretten erübrigt; heute muß er all dem entsagen, wenn er nur seine Kinder notdürftig ernähren will.’ *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 19 September 1911, 1.

¹³³ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 9.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹³⁵ ‘Insgesamt waren im Laufe des Vormittags in die Innere Stadt und auf die Ringstraße kommandiert worden: eine Division Uhlanen, eine Division Husaren, eine Division Dragoner (Sachsendragonier Nr. 3), ferner, soweit wir es überblicken konnten, zwei Bataillone des Infanterieregiments Nr. 32 (ungarisch), ein Bataillon des Infanterieregiments Nr. 37 (ungarisch), ein Bataillon des Infanterieregiments Nr. 67 (ungarisch), ein Bataillon des Infanterieregiments Nr. 82 (ungarisch) und ein Bataillon des bosnisch-herzegowinischen Infanterieregiments und ein Bataillon Deutschmeister. Überdies befand sich die ganze Wiener Garnison in

Most of the forces listed above were positioned around the Ringstrasse zone and Inner City, effectively creating an almost impenetrable barrier for the group of 100,000 demonstrators who had assembled from strategic meeting points in the outlying districts and paraded towards the Rathausplatz and Parliament. Just three years earlier, the same military forces had been involved in an extensive ‘*tableaux vivants*’ celebrating Emperor Franz Joseph’s sixtieth jubilee parade.¹³⁶ This highly publicised event featured famous military scenes from the first siege of Vienna in 1529 through to Radetzky’s Italian campaign in 1848-49. A reporter from the *Wiener Abendpost* commented: ‘That is the most glorious Austrian war history!’¹³⁷ The sieges of the city from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have been the focus of creative re-enactment for the pleasure of Habsburg aristocracy, but a social threat of a different kind was developing much closer to home, and the streets that facilitated the transport of security forces to and from the Ringstrasse now became the scene for a more unpredictable type of urban battlefield, reinforcing the image of a besieged Inner City.

What began as an organised mass protest on the morning of 17 September 1911, with the majority of the crowds having slowly returned to their home districts around lunchtime, by early afternoon became a guerrilla insurgency. This was spearheaded by groups of unruly youths intent on causing maximum havoc near the Rathaus quarter, evading the grasp of the mounted police as they suddenly disappeared into the dark side streets and tenement blocks. A shift from a ‘*tableau*’, in the highly choreographed morning demonstration, to a form of resistance where movement and sound are seen as more violently transgressive – reflecting Lefebvre’s evocation of ‘savage’ speech on the street – can be seen in the prevailing tone of newspaper reports from the following day:

strengster Konsignierung, die so weit ging, daß Nachmittags sogar die Musikkapellen eingezogen wurden.’ *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 September 1911, 3.

¹³⁶ Laurence Cole, *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 49.

¹³⁷ Elisabeth Grossegger, *Der Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug Wien 1908* (Vienna, 1992), 119, in Cole, *ibid.*

The deafening cries of the demonstrators....

The crowd raged and shouted like crazy, unsparing with their stones....

Fearful shrieks and cries....

A school employee reported that he had several times heard slang expressions such as "It's hotting up!"....

The hellish noise of a gruesome concert.¹³⁸

those irresponsible youth who do not obey any instruction and who form a body of hangers-on at every demonstration, unwilling to leave partly out of curiosity, partly out of overenthusiasm....the disaffected youth of Ottakring...those quite young and irresponsible people whom no one knew and no one had summoned.¹³⁹

Those elements that join in every tumult....the familiar flotsam of any metropolis.¹⁴⁰

The modulations in human sounds heard through the day on 17 September 1911, expressed by what the reporters called 'the familiar flotsam' from the *Vororte*, reveal the precariousness and fragility of organised protest in a city such as Vienna, when the 'carnival' or spectacle of the morning demonstrations gradually descended into suburban rioting. In particular, the sounds of slang and unfamiliar working-class dialects expose an important aspect of the anti-noise debate, one which focuses more on human presence and class-based discourse. Maderthaner and Musner provide an informative background note to the expression 'it's hotting up', quoted above: 'This is so-called 'Rotwelsch', a slang heavily saturated by Yiddish, and used by marginal social groups such as vagabonds, hawkers, beggars, petty criminals etc., constantly changing with the social context.'¹⁴¹ On the subject of aural transgression and rebellion, Peter Bailey has noted the following:

Noise has often constituted a popular counter-terror and form of symbolic violence as a rudimentary and readily mobilized resource of the crowd. The licence of carnival can be converted into riot when the 'many-headed monster' gives voice in the tumult of the mob.¹⁴²

Bailey's idea of 'noise' as a 'form of symbolic violence' is a topic which will be explored in the second part of this chapter, revealing how human sounds from the suburbs were grouped under terms

¹³⁸ Quoted in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 17-18.

¹³⁹ *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 September 1911, 4, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 15.

¹⁴⁰ *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 September 1911, 4, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁴² Peter Bailey, 'Breaking the Sound Barrier: A Historian Listens to Noise', *Body & Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1996), 52.

which were designed to keep working-class voices at a safe distance, despite some of the very same voices being used to entertain a broad cross-section of Viennese society in Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld.

The violence on 17 September 1911 made its way back to Ottakring at the periphery of the city. By late afternoon, this district had become the new battleground where local police and military forces attempted to quell the most violent gangs of adolescents from the notorious borderlands of this district – ‘the children of the stone-strewn Schmelz.’¹⁴³ This periphery ‘beyond’ the periphery, next to Ottakring, contained a different form of unorganised resistance, not subject to rules or institutions – one that offered an escape from the constricting channels of modern suburban streets, reflected in the chequerboard development of ‘New Ottakring’ which had been created in the 1890s following the latest American model of town planning.¹⁴⁴ This spatial transformation of the *Vororte* is the main focus of my next section, where I examine how the emphasis on economic efficiency and architectural homogenisation in the 1890s contributed to a widening social gulf between districts and how this increasing distance was echoed in anti-noise rhetoric.

¹⁴³ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 18. The landscape of the Schmelz is explored in more detail in my thesis conclusion.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

1.2 – Sounds Like Progress: Street Noise in Vienna

Distinctions between noise and sound in recent Anglo-American literature have stressed the human dimension within a particular acoustic environment: ‘noise is a powerful anti-subject of culture, raising essential questions about the staging of human expression, socialisation, individual subjectivity, and political control.’¹⁴⁵ The unfamiliar human cries from the *Vororte* reported in Viennese newspapers after the hunger revolts of 17 September 1911 were often highlighted as ‘noise’ and a form of aural transgression by the liberal classes living closer to the centre. In this sense, “‘noise’ is a way of communicating the idea that...‘the sound you are making is out of place’.”¹⁴⁶ Calico’s conception of sound as ‘out of place’ – as *obscene* in both an aural and physical sense – is a theme I will explore in relation to those ‘Wiener Typen’ whose gradual disappearance from the street scene around 1900 was bound up with class-based discourse on what sounds were considered appropriate for the modern kind of cosmopolitan intellectual. The distinctive, and highly moralistic, tone of the Vienna Anti-Noise League, led by folklorist Michael Haberlandt (1860-1940), was used extensively to protest against a wide range of human and mechanical sounds that were judged a disaster for one’s mental health. Before I delve into the distinctive language and rhetoric used by the leading figures of the Vienna Anti-Noise League, I expand my enquiry into urban sound by charting the growth of the city and its evolving acoustic layers through the writings of Robert Musil and Georges Kastner. In particular, I ask how parallel developments in Paris and Berlin can help to place Vienna’s spatial and material transformation into a broader European context.

Urban Growth and Sound

Automobiles shot out of deep, narrow streets into the shallow of bright squares. Dark clusters of pedestrians formed cloudlike strings....Hundreds of noises wove themselves into a wiry texture of sound with barbs protruding here and there, smart edges running

¹⁴⁵ David Novak, ‘Noise’, *Keywords in Sound*, eds. David Novak and Matt Sakakeeney (Duke University Press, 2015), 133.

¹⁴⁶ Calico, *ibid.*, 34.

along it and subsiding again, with clear notes splintering off and dissipating. By this noise alone, whose special quality cannot be captured in words, a man returning after years of absence would have been able to tell with his eyes shut that he was back in the Imperial Capital and Royal City of Vienna.¹⁴⁷

Robert Musil's vivid description of a street scene in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna evokes a distinctive acoustic environment that appears both tightly constrained by the placement of buildings and alarming in its unpredictability. The author's concern for exactness in conjuring up this 'special quality' with the words 'wiry texture...barbs protruding...smart edges...clear notes' reveals a preoccupation with a sense of the city as a resonating instrument, albeit one with barbed edges. Even Musil's single reference to human life is deliberately opaque and anonymous in his choice of language – 'dark clusters....cloudlike strings.' His claim to be able to recognise Vienna 'with his eyes shut' also points towards a striking comment made by nineteenth-century French composer and ethnographer Georges Kastner: 'le bruit même d'une ville fait partie de son originalité' ('the very noise of a city forms part of its uniqueness').¹⁴⁸ In his study on literary representations of sound and noise in Kastner and Mallarmé, Brett Brehm argues that

Kastner offers a distinctive method for listening to the city, an attunement both to the cries of the individual street vendors and also to the denser aural fabric of the city, in which cries overlap together with the architectural and social forces that shape the listener and the listening....

In the urban street, Kastner discovers a kind of unrefined noisiness that he seeks both to elevate into symphonic material and isolate as itself an object of cultural analysis.¹⁴⁹

Kastner's choice of language from his 1857 essay, *Les Voix de Paris*, while focusing on 'le chaos sonore', is closely bound up with an ethnography of urban sound which the French composer then attempts to elevate into symphonic form. It represents a desire to 'make the domain of the symphony available to melodies of the street.'¹⁵⁰ While Kastner's approach offers a distinctive

¹⁴⁷ Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*, trans. Sophie Wilkins (Picador Classic, 2017), 3.

¹⁴⁸ Georges Kastner, *Les Voix de Paris, essai d'une histoire littéraire et musicale des cris populaires de la capitale, depuis la moyen-âge jusqu'à nos jours...* (Paris: G. Brandus, Dufour et cie, 1857) Print, in Brett Brehm, 'Soundscapes of Nineteenth-Century Paris: The Cries of Kastner and Mallarmé', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2016), 263.

¹⁴⁹ Brett Brehm, *ibid.*, 263, 265.

¹⁵⁰ 'd'ouvrir aux mélodies de la rue le domaine de la symphonie', in Brehm, *ibid.*, 264.

example of how to construct a more inclusive sonic portrait of a major city, ultimately its noble aims edge uncomfortably close to Murray Schafer's notion of 'orchestrating' a city in a manner which appears too deterministic to take into account the open-ended nature of the sonic environment and how this is closely related to a complex set of narratives that emanate from the street. A conception of the city's soundscape in musical terms can be seen below, with Kastner's reference to 'canon polymorphique perpétuel':

The voices of Paris...form a sort of perpetual polymorphic canon, of which even the most gifted musician loses hope of finding the last note....Rumbling of carriages, the noise of different trades, the cries of industry, conversations of passers-by, clamour of the crowd, they encompass the most heterogeneous of sonic manifestations.¹⁵¹

A juxtaposition of these two urban acoustic portraits by Musil and Kastner reveals a shared theme: the manifestation of what Brehm terms an 'acoustic epistemology of place'.¹⁵² While my aim in this chapter does not amount to a thoroughgoing epistemological or ethnographical study of Vienna's own 'chaos sonore' at the end of the nineteenth century, my interrogation of how we view this city's acoustic environment, which encompasses the structural, technological, and human, draws upon Kastner's more varied approach in seeking to elevate the voices of the street in the scholarly narrative. In doing so, I argue that such an approach can highlight the crucial position of vernacular culture, manifested in the sounds of the 'Wiener Typen', and its imbrication with the changing acoustic environment of the street around 1900. In order to begin uncovering the acoustic layers of Vienna, I return to Heinrich Weruer's comment from 1911, stated at the opening of the chapter, and examine how the concept of the city as a 'stone vessel' was manifested in the district of Ottakring, starting with an example of the strictly regulated, and aesthetically homogenised, tenement blocks.

¹⁵¹ 'Les voix de Paris...forment une sorte de canon polymorphique perpétuel dont le plus habile musicien perd l'espoir de trouver la dernière note....Roulement des voitures, bruits des métiers, cris industriels, causeries des passants, clameurs de la foule, elles embrassent les manifestations sonores les plus hétérogènes', in Brett Brehm, *ibid.*, 265.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 266.



Fig. 1.3 – Tenement block, Ottakringerstraße 82, built in 1906-07 to plans by Emil Hoppe. Photographer unknown. Source: *Der Architekt*, Vol. XIII (1907), Suppl. 8, Plate 53.

One such tenement block, situated one kilometre beyond the *Gürtel* (outer belt road), is shown above. On the height of buildings in the outer suburbs during this period, Peter Payer notes that 'Between 1890 and 1914, the number of single-story structures dropped from 215 to 63, whereas at the same time, the number of four-story buildings rose from 58 to 141.'¹⁵³ Although Emil Hoppe adheres to the plainer style of *art nouveau* in the geometric forms and discrete stuccoed signatures, reflecting the ideas of his teacher Otto Wagner, the overall dimensions of the building and its classical simplicity emphasise the direction of the street sloping steadily downwards towards Vienna's inner districts. In this sense, the design represents a 'symbolic continuation' of the centre in

¹⁵³ Peter Payer, 'The Age of Noise', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 33, No. 5 (July 2007), 775.

maintaining a similar height across different districts.¹⁵⁴ It was this image of urban homogenisation between the Ringstrasse and the *Vororte* that inspired Weruer's description of Vienna as a 'stone vessel' and contributed to its distinctive acoustic signals, as seen in the opening of Musil's *The Man Without Qualities*.

This architectural projection from the central zone and the accelerated expansion of the city towards the end of the nineteenth century was certainly not unique to Vienna. Baron Haussmann's development of Paris had taken place several decades earlier and Berlin's rapid enlargement occurred simultaneously with Otto Wagner's city plans of the 1890s in Vienna. Nancy Forgione highlights the prevailing tone of nineteenth-century commentary on Paris' reconstruction when she says that 'the starburst intersection of streets and the monotonous uniformity of the new buildings exemplify Haussmann's imprint on the city and its estranging effect.'¹⁵⁵ A similar kind of uniformity in building design can be seen in the chequerboard development of Vienna's *Vororte* in the 1880s and 1890s. However, Forgione's analysis of the street scene in Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Pont des Arts, Paris* from 1867-68 reveals the differing priorities of city planners in both capitals. On the spatial element in Renoir's painting, which depicts a clear view of the bridge from the Quai Malaquais, she remarks that 'the expansive feeling of openness strikingly acknowledges Haussmann's success in bringing light and air to the formerly dark and cramped area around the Seine.'¹⁵⁶ Here, the contrast with Otto Wagner's *Generalregulierungsplan* of 1893 can be seen in the changing identity and role of the street. Unlike Haussmann's vision of opening out lines of sight and providing space for pedestrian activity, as well as facilitating the movement of police and military forces through the widening of streets, Wagner's primary concern for efficiency of movement in the radial streets splaying out from the Ringstrasse led him to focus his efforts overwhelmingly on grafting grid-like patterns onto the

¹⁵⁴ This is in specific reference to the prevalence of four to six-storey *Mietskaserne* which began to cover large swathes of Vienna's outer districts beyond the *Gürtel* (the outer belt road) from the 1890s onwards. See Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (Vintage Books, 1981), 47. Also Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna, Bridge Between Cultures* (Belhaven Press, 1993).

¹⁵⁵ Nancy Forgione, 'Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (December 2005), 675.

¹⁵⁶ Nancy Forgione, *ibid.*, 665.

semi-rural outer districts. As Schorske observes, 'regulated as to height and stripped of disturbing surface ornament, the houses made the street a monument in itself.'¹⁵⁷ This inscribing of monumentality across Vienna's cityscape in the 1890s, with scant regard to pedestrian activity and slower forms of mobility, resulted in the formation of 'street canyons, which became deeper and deeper the closer one moved toward the city centre.'¹⁵⁸ The visual streamlining of the capital's new urban form would have significant acoustic consequences around 1900, as we will see in material from Vienna's Anti-Noise League.

Berlin's expansion in the *fin-de-siècle* period represented one of the largest and most intensive city developments in Europe at the time, dwarfing its Austrian counterpart in the number of outlying districts incorporated into the metropolitan area. The similarity between the two capitals lay to a large extent in the identical rows of *Mietskaserne* which sustained the density of suburban residential districts outwards to the metropolitan periphery:

Berlin might be considered an especially good case in point because of the intensity of this development within just a few years. The Greater Berlin Act of 1920 absorbed seven surrounding towns and dozens of communities, expanding the city's area to thirteen times its former size.¹⁵⁹

Vienna's earlier incorporation of its *Vororte* – the first phase being the southern and western districts in 1890 to 1892, and those to the north and east of the Danube in 1904 – resulted in a similarly accelerated pace of expansion, but was more constricted on three sides of the city by the combination of the surrounding hills and Wienerwald to the north and west, as well as the river systems to the east. Despite the topographical boundaries, a comparison of the population figures between Berlin and Vienna below shows the striking rate of growth for the latter – an almost

¹⁵⁷ Carl Schorske, *ibid.*, 97.

¹⁵⁸ Peter Payer, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Daniel Morat, 'Sounding Out Urban Space: Berlin Street Music around 1900', *Colloquia Germanica*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (2013), 332.

threefold increase over three decades, with Vienna reaching its highest population on record in 1910.¹⁶⁰

Year	Berlin	Vienna
1880	1,120,000	726,000
1890	1,570,000	1,365,000
1900	1,880,000	1,769,000
1910	2,071,000	2,083,000

In her analysis of the spatial construction of both cities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Christa Gaug points out that

the same century pushed Berlin—a city “without permanent form or common history” and with only a Prussian past to look back to—into embracing its modern side with much greater force, as a city whose secular and industrial presence grew at a faster pace than its royal and imperial presence did.¹⁶¹

This is placed in contrast to the Viennese city planners’ focus on ‘maintaining an image’ in their concern to extend the monumentality of the Ringstrasse zone.¹⁶² It is the different relationships with industrialisation that distinguished Paris and Berlin from Vienna’s peculiar village-like ecosystem, where the urban form displayed a particularly strong tension between the ambitions of the liberal bourgeoisie and the need for mass residential construction and repurposing of semi-rural spaces for industrial workers. Lichtenberger argues that ‘the economic phenomenon of industrialization had to be grafted onto a cityscape of an imperial capital shaped by a specific social system, with the economic centre of the city also remaining the social centre.’¹⁶³ I maintain that this tension between

¹⁶⁰ Population figures are taken from:

<https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/bevoelkerung/demografie/bevoelkerungsstand>

<https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstand/index.html>. Accessed 8 February 2022.

¹⁶¹ Christa Gaug, ‘Situating the City: The Textual and Spatial Construction of Late-Nineteenth-Century Berlin and Vienna in City Texts by Theodor Fontane and Daniel Spitzer’, PhD Thesis, University of Texas (2000), 56-57.

¹⁶² Gaug, *ibid.*

¹⁶³ Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna, Bridge Between Cultures* (Belhaven Press, 1993) 62.

different strata of Vienna's population – the needs of working-class migrant communities and the demands of *Mittelstand* society – was expressed in a more irregular fashion than in Paris or Berlin. While the rate of expansion in certain *Vororte* like Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld resembled the American system of grids and rectilinear patterns, which resulted in both visual and aural confusion for its residents used to more open, discursive patterns, such modern developments in city planning were not always accompanied by the necessary changes in other urban technologies and infrastructure. This was, of course, true of many large cities during this period, but what set Vienna apart from other major European capitals was its identity as a 'village-metropolis', with all the concomitant social and economic differentiations that result from this term. This hybrid identity can be seen by moving away from a post-Schorskean emphasis on imposing façades and adopting a dual approach – one that examines the acoustic environment either side of the impressive outer wall of Ottakringerstrasse 82, and seeks to understand the visible and hidden elements of suburban life in Vienna which contributed to the distinctive mixture of sounds.

The Language of Noise

A comparison of Vienna's urban development and architectural patterns with Paris and Berlin, explored earlier, now gives way to a more varied approach which draws on structural and technological changes on the street itself, combined with the evolving attitudes towards human sounds, or 'noise' as it was often called. I begin by summarising the activities of anti-noise movements in a broader international context, drawing attention to the distinctive approaches taken by campaigners in North America and elsewhere in Europe. In order to explore the acoustic properties of Vienna's streets and the increasingly stark division between public and private spheres in middle-class commentary on sound and the city, I examine the social background to the local Anti-Noise League and the influence of figures such as Theodor Lessing on Viennese discourse. My focus on the striking rhetoric found in Michael Haberlandt's essay from 1900 – with its highly sensorial

approach – offers the most vivid example of how Viennese writers at the time sought to encompass all manner of sounds from the street and those escaping through apartment windows under the word *Lärm*.¹⁶⁴ This case study also reveals the process by which the sounds of vernacular music-making were often framed according to new definitions of noise which threatened the private worlds of Vienna's intellectual class.

The subject of urban noise became a growing concern for the residents of New York around 1900 and individuals often highlighted the issue of public welfare and the desire to enact swift change through common law. Philanthropist and trained medic Julia Barnett Rice became the inspiration for Theodor Lessing's *Deutscher Antilärmverein* when she founded the Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise in December 1906. After monitoring the frequency of steam whistles from the Hudson River and the possible effects on nearby hospitals, Rice succeeded in persuading congressman William Bennet to introduce legislation in 1907 which 'forbade the unnecessary blowing of whistles in ports and harbors'.¹⁶⁵ Such success in pushing through progressive legislation was brought about often through the tone of public discourse which stressed communal efforts to tackle 'unproductive' or 'unnecessary' noise:

"Noise reform" was part of a larger program of reform that included urban planning, public health programs, and other progressive efforts to apply expert knowledge to the problems of the modern city. Doctors warned of the danger that noise posed to physical and mental health, while efficiency experts proclaimed the deleterious effect of noise upon the nation's productivity.¹⁶⁶

While much of the language stressed words such as 'productivity', broadly defined under what Emily Thompson calls 'the culture of efficiency', the attempt to police noise in a city like New York often resulted in a highly selective targeting of individuals whose acoustic signals no longer conformed to the progressive tone of the era – that lowest social layer of vendors, peddlers, and street

¹⁶⁴ Michael Haberlandt, 'Vom Lärm', *Cultur im Alltag* (Wiener Verlag, 1900).

¹⁶⁵ Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (MIT Press, 2002), 121.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

musicians.¹⁶⁷ The gap between the broad array of urban sounds, both mechanical and human, mentioned in anti-noise ordinances such as those issued by Thomas Bingham, and the subsequent reality of arrests that focused solely on street musicians and hawkers pointed towards the predominant narrative of ‘the middle-class vision of a well-ordered city.’¹⁶⁸ Although this is one element that was shared by many anti-noise movements across North America and Europe in the *fin-de-siècle* period, the efforts of trailblazers like Rice put forth a model of noise abatement which sought to garner support from a cross-section of society – from teachers, doctors, and engineers to politicians, labour unions, and philanthropists. It was arguably this mixed model of asserting public and private benefits that resulted in the relatively swift introduction of anti-noise legislation.¹⁶⁹

By contrast, the German-Jewish writer and philosopher Theodor Lessing took a rather different approach in his creation of the *Antilärmverein* in 1908, in spite of his indebtedness to ideas taken from the earlier campaign in New York. The years immediately preceding the formation of the German society witnessed a mixture of views on the various advantages and disadvantages of noise in this age of acceleration. Willy Hellpach, in his publication *Nervösität und Kultur* from 1902, draws attention to the shift in transport-related sounds over the preceding decades, from “‘toxicating’ aural signals’ towards ‘sober and non-obtrusive’ inscriptions.”¹⁷⁰ For Hellpach, the aural and visual dimensions were equally crucial in cultivating a more civilised society, one that was capable of sustained intellectual endeavours:

The real causes of noise, he made clear, could be found in the things that had remained as they were: the narrow, dark streets through which the traffic squirmed. In the future city, the centre should only be accessible to silent and slow traffic aiming for business.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 123.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 123-124.

¹⁶⁹ A comparison of methods between North American and German noise abatement campaigns between 1906 and 1914 is discussed by Karin Bijsterveld, particularly focusing on the distinction between public health and private vested interests, as well as accusations of cultural elitism in Lessing’s approach. Karin Bijsterveld, ‘The Diabolical Symphony of the Mechanical Age: Technology and Symbolism of Sound in European and North American Noise Abatement Campaigns, 1900-40’, *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (February 2001), 50-51.

¹⁷⁰ Willy Hellpach, *Nervösität und Kultur* (Berlin: Verlag von Johannes Rade, 1902), 32, quoted in Bijsterveld, *ibid.*, 48-49.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 49.

According to Hellpach, ‘unnecessary’ noise was precisely the discontinuous sounds of manual workers which threatened to disrupt his aural and visual conception of a modern, streamlined city; the low hum of a nearby factory was almost synonymous with the near ‘silent and slow traffic’ of Berlin’s main thoroughfares. The increasingly stark division between private and public spheres was a major point of contention in the first few years of the twentieth century. The city planning inspector of Berlin, Georg Pinkenburg, echoed American anti-noise activists like Rice in his 1903 treatise when he focused his attention on the negative consequences of the separation between home and workplace, and the heavy reliance on public transport.¹⁷² For Pinkenburg, the main solutions for reducing noise were to be found in the materials used on roads, pavements, and for trams, as well as other machine technologies, rather than the much more slippery arena of human sounds:

According to the Berlin inspector, the noise produced by man himself – shouting or the use of bicycle-bells and car-horns – was the most difficult to control. One could not give every citizen a personal policeman to check his behaviour.¹⁷³

Both perspectives outlined above were expressed in the light of recent developments in the *Kultur- und Lebensreformbewegung*, a movement that was beginning to be imbued with more puritanical agendas as a bulwark against rapid societal change.¹⁷⁴

It was in the *Lebensreform* spirit that Lessing set to work on producing his manifesto against noise, *Der Lärm: Eine Kampfschrift gegen die Geräusche unseres Lebens*, published in March 1908. Although he displayed a similar concern to Rice for proposing new legislation, mainly through a wide-ranging examination of Germany’s *Strafgesetzbuch* (Criminal Code), Lessing’s society ‘focused primarily on the noise made by other people as an infringement upon one’s right to private solitude.’¹⁷⁵ The overtly intellectual stance taken by the philosopher and cultural commentator, influenced in part by Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, was ‘expressed...in a rather pseudo-academic

¹⁷² Georg Pinkenburg, *Der Lärm in den Städten und seine Verhinderung* (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1903)

¹⁷³ Bijsterveld, *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ See Thorsten Carstensen and Marcel Schmid (eds.). *Die Literatur der Lebensreform. Kulturkritik und Aufbruchstimmung um 1900* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016), and Arnold Labrie, *Het verlangen naar zuiverheid: Een essay over Duitsland* (Maastricht: Rijksuniversiteit Limburg, 1994).

¹⁷⁵ Daniel Morat, *ibid.*, 333.

manner', and 'would have alienated popular opinion makers, offended working-class people, and baffled non-intellectual classes.'¹⁷⁶ While the first few years of the society's existence attracted a number of professionals and artists across major cities in Germany and Austria, the publication of the league's journal, *Der Anti-Rüpel* ('Anti-Rowdy'), failed to garner the same level of attention across different strata of society that the American campaigns achieved around the same time. Lessing may not have helped his own cause by calling, in the first issue of *Der Anti-Rüpel*, 'for the creation of a *Kulturmacht* (cultural force) and a *Partei der anständigen Leute* (party of respectable people).'¹⁷⁷ John Goodyear draws attention to the language used by Lessing in his early publications, suggesting that much of the focus was on forms of pollution and a striving for hygiene in all areas of daily life:

Lessing equated the affinity for urban noise with a disease, a plague that desperately needed treating. From *Lärmverseuchung* (noise contamination) to *Klavierpest* (plague of the piano) and *Gesangseuche* (the pestilence of singing), Lessing understood noise as *hygienische Delikte* (hygienic offenses) and set out on a mission to persuade the German public that it should be legally defined as such.¹⁷⁸

This image of cleansing the acoustic environment of undesirable sounds evokes Hellpach's 'visualisation' approach, where only the continuous background hum of traffic and distant factories are considered acceptable to the idea of a beautified and well-ordered city. Hidden sounds that break through either side of the homogenised façades of the *Mietskaserne*, for instance, are now described in a quasi-biological manner – the '*hygienische Delikte*'. Such an appeal to the delicate sensibilities of the intellectual class and the right to private contemplation became Lessing's clarion call between 1908 and 1911, when he published several articles on city noise in leading Viennese newspapers.¹⁷⁹ Unlike the *Antilärmverein* in Germany, which existed until 1914, the Viennese branch

¹⁷⁶ John Goodyear, 'Escaping the Urban Din: A Comparative Study of Theodor Lessing's Antilärmverein (1908) and Maximilian Negwer's Ohropax (1908)', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction*, eds. Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill (Oxford University Press, 2011), 30.

¹⁷⁷ Goodyear, *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷⁹ 'Gegen den Lärm', *Die Zeit*, 26 August 1908; 'Experimentelle Versuche über den Lärm', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 9 November 1909; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 16 March 1911; 'Die Psychologie des Lärms', *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 June 1911.

only managed to stay active for around two years from its formation in 1909, and by October 1910 had acquired just thirty-five members. This state of affairs was brought about by an even narrower membership drawn from the liberal bourgeoisie – mainly lawyers, writers, and artists, the most famous of whom was Hugo von Hofmannsthal. It was led by the Viennese art historian Dr. Robert Stiaßny and other prominent figures included the publisher and pacifist Alfred Hermann Fried, the poet Franz Karl Ginzkey, the factory owner Max Friedmann, and writer and arts patron Felix von Oppenheimer.¹⁸⁰

As early as April 1909, Lessing faced considerable opposition to his public campaign of noise abatement: Otto Eisenschitz, from the Wiener Bürgertheater, stated, ‘Your campaign against noise is of no use and unnecessary. On the contrary, it is narrow-minded, useless, pointless and absurd!’¹⁸¹ For other writers, artists, engineers and businessmen, Vienna’s changing cityscape was a sign of strength and hope for a brighter future. Ludwig Hirschfeld pointed out that ‘For the first time, the city gives a cosmopolitan impression and one gets a vague idea of what Vienna might look like tomorrow.’¹⁸² Edmund Wengraf also believed that noise was an indispensable part of living in a growing city:

Let's be frank: city dwellers like us, who give ourselves a philosophical air and sigh about the street noise that supposedly disturbs our thinking, can't actually live without this street noise. It is the mental stimulation of our days and the lullaby of our nights.¹⁸³

According to the three figures quoted above, the sounds of industrialisation, public transport, and manual labour were the necessary birth pangs of the truly modern metropolis. In a city like Vienna, with its internal tensions expressed in a ‘village-metropolis’ character, the subject of noise became a

¹⁸⁰ A detailed account of the Anti-Noise Society in Vienna is given in Peter Payer, *Der Klang der Großstadt* (Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 145-154.

¹⁸¹ ‘Recht auf Stille’: *Der Antirüpel: Antirowdy* 6, April 1909, 110, quoted in Peter Payer, ‘The Age of Noise’, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 33, No. 5 (July 2007), 782.

¹⁸² Ludwig Hirschfeld, *Die klingende Stadt: Skizzen aus dem lauten und aus dem stillen Wien* (Vienna: Mohr, 1912), 2, in Payer, *ibid.*, 783.

¹⁸³ ‘Gestehen wir's doch offen: wir Großstadtmenschen, die wir uns ein philosophisches Air geben und über den angeblich unsere Denkarbeit störenden Strassenlärm seufzen, können tatsächlich ohne diesen Strassenlärm nicht leben. Er ist die geistige Unregung unserer Tage und die einwiegende Musik unserer Nächte.’ Edmund Wengraf, ‘Das Recht auf Lärm’, *Die Zeit*, 30 April 1911, 1–2.

particularly contentious battlefield on which writers like Lessing competed with the clamouring demands of industrial leaders and politicians intent on projecting the city's image as an economic powerhouse.

The year 1911 proved to be especially busy for Theodor Lessing and his Austrian supporters, for despite the disbandment of the Vienna branch of the Anti-Noise Society later that year, the German writer was invited to give several lectures at various societies and university departments across Vienna before the publication of his essay 'Die Psychologie des Lärms'. His invitations to speak at the Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Rauch- und Staubplage and the Institute of Hygiene at the University of Vienna were well received, even prompting one commentator to note that 'Since they were quick to learn, the audience thanked the lecturer not by clapping but by waving handkerchiefs.'¹⁸⁴ His subsequent newspaper article, 'The Psychology of Noise', built on the relative success of his public appearances and focused on combining details of Vienna's acoustic environment with broader brushstrokes from the quasi-philosophical underpinnings of his anti-noise manifesto. Lessing insisted that 'nowhere can you study this psychology of noise better than here in Vienna.'¹⁸⁵ He goes on to provide the following portrait:

There is a plethora of noises that are produced for no other reason than because making noise is fun. When a carter clicks his teeth and bangs his metre-long brush, when the milkman clatters his jugs at dawn, when the hackney carriages, as in Paris, carry little bells and jingle happily; when, on the tram, the conductor blasts a kind of foghorn at every stop, while noiseless light signals would serve better, let no one persuade me that the motive behind these noises is anything other than the ruthless will to power of uneducated, primitive people.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ 'Da die Zuhörer schnell lernten, dankten sie dem Vortragenden nicht durch Klatschen, sondern durch das Schwenken von Taschentüchern.' *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 16 March 1911, 3.

¹⁸⁵ 'Ach, nirgendwo kann man diese Lärmpsychologie besser studieren als hier in Wien.' Theodor Lessing, 'Die Psychologie des Lärms', *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 June 1911, 1.

¹⁸⁶ 'Da gibt es eine Fülle von Geräuschen, die aus keinem anderen Grunde hervorgebracht werden, als weil das Lärmen eben Spass macht. Wenn so ein Fuhrknecht kräftig schnalzt und mit seiner meterlangen Beitsche knallt, wenn der Milchmann in der Morgenfrühe mit seinen Kannen scheppert, wenn die Fiaker, wie in Paris, Glöckchen tragen und fröhlich daherklingeln; wenn auf der Trambahn der Kondukteur an jeder Haltestelle in eine Art Nebelhorn stösst, während lautlose Lichtsignale bessere Dienste täten, so soll doch niemand mir einreden, hinter diesen Lärmarten stehe ein anderes Motiv als der rücksichtslose Machtwille unerzogener, primitiver Menschen.' Lessing, *ibid.*

The progression from a straightforward description of sounds – evoking the “‘toxicating” aural signals’ from Hellpach’s 1902 essay – to a sudden charge of cultural and social vandalism, or boorishness, ‘the ruthless will to power of uneducated, primitive people’ [*der rücksichtslose Machtwille unerzogener, primitiver Menschen*], offers a striking example of Lessing’s own rhetorical noise in its heightened sense of constant moral transgression.

And yet there are people, young ladies of the so-called best society, who tear open all the windows when they sing and make music for themselves. Darwin says that unconsciously erotic atavisms are behind all luxury music. What terrible thoughts one can have when one wanders through the suburbs on summer evenings and encounters open windows everywhere, behind each one a clucking chicken, a mating chicken. But it is not this erotic function of the noise of music, not the ruthless will to power of raw self-feeling behind the noise of the market that is essential for the psychologist. Another, spiritual factor points deeper.¹⁸⁷

The extract above provides the opposite perspective: here Lessing bemoans the aural spillage *onto* the street from behind the façades of those apartment blocks described earlier in the chapter. Music-making from inside the home is classified under the term *Lärm* when it disturbs the tranquil thoughts of the *flâneur* as he strolls through the suburbs. As Morat points out, ‘the dispute over house music on the one hand and street music on the other hand...shows that what was ultimately at stake in the noise debates were the boundaries between the private and the public.’¹⁸⁸ For Lessing, music becomes ‘Musiklärm’, represented by ‘a clucking chicken, a mating chicken’ [*ein gackerndes Hühnchen, ein balzendes Hähnchen*]. Eduard Hanslick, who was an ardent supporter of Lessing’s efforts, wrote the following about the sound of pianos from nearby apartments in the February 1909 issue of *Der Anti-Rüpel*:

The torment we endure daily from neighbouring dilettantes strumming or pupils exercising has been described often enough in all colours. I sincerely believe that among the hundreds

¹⁸⁷ ‘Und doch gibt es Menschen, junge Damen der sogenannt besten Gesellschaft, die alle Fenster aufreissen, wenn sie für sich singen und musizieren. Darwin sagt, hinter aller Luxusmusik stünden unbewusst-erotische Atavismen. Auf welche schlimmen Gedanken kann man da kommen, wenn man an Sommerabenden durch die Vororte wandernd, überall offene Fenster trifft, hinter jedem ein gackerndes Hühnchen, ein balzendes Hähnchen. Aber nicht diese erotische Funktion des Musiklärms, nicht der rücksichtslose Machtwille rohen Selbstgefühls hinter dem Lärm des Marktes ist wesentlich für den Psychologen. Ein anderer, seelischer Faktor deutet tiefer.’ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Daniel Morat, *ibid.*, 334.

of noises and sounds of discontent that grind the ear of the average citizen during the day and dull it prematurely, this musical torture is the most gruelling.¹⁸⁹

Yet as we have seen, such sounds could be found across many other major cities like Berlin, Paris, London, and New York. Peter Payer's question from the beginning of this section can therefore be rephrased: why was Vienna considered to be louder than other European cities?

In *Der Klang der Großstadt*, Payer provides a comprehensive set of portraits that outline the sounds encountered in the city and contextualises them through contemporaneous writings by Lessing, Michael Haberlandt, and Max Winter, among others. This material history of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna offers a unique perspective on the city, one that digs deeper into the urban fabric and asks how objects, technologies, and human sounds all played a role in creating a particular kind of acoustic environment. Payer describes the sounds of engine horns, whip cracks, shouting coachmen, locomotive whistles, and the rattling of wagons, as well as the screaming of children, market cries [*Kaufrufe*], singing, piano jingling, and gramophones.¹⁹⁰ The bewildering combination of such sounds caused the writer Felix Salten to describe Vienna's acoustic environment in 1910 as a 'city whirl' [*Großstadtwirbel*].¹⁹¹ On the subject of trams, the theatre director Freiherr von Berger evoked the sounds in colourful terms – the 'whimpering howl of the electrics', an 'almost ear-splitting shriek', and the 'appalling braking shrill'.¹⁹² In the August 1907 issue of 'Das Recht auf Stille', another commentator affirmed that 'as far as I know from other countries, nowhere do the trams make such noise as in Vienna.'¹⁹³ For Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, the shrill noise of the tram's brakes could be

¹⁸⁹ 'Die Qualen, die wir täglich durch nachbarlich klimpernde Dilettanten oder exercierende Schüler erdulden, sind in allen Farben oft genug geschildert. Ich glaube allen Ernstes, dass unter den hunderterlei Geräuschen und Missklängen, welche tagsüber das Ohr des Großstädtlers zermartern und vorzeitig abstumpfen, diese musikalische Folter die aufreibendste ist.' *Das Recht auf Stille: Der Antirüpel: Antirowdy*, Vol. 4 (February 1909), 65.

¹⁹⁰ Peter Payer, *Der Klang der Großstadt* (Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 8.

¹⁹¹ Felix Salten, *Das österreichische Antlitz: Essays* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1910), 248.

¹⁹² 'Wimmergeheul der Electricen...ein geradezu ohrenzerreisendes Gekreis...und entsetzliches Bremsgeschreul.' Reinhard E. Petermann, 'Die Lärmplage', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 8 July 1912, 2. in Payer, *ibid.*, 161.

¹⁹³ 'Die Strassenbahnen machen so viel mir aus anderen Ländern bekannt ist, nirgends einen derartigen Lärm wie in Wien.' 'Das Recht auf Stille', *Neue Freie Presse*, 30 August 1907, 6, in Payer, *ibid.*

heard from afar, 'out of the cloud of fog with a distinctive shudder', becoming a 'symbol of Vienna's grandiose overall noise.'¹⁹⁴

In addition to the discontinuous, mechanical sounds emanating from modern transport, the material of Vienna's roads itself played a major role in exacerbating the changing acoustic environment during the 1890s and early 1900s. Ever since preparations for the 1873 World Exhibition, which involved early experimentations with asphalt paving over main thoroughfares in the centre of Vienna, the 'paving question' [*Pflasterungsfrage*] became a major topic of debate for the local authorities. Supporters of the new road surface material focused on elements of hygiene and noise when comparing asphalt to the louder cobblestones:

In the decades that followed, noiseless paving was only cautiously promoted, although it was long indisputable that asphalted roads had a great calming effect on the nerves of city dwellers, who were already under stress. According to statistics from 1892, there were only around 55 kilometers of roads in Vienna covered with asphalt (in contrast to 771 kilometers in Berlin).¹⁹⁵

Vienna also fared badly when compared to Paris, where 'by 1900 more than 30 per cent of all traffic surfaces were already asphalted, whereas in Vienna in 1907 the figure was only 1.7 per cent.'¹⁹⁶ The prevalence of cobblestones in the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, contributed to a growing sense of agitation among anti-noise supporters, revolving around the inability of Vienna's authorities to compete with other major European capitals in their more whole-hearted adoption of urban modernity.

¹⁹⁴ 'markerschütternd aus der Nebelwolke hervor....Symbol des grandiosen Wiener Gesamtlärms.' Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, 'Lärm', *Wiener Abendpost*, 10 Sept 1908, 2, in Payer, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ 'Auch in den folgenden Jahrzehnten wurde die geräuschlose Pflasterung nur behutsam vorangetrieben, obwohl längst unstrittig war, dass asphaltierte Straßen auf "die ohnehin genug angegriffenen Nerven des Großstadters in hohem Maße beruhigende" wirkten. Gemäß einer Statistik aus dem Jahr 1892 waren in Wien erst rund 55 Straßenkilometer mit Asphalt belegt (im Unterschied zu 771 Kilometer in Berlin).' 'Zur Wahl von Asphalt, Holz- oder Steinpflaster', *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, Vol. 38 (1885), 469. Also see Ernst Otto Schubarth, *Über geräuschloses Pflaster, insbesondere über Asphalt-Pflaster* (Vienna, 1892), in Payer, *ibid.*, 179.

¹⁹⁶ 'Internationales Vorbild war Paris, wo um 1900 bereits mehr als 30 Prozent aller Verkehrsflächen asphaltiert waren, während es in Wien des Jahres 1907 erst 1,7 Prozent waren.' *ibid.*, 180.

A Sensorium of Suburban Poverty

Other sources of disturbance for the anti-noise activists were the many peddlers and musicians who plied their trade on Vienna's cobblestoned streets, grouped under the term 'Wiener Typen' (Viennese stereotypes). A small selection of these characters were first photographed by Otto Schmidt in the 1870s, although most of the images involved local actors playing the role of various street characters set against a studio backdrop.¹⁹⁷ The most recognisable 'Wiener Typen' included the *Werkelmänner* (Viennese organ-grinder), the *Fiaker* (coachman), *Lavendelweib* (lavender women), *Schusterbub* (shoe shiner), and the *Blumenmädchen* (flower girls). Although these figures inspired numerous artists across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Bernhard Buchbinder in his librettos for the operetta *Das Wäschermädel* in 1905 and the farce *Der Schusterbub* in 1906, there was a marked disjunction between their popular visual appearance and their aural presence in certain districts.

The *Kaufrufe*, or cries of the street vendors, became one of the most distinctive aspects of Vienna's acoustic environment, none more so than the utterances of the *Lavendelweib* (lavender woman). The calls of these street sellers were not only employed as motifs in popular songs of the era – the 'Lavendel-Lied' by August Betz around 1860 being a prominent example – but could also be used as a way of tracing an economic history of the city. The following timeline demonstrates one example of how the cost of living and relative value of local currency, adjusted for inflation, was a crucial part of Vienna's street sounds through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

1840-1850: an Kreuzer zwa Buschen

1889: zwa Kreuzer a Büscherl

1924: zwatausend Kronen a Büscherl [Inflation]

¹⁹⁷ Photos published by Otto Schmidt and A. F. Czihak from 1873 to 1886. See: <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/en/album/4rf8drufgk6ld6c5v-otto-schmidts-wiener-typen-viennese-stereotypes-1873-ca.-1878/>. Accessed 18 February 2022.

1925: zwanzig Groschen a Büscherl¹⁹⁸

[Buschen/Büscherl = bouquet of flowers]



Fig. 1.4 – *Wäscherin*, photo by Otto Schmidt (c. 1878)
Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 75668/12, CC0

In 1910, August Lux wrote about the disappearing presence of the *Lavendelweib*: 'The poor old dear has almost become a legend, haunting us like a friendly ghost. She is rarely seen, only sometimes her singing lament can be heard.'¹⁹⁹ Even before the First World War, these 'Wiener Typen' had become objects of nostalgia as they were crowded out, visually and aurally, by the demands of modern transportation. For street musicians in general, Payer points out that 'between 1838 and 1914, their

¹⁹⁸ Timeline of the 'Lavendelruf' taken from Ingrid Pommer, *Altwiener Kaufrufe* (Vienna: Hausarb, 1964), 58. Reproduced in Gertraud Schaller-Pressler, 'Kaufrufe als Phänomen der Volksmusik', *Wiener Typen* (Vienna Museum: Brandstätter Verlag, 2013), 168.

¹⁹⁹ Josef August Lux, 'Das Lavendelweib', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 24 June 1910, 1-3, in Payer (2007), 789.

number had decreased from eight hundred to one hundred.²⁰⁰ As Vienna's urban fabric was increasingly mapped out in highly geometric representations of space, especially in the rapid development of the southern and western *Vororte*, pedestrians began to be viewed as 'an annoying accessory of the street.'²⁰¹ Although this viewpoint from Michael von Pidoll is somewhat extreme, it nevertheless suggests that the desire of the noise abatement activists to cleanse Vienna's main thoroughfares of 'unnecessary' human sounds privileged the steady, continuous background hum of economic activity over the voices of the people who contributed to the rich tapestry of street life in the capital. Bringing the aural presence of the 'Wiener Typen' into my assessment on sound in the city reveals how these vernacular 'logs' of the acoustic environment, symbolising an important facet of urban memory in the public sphere, can still inform our understanding of Vienna's rapid development around 1900 and how they were often viewed as 'out of place' in modernist conceptions of a well-ordered metropolis.

Another recognisable character of the streets was the *Werkelmann*, or organ grinder, whose performances of popular melodies from a cross-section of Vienna's musical life became one of the symbols of the city's self-mythologisation process.²⁰² Yet due to their prevalence in the historical centre and inner suburbs, the organ grinder became one of the greatest nuisances in the daily lives of middle-class citizens who supported Lessing's slogan, 'Das Recht auf Stille' (The Right to Silence). The folklorist and writer Michael Haberlandt was one of Austria's most prominent anti-noise activists and in his essay 'Vom Lärm', published in 1900, he offered the following assessment of Vienna's famous *Werkelmänner*:

What seems unbearable is that every knave, indeed every dog, may deprive the thinker of the possibility of his work, that the day thief, the beggar may keep a whole quarter

²⁰⁰ Payer, *ibid.*

²⁰¹ Michael Freiherr von Pidoll, *Der heutige Automobilmus: Ein Protest und Weckruf* (Vienna: Manzschke, 1912) 4, in Payer, *ibid.*

²⁰² A more detailed account of the activities of the *Werkelmänner* will be given in chapter four, 'Winding Clocks, Grinding Organs'.

acoustically polluted with a ghastly noise-box, to dither up the misery which is daily a gnawing vexation and a painful embarrassment to every finer head.²⁰³

Haberlandt's rhetorical fervour, redolent of Lessing's polemic accounts quoted earlier, focuses on common threats to the sensibilities of middle-class citizens – 'the day thief' [*Tagdieb*], and the scenario of an area being 'acoustically polluted', drawing parallels with the visible pollution of industrialisation. He continues in a similar manner when describing the threat of invalids and beggars in general:

There are a few cripples to look after, sadly too many, and the authorities pawn off, even betray, the peace of mind and work of the whole city on them, and let them loose against our poor ears, one shudders to know with what!²⁰⁴

In addition to the pollution of certain human voices, Haberlandt also draws attention to the general background noise of the city when he mentions 'the rattle of carts, bells and whistles, dogs barking and bells ringing with a hundred indescribable overtones that are lost in the tumult.'²⁰⁵ Echoing Weruer from 1911, he also suggests that Vienna's residents are 'actually all locked together in a great noise chamber.'²⁰⁶ However, this portrait is shot through with a particularly strong moralistic tone, one that revolves around cultural hygiene, as the following two sentences demonstrate:

Indeed, cleanliness is culture, cleanliness is virtue and the mother of all virtues.

We cannot get out of the habit of our superfluous hearing; so let us get out of the habit of superfluous noise.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ 'Was nicht zu ertragen scheint, ist, dass jeder Bube, ja jeder Hund den Denker um die Möglichkeit seiner Arbeit bringen mag, dass der Tagdieb, der Bettler mit einem schauerlichen Lärmkasten ein ganzes Stadtviertel akustisch verpesten darf halten, das Elend aufzuzithlen, das jedem feineren Kopf täglich ein nagender Verdruss und eine schmerzliche Beschämung ist.' Michael Haberlandt, 'Vom Lärm', *Cultur im Alltag* (Wiener Verlag, 1900), 179.

²⁰⁴ 'Es gilt ein paar Krüppel zu versorgen, traurige allzuviele, und die Behörden verpfänden, ja verrathen ihnen die Arbeits- und Seelenruhe der ganzen Stadt und lassen sie gegen unsere armen Ohren los, man weiß es schauernd, womit!' Haberlandt, *ibid.*, 181.

²⁰⁵ 'gemischt aus Wagengerassel, Läuten und Pfeifen, Hundegebell und Glockengebimmel mit hundert unbeschreiblichen Obertönen, die im Tumulte untergehen.' *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁰⁶ 'wir wie arme Leute eigentlich alle in einer großen Lärmkammer zusammengesperrt sind.' *ibid.*, 179.

²⁰⁷ 'In der That, Reinlichkeit ist Cultur, Reinlichkeit ist Tugend und aller Tugenden Mutter....Unser überflüssiges Gehör können wir uns nicht abgewöhnen; wohlan, so gewöhnen wir uns den überflüssigen Lärm ab.' *ibid.*, 177, 180.

The last phrase provides a strong contrast to the later North American noise abatement campaigns with their more forceful insistence on distinguishing between productive and unproductive noise, and their efforts to stress communal benefits for public health rather than cultural refinement for a narrow group of citizens. One of the most striking passages in Haberlandt's essay seeks to evoke a vivid sensorial response from the reader by employing the idea of contamination in a synaesthetic manner:

An inwardly refined world is the sworn enemy of that other impurity, that loud stench called noise. Every more refined culture holds its ears and nose in the rage of the noises of this world.²⁰⁸

In this polemical essay from 1900, Haberlandt not only anticipates the language and rhetorical devices of Lessing's journal articles from 1908 – in his focus on noise as '*hygienische Delikte*' – but arguably goes one step further than his German counterpart by stressing that the values of liberal bourgeois culture are under constant attack from 'that loud stench called noise'. This multisensorial approach aligns the olfactory and auditory systems for dramatic effect, in addition to reminding readers of the sights, sounds, and smells of suburban poverty that were no longer as visible as they were before the homogenisation of Vienna's outer districts.

²⁰⁸ 'Eine innerlich verfeinerte Welt ist der geschworene Feind jener anderen Unreinlichkeit, jenes lauten Gestankes, der Lärm heißt. Jede feinere Cultur hält sich seufzend Ohren und Nase zu in dem Toben der Geräusche dieser Welt.' *ibid.*, 177.



Fig 1.5 - Hans Larwin, *Die Banda*, printed in Eduard Kremser, *Wienerlieder und Tänze*, Vol. 2 (1913). (Public Domain)

In the image above, we see a cross-section of Viennese society on display, set against the background of the Karlskirche which is located in front of the Ringstrasse. On the far left, we have the last row of what appears to be a marching band from the *Deutschmeister* Regiment, marking some form of celebration or festivity; this is followed in the central background portion of the painting by three gentlemen in black hats, perhaps from the city's business class; and finally in the foreground we have a motley crew of working-class figures following the band, hoping to catch a glimpse of the main event ahead. Although Larwin's scene is set in the impressive surroundings of the baroque cathedral

within the Ringstrasse zone, he shows the viewer a more unfamiliar sight: the presence of those ‘unruly masses’, as described by Maderthaner and Musner, who may have travelled from the outer districts for a brief respite on a Sunday afternoon. For once, the symbols of Vienna’s professional class, or *Mittelstand* society, are almost entirely obscured. Instead, the eye is drawn to the young adolescents smoking in the bottom right corner and the faint smile of the young woman in the centre, inviting the viewer to take in the rich tapestry of life on display. Larwin called his painting ‘Die Banda’, signifying either a musical band or gang of people, but here the former is pushed almost entirely out of the frame, replaced by the frozen sounds of the working-class group. In the following section, I ask what we might hear if these people were finally unfrozen and explore how these figures would have been viewed in general terms. As Fran Tonkiss states, ‘Some people...sound stranger than others; certain voices jar to certain other ears.’²⁰⁹ In the previous section, I highlighted some of the visible elements of Vienna’s acoustic environment which threatened the sensibilities of the intellectual class; now I examine the hidden facets of city life, beginning with the social backgrounds of the characters in Larwin’s painting and a sensorium of suburban poverty.

Fin-de-siècle Vienna was a city teeming with novelists, playwrights, poets, and reporters. However, the topic of urban poverty was not taken up to the same degree as in other European countries. Heidi Hakkarainen explains the situation:

Novelists tended to avoid dealing with contemporary social problems; realism and naturalism did not gain a similar foothold in Austrian literature as in contemporary England, Russia or France. Consequently, there was no Viennese author to raise social consciousness by depicting urban conditions in the same manner as Charles Dickens in London, Fyodor Dostoevsky in St. Petersburg or Émile Zola in Paris.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Fran Tonkiss, ‘Aural Postcards: Sounds, Memory and the City’, in *The Auditory Culture Reader*, 2nd Edition, eds. Michael Bull and Les Back (Bloomsbury, 2016), 244.

²¹⁰ Heidi Hakkarainen, *Comical Modernity. Popular Humour and the Transformation of Urban Space in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Berghahn, 2019), 221.

Instead, it was left to reporters like Ivan Cankar and Max Winter to draw attention to the precarious conditions of the suburban poor, especially since many outward signs of poverty that were once on public display were now quietly hidden behind the clean façades of modern tenement blocks, or *Zinskaserne* as they were known. Although an enthusiastic supporter of noise abatement efforts in Vienna, Winter was one of the few writers to examine the effect of technological noise in working-class suburbs, rather than restrict his journalistic output to reflecting the viewpoint of the liberal bourgeoisie. The Slovenian author Ivan Cankar resided in the outer district of Ottakring for eleven years and wrote a series of essays and literary sketches about the inhabitants of his local district. In *Vor dem Ziel* ('Before the End'), he describes a suburban worker, Jereb, as he navigates the gulf between his fantasies and the dreary reality of his everyday life:

Jereb avoided the wide streets with their dense crowds of people. The alleys through which he passed were already deep in shadow; lampposts were few and far between. He met workers returning from the factories, seamstresses, servant girls, drinkers, and casual strollers. This was the society in which he felt at home, where he walked free, was natural and let his thoughts wander without fear or shame. It was a different matter, though, if he accidentally found himself in a main street with tall, splendid buildings and an elegant public. He immediately crawled into his shell, bent his head, and no longer knew what to do with his hands and feet.²¹¹

Cankar's protagonist finds himself caught in the 'stone vessel' of the new Vienna, affected by the visual intimidation of wealth and power, as well as the disconcerting acoustic environment – Salten's '*Großstadtwirbel*'. A similar assessment of the suburbs is given in 'Mimi', published in 1900:

This barren suburb stretches far around; whether you go east or west, it still doesn't come to an end. I knew a man who already had a grey beard and a crooked back and had never in his life travelled to the end of that unconscionably long street leading to a brighter world. This suburb is a gigantic prison...I sometimes wonder what crime these prisoners have committed. One morning I crossed the street and looked at them coming toward me in long lines, with tired and heavy steps and sleepy eyes; it seemed as if I heard the iron fetters clanking beneath their clothes.²¹²

Cankar's portrait above may well have been inspired by one of the main streets extending out west from the *Gürtel* through Neulerchenfeld and Ottakring, or south into Favoriten, particularly

²¹¹ Ivan Cankar, *Vor dem Ziel. Literarische Skizzen aus Wien* (Klagenfurt/Celovec, 1994), 59, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 50-51.

²¹² Cankar, *Pavlice's Krone: Literarische Skizzen aus Wien* (Klagenfurt, 1995; original, 1900), 7, *ibid.*, 51.

after the grid-like developments began to encroach onto the semi-rural periphery of the city. These districts became home to an increasing number of migrant workers from across the Austro-Hungarian Empire and this explosion in Vienna's suburban population caused a significant problem with speculative landlords:

In the streets of Hernals, far from the precincts of the Residenz, stand a large number of gigantic four- and five-storey tenements with imposing façades, which building companies hungry for speculation erected in the era of so-called economic upswing. There is a complete contrast here between the shabby interior of the needy inhabitants and the exterior of their dwellings. The stranger who finds his way here is surprised by how, on a short tram ride to Dornbach, for example, individuals and groups looking like a Hogarth caricature peer from the windows, and that surprise grows to astonishment when he observes how balconies supported by artfully executed caryatids are adorned with shabby laundry put out to dry.²¹³

This striking and humorous portrait created what Maderthaner and Musner call a 'contradictory "grammar" of the suburb.'²¹⁴ Unlike the main industrial centres elsewhere in Europe, such as Manchester, the new suburban tenement blocks in Vienna displayed a certain aesthetic irony; the gulf between outward appearance and internal reality often became wider the further one travelled from the Ringstrasse.

It was precisely this contradiction which Max Winter actively sought out in his social reports for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* between 1896 and 1913. His extensive wanderings through the working-class outer districts were not those of the earlier type of Parisian *flâneur*, with an air of serene detachment and aesthetic contemplation, but rather expressed a desire to uncover the less savoury side of Vienna's suburbs and to draw attention to the conditions of industrial workers. In a review of Winter's book *Strottgänge* (Tramps), the Viennese essayist and theatre critic Alfred Polgar describes the journalist's reporting methods:

He has mingled with the dreariest city dwellers, with canal dwellers, homeless people...He has spoken their jargon, lived for hours the dirty, miserable lives they always lead, shared in their dealings with the guards, breathed the fetid air of the detention centres and felt the gentle grip of police fists on his own collar....He tells of all these experiences and observations very calmly, dryly, simply, objectively....Thus it has become a refreshingly non-

²¹³ F. von Radler, 'Die Volkszüge nach den Vororten in den Abendstunden', in *Wienerstadt: Lebensbilder aus der Gegenwart* (Vienna, undated), 105, *ibid.*, 53.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

literary book. A gripping and revolutionary book. A book in which the stench of facts is not aesthetically adulterated by a drop of literary perfume.²¹⁵

In contrast to Haberlandt's 'loud stench called noise', which uses a synaesthetic approach to highlight certain sounds that offended the middle classes, the reviewer above stresses the social reality of such 'unruly' phenomena as described by Winter. The presentation of facts by themselves, unencumbered by moralistic overtones, is enough to evoke a vivid sensory response.

Miriam Houska states that 'the combination of impressions of seeing, smelling, and feeling augurs particularly great misery for Max Winter, for the senses are also intensely affected by an especially great oppression.'²¹⁶ This can be seen in his cinematic images – 'Meidling. Somewhere. A dirty, smelly alley. Unfriendly. Nobody ever comes here.'²¹⁷; 'at six o'clock in the morning, the human ants crawl out of their burrow and go to work in dense swarms.'²¹⁸ As well as emphasising vision and smell, Winter evokes a form of haptic imagery when describing the privations of individuals, such as the following woman from a suburban workhouse: 'She pulls back the blanket and shows us her arms. Really only bones and skin, as thin as broomsticks.'²¹⁹

One of the most distinctive places that Winter explored was the underground caverns of the Wien River, and it is here that sound and smell come to the fore:

²¹⁵ 'Er hat sich unter die tristesten Großstadtbewohner gemischt, unter Kanalstrotter, Obdachlose....Er hat ihren Jargon gesprochen, für Stunden das schmutzige, elende Leben mitgelebt, das sie immer führen, ihre Händel mit der Wache mitgemacht, die stinkige Luft der Arrestlokale geatmet und den sanften Griff polizeilicher Fäuste am eigenen Kragen verspürt....Von all' diesen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen erzählt er sehr ruhig, trocken, einfach, objektiv....So ist es ein erfrischend unliterarisches Buch geworden. Ein packendes und aufrevolutionierendes Buch. Ein Buch, in welchem der Gestank der Tatsachen durch keinen Tropfen literarischen Parfums ästhetisch verfälscht ist.' Alfred Polgar, *Rezension: Im dunkelsten Wien* (1904), 196.

²¹⁶ Miriam Houska, 'Journalismus der Sinne und es Sinns.' Max Winters Wahrnehmung und Vermittlung des Wiener Elends in Sozialreportagen der Arbeiter-Zeitung, 1896-1910', Mag. Phil Dissertation, University of Vienna (2003), 150.

²¹⁷ 'Meidling. Irgendwo. Eine schmutzige stinkende Gasse. Unfreundlich. Man kommt nie hieher.' Max Winter, 'Wiener Elendswanderungen', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 19 April 1908, 9.

²¹⁸ 'Um 6 Uhr Morgens kriechen die menschlichen Ameisen aus ihrem Bau und ziehen in dichten Schwärmen zur Arbeit.' Winter, 'Ein Tag in Ottakring. Wie das Volk lebt, I', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 16 October 1901, 4.

²¹⁹ 'Dabei schlägt sie die Decke zurück und zeigt uns ihre Arme. Wirklich nur Knochen und Haut, so dünn wie Besenstangen.' Winter, 'Liesing und Atzgersdorf, III', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 3 July 1910, 9.

We creep along on silent soles, wordless and without light. The lanterns outside send a dull glow as far as here, about a hundred paces into the tunnel, but behind them it is pitch black....Of course I don't have the time to "enjoy" the atmosphere.²²⁰

Sound was a particularly crucial theme for Winter and although he was an ardent supporter of Lessing's and Haberlandt's efforts within the *Antilärmverein*, he portrayed Vienna's acoustic environment in a more dispassionate manner and contextualised his accounts of suburban life with more local colour. The two 'sound images' below demonstrate the range of impressions he encountered while wandering through Ottakring and Simmering:

The storm song of the trans-millions [sic] already begins, and suddenly the whole work is underway, whirring and purring, whirring and roaring, squeaking and piping fill the hall.²²¹

The stamping, pawing, and roaring of the fattened cattle, which here are coupled in long rows to the iron barriers of the stalls, mingle with the loud screeching and haggling of the traders, the beer basses of the buyers, the "Hü!" and Hütterhoh!" of the drovers, who, armed with short sticks, make room in the rows of cattle for the buyers by hitting them hard to the right and left, who examine the cattle before hitting the trader's right hand, which has been held out for a long time, as a sign that the purchase has been made.²²²

While the language of the first quote, referring specifically to the workers starting their long day, evokes the familiar street canyons as described by Musil and Salten, albeit enriched by the more poetic quality of the phrase 'The storm song of the trans-millions', in the second, Winter transports the reader to the cattle market in Simmering, which he describes as 'a symphony of soothing sounds' [*eine Symphonie beruhigender Geräusche*], reflecting a shift in aural perception away from the human and mechanical 'noise' [*Lärm*] of the city.²²³ In this site of jostling urban and rural identities, the cries of the traders represent an imported equivalent of the 'Wiener Typen' seen earlier. The

²²⁰ 'Auf leisen Sohlen schleichen wir dahin, Wortlos und ohne Licht. Die Laternen draußen senden zwar matten Schein bis hieher, etwa hundert Schritt weit in den Tunnel, aber dahinter ist es grabesfinster....Zum "Genießen" der Stimmung fehlt mir freilich die Zeit.' Winter, 'Im unterirdischen Wien. Bei den Bewohnern des Wienflußtunnels.' *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 10 December 1902, 6.

²²¹ 'Der Sturmgesang der Transmillionen hebt schon an, und plötzlich ist das ganze Werk im Gange, Surren und Schnurren, Sausen und Brausen, Quitschen und Pipsen erfüllt den Saal.' Winter, 'Ein Tag in Ottakring. Wie das Volk lebt, I', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 16 October 1901, 4.

²²² 'Das Stampfen, Scharren und Brüllen des Mastviehes, das hier in langen Reihen an die Eisenbarrieren der Stände gekoppelt ist, mengt sich in das laute Kreischen und Feilschen der Händler, in die Bierbässe der Käufer, in das "Hü!" und "Hütterhoh!" der Viehtreiber, die, bewehrt mit kurzen Stöcken, durch derbe Schläge nach rechts und links in den Viehreihen für die Käufer Platz schaffen, die prüfend das Vieh betasten, ehe sie in die längst hingehaltene Rechte des Händlers schlagen, zum Zeichen, daß der Kauf zustande gekommen ist.' Winter, 'Bilder aus dem XXI. Bezirk, I', *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 July 1902, 7.

²²³ Ibid.

literary sketches and social reportage of Cankar and Winter, therefore, expand an acoustic topography of Vienna beyond the narrow confines of the inner districts and homogenised façades, and act as a counterweight to the more moralistic narratives from Lessing and Haberlandt. They also provide an opportunity to lend an ear to those hidden sounds that remained ‘out of place’ for the modern cosmopolitan citizen.

1.3 – Sites of the Suburban Vernacular

A study of the acoustic environment of Vienna’s periphery around 1900 involves a delicate negotiation between journalistic accounts by writers such as Ludwig Hirschfeld and Max Winter, and the myth-making element that played an outsized role in the creation of *Musikstadt Wien* during the Lueger years from the late 1890s to 1911. Two contrasting sound portraits from the outer suburbs are seen below. The first is by dramaturge Freiherr von Berger who contributed to this growing sonic mythology by providing a satirical and painstaking account of sounds encountered in his home district of Hietzing, located on the western edge of metropolitan Vienna within one mile of the boundary with Lower Austria.

Three bands, one very close, one further away, one very far away; two barking dogs, one in a low register, the other one in a high one; a whimpering dog; the rattling of a vehicle; bells chiming; two automobiles buzzing and hooting; the twittering of many sparrows; two pianos, a lady singing; a microphone [*sic*] alternately giving off an orchestral piece and an English song, the cry of a peacock, the roaring of the wild animals in the menagerie of Schönbrunn far away; the whistles of at least three factories from various distances; the wailing roar of an electric streetcar engine; a train of the city railroad—its wheels rattling and brakes screeching; the whistling and puffing of the switchers on the Western railroad.²²⁴

Even here, the encroachment of urban modernity could be heard clearly as it began to play a more prominent role in the acoustic environment of Hietzing’s village-like ecosystem. Although this account was written with tongue firmly in cheek, von Berger does draw attention to the acceleration

²²⁴ Alfred Freiherr von Berger, *Autobiographische Schriften*, vol. 3, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Vienna: Deutsch-Österr., 1913), 314–15, in Payer (2007), 773–774.

of the age in acoustic terms. Yet an account by Ludwig Hirschfeld from Krapfenwald in the northern *Vorort* of Grinzing describes a different reality.

Hay is now being made in the meadows, and with a sound one becomes acutely aware of the silence that fills this corner of the great city. A Viennese district where no sound can be heard but the simple sound of dengels and the monotonous song of crickets. People's voices, the ringing of bells and the noise of the railway sing in, as if from another world.²²⁵

It is the stark contrast between the two accounts above, as well as the blurred boundaries on display between mythology and reality, that I wish to explore in the following section. It is the musical and non-musical sounds of the western *Vororte* that I turn to now in an effort to excavate the *Musik* from Lessing's formulation of *Musiklärm*.

In the second part of this chapter, I highlighted the human element within Viennese anti-noise discourse, contextualised by the multisensorial descriptions of suburban poverty by Cankar and Winter. However, the social reportage and literary sketches of the two writers did not always take into account the richness of everyday musical life in Vienna's *Vororte*, together with the porousness of social relations in many establishments. In order to examine this scene more closely, I reposition Larwin's framing of *Die Banda* to enable vernacular music-making to take centre stage in the picture. Before delving into the role of suburban taverns in the musical life of the outer districts, I begin with Lessing's summary of different kinds of *Musiklärm*:

Every city makes a special kind of noise: the Berliners make a 'racket' and 'riot', the Münchners want a 'Gaudi', the Viennese organise a 'Hetz'.²²⁶

²²⁵ 'Auf den Wiesen wird jetzt Heu gemäht, und bei einem Geräusche wird man sich der Stille erst deutlich bewußt, die diesen Winkel der großen Stadt erfüllt. Ein Wiener Gemeindebezirk, wo kein Laut zu hören ist, als der schlichte Klang des Dengelns und das monotone Lied der Grillen. Menschenstimmen, Glockengeläute und Bahngeräusch deringen gleichsam mühselig hier herein, wie aus einer anderen Welt.'

Ludwig Hirschfeld, 'Abschied vom Cobenzl' in *Wir kennen uns. Gemütliche, gereizte und nachdenkliche Skizzen aus Wien* (Vienna, 1909), 117.

²²⁶ 'Jede Stadt macht besonderen Lärm: der Berliner macht 'Radau' und 'randaliert', die Münchner wollen eine 'Gaudi', die Wiener veranstalten eine 'Hetz'.' Theodor Lessing, 'Über den Lärm', *Nord und Sud. Eine deutsche Monatschrift*, Vol. 97 (1901), 80.

A 'Hetz' is a type of cheap amusement involving a wide variety of musical genres, usually performed by tavern musicians [*Gasthausmusikern*] in popular venues, or, from late spring to early autumn, in the gardens of the many *Heurigen* dotted around Vienna's outer districts. For the following complainant from Wieden (an inner suburb), the local music scene appeared to offer little respite:

twice a week the neighbourhood has the rather dubious pleasure of listening to the music blaring twice between the four- and three-storeyed walls of the house – yesterday only until midnight, but sometimes until one o'clock and longer.²²⁷

These regular musical evenings were a crucial part of Vienna's suburban culture, illustrating both the richness of music-making at the urban periphery, examined in this section, and the porous nature of musical networks that lay behind the Schrammel phenomenon. For many residents in Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld, who had recently arrived from other regions in the empire, the social structure of these districts enabled them to retain what Karl Renner calls the 'village in the city' mindset which formed such a major part of Vienna's identity as a village-metropolis.²²⁸ It was in the multiple imagined geographies of these inhabitants, along with the retention and reshaping of rural memories from other provinces, where a distinctive kind of musical 'noise' could be heard. One way to embrace this complexity is to explore the various enclaves in Ottakring as collectively forming an incubator of musical 'excess' in much the same way that the police reports in September 1911 viewed the district as a 'breeding ground' of social disruption.²²⁹ The mixture of ethnicities in Ottakring, with its contrasting topographies of middle-class villas and *Heurigen* overlooking working-class tenements, points towards a transitional space that allowed many different styles of vernacular music to come into contact with one another. Philip Bohlman describes the situation just before the end of the nineteenth century:

²²⁷ 'zweimal wöchentlich hat die Nachbarschaft das recht zweifelhafte Vergnügen, die zwischen vier- und dreistöckigen Hausmauern doppelt lärmende Musik anzuhören - gestern nur bis Mitternacht, manchmal aber auch bis 1 Uhr und länger.' 'Das Recht auf Stille', *Neue Freie Presse*, 30 August 1907, 6.

²²⁸ Karl Renner, *An der Wende Zweier Zeiten. Lebenserinnerungen* (Vienna, 1946), 187, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 29.

²²⁹ See earlier reference to Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 13.

It was in these outer districts, where rural and urban overlapped, that new musical practices formed in the inns and on the local stages. Here stage bands took up folk dances and made them popular, local singers took up folk songs in rural dialects and recast them as Wienerlieder. Ensembles such as the famous Schrammel Quartet participated in this transformation of the cultural boundaries between the city's border and the world beyond.²³⁰



Fig. 1.6 – Map of Ottakring, 16th District, around 1900. Source: Karl Ziak, ‘Von der Schmelz auf den Gallitzinberg’ (Verlag Jugend & Volk Wien, 1969), Wikimedia Commons.

Within this one district alone, a rich variation in landscape can be seen and felt: from the easternmost slopes of the Wienerwald on the left-hand side of the map above, through the vineyards of Vienna’s western hills, to the mixed residential areas of detached, middle-class homes, and finally reaching the chequerboard development of ‘New Ottakring’ on the right-hand side. The 16th District, as an intermediary space, became highly symbolic for many folk musicians and singers who chose to ply their trade at establishments such as the Goldener Luchs and the Liebhartsthal. Klaus Hödl draws attention to this symbolism in the context of folk-singing culture and its associated audiences:

The new Viennese district was partly composed of a village structure with taverns and inns where *Volkssänger* gave performances and idealized the city’s past, the so-called Old Vienna, and praised Viennese “hospitality” in their songs. At the same time, Ottakring was

²³⁰ Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 168.

home to the workforce employed at the various industries located in the area. These workers made up a significant portion of the audiences who attended *Volkssänger* performances.²³¹

Ottakring maintained a liminal position in the peripheral landscape of Vienna up until the early twentieth century, not only due to its mixed identity both socially and geographically, but also in the reshaping of the musical landscape. The large influx of migrant cultures in the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought in many rural traditions which were then appropriated by the younger generation of *Wienerlieder* composers, as well as by the founding members of the Schrammel Quartet. Ernst Weber explains the cultural distinctions between neighbouring suburbs, with Ottakring and Hernals developing two kinds of musical establishments in close proximity:

While the Heurigen taverns such as the Ziehner-Marie, the Heimboeck and others retained their rural-intimate character, the taverns in neighbouring Hernals, such as the Stalehner or the Gschwandner, developed large-scale entertainment establishments around the middle of the 19th century in which folk artists of all kinds performed. Ottakring and Hernals were preferred above all as performing places of instrumental ensembles.²³²

In his historical overview of suburban musical scenes, Weber notes that up until the 1880s, 'Old-Ottakring' had maintained a much stronger agrarian identity than nearby districts, and that the proximity to the Wienerwald ensured that encroaching forms of industrialisation were prevented from completely dominating the landscape towards the end of the century:

In Old-Ottakring, however, rural influences in Viennese music have also lasted longer than elsewhere. The reason for this lies, on the one hand, in the rural structure of the place, in which, long after the suburbs had grown together in the wake of industrialization and the immigration of the working population and had become a typical Viennese workers' district, livestock and viticulture still played a dominant role and shaped the appearance as well as the life of the residents.²³³

²³¹ Klaus Hödl, *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in fin-de-siècle Vienna*, trans. Corey Twitchell (Berghahn Books, 2019), 79.

²³² 'Während sich hier die Heurigenschenken wie die Ziehner-Marie, der Heimboeck und andere ihren ländlich-intimen Charakter bewahrten, entwickelten sich aus den Schenken im benachbarten Hernals, wie dem Stalehner oder dem Gschwandner, um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts größer dimensionierte Vergnügungs-Etablissements, in denen Volkskünstler aller Art auftraten. Ottakring und Hernals waren zunächst bevorzugt Auftrittsorte instrumentaler Ensembles.' Ernst Weber, 'Schöne Liada – Harbe Tanz: Die instrumentale Volksmusik und das Wienerlied', in *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1*, eds. Fritz and Kretschmer (Vienna, 2006), 233.

²³³ 'In Alt-Ottakring haben sich aber auch ländliche Einflüsse in der Wiener Musik länger als anderswo erhalten. Die Gründe dafür liegen einerseits in der bäuerlich-ländlichen Struktur des Ortes, in dem, lange nachdem die Vororte im Zug der Industrialisierung und der Zuwanderung der arbeitenden Bevölkerung

Despite the threat of building development at the beginning of the twentieth century, the area was still thriving with numerous taverns and small theatres around 1900. Maria Walcher points out that at this time, 'there were musicians at almost every Heuriger...larger establishments had a whole ensemble, a singer and a comedian, some even hired a yodeller.'²³⁴ The influence of Alpine folk music, specifically from the Tyrol, could be seen in the transformation of *Jodler* melodies into a Viennese hybrid style – *Dudler*. Susanne Schedtler draws our attention to different perceptions of rural and Viennese vernacular forms: 'In that century of European nationalism, the Alpine song was an important vehicle of identification for the Germans in Austria. "Alpine" suggested German, clean, pure and finally ethnically unmixed.'²³⁵ The circulation of rural styles in a suburban context brought these more refined *Jodler* melodies into contact with a hotch-potch of Viennese popular and folk genres:

Today, Dudler refers to a specific Viennese yodelling culture....In modern times, Dudler in Vienna is an artistically decorated form, which is often coloured chromatically and which one could call "coloratura-yodelling" according to its characteristics.²³⁶

The differing musical and spatial characteristics of these two cultures is highlighted by Karl Klier in his edited collection of *50 Wiener Dudler*:

While the yodeller is usually sung outdoors and does not seem to know any spatial boundaries, the Dudler almost always sounds in a more limited or closed mouth. Also, the

zusammengewachsen waren und sich zu einem typischen Wiener Arbeiterbezirk gewandelt hatten, noch immer Viehzucht und Weinbau eine dominante Rolle spielten und das Erscheinungsbild wie das Leben der Bewohner prägten.' *ibid.*, 288.

²³⁴ 'Ab der Jahrhundertwende gab es bei fast jedem Heurigen Musikante...Grössere Etablissements hatten ein ganzes Ensemble, einem Sänger und einem Komiker, manche hatten zusätzlich noch eine Jodlerin engagiert.' Maria Walcher, 'Ottakringer Sing- und Spieltradition im 20. Jahrhundert', in *Tradition und Innovation. Vorträge des 14. Seminars für Volksmusikforschung, Schriften zur Volksmusik*, Vol. 11, ed. Walter Deutsch (Vienna, 1987), 185.

²³⁵ 'In jenem Jahrhundert des europäischen Nationalismus war das alpenländische Lied für die Deutschen in Österreich ein wichtiges Identifikationsvehikel. "Alpin" suggerierte deutsch, sauber, rein und schliesslich auch ethnisch unvermischt.' Susanne Schedtler (ed.), *Wienerlied und Weana Tanz*, Beiträge zur Wiener Musik 1 (Vienna, 2004), 24-25.

²³⁶ 'Heute wird mit Dudler eine spezifische Wiener Jodelkultur bezeichnet...In jünger Zeit versteht man in Wien unter Dudler eine kunstvoll verzierte Form, die oft chromatisch eingefärbt ist und die man nach ihren Eigenschaften etwa "Koloratur-Salon-Jodler" nennen könnte.' *Ibid.*, 27-28.

yodeller is purely vocal, the Dudler often with instruments together, be it that a clarinet replaced a singing voice.²³⁷



Ex. 1.1 – ‘Klarinett-Dudler’ melody, transcribed in 1911, from Karl Klier’s *50 Wiener Dudler*.

One example of this accompanied *Dudler* style can be seen above (Ex. 1.1), where the lower voice is played on clarinet. The transcriber, Georg Kotek, provides local detail by including the names of the performers – a character called ‘Stelzerfranzl’ from the outer district of Grinzing on clarinet, along with the soprano Marie Seifert-Kuntner. These two-part melodies emanated from the same musical ecosystem that gave rise to both *Schrammelmusik* and the ‘second generation’ of *Wienerlieder* composer-lyricists at the end of the nineteenth century, as I examine in chapters two and three.²³⁸

December 1900 saw the opening of a wine-establishment, the Liebhartsthal, which very quickly became a major site of musical experimentation. The Matauschk family encouraged both local and foreign musicians to perform alongside each other, including the numerous successors to the original Schrammel Quartet, noted *Wienerlieder* specialists, as well as *Jodler* singers:

The musical performances were the reason that the restaurant soon became a popular attraction for the friends of Viennese folk music. Hans Matauschk and his wife Leopoldine led the enterprise, the sisters served and Hans as well as Fritz and Karl Matauschk assisted, supported by an instrumental quartet, especially on the weekends as a singer.²³⁹

²³⁷ ‘Während der Jodler meist im Freien gesungen wird und keine räumlichen Grenzen zu kennen scheint, ertönt der Dudler fast ausnahmslos in beschränkteren oder geschlossenem Munde angestimmt. Auch wird der Jodler rein vocal gesungen, der Dudler häufig mit Instrumenten zusammen, sei es, dass eine Klarinette eine Singstimme ersetzt.’ Karl Klier (ed.), *50 Wiener Dudler. Gesammelt und zum Singen und Spielen (2 Melodieinstrumente Akkordeon und Gitarre)* (Musikverlag Stanberg, June 1956), 1.

²³⁸ Klier, *ibid.*, 2.

²³⁹ ‘Die musikalischen Darbietungen waren der Grund, dass das Lokal bald zu einer beliebten Attraktion für die Freunde der Wiener Volksmusik wurde. Hans Matauschk führte mit seiner Frau Leopoldine den Betrieb, die Schwestern servierten und sowohl Hans als auch Fritz und Karl Matauschk traten, unterstützt von einem Instrumentalquartett, vor allem an den Wochenenden als Sänger auf.’ Weber, *ibid.*, 288.

The experimental atmosphere of the establishment may well have been influenced by its particular location on Liebhartssthalstrasse and the topography of the surrounding district. Perched on the lower slopes of the Wilhelminenberg, with a spacious garden and a small hall [*Salett*] for the winter months, the Liebhartssthal sat next to groupings of middle-class villas and *Heurigen* as well as overlooking the working-class tenement blocks of 'New Ottakring'.



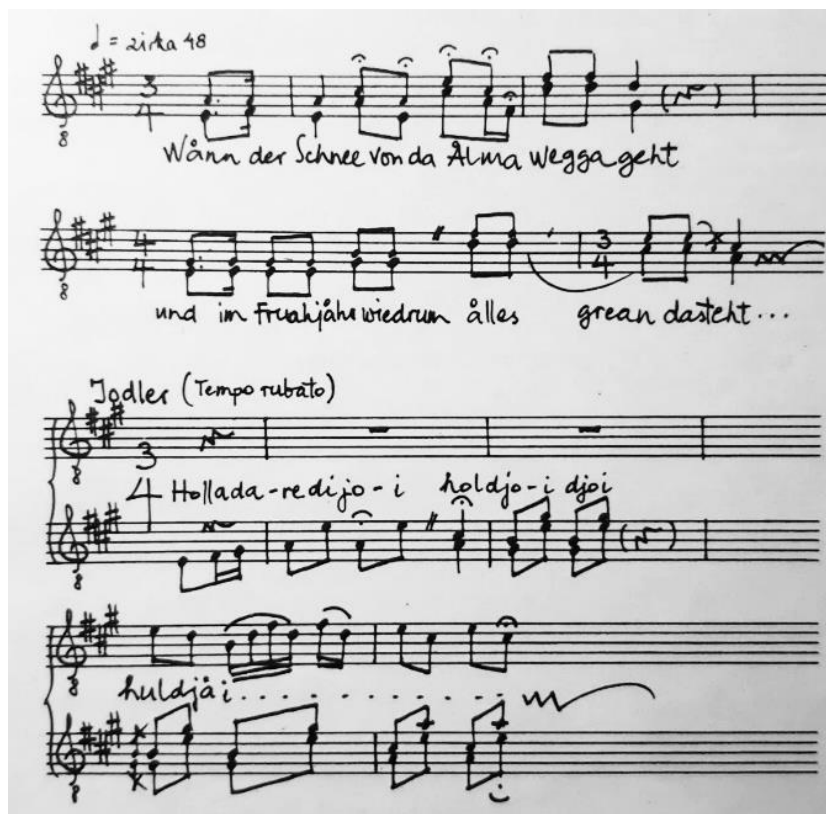
Fig. 1.7 - Image of Liebhartssthal, Ottakring, c. 1900, C. Ledermann (Photo), Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 166737, CC0.

At the Matauscheks these Ländler and Jodler melodies merged with the classical Viennese refrain songs, as created by Schrammel, Johann Sioly, Carl Lorens and many others in the last quarter of the 19th century, to create a new type of song.²⁴⁰

The rural influences in these new songs can be seen in Walter Deutsch's transcription of the Mataushek brothers' sole recording from around 1905. The two- and three-part *Jodler* melody seen below (Ex. 1.2), with its unique form of rubato, was just one example among numerous alpine styles which became an integral part of Vienna's suburban musical landscape.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ 'Bei den Matauscheks verschmolzen diese Ländler- und Jodlermelodien mit den klassischen Wiener Refrainliedern, wie sie Schrammel, Johann Sioly, Carl Lorens und viele andere im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts geschaffen hatten, zu einem neuen Liedtypus.' Ibid.

²⁴¹ Deutsch's transcription is reproduced in Maria Walcher, *ibid.*, 186. LP Recording: Die Brüder Mataushek, Vol. 1, Historical Documentary Recordings, 'Immortal Performers of Viennese Song' (Produktion Evelyn Parth, PALTRAM WL-603, undated).



Ex. 1.2 - Walter Deutsch's transcription of Matuschek's 'Alpine Song'

For regular guests and occasional visitors to the Liebhartsthal, the Matuschek family played a pivotal role in the burgeoning vernacular styles in Vienna's western *Vororte*. As Walcher affirms, they 'were role models as well as typical and distinguished phenomena of their time for a special circle of musicians and for a special audience.'²⁴² So much so that their establishment was the inspiration for Leopold Kubanek's *Wienerlied* 'Im Liebhartsstal, in Ottakring', composed just after the Second World War, when a stronger vein of nostalgia for the *fin-de-siècle* period continued to permeate vernacular culture.

²⁴² 'Hans und Fritz Matuschek waren Vorbilder wie typische und prägende Zeiterscheinungen für einen speziellen Musikantenkreis und für ein spezielles Publikum.' Walcher, *ibid.*

Im Liebhartstal, in Ottakring
WIENERLIED

Worte: ALFRED STEINBERG-FRANK Musik: LEOPOLD KUBANĚK

Beschwingt

Gesang: *rit.* 1. Dort wo schon
2. Den Schrammeln

Klavier: *mf* *mf a tempo*

VERSE

kla- die Häu- serl san, an Rand vom gro- ßen Wien, — wo schon zu End' die Stra- ßen-
an Wirtshaus draußt ist un- längst was pas- siert, — ein jun- ger Herr der spricht sie

bahn, dort führ' ich Euch jetzt hin. — Da gibts noch ech- te Wea- ner- leut, voll Korn und
an: ich bin sehr in- dig- niert. — Ich bin jetzt schon zwei Stun- den hier, und wirk- lich

oh- ne Pflanz, — die sin- gen und die du- deln, du- deln gern, die lia- ben, al- ten
sehr em- pört, — ich ha- be kei- nen Run- ba, Sam- ba, und noch kei- nen Ras- pa

Ex. 1.3 – Kubanek's 'Im Liebhartstal, in Ottakring', bars 1-19 (Eberle Verlag, 1953)

Kubanek evokes the mood of this period through the use of added sixth harmonies at phrase endings and brief chromatic colouring, as well as the shaping of the melodic line. He also expresses the familiar tropes of 'Alt-Wien' through the lyrics – a sense of *Gemütlichkeit* through wine and song – and the humorous reference to the *Jodler* and *Dudler* styles of a previous era in 'die singen und die dudeln, dudeln gern, die liaben [sic], alten Tanz'. 'Im Liebhartstal, in Ottakring' conveys a similar

concern for mythologisation that was expressed in Lea Warden's song text from 1953, 'Der alte Werkelmann', given in my thesis introduction: the Schrammels in Ottakring, the satirical mention of 'Rumba, Samba' as modern styles that appear alien to the Viennese population, and the cosy establishment itself. It is, fittingly, the last point which is expressed most potently in this post-war song, offering a portrait of a suburban venue that played an oversized role in the reforging of vernacular identity and musical style around 1900.

* * * *

The musical hybridity in enclaves like Ottakring and the contrasting cultures which are drawn upon to inform a study of suburban sound and musical life in Vienna's *Vororte* – from the increasing migrant population to the impact of modernist urban development from the Ringstrasse – suggests a shift in perspective. An examination of Vienna that views Ottakring not as a peripheral concern, but as an alternative centre of musical and material networks, fed by surrounding rural and urban cultures, would help to embrace the complexities and paradoxes of everyday musical life. My assessment of vernacular culture in this chapter is also inextricably linked to an exploration of Vienna's acoustic environment, particularly with regard to the sounds either side of the tenement façades found on suburban thoroughfares such as Ottakringerstrasse. In combining a study of sound and music in a more flexible manner, I have sought to provide a more socially embedded acoustic topography of Vienna, one that is aware of the seductive quality found in narratives that view the city as a text from above, while recognising that not all elements of suburban life in the *fin-de-siècle* period can be so neatly subsumed under the banner of class oppression and power relations.

Furthermore, by analysing the discourse and rhetoric of Austrian and German noise abatement campaigners, especially the linguistic framework adopted by Haberlandt and Lessing that collapses a broad array of sounds under the term *Lärm*, I lend an ear to the acoustic layers of the city that are often marginalised in an effort to understand the structural and technological aspects of

urban life. The journey undertaken in this case study, from the political background and social crisis of the 1904 and 1911 riots to the 'musical excess' of Ottakring, via a sensorial history of working-class life, echoes the evocative description by Fran Tonkiss as she tries to capture the disappearing traces of 'a silence that shivers with the absence of all the people somewhere else, all the noise just out of earshot.'²⁴³ As the working-class demonstrators gradually dispersed in the late afternoon and evening of 23 October 1904, having temporarily occupied the Ringstrasse, the memories and echoes of those voices and sounds, long considered 'out of place' and obscene, finally provide an opportunity for us to shine a light on forgotten narratives in *fin-de-siècle* suburban Vienna.

²⁴³ Fran Tonkiss, 'Aural Postcards' (2016), 246.

CHAPTER 2 | Schrammel Euphoria and the Mobility of Vernacular Music

Before I begin defining the term *Schrammelmusik* and its place in the cultural history of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, a brief sojourn at a suburban wine tavern, or *Heurige*, is in order. More specifically, a sojourn which occurs on a sultry September evening during the middle of the period known as *Sturmzeit*, referring to the young wine of the season, and in a *Heurige* which nestles at the bottom of the Schafberg, a few hundred yards away from the modest Schrammel-Park in Hernals. It is in such an establishment that a weekly tradition of music-making has taken place since the Biedermeier period and continues to enchant locals and tourists alike:

In September the flâneur moves to the gardens of the innumerable wine taverns (known as *Heurigen*) on Vienna's periphery. As the young wine begins to flow, the heat of the day recedes and a velvety warmth descends with the shadows on the flushed faces of the *Stammgäste* (regulars). The conversation becomes wittier – or more maudlin. The Schrammel quartet under the pergola plays numbers from the repertoire of *Wienerlieder*, each one more flattering than the last to the city's image of itself. For an hour or two the world is in order and each has found his place in it.²⁴⁴

Descriptions which emphasise the self-mythologisation of the city, like the one above by Nicholas Parsons, have percolated almost incessantly through the imaginations of travel writers and cultural historians, evoking the leisurely mood found within Vienna's suburban wine taverns. Allied with a style of popular music developed by the Schrammel brothers, or what is often termed *volkstümlich* (folklike) music, the atmosphere generated in a *Heurige* often encouraged participants to linger that much longer, to sample just one more glass of *Sturm* before the sun disappeared behind the Schafberg, and to listen intently – but not *too* intently – to the Schrammel ensemble in the corner.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2008), 46.

²⁴⁵ For a discussion of the local economic and social entanglements of the *Heuriger*, see particularly Mike F Keen and Gabrielle Robinson. 'The Viennese *Heuriger*: Cultural Resilience and Commercialization amidst the Vineyards', *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Summer 2001). Also Robert Sedlaczek's discussion of the connections between the history of alcohol consumption and use of *Wienerisch* in *Wörterbuch des Wienerischen* (Haymon Verlag, 2011).



Fig. 2.1 – J. M. Kupfer, *Bei den Schrammeln in Nussdorf*, 1886 (Wikimedia Commons).

Kupfer's painting above reveals a host of Viennese characters from the popular culture of the period. Although it highlights the romanticised elements of a cosy suburban *Heurige* during a late summer afternoon, contemporaneous reports on the scene blur the boundaries between the myth-making process and the living reality behind the picture:

Never before has a picture been painted with greater trueness to nature than this painting by Kupfer. There is all 'historical fidelity', every stone is really to be seen, every person, every table and every tree exists in reality, and there will therefore be quite a few who will have immediately recognized the location of Kupfer's painting, the garden of the Heurigen Wallner, Kahlenbergerstraße 8. The burgher, the singer, the *Deutschmeister*, the horse-drawn carriage, all of them are living 'specimens' known to be magnificent, all of them sat for the artist outside in the sunlight at the Heurige, and only in this way could the tone

colour be so exact, the arrangement so successful, as they delight us in the painting whose sketch we are presenting today.²⁴⁶

Despite Kupfer's title and inclusion of the musicians, what is particularly striking in the painting and the newspaper column, quoted above, is how little attention is paid to the Schrammel Quartet itself. The narrow pathway that separates the overflowing tables does not direct the gaze to an unimpeded view of the ensemble, but rather to two small children standing directly in front of the musicians. My contextualisation of the Schrammels begins by asking the viewer to consider the musical space occupied by these two young figures, as well as the social entanglements of the *Stammgäste* (regulars) who surround them. I suggest that it is only by highlighting the different forms of listening and the blurred class boundaries on display in Kupfer's painting that one can begin to reveal the porousness of real and imagined places inspired by one summer afternoon 'with the Schrammels'.

Just as the *Heurigen* perch on the gentle slopes of the inner Wienerwald, jostling with the disappearing traces of Vienna's *Vororte*, so the early history of *Schrammelmusik* exists in a world of borderlands and networks that extend their reach across social and cultural dividing lines, most strikingly between working-class industrial communities and the middle-class bourgeoisie, as well as between popular and classical music. If, as Parsons maintains, the transitional *Sturmzeit* in late September is a 'time when the city seems to be most itself, exuding an air of contentment and intellectual alertness', one of the chief aims in spotlighting the Schrammel phenomenon is to argue that such alertness was not only the preserve of the Inner City, and of *Die Wiener Moderne* more broadly, but was also displayed through a rich vein of experimental music-making beyond the edges of the metropolis.²⁴⁷ Although Kupfer highlights the 'background' quality of the quartet in his

²⁴⁶ 'Noch nie wohl ist ein Bild mit größerer Naturgetreue gemalt worden, wie dieses Bild Kupfers. Da ist alles 'historische Treue', jeder Stein ist wirklich zu sehen, jede Person, jeder Tisch und jeder Baum existieren in der Wirklichkeit, und es wird daher nicht wenige geben, welche den Situationsplatz des Kupfer'schen Bildes, den Garten des Heurigen Wallner, Kahlenbergerstraße 8, sofort erkannt haben werden. Der Bürger, der Sänger, der Deutschmeister, der Fiaker, alle sind sie lebende, und als prächtig bekannte 'Exemplare', alle sind sie dem Künstler beim Heurigen draußen, in der Sonnenbeleuchtung gesessen, und nur auf diese Weise konnte der Farbenton so getroffen, die Anordnung so gelungen erscheinen, wie sie uns auf dem Gemälde, dessen Skizze wir heute bringen, entzücken.' *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 15 August 1886, 4.

²⁴⁷ Parsons, *ibid.*, 46.

painting, I contend that the ensemble was an integral part of a reformulation of musical life in the outer districts.

In its simplest definition, the word *Schrammelmusik* is a collective term for a specific style of popular music named after the violinists and brothers Johann (22 May 1850 to 17 June 1893) and Josef (3 March 1852 to 24 November 1895). They focused mainly on traditional dances such as Austrian Ländler, waltzes, marches, polkas, gallops, and accompaniments to *Wienerlieder*. What distinguished a traditional Schrammel ensemble from other groups was the distinctive instrumentation and the resulting colour of the sound, elements which were greatly admired by Johannes Brahms, Hans Richter, and Arnold Schoenberg, among others. In its strictest sense, a Schrammel ensemble consists of two violins, a double-necked contraguitar, and either a chromatic button accordion (Knopfharmonika), or a high G clarinet, nicknamed 'Picksüßes Hölzl' (or 'fabulous matchstick' in a Viennese translation). The two violins and contraguitar were used in the original Schrammel trio, from 1878 to 1884, and the clarinet was added to form the quartet up until 1891, when the setup changed to include the accordion. Before the name 'Schrammelquartett' became known in Vienna from 1884 onwards, forerunners of this particular instrumental grouping were generally identified by either the principal player of the ensemble – such as 'Quintett Dänzer und Strohmayer' – or the association with their place of origin and where they performed most of their sessions – the 'Nussdorfer Terzett', 'D'Grinziger', and 'D'Dornbacher'.²⁴⁸

The story of the Schrammel brothers' success as players, composers, innovators, and self-promoters covers a much wider geographical area than the Vienna of the 1870s to 1890s. A seventeen-year-old Josef undertook an extensive tour of the Eastern Mediterranean from 1869 to 1871, and the quartet as a whole were touring the major towns and cities of Central Europe by the mid-1880s. The *Schrammelmusik* phenomenon, therefore, offers a unique lens through which to examine the mobility of folk musicians from Vienna's satellite villages who went on to shape and

²⁴⁸ https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Schrammel-Musik.xml. Accessed 29 January 2021.

popularise a hybrid form of vernacular music in a suburban context. With this in mind, I adopt a multifocal approach to the issue of cultural transfer at local and transnational levels in order to move away from an overly reductive viewpoint of semi-rural communities as ‘merely the secondary bearers of cultural habits and styles and the tokens of cultural traits such as “national character”’.²⁴⁹ By going beyond the borders of both Vienna and Austria-Hungary, the shifting provincial, cosmopolitan, and imperial identities of these folk musicians contribute to an expanded sense of the vernacular, one which is more closely aligned to the construction and performance of place within a period of intensive suburban development.

The first part of this chapter begins by outlining the early years of the Schrammel brothers and their musical education in the suburbs. The idea that music-making in the *Vororte* is a peripheral concern to a scholarly examination of the city around 1900 is, I argue, one which ignores the cultural and topographical realities of many outer districts before the fall of the *Linienwall* in the early 1890s. By emphasising the distinctive musical and social ecosystems of Neulerchenfeld, I offer the possibility of an alternative centre of scholarly interest. This section also contains a description of Josef Schrammel’s music tour of the Eastern Mediterranean, gleaned from a mixture of journal entries and early attempts at original composition. After examining these transnational routes and the mobility of vernacular music through Schrammel’s ‘Orientreise’, I then chart the activities of the original trio and quartet in the 1880s and early 1890s, considering the compositional output of the brothers during this period of ‘Schrammel euphoria’ alongside the theme of urban modernity. In the final part, I present the experiences of Konrad Schrammel, the forgotten half-brother, in his role as an organ grinder. This counter-narrative, which disrupts the familiar Schrammel mythology, brings working-class narratives back into the picture, as well as revealing the bureaucratic frustrations experienced by war veterans and street musicians seeking a simple begging licence. If the story of ‘Konrad the *Werkelmann*’ adds a further, more uncomfortable, dimension to my assessment of the Schrammel family, implicating it in the discourse on ‘musical noise’ in the city, then visual

²⁴⁹ John Wylie, *Landscape* (Routledge, 2007), 28.

counterparts can be glimpsed in Hans Larwin's depiction of a suburban street scene and a satirical photo of a fictional 'Schrammel Quintet'. The latter, featuring Arnold Schoenberg and Fritz Kreisler, is used as a platform for exploring the vernacular background to Schoenberg's *Serenade*, Op. 24.

2.1 – Beginnings and Borderlands

Early Life in Neulerchenfeld

The Schrammel brothers were born in Gaullachergasse 35 in the outer Viennese suburb of Neulerchenfeld and grew up in a community steeped in both urban and rural musical traditions, due to the steadily increasing influx of migrants into the city from across the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Their first public appearance was on 6 January 1861 at the Golden Stucco Inn, where a charity evening was held for their father Kaspar Schrammel to celebrate his 50th birthday. Both Johann and Josef received some of their earliest violin lessons from Ernst Melzer, first violinist of the Carltheater, and later enrolled at the Vienna Konservatorium for further violin studies.²⁵⁰ Although the details of Josef's education remain sketchy, by all accounts he was an accomplished player, later taking on the first violin role in the Schrammel trio and quartet. Meanwhile, Johann played first violin in the Harmonietheater from 1865 and was then recommended by the director of the Konservatorium, Joseph Hellmesberger, to join the ranks of the Josefstadt Theatre orchestra the following year.²⁵¹

The history of Neulerchenfeld from the end of the eighteenth century to the early 1900s displays a pattern of consistent economic growth followed by gradual decline from the 1880s onwards, exacerbated by the razing of the outer city wall. A brief portrait reveals the extent to which the Schrammel brothers' upbringing in such a diverse setting may have influenced their artistic outlook and general appreciation for the porous boundaries between classical and popular music. The district's appearance in 1803 is described by Franz von Gaheis:

²⁵⁰ Margarethe Egger, *Die Schrammeln in ihrer Zeit* (Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1989), 52, 67.

²⁵¹ Egger, *ibid.*, 61.

On a summer Sunday afternoon, a flood of people crowds out the Lerchenfeld line gate. Mostly craftsmen and manufacturers, with whom the next suburbs are virtually littered. In order to recover from the flood through a change of location and fortifying drinks, they seek out the suburbs outside the suburbs. In the surrounding area, music sounds from the lively Hernals, over the meadows to Ottakring.²⁵²

In his wanderings as a historian, Gaheis counted that out of an area of 155 houses in the district, '78 have the right to serve either wine or beer. In addition to this, every year five houses are entitled to serve wine produced on their own land according to a decree by Joseph II. So there are 83 "taverns" here.'²⁵³ By 1800, Neulerchenfeld became known colloquially as 'the largest inn of the Holy Roman Empire, where 16,000 people seek relaxation on a single beautiful Sunday.'²⁵⁴



Fig. 2.2 – Vienna and its suburbs, 1856, Published by M. Auer (Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Library)

²⁵² 'An einem Sommersonntag Nachmittag drängt sich eine Fluth von Menschen zum Lerchenfelder Linientor hinaus. Größtenteils Handwerker und Fabrikanten, mit welchen die nächsten Vorstädte gleichsam übersät sind. Um sich durch Ortsveränderung und stärkende Getränke zu erholen. Zu diesem Zwecke suchen sie die Vorstadt außerhalb der Vorstädte auf. In der umliegenden Gegend erschallt Musik aus dem lebhaften Hernals, über die Wiesen nach Ottakring.' Franz von Gaheis, *Wanderungen und Spazierfahrten in die Gegend um Wien* (Vienna, 1804), 88.

²⁵³ 'Unter den 155 Häusern haben 78 das Recht, entweder Wein oder Bier zu schenken. Dazu kommt noch, daß alle Jahre 5 Häuser nach einer Verordnung Josephs II. ihren auf eigenen Grundstücken erzeugten Wein auszuschänken berechtigt sind. Also gibt es hier 83 Schenkhäuser.' Gaheis, *ibid.*, 90

²⁵⁴ 'das größte Wirtshaus des Heiligen Römischen Reiches nennen, worin an einem einzigen schönen Sonntage bei 16000 Menschen sich Erholung suchen.' Gaheis, *ibid.*, 93

Even half a century later, when the Schrammel family moved to Vienna, local writers still recognised the traces of rural life in this district in comparison to the steady growth of other suburbs to the south and east of the capital. Adolf Schmidl saw Neulerchenfeld as ‘a village, which actually consists only of inns and gardens. Here is the realm where Bacchus and his whole entourage rule.’²⁵⁵ Its connection to the topography of the nearby hills and vineyards could still be seen and felt in the 1850s, displayed by its position in the map above, protruding out westwards from the *Linienwall*.

Such a densely populated *Heurige* culture indicates that this outer district was not only an area for inner-city residents to escape to at weekends, but also had a distinctive artistic centre of its own which was active throughout the week. Neulerchenfeld’s position as a *Vorort* stresses the former independence of this settlement, with its village-like ecosystem, before its incorporation into ‘Gross-Wien’ from 1892.²⁵⁶ It is from this distinction between the Anglo-American term ‘suburb’ and the Viennese-German usage that one begins to note the presence of an alternative centre of musical interest at the edge of the growing metropolis. Although Neulerchenfeld was bounded by the slopes of the Wienerwald to the west and the *Linienwall* to the east, its very position in the landscape arguably provided a strong gravitational force for nearby residents, weekend visitors from the city, and immigrants from across Lower Austria and beyond.

In addition to the numerous taverns offering platforms for singers and folk ensembles, the classical world entered an era of renewed vitality in the mid-nineteenth century. Musicians, advertisers, and ensemble fixers from across the city began to cultivate wider networks within Neulerchenfeld, and in November 1856, the first official ‘Musikantenbörse’ (Musicians’ Exchange Market) of Vienna was founded, after it had been dissolved on 31 October of the same year at its previous address in Auerspergstraße.²⁵⁷ In the guesthouse Zum weißen Schwan, there was an address book of all Kapellmeisters in Vienna, landlords with music concessions, all Wiener Prater

²⁵⁵ ‘als ein Dorf, das eigentlich bloß aus Wirtshäusern und Gärten besteht. Hier ist das Reich, wo Bacchus mit seinem ganzen Gefolge schaltet und waltet.’ Adolf Schmidl, *Die Kaiserstadt und ihre nächste Umgebung* (Vienna, 1843), 337.

²⁵⁶ See Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (Pimlico, 1966), 22, for a discussion of the terminology regarding suburbs and *Vorstädte/Vororte*, and the subtle differences between English and German interpretations.

²⁵⁷ Egger, *ibid.*, 23.

stallholders, and also freelance musicians. From here, music directors could hire personnel for their ensembles, and innkeepers could book suitable chamber groups for regular evening slots or special occasions. As late as 1889, *the Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* was still drawing attention to this unique resource:

Few Viennese people know that in Neulerchenfeld, namely in the inn 'zum Schwan' in Grundsteingasse, the musicians' exchange takes place. So if you need minstrels, trios, quartets or even duets for any event at carnival time, you will always find excellent Viennese musicians outside at the 'Schwan'.²⁵⁸

The construction of the Thalia Theatre in 1856, built in just six weeks, also became a major draw for Vienna's popular and classical ensembles, especially due to the proximity of the new 'Musikantenbörse'.²⁵⁹ Named after the Greek muse of comic poetry and entertainment, the theatre was designed by the Austrian architect Ferdinand Fellner as a summer venue poised at the meeting point of Neulerchenfeldstrasse and the *Linienwall*. It was made entirely of wood, was three storeys high, and reputedly offered space for almost 3,000 people, thus holding more visitors than Milan's La Scala at the time.²⁶⁰ The Thalia Theatre is best known for hosting the Vienna premiere of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* on 28 August 1857, before its first performance at the Hofoper. Even Eduard Hanslick noted that 'two years before, a suburban director had given the *Tannhäuser* in a board summer theatre [Thaliatheater], with very good success despite the modest means.'²⁶¹ Although the theatre had been used for a major Wagner premiere, in addition to countless other evenings of light entertainment, folk plays, and classical concerts, it was demolished in 1870 to make way for modern tenements.²⁶² The Schrammel brothers' upbringing in this outer district, from the early 1850s to early 1870s, coincided with a particularly rich period of music-making in both popular and classical

²⁵⁸ 'Es dürfte den wenigsten Wienern bekannt sein, dass in Neulerchenfeld, und zwar im Gasthause 'zum Schwan' in der Grundsteingasse die Musikerboerse stattfindet. Wer daher zu irgend einer Veranstaltung jetzt zur Faschingszeit Spielleute braucht, Terzette, Quartette oder auch Duette, der findet draußen beim 'Schwan' stets treffliche Wiener Musiker.' *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 10 February 1889, 4.

²⁵⁹ Hertha Wohlrab, *Erinnerungen an das Thaliatheater* (Stadt Wien, 1967), 16.

²⁶⁰ Egger (1989), 21.

²⁶¹ Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben* (1894), Vol. 2, p. 4, in Egger, *ibid.*

²⁶² Egger, *ibid.*

contexts. It was not until the last few decades of the century that the gradual transformation of Neulerchenfeld and the surrounding areas by the *Linienwall* began to have a significant impact on this distinctive suburban culture.

One popular music and dance event which took place regularly between 1873 and 1892, and was unique to Neulerchenfeld, was known as the 'Lumpenball', or the 'rag ball'. The proceeds from these dance evenings were used to alleviate the most extreme poverty in the local district and net profits grew from only 150 gulden in 1874 to 3,780 gulden in 1884.²⁶³ The *Extrablatt* had already reported in February 1881 that 'The rag ball has long since acquired civil rights...the most beautiful people from the most respectable Viennese backgrounds enjoy themselves there.'²⁶⁴ Margarethe Egger highlights two particularly distinctive musical contributions during this period – the 'Musikkapelle' of the Ottakring Fire Department (1882) and the 'Böhmische Schrammeln' (1888).²⁶⁵ The Ottakring 'Musikkapelle' is described in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on 27 February 1882 as follows: 'the musicians played very nice and understandable pieces on a stove pipe, a funnel, a coffee pot, a boot jack, a dustpan and two pig bladders.'²⁶⁶ Similar entertainment was offered on a regular basis until the last 'Lumpenball' on 19 February 1892, when a commemorative brochure called 'Twenty Years of Ragamuffin Ball' was published. The proceeds from the event and sale of the brochure were distributed to local charities to assist working-class families with basic living costs.²⁶⁷

This brief portrait of musical life in Neulerchenfeld only reveals a small fraction of the myriad social and economic networks which evolved throughout the nineteenth century at Vienna's periphery. However, when taking into account the diversity of venues in this one district alone and the mixture of genres being performed, from the *volkstümlich* music in smaller *Heurigen* to the more commercialised popular entertainment in dance halls, and opera productions at the Thalia Theatre,

²⁶³ Ibid., 26.

²⁶⁴ 'Der Lumpenball...hat schon lange das Bürgerrecht erlangt...es erlustigen sich dort sie schönsten Leut aus den respektabelsten Wiener Gründen.', *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 22 February 1881, 4.

²⁶⁵ Egger, *ibid.*, 27.

²⁶⁶ 'die Musiker spielten auf einer Ofenröhre, einem Trichter, einer Kaffeekanne, einem Stiefelknecht, einer Kehrribschaufel und zwei schweinsblasen ganz nette und verständliche Stücklein.' *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*, 27 February 1882, in Egger, *ibid.*

²⁶⁷ Egger, *ibid.*, 28.

Neulerchenfeld's position as a cultural centre of gravity outside Vienna's city walls would have offered the young Schrammel brothers a rich and varied musical education. It is the blurred boundaries between the worlds of folk, popular, and classical music that played such a vital role in their careers as instrumentalists and composers, and that appealed to a broad cross-section of Viennese society, from working-class labourers frequenting suburban taverns through to the aristocratic class. The musical talents of the Schrammel family not only entertained Viennese and Austrian audiences, however, but were also heard in cultural establishments beyond the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and it is to this region that I turn next.

Josef Schrammel's 'Orientreise'

On 5 December 1869, the Austrian 'Wehrgesetz' (Military Act) on compulsory service came into force. Since Josef Schrammel was unfit for military duty, he undertook an extensive music tour with his aunt Katharina Schütz, her husband Balthasar, and a young cousin, Lini Eicherle, all folk musicians in their own right.²⁶⁸ Their journeying as Viennese tourist-musicians throughout the Eastern Mediterranean lasted seventeen months, and provided the young, impressionable Josef with one of the most powerful formative experiences of his life. According to his journal, the group left Meidling on 9 December 1869 and after an eight-day journey they arrived in Smyrna [Izmir], where they performed at the 'Café Pauli'.²⁶⁹ They combined forces with small groups of European musicians in Constantinople, Beirut, Alexandria, Cairo, Trieste, and Smyrna, and finally returned to Vienna in May 1871.

There are only two surviving sources that provide accounts of Josef Schrammel's 'Orientreise': the first is his own 'Tage Buch', a travelogue detailing the group's itinerary, musical appearances, their contact with local figures in major urban centres, and colourful descriptions of

²⁶⁸ Both Egger and Dieman mention Josef Schrammel's unsuitability for military service, but neither author states the reason. See Egger, *ibid.*, 70.

²⁶⁹ Stefan Winterstein (ed.), *Josef Schrammel im Serail: Die Aufzeichnungen des Wiener Volksmusikers über seine Reise in den Vorderen Orient 1869-1871* (Hans Schneider, 2007), 17.

events surrounding this Viennese troupe and its associates.²⁷⁰ As Stefan Winterstein has noted, the challenges and idiosyncrasies of language, orthography, particular forms of Viennese dialect, and even syntax used by the young Josef have acted as stumbling blocks to a comprehensive understanding of this journal.²⁷¹ The second source of information comes from a retrospective account of the Schrammel brothers' lives and careers by Josef's daughter Betty Fuchs-Schrammel (1873–1957).²⁷² Fuchs-Schrammel was deeply concerned with the official commemoration of her father, especially since, from her perspective, he often took second place to his elder brother Johann in the public perception of the Schrammel phenomenon, despite assuming the role of first violinist in the Schrammel Quartet from 1884 onwards. Her specific agenda towards raising the profile of her father in the public eye began in the 1890s and continued well into the 1930s. Despite the very limited range of primary sources for the 'Orientreise', Josef's journal offers valuable insights into musical connections between the suburbs of Vienna, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Cairo, as well as providing details about the nature of travel, cultural exchange, and early forms of tourism.

The Schrammel brothers' formative years were moulded by an economic boom which lasted until the 1873 Vienna stock market crash; this period of technological expansion and increasing social mobility opened up new pathways for musicians who wished to explore beyond the boundaries of Central and Eastern Europe. Josef Schrammel's youthful observations of Europeanised districts in Alexandria and his interactions with local Austrian and German audiences, given later in this section, demonstrate the extent to which his provincial and urban identities conform to what C. A. Bayly and Leila Fawaz call 'contested versions of modernity [which] reveal both the contradictions that sharpen

²⁷⁰ The manuscript of the 'Tage Buch des Josef Schrammel' is housed in the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Inventory number: H.I.N. 236.103. A full transcription appears in Stefan Winterstein (ed.), *Josef Schrammel im Serail* (Hans Schneider, 2007).

²⁷¹ Winterstein, *ibid.*, 103–116.

²⁷² Betty Fuchs-Schrammel, *Leben und Wirken der Brüder Schrammel*, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus manuscript collection, H.I.N. 239.954. Selected material from the manuscript is reprinted in Winterstein (2007).

and the overlap that blurs the distinctions between West and East, elite and popular, urban and rural.’²⁷³



Fig. 2.3 - A 17-year-old Josef Schrammel in Constantinople (June 1870). Original photo in Heimatmuseum Litschau (permission granted).

As uncomfortable as Josef Schrammel’s tour to the Middle East might have been around 1870, it was no longer beyond the bounds of possibility for Europeans who had access to more favourable means of travel, as described by Moritz Busch in his 1860 guide to Turkey:

A journey to the Orient...requires above all a healthy body, perseverance in bearing the discomfort and privations, and a spirit that can refrain from the joys and comforts of civilised life for a while....The post and railway go as far as Trieste, and there a comfortably

²⁷³ C. A. Bayly and Leila Fawaz, ‘Introduction: The Connected World of Empires’, in *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, eds. C. A. Bayly and Leila Fawaz (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 1.

equipped steamer picks them up to carry them as far as the gates of Alexandria, Athens, Smyrna or Constantinople.²⁷⁴

Trieste itself could be reached within a day from Vienna using the Südbahn, which was completed in 1857. The Alexandria to Cairo railway line, which Schrammel used twice, had been opened in 1855 as the first railway of the Middle East, and the Suez Canal, unveiled on 17 November 1869, enabled Schrammel to sail from Ismailia to Port Said. On the subject of these transport networks and newly emerging forms of cosmopolitan identity, Athanasios Gekas remarks that

this first technology-induced compression of time and space connected the wealthiest among the inhabitants of port-cities in tangible ways, but also through business networks, along with the diffusion of ideas and cultural practices. Together with intermarriage, these are some of the markers of cosmopolitanism in Eastern Mediterranean ports.²⁷⁵

Although Gekas focuses on the successful ventures of wealthier families whose connections across the Mediterranean offered them access to the economic gateways of the Middle East, he also stresses that ‘there is no reason why cosmopolitanism should be the exclusive privilege of an elite group of merchants.’²⁷⁶ If Gekas’ ‘markers of cosmopolitanism’ can be located partly in the social mobility of citizens and their utilisation of new transport networks, then the Viennese quartet’s position as ‘tourist-musicians’ can surely be included alongside the merchants, sailors, and migrant workers who circulated the major port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, once located within these urban centres, Josef Schrammel and his relatives did not always conform to the romanticised image of nineteenth-century artists sampling the rich offerings of distant cities. Josef’s

²⁷⁴ ‘Eine Reise in den Orient erfordert...vor Allem einen gesunden Körper, Ausdauer im Ertragen von Beschwerden und Entbehrungen und einen Geist, der auf eine Weile, ja nach Befinden auf lange Zeit absehen kann von den Freuden und Annehmlichkeiten des civilisirten Lebens....Bis Triest führt Post und Eisenbahn, und dort nimmt sie ein bequem eingerichteter Dampfer auf, um sie bis hart vor die Thore Alexandriens, Athens, Smyrnas oder Constantinopels zu tragen.’ Moritz Busch, *Die Türkei. Reisehandbuch für Rumelien, die untere Donau, Anatolien, Syrien, Palästina, Rhodus und Cypern* (Trieste: Literarisch-artistische Abtheilung des öesterr. Lloyd, 1860), III.

²⁷⁵ Athanasios Gekas, ‘Class and Cosmopolitanism: the historiographical fortunes of merchants in Eastern Mediterranean Ports’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 2009), 100-101.

²⁷⁶ Gekas. *Ibid.*, 104

journal entries point, instead, towards a recreation of imagined place from Vienna's suburban culture in their social encounters with Austrian communities abroad.

In Alexandria, where two longer stays were made, the local names mentioned by Schrammel betray the European character of the establishments: an unknown Café Pelikan, the Hotel de Trieste, which Lloyd's guidebook says is preferred by German travellers, and an equally unidentified Café Republik.²⁷⁷ A sense of familiarity is revealed in Schrammel's journal entry when he describes Alexandria as

a completely Europeanized city, because the streets are paved like in Vienna, hotels like Paris, Beer houses, every fine thing imaginable, but there are also almost more Europeans than Africans.²⁷⁸

While in Alexandria, Schrammel and the Schütz couple befriended a Tyrolean Society. Schrammel kept a record of the age of his colleagues, but unfortunately no information regarding the vocal and instrumental combinations in which they played:

Now about our Society. When we first came to Alexandria, a member of our Society by the name of Rossa, 25 years old, made an acquaintance, or rather a love affair. She is a Tyrolean from Zillerthal. As we departed for Cairo, he kissed her (his name was Zoginger) and promised to visit her at Christmas....The festival was approaching. On Monday 26th December 1870, he came, lodged himself in a hotel and visited her daily from morning till night....Our Society consisted of Mr. Franz Höllensteiner, a very good 35-year-old bass singer; his wife Maria, 26 years old, also a top singer; Miss Paulina Liskovius, 19-year-old zither player, especially good; and Miss Rosina Lachner, 25-year-old singer, not good.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Stefan Winterstein (2007), 125.

²⁷⁸ 'eine Stadt ganz Eiropäisch [sic] nämlich die Strassen gepflastert wie in Wien, Hottel's alla Paris, Bier Häußer, alles erdenkliche, was nur fein heißt, sind aber auch beinahe mehr Eiropäer als Affrikaner.' Schrammel, 'Tage Buch', p. 26

²⁷⁹ 'Jetzt zu unserer Gesellschaft. Wie wir das erste mahl nach Alexandria kamen, da machte ein Mittglied von unserer Gesellschaft mit dem Nahmen Roßa 25 Jahre Alt eine Bekantschaft, vielmehr Liebschaft. Sie ist eine Tirolerin aus Zillerthal. Wie wir nach Cairo abfuhren, küßte er Sie / er hies Zoginger / und Versprach ihr, Sie zu die Weinachtsfeuertage zu besuchen....Es kamen die Feuertage heran. Richtig Montag den 26/12 1870 kam er, Logirte sich in ein Hottel und besuchte Sie täglich von der Früh bis auf die Nacht....Unsere Gesellschaft bestand sich so: Herr Franz Höllensteiner 35 Jahr Bass Sänger sehr braf, seine Frau Maria, 26 Jahr dedto, Prim Sängerin auch sehr braf, Fräulein Paulina Liskovius 19 Jahre Zitherspielerin besonders braf, Fräulein Rosina Lachner 25 Jahre Secondo Sängerin nicht gut.' Josef Schrammels 'Tage Buch', 38-39.

Josef Schrammel and his musical comrades generally did not perform for local audiences during their tour of the Eastern Mediterranean, but for the European colonies based there and the ship crews passing through. This intertwining of cosmopolitanism, in terms of social mobility, with the position of Schrammel's troupe of musicians as imperial subjects from Vienna, and also migrant figures from other Austrian provinces, points towards a much more convoluted set of local identities embodied as well as performed across regional and national boundaries. Yvonne Liao, in her study of 'Little Vienna' in wartime China, notes that the presence of a 'European Jewish zone in 1940s Japanese-occupied Shanghai' contributes to 'the emergence of an urban time-space that was simultaneously a Restricted Sector and an imagined Vienna.'²⁸⁰ Josef Schrammel's experience performing popular Austrian melodies alongside Tyrolean musicians living in an increasingly Europeanised Alexandria creates a similarly intriguing scene, one that affords the characters concerned an opportunity to 'locate themselves in different imaginary geographies at one and the same time.'²⁸¹ It also emphasises the many cultural misunderstandings that historians of Mediterranean diasporas have recently highlighted concerning what Faruk Tabak calls 'modes of conviviality':

the social conviviality and economic buoyancy that coloured the port-cities...were due neither to their cosmopolitan constitution nor to their generosity of spirit which sanctioned tolerance and *Bildung*. The reasons were neither cultural nor societal, but world-systemic.²⁸²

Such an assessment risks underestimating the agency of individuals in adopting a more fluid form of associational, inter-ethnic activity in a city like Alexandria, with its co-existence of native Egyptian, Ottoman, Greek, Italian, British, and French commercial enterprises during the *Khedivate* of 1863 to 1879. However, it goes some way towards understanding the strong presence of an

²⁸⁰ Yvonne Liao, "'Die gute Unterhaltungsmusik': Landscape, Refugee Cafés, and Sounds of "Little Vienna" in Wartime Shanghai', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 98 (2016), 351.

²⁸¹ Stuart Hall, 'New Cultures for Old', in *The Cultural Geography Reader*, eds. Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price (Routledge, 2008), 274.

²⁸² Faruk Tabak, 'Imperial Rivalry and Port-Cities: A View from Above', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2009), 80.

Austrian diaspora which dominated Josef Schrammel's seventeen-month tour and the exclusive form of cosmopolitanism which such a community could display. As Gekas argues, within the context of European imperialist expansion in Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century, Tabak's 'modes of conviviality' were often acquired 'not by design...but by default.'²⁸³ Between 1863 and 1866, the Austrian Consulate calculated that the population of Austrian subjects within Egypt increased from around 3,000 to 9,000, and consular agencies were set up within Port Said and Ismailia in 1867 to cope with this sudden influx.²⁸⁴ In addition, Carole Escoffey notes that 'during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, when French ships stopped coming to Alexandria, the Austrian post office and the ships of the Austrian Lloyd were the only means of sending mail to Europe.'²⁸⁵ Despite the accelerating decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire through the nineteenth century, this scenario still points towards the overarching European identity of the imperial territory with its extensive reach beyond the borderlands of south-east Europe.

Further encounters with Austrian and German audiences are peppered throughout Josef Schrammel's 'Tage Buch'. In January or February 1870, Schrammel mentions the existence of Herr Keilhauer's restaurant in Constantinople, and he goes on to offer a clue as to the origin of his audience:

We were having a good time, but all the people were German, and Herr Keilhauer told us why we were not telegraphed, because after a month he had ordered another music group and we would have been his preference over the other company.²⁸⁶

The family soon became acquainted with more German guests, such as a butcher and a family named Voitt.²⁸⁷ Josef's stay in Constantinople during the spring and summer of 1870 fell in the

²⁸³ Gekas, *ibid.*, 103.

²⁸⁴ Carole Escoffey, 'The Austro-Hungarian Community in Alexandria', in Annelies Ismail and Mona Gabriel, *Alexandria was our Destiny: based on the Memories of Marie-Luise Nagel* (Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2011), xxv.

²⁸⁵ Escoffey, *ibid.*, xxxvi.

²⁸⁶ 'wir gefillen gut, aber alle Leute, was Deutschen waren, und Her Keilhauer sagte uns, warum wir nicht Thelegrafirten, indem er doch nach einen Monat eine andere Mußik bestellt hatte und wir wären ihm Lieber als die andere Gesellschaft.' Winterstein, *ibid.*, 124.

middle of a gradual modernisation of the city's suburbs during the latter stages of the Ottoman Empire's Tanzimat Reforms. The Viennese troupe divided their time between the bustling, cosmopolitan quarter of Galata on the European side, where they were soon engaged to perform at Herr Weidmann's Coffeehouse, and the more relaxed surroundings of Kadıköy, an outlying suburb on the Anatolian shore. Moritz Busch points out that up until the late 1850s there were relatively few Europeans living in this outer district, but just under two decades later the situation had altered considerably:

Kadikoi, although situated in Asia, is a heavily Europeanised place and one encounters in its streets only the most elegant French toilets. A great many rich Greeks and Armenians, as well as foreign merchants, have their country houses here.²⁸⁸

It was precisely in Kadıköy where a peculiar encounter took place: on 7 April 1870, Schrammel notes the visit of a pasha and his servants who invited them to play. Such an audience remained a rarity on their tour. According to Schrammel, it lasted 'at most' half an hour:

On Thursday 7th there was very bad weather, that is only until three o'clock in the afternoon, then it became beautiful and hot. A pasha visited us, who asked us to play, and gave us two pieces of Turkish Thaler. We played for a maximum of half an hour and then he departed with all the servants.²⁸⁹

While in Kadıköy, Josef Schrammel composed *Scharki, alla Turka* (Fig. 2.4), drawing from elements found in courtly chamber music of the period, such as the cycle 'fasıl' which found its way into the casinos and coffeehouses of Constantinople in a modified form.²⁹⁰ In Turkish music, *Sarki* refers to a song form that became the main component of a 'fasıl' suite in the course of the

²⁸⁷ Winterstein. *ibid.*, 125.

²⁸⁸ 'Kadikoi ist, obwohl in Asien gelegen, ein rein europaeischer Ort und man begegnet in seinen Strassen fast nur den elegantesten franzoesischen Toiletten. Eine Menge reicher Griechen und Armenier, ferner fremde Kaufleute haben hier ihre Landhaeuser.' Moritz Busch, *Die Türkei. Reise-Handbuch für Constantinopel, die Untere Donau, Rumelien, Bulgarien, Macedonien, Bosnien und Albanien*, 3. Auflage (Trieste: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt), 146, in Winterstein, *ibid.*, 88.

²⁸⁹ 'Donnerstag den 7ten hatte es ein sehr schlechtes Wetter, das heist nur bis 3 Uhr Nachmittag, dan wurde es auf einmahl schön und heis, es besuchte uns auch ein Pascher, der uns zum spielen aufforderte und uns mit 2 Metschidie nämlich Türkische Thaler beschenkte, wir spielten höchstens 1/2 Stund und dan ging er weiter sammt Dienerschaft.' Josef Schrammel, 'Tage Buch', p. 7, transcribed in Winterstein, *ibid.*, 20.

²⁹⁰ See Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, *Intercultural Music Studies* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1996).

transplantation of traditional court music into entertainment venues around the middle of the nineteenth century. Although Schrammel may have already been aware of the long history of Turkish music and the Janissary band phenomenon in Vienna going back to the eighteenth century, there are no indications in his journal that he spent any time seriously studying Turkish musical style while in Constantinople.

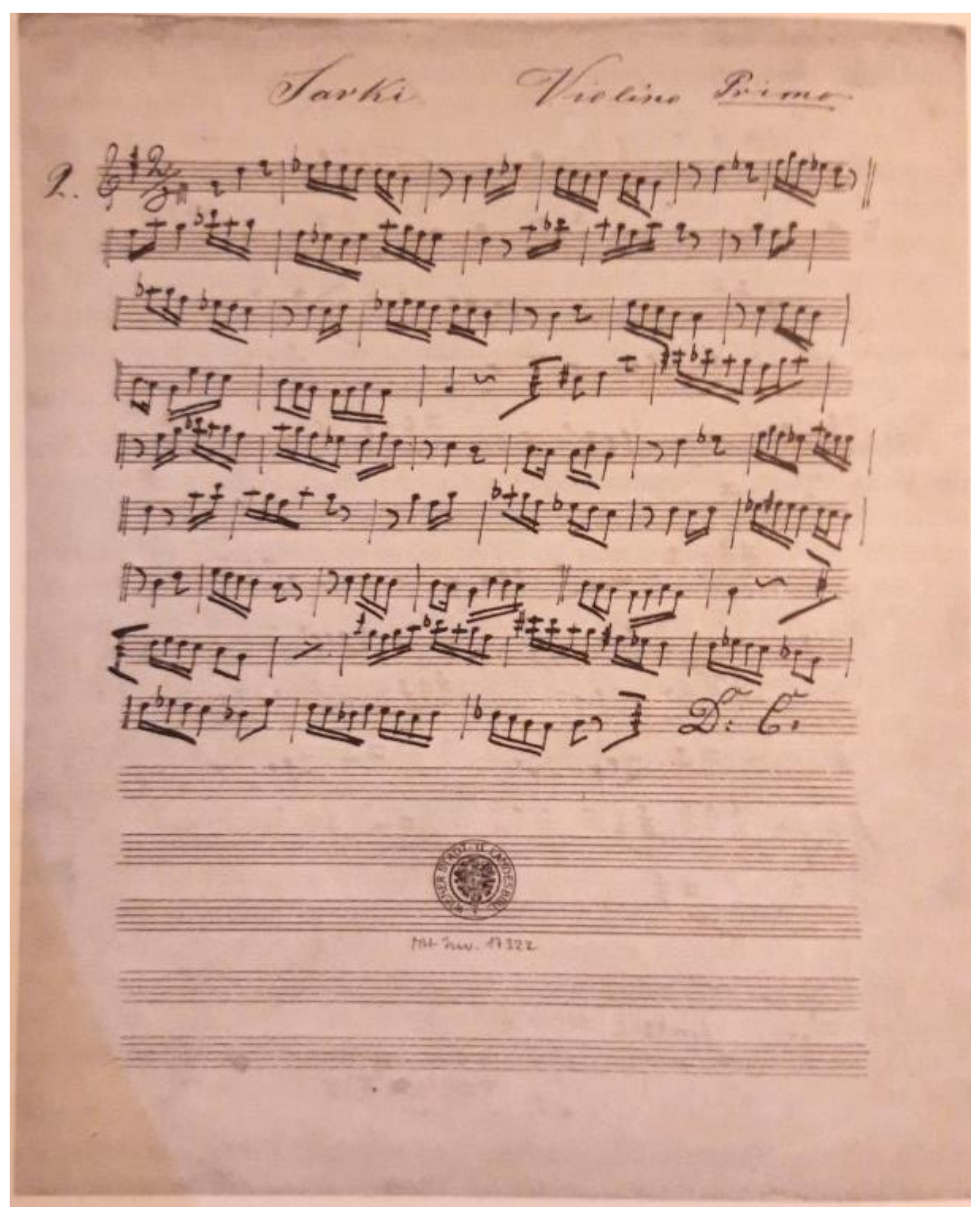


Fig. 2.4 - Josef Schrammel, *Sarki*, written while on tour in Constantinople. Original manuscript held in Wienbibliothek im Rathaus collection, reprinted in Winterstein (2007).

Despite this, he must have intuitively grasped some of its essential characteristics which can be seen in the violin part above, such as the strongly ornamented, wave-like melodic arcs with their step-by-step movements, which are only occasionally interrupted by leaps, as well as the recurring augmented seconds.

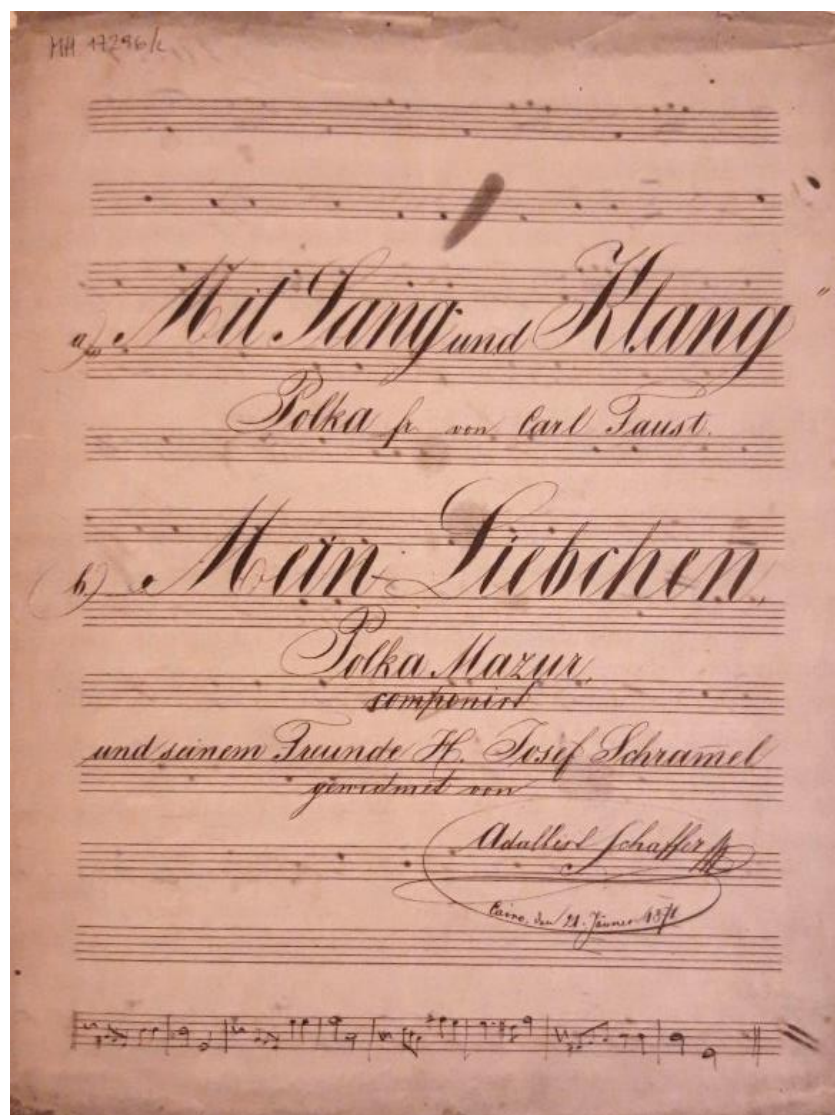


Fig. 2.5 - Carl Faust: 'Mit Sang und Klang', Polka française Op. 141, and Adalbert Schaffer: 'Mein Liebchen', Polka Mazur. 'Composed and dedicated to Herr Josef Schrammel, Cairo, 21st January 1871.' (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus collection).

A reminder of home life may well have come about in Josef's newly formed friendship with Adalbert Schaffer, a young composer from northern Bohemia and a member of the Bressnizer Music

Company; more specifically in a dedication, which, according to the information on the title page, contains the polka 'Mit Sang und Klang' by Carl Faust and a song 'Mein Liebchen' (Fig. 2.5). The only other piece of information that can be gleaned from Josef's 'Tagebuch' is an indication of parts for trumpet, guitar, and bass, which are presumed missing.²⁹¹

Josef's urban and rural adventures continued in Cairo through his visits to the Jussuf Fountain, the Alabaster Mosque, and the Giza pyramids, as well as noting the prevalence of Viennese coffeehouses and German-style taverns in the newly Europeanised district around Azbakiya Square. At the same time as the old military fortifications were being demolished and the construction of the new Ringstrasse commenced in Vienna, an urban modernisation programme for Cairo was put in place by Isma'il Pasha in 1863 which set itself the ambitious goal of creating a European district by the time the Suez Canal opened in November 1869. Before that point, the European community had 'led a relatively limited cultural life, which was mainly confined to its neighbourhood and the nearby region around Azbakiya Square.'²⁹² It was only in the new districts that it emerged from this twilight state, and European influence spread to a considerable extent. Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, in their study of proletarian Vienna and the social effects of rapid suburban development beyond the *Linienwall*, paint a stark portrait of two cities: the old centre which began to acquire the character of a museum quarter, projecting the imperial power and wealth of the liberal classes, and the 'other' side of Vienna – the socially deprived districts whose inhabitants felt abandoned by the acceleration of metropolitan modernity.²⁹³ A more extreme economic and social division can be seen in European accounts of Cairo's urbanisation programme, where an exclusive form of cosmopolitanism manifested in the colonial quarters emphasised the widening gulf between the local population and the grand designs of competing imperial powers, as well as the Egyptian state:

²⁹¹ Manuscript kept in the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, MH 17.296/c.

²⁹² Markus Bandler, 'Alltagskultur und Öffentlichkeit, Kaffeehäuser und Tavernen im Kairo des 19. Jahrhunderts', Masters Thesis in Islamic Studies, Freie Universität Berlin, [undated], 13.

²⁹³ Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Berghahn Books, 2008). A much more detailed examination and critique of this study is given in Chapter 1.

There are two Cairos, the modern, infinitely more attractive one, and the old, which seems destined to prolong its agony and not to revive, being unable to struggle against progress and its inevitable consequences. One is Cairo of the artists, the other of hygienists and modernists.²⁹⁴

Henri Pieron's image of a dual city is echoed by Janet Abu-Lughod in her urban history of Cairo from 1971:

The city's physical duality was but a manifestation of the cultural cleavage...on all critical points the two cities, despite their physical contiguity, were miles apart socially and centuries apart technologically.²⁹⁵

This emphasis on stark division in the urban modernisation of the 1860s and 1870s was a particular feature of western viewpoints revolving around European colonial influence at the time. When we take into account the writings of Egyptian scholars, however, this simple binary fades into the background. Heba Ahmed notes the following:

Ironically, in all natives' writings, this distinct notion of duality did not exist. To scholars like Ali Mubarak, Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi, Muhammad al-Muwaylihi, and others, these developments were part of Cairo's expansion and progress. They were but new quarters added to the same single city. Modern Cairo, hence, cannot be studied as an isolated artifact independent of its relationship to the larger social and political forces that have conditioned its evolution and physical growth.²⁹⁶

Ahmed's interrogation of western histories predicated upon earlier nineteenth-century forms of orientalist nostalgia allows Bayly's and Fawaz's 'contested versions of modernity' to come to the fore once again. This can be seen in the sharpened contradictions and blurred boundaries expressed in competing ideologies represented by western imperialist fantasies and Egyptian conceptions of

²⁹⁴ Henri Pieron, 'Le Caire: Son esthétique dans la ville Arabe et dans la ville moderne', *L'Égypte Contemporaine* 5 (January 1911), 512, in Heba Farouk Ahmed, 'Pre-Colonial Modernity: The State and the Making of Nineteenth-Century Cairo's Urban Form', PhD Thesis (University of California Berkeley, 2001), 5.

²⁹⁵ Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), 98.

²⁹⁶ Ahmed, 'Pre-Colonial Modernity' (2001), 5-6.

progress.²⁹⁷ A similar tension can also be glimpsed in the evolution of Neulerchenfeld's suburban culture, with its flourishing musical experimentation during the Schrammel brother's formative years soon challenged by Otto Wagner's urban development plans of the early 1890s. Even during Josef's time abroad, dramatic changes to his home district had already begun, most notably the demolition of the Thalia Theatre in 1870 to make way for modern tenement blocks. If Josef Schrammel's observations of the colonial quarters of Alexandria and Cairo, with their projection of a Europeanised urban form, reflects what W. J. T. Mitchell calls 'utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect', then I would argue that such assessments of imperialist landscapes can be re-contextualised and brought back from nineteenth-century Egypt to bear witness to the disruptive musical and social power of Vienna's *Vororte*, conjuring up 'fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance'.²⁹⁸ In light of Neulerchenfeld's progression from being the 'largest inn of the Holy Roman Empire' to one of the breeding grounds of the working-class riots in the 1890s²⁹⁹, John Wylie's assessment of colonial representation can be equally applied to the relationship between the projection of economic order from Vienna's liberal centre and the social entanglements of the outer districts, 'wherein local and indigenous knowledges and practices are incessantly braiding and disrupting European imperial visions'.³⁰⁰ If the Viennese troupe had extremely limited opportunities to experience 'local and indigenous knowledges' while on tour, it may well have strengthened Josef Schrammel's desire to launch himself into a musical career on Vienna's periphery which resisted the sense of boundedness and exclusivity offered to him in the colonial quarters of Alexandria and Cairo.

In tracing the wanderings of four musicians from Vienna's suburbs beyond the borderlands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it is paradoxically the concept of the familiar which stands out in Josef Schrammel's journal entries upon his arrival in Eastern Mediterranean port cities. The

²⁹⁷ C. A. Bayly and Leila Fawaz, 'Introduction: The Connection World of Empires' (2002), 1.

²⁹⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (London: Routledge, 1994), 10.

²⁹⁹ More detail on the working-class history of Neulerchenfeld and Ottakring is given in the chapter 'Rioting Beyond the Ring'.

³⁰⁰ John Wylie, *Landscape* (Routledge, 2007), 124.

acceleration of transport technology and the spatial compression which enabled such an endeavour in 1869, and which allowed the musical troupe to witness the intensive urban developments in major Ottoman cities, arguably gave Josef and his compatriots a glimpse into the cosmopolitan future of their home district, one that would both nourish and threaten those real and imagined Viennas seen in Kupfer's painting.

2.2 – Formations, Consolidations, and Schrammel Euphoria

Before Josef's 'Orientreise' commenced, his elder brother Johann had already enlisted in the Second Dragoner Regiment in 1866 and subsequently transferred to the reserve of the 49th Infantry Regiment in 1872. His time in the latter lasted just over a year and after he was discharged from military service, Johann began earning a regular salary as a violinist in the Margold Salonkapelle.³⁰¹ After his return from the Eastern Mediterranean in May 1871, Josef played at several *Heurigen* in the outer districts of Hernals and Nussdorf, and married nineteen-year-old folk singer Barbara Prohaska in June 1874. In the same year, the 'First Viennese National Quintet' was mentioned in the *Fremdenblatt*, consisting of the folk musicians Eichele, Georg Dänzer, Josef Schrammel, F. Draschkowitz and J. Rouland.³⁰² Several years later, Josef suggested to his older brother that they form a trio with the contraguitarist Anton Strohmayer. According to early Schrammel biographer Hermann Mailler, Johann quipped, 'A wine tavern musician – my father didn't send me to the conservatory for that!'³⁰³ However, Strohmayer's formidable reputation as one of the finest and most versatile guitarists in Vienna at the time proved to be the deciding factor, and they finally formed the Nussdorf Trio in 1878.

Before the Schrammel brothers become known throughout Vienna as consummate instrumentalists, the popular music scene in the city had already offered numerous examples of

³⁰¹ Kurt Dieman, *Schrammelmusik, Schrammelwelt* (Residenz Verlag, 2007), 51-52.

³⁰² *Fremdenblatt*, 25 November 1874, quoted in Dieman, *ibid.*, 66.

³⁰³ Herman Mailler, *Schrammel-Quartett* (1943), 61.

duos, trios, and other ensembles performing chamber arrangements of Strauss and Lanner waltzes, as well as countless *Wienerlieder*. The Harner 'brothers', a piano duo who were not actually related, were especially popular during the 1870s and early 1880s, and were often compared to the Schrammels, or viewed as predecessors. The term 'Harner Bua' was transferred from the name of the inn Harner am Tabor in Vienna's Second District (Leopoldstadt), which they owned together with older relatives. Egger states that 'the Harners and the Schrammel brothers with Strohmayer had the same audience – the lovers of old folk music. The more popular the Schrammels became, the larger their following, the smaller the Harner became.'³⁰⁴ This process occurred during the early to mid-1880s after the Harner pianists sold the tavern in Leopoldstadt and newspaper accounts of their musical activities mysteriously ceased from 1884, the year the Schrammel brothers formed their new quartet.³⁰⁵

A significant occasion for the Schrammel's Nussdorf Trio took place on 4 October 1883, when the brothers celebrated their father's 60th anniversary as a musician at the Luchsen tavern in Neulerchenfeld. The extensive description of the evening in the *Extrablatt* paints a vivid portrait of this *Heurige* scene:

A fiddle bow is tapped three times on the soundboard of a violin. Three magic strokes. In an instant the noise is hushed, a holy silence reigns in the hall, which suddenly seems to have been transformed into a church, and all eyes are turned towards the podium on which three men are sitting. Two place the bow on the strings, the third has placed his fingers on the thick body of the guitar: these are the Schrammels. There is no claque, no paid applause manufacturers, no friendly mood producers, there are only admirers and fanatics; indeed, there are literally Schrammel fanatics who can get seriously angry if someone moves their chair or speaks a loud word during the performance. And we understand. No one plays the dear folk melodies as sweetly, as intimately, as purely in tone as these three people; it is the homely Viennese dialect set to music that speaks to us from the 'whimpers' of the Schrammel brothers and the 'clacking' of Strohmayer.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Egger, *ibid.*, 165.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 167. Egger points out that a combination of factors such as personal financial circumstances and changing musical tastes may have contributed to the Harner's sudden decline. Also the urban development in the mid-1880s focusing on the extension of the Nordbahnstrasse around the newly regulated Danube Canal would have resulted in the demolition of houses and other structures at the edge of Leopoldstadt.

³⁰⁶ 'Da wird mit einem Fiedelbogen auf den Resonanzboden einer Geige dreimal geklopft. Drei Zauberschläge. In einem Nu ist der Lärm verstummt, eine heilige Ruhe herrscht in dem Saal, der plötzlich in eine Kirche umgewandelt zu sein scheint und aller Augen sind nach dem Podium gerichtet, auf welchem drei Männer

The attention to detail in this article and the atmosphere it conjures up became part of the long-standing mythologisation process of the Schrammel phenomenon which began during their lifetimes and continued through much of the twentieth century. Although it is impossible to determine how much artistic licence the reporter was employing in their account, the usage of terms like 'Schrammel fanatics' and the attentive, near-silent mood created by the presence of the ensemble points towards a heightened sense of the vernacular, one which arguably adopts elements that were more associated with larger concert halls nearer the Ringstrasse. This blurring of boundaries and atypical form of *volkstümlich* entertainment was observed by Eduard Pötzl in his article for the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. Pötzl claimed that 'not all Viennese are interested in such a new phenomenon...since the higher social classes almost without exception do not like the actual Viennese pleasures or do not even know them.'³⁰⁷ He then explains what distinguishes the Schrammels from other popular and folk musicians:

The Schrammeln do not make ordinary 'Heurige' music; they are the classics of the 'Weaner Tanz', the virtuosos of the Viennese song, the masters of the 'Winsel' [fiddle]. The exuberance, the cheerful nature, the often cloudy rapture and soon again the exultant clairvoyance of the Viennese mind, as expressed in his songs and dances, becomes tonally alive in the original fresh colours under the violin strokes of these musicians and awakens the sweetest moods in the listener.³⁰⁸

If my biographical portrait of the Schrammels aims to reveal the multiple layers of vernacular music that existed beyond the most famous figures from Vienna, namely, Johann Strauss and

sitzen. Zwei legen den Bogen auf die Saiten, der dritte hat die Finger auf den dicken Leib der Gitarre gelegt, das sind die Schrammeln. Da gibt es keine Claque, keine bezahlten Applaus-Fabrikanten, keine befreundeten Stimmungs-Erzeuger, da gibt es nur Verehrer und Fanatiker; ja es gibt förmlich Schrammel-Fanatiker, die ernstlich böse werden können, wenn jemand während der Produktion mit dem Sessel rückt oder ein lautes Wort spricht. Und wir begreifen es. So süß, so innig, so rein im Ton spielt niemand die lieben Volksmelodien als diese drei Leute, es ist der anheimelnde Wiener Dialekt in Noten gesetzt aus den 'Winseln' der Schrammel'schen Brüder und der 'Klumpfen' Strohmayers zu uns spricht.' *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 7 October 1883.

³⁰⁷ 'nicht alle Wiener sich für eine solche neue Erscheinung interessieren...da die höheren Gesellschaftsklassen fast ausnahmslos an den eigentlichen wienerischen Vergnügungen keinen Gefallen finden oder dieselben gar nicht kennen.' Eduard Pötzl, 'Die Brüder Schrammel', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 October 1883, 1.

³⁰⁸ 'Die Schrammel machen keine gewöhnliche Heurigenmusik; sie sind die Klassiker der 'Weaner Tanz', die Virtuosen des Wiener Liedes, die Meister der Winsel. Der Übermut, die Frohnatur, die oft umwölkte Schwärmerei und bald wieder herausjauchzende Hellsinnigkeit des Wiener Gemütes, wie es sich in seinen Liedern und Tänzen ausspricht, wird in den ursprünglichen frischen Farben unter den Geigenstrichen dieser Musiker tonlebig und erwecken in dem Zuhörer die süßesten Stimmungen.' Pötzl, 'Die Brüder Schrammel', *ibid.*

Josef Lanner, then Pötzl's account above indicates that the Nussdorf Trio may have occupied an elite position in suburban music-making. The multi-faceted character of *Schrammelmusik*, having drawn from a rich tradition of pseudo-folk exemplified by figures such as the 'Harner Bua', reached even greater heights of popularity and sophistication from 1884 onwards when the Schrammel Quartet was officially founded.

The Schrammel Quartet

The 'Heurige in Nußdorf' phenomenon, shown in both Kupfer's painting and the newspaper articles from October 1883, was not only restricted to one outlying district. As the popularity of the Schrammel ensemble grew, what was once a highly localised event 'changed into a term, just as the name of the Schrammel brothers became a musical term connoting a certain style of Viennese popular music.'³⁰⁹ 'An evening in Nußdorf' became an identifier for a particular type of entertainment that spread throughout suburban Vienna during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and influenced the programmes of larger establishments such as the Eldorado in the hotel and casino Ober-St. Veit.³¹⁰ Although the rise in mass entertainment threatened the existence of many small-scale instrumental ensembles from the semi-rural districts, there was still a healthy appreciation for the purely concertante performances exemplified by the Nussdorf Trio, and so the new Schrammel Quartet fulfilled this musical appetite for suburban audiences. For example, the quartet celebrated New Year's Eve in 1884 at the well-known Blaue Flasche restaurant in Neulerchenfeld, an establishment which was already very popular with a whole cross-section of Viennese residents, from local regulars to teachers, politicians, scientists, and writers.³¹¹

From October 1884, the two Schrammel brothers on violin and Anton Strohmayer on contraguitar were officially joined by Georg Dänzer on G clarinet, although Dänzer had already

³⁰⁹ Egger, *ibid.*, 107.

³¹⁰ Jacqueline Saner, 'Die Gebrüder Schrammel: Werdegang einer musikalischen Familie und die Entwicklung eines Stilbegriffs', Mag. Phil Dissertation, University of Vienna (2013), 51.

³¹¹ Saner, *ibid.*, 32.

performed with the trio on a more informal basis from around 1880.³¹² As the G clarinet ('picksüßes Hölzl') was added to the two violins and the guitar, this extended the musical possibilities and colours of the group, particularly in the treble range. The staged photo of the full quartet with guests (Fig. 2.6), in an unidentified suburban tavern, shows the beginnings of the Schrammel mythologisation process – one which encompasses the cosy atmosphere of *Heurige* culture and the dissolving of class boundaries that such an atmosphere facilitated. As I show in the final part of this chapter, a very similar aesthetic, albeit with an additional layer of satire, was employed almost two decades later with Schoenberg in the role of a Schrammel cellist.



Fig. 2.6 – Schrammel Quartet with folk singer Carl Schmitter in the left corner (seated). Photo by Rudolf Krziwanek, c. 1885 (Wikimedia Commons)

³¹² The origins of the G clarinet are somewhat mysterious. Kurt Dieman has suggested that the Schrammel family's spiritual home in Litschau, in the northern Waldviertel, may have played a role in the importing of the small clarinet into Viennese folk culture. Kaspar Schrammel, the father, was a keen amateur clarinet builder and maker, and the 'Waldviertler' communities were said to have preferred the smaller clarinet in local music-making. See Kurt Dieman, *Schrammelmusik. Das erste Grosse Buch der Brüder Schrammel* (Edition Kaleidoskop, 1981), 15-17. Colin Lawson has also pointed to the use of smaller instruments in Hungarian gypsy bands during the nineteenth century, although not necessarily the G clarinet – Colin Lawson, 'The clarinet family', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, ed. Colin Lawson (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 52-53.

1884 was a crucial year for the four musicians, as it was from this period onwards that they convinced not only the working-class and lower-middle-class suburban audiences of their distinctive musical talent, but also the nobility and high-ranking personalities of the inner districts. The Viennese sculptor Viktor Tilgner organised a meeting between the Schrammel Quartet and Johann Strauss on 23 January:

I will come with Johann Strauss and our wives on Friday 23rd to your performance in Nußdorf. Please arrange for interesting whistling and yodelling and you had better telegraph me the address.

Professor Tilgner, Heugasse 1.³¹³

Strauss stayed for a full six hours at the tavern, having planned to stay for only one. Just over a month later, he wrote the following letter to Josef Schrammel to express his thoughts on the ensemble's artistic achievements:

Mr. Schrammel, music director,

Herewith I declare with pleasure and conviction that the musical direction of the Society in performance and recital is of artistic importance in the true sense of the word, and that everyone who has a sense for the faithful musical reproduction of Viennese humour, the poetic peculiarity of the Viennese folk music genre, is warmly recommended.

Vienna, 4th March

Johann Strauss³¹⁴

Strauss' letter reveals one of the distinctive elements of *Schrammelmusik* that endeared it to such a broad cross-section of Viennese society: its translation of local humor and 'the poetic peculiarity' of the experimental vernacular music emanating from the outer districts. Although the later years of the Schrammel Quartet, around 1890, coincided with the increasing importance of mass popular

³¹³ 'Ich komme mit Johann Strauß und unseren Frauen am Freitag, den 23. dieses zu Ihrer Produktion nach Nußdorf. Arrangieren Sie gütigst interessantes Pfeifen und Jodeln und telegraphieren Sie mir gleich die Adresse in Nußdorf. Professor Tilgner, III., Heugasse 1.' Telegram from Viktor Tilgner to Josef Schrammel, 21 January 1884, in Saner, *ibid.*, 28.

³¹⁴ 'Herrn Schrammel, Musikdirektor, Erkläre hiemit mit Vergnügen und Überzeugung, daß die musikalische Leitung der Gesellschaft in der Ausführung und im Vortrag im wahren Sinn des Wortes von künstlerischer Bedeutung ist und Jedermann, der für die getreue musikalische Wiedergabe des Wiener Humors, der poetischen Eigentümlichkeit des Wiener Volksmusikgenres Sinn besitzt, auf das Wärmste zu empfehlen ist.' Reproduced in Egger, *ibid.*, 95.

entertainment in large-scale dance halls and more commercialised establishments, Strauss' admiration for the Schrammel brothers demonstrates an appreciation for the retainment of what was often identified as a less sullied form of Viennese pseudo-folk music, harking back to the simple combination of two violins and contraguitar.³¹⁵

Johannes Brahms also held the Schrammels in high esteem. After a song recital by the famous soprano Alice Barbi, Brahms attended a 'Schrammel-Abend' with her on 27 May 1892:

After the Schrammeln had played several Viennese songs and dances, they also sang an American song that was popular in Vienna at that time: 'Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay'. When the syllable 'boom' was played, the beat was struck with a walking stick or a beer glass on the table. That day I could see even Brahms, full of overflowing joy, strike the beat with his umbrella whenever the 'boom' sounded. A boy with a grey beard.³¹⁶

Brahms' admiration for the popular songs and dances of the day is well-documented, particularly his employment of Hungarian folk melodies and rhythms, although the youthful zest apparent from the quote above also strengthens the long-standing view of the composer as deeply embedded in Viennese culture, despite his origins.³¹⁷ In addition to Strauss and Brahms, many other major figures from the classical world became loyal followers of the Schrammel Quartet, most notably Hans Richter, and as I will discuss in the final part of this chapter, Arnold Schoenberg.

³¹⁵ For a detailed history of musical predecessors to the Nussdorf Trio and the defining characteristics of suburban folk music in the 1840s to 1860s, see Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (eds.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Vienna, 2006), 232-239.

³¹⁶ 'Nachdem die Schrammeln mehrere Wiener Lieder und Tänze gespielt hatten, stimmten sie auch ein amerikanisches Lied an, das damals in Wien volkstümlich war: 'Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay'. Wurde die Silbe 'boom' gespielt, schlug man mit dem Spazierstock oder einem Bierglas auf dem Tisch den Takt dazu. An diesem Tag konnte ich sehen, daß auch Brahms voll überströmender Freude mit seinem Regenschirm den Takt schlug, wann immer das 'boom' ertönte. Ein Knabe mit einem grauen Bart.' Albert Gutmann and Albert Ritter von Hermann, *Die musikalische Aufführungen der internationalen Ausstellung für Musik und Theater wesen in Wien* (Vienna, 1892), 55.

³¹⁷ For recent assessments of Brahms' connection with folk music, see George S. Bozarth, 'Folk Music', in *Brahms in Context*, eds. Natasha Loges and Katy Hamilton (Cambridge University Press, 2019), and Yue Zhao, 'Eastern Exoticism in Western Music: An Examination of Uyghur Folk Songs' Influence in Brahms' Zigeunerlieder Op. 103', PhD Thesis, Texas Tech University (2020). For a broader analysis of *Volkslied* and *volkstümlich* songs in Brahms' oeuvre, see Loges, 'How to Make a 'Volkslied': Early Models in the Songs of Johannes Brahms', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (2012), 316-349.

The Schrammels and the Vienna Philharmonic

For many Viennese musicians and writers, the word ‘Schrammeln’ became synonymous with ‘the sound of Vienna’, just as much as the Vienna Philharmonic encapsulated a particular body of sound for the high art world.³¹⁸ Alexander Witeschnik, in his paen to pre-First World War Vienna, transforms the Schrammel phenomenon into a permanent symbol of the city in a similar guise to the institution of the Philharmonic:

They are the highest expression of that potential musical talent which rests in the people's soil of the city as a resounding reflection of the landscape. Their name became the designation for an artistic genre – a rare case in music history, as Hermann Mailler, the first biographer of the Schrammels, aptly notes – an artistic genre, in particular, which is equivalent to a landmark of Vienna. The Viennese Schrammeln, like the Vienna Philharmonic, whose folk counterpart they represent, have become a global concept.³¹⁹

The symbolism of juxtaposing the orchestra with the Schrammel Quartet was not just an exercise in nostalgic myth-making; the violinist Alfons Egger became a full member of the Philharmonic in 1973 and in the same year joined the Philharmonia Schrammeln ensemble, noting that ‘in Vienna it is often the sideshow which is more important than the main event.’³²⁰ Historical links between the orchestra and the more modest suburban phenomenon of ‘Schrammel-Abende’ go back as early as 1886, the year that Hans Richter invited the Schrammel Quartet to perform at the celebration of the Vienna Philharmonic’s 100th concert under his directorship.

Richter invited the orchestra to a soirée on 19 December 1886 in which a selection of Lanner waltzes, played by the Schrammel Quartet, were to be heard. His invitation to guests, written on 16 December, is given below:

³¹⁸ Descriptions from biographies of *Schrammelmusik* by Herman Mailler, *Schrammel-Quartett. Ein Buch von vier Wiener Musikanten* (Wiener Verlag, 1943), and Kurt Dieman, *Schrammelmusik* (Kaleidoskop, 1981), stress the *Ur-Wienerisch* aspects of the original quartet.

³¹⁹ ‘Sie sind die höchste Ausprägung jener potentiellen Musizierbegabung, die im Volksboden der Stadt als tönende Abglanz der Landschaft ruht. Ihr Name wurde die Bezeichnung fuer eine Kunstgattung – ein seltener Fall in der Musikgeschichte, wie Hermann Mailler, der erste Biograph der Schrammel, treffend bemerkt –, einer Kunstgattung zumal, die einem Wahrzeichen Wiens gleichkommt. Die Wiener Schrammeln sind wie die Wiener Philharmoniker, deren volkstümliches Gegenstück sie darstellen, ein Weltbegriff geworden.’ Alexander Witeschnik, *Musik aus Wien* (Wiener Verlag, 1943), 307.

³²⁰ ‘laut Otto Schenk ist ja in Wien das Nebensächliche oft wichtiger als das Hauptsächliche.’ in Margarethe Egger, *Die Schrammeln in ihrer Zeit* (Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1989), 11.

Dear friends and comrades!

I read in the paper that you wish to celebrate my special one hundredth Philharmonic concert as director. It is my greatest joy and pride that you appreciate my conducting; but I still feel too young to celebrate a 'jubilee', despite the fact that my crown has already shown an alarming general pause. If I should be granted the 200th Philharmonic Concert, then 'celebrate' it in God's name; then I am old enough to find a forgiving comfort in such vanities. So, please look at Sunday as an ordinary concert day, i.e. be fully committed to the matter, but otherwise not to make any stories. But I am happy to take the opportunity to be together with you once again; after so much serious and often hard work, only true cheerfulness can benefit everyone. That's why we want Sunday – just between us! – to meet at a special place where you will hear the famous Schrammeln perform the incomparable Lanner waltzes. I cannot offer you anything better.

With friendly greetings

Your

Hans Richter³²¹

After their highly praised appearance with Richter and members of the Philharmonic, Johann Schrammel composed the 'Hans Richter Marsch' in gratitude to the conductor for the prestigious invitation. Although the manuscript source for the guitar part is reproduced in Peche and Wetscherek's commentary, the other instrumental parts are missing and very little context can be gleaned from the sources available.³²² According to Egger, it is highly likely that the march was composed in the first few months of 1887.³²³

The network of violinists who crossed stylistic boundaries on a regular basis between the high art world and suburban *Heurigen* played a significant role in the connection between

³²¹ 'Werthe Freunde und Genossen! Aus der Zeitung erfahre ich, daß Sie mein hundertstes philharm. Concert-Dirigieren besonders feiern wollen. Es ist meine größte Freude und mein Stolz, daß Sie meine Leistung zu würdigen wissen; aber um ein 'Jubiläum' zu feiern, dazu fühle ich mich noch zu jung, trotzdem mein Scheitel schon manche bedenkliche Generalpause aufweist. Wenn es mir vergönnt sein sollte, das 200te philharm. Concert zu dirigieren, dann, "feiern" Sie in Gottesnamen zu; dann bin ich alt genug, um an solchen Eitelkeiten ein verzeihliches Behagen zu finden. Also: bitte den Sonntag wie einen gewöhnlichen Concerttag zu betrachten, d. h. mit vollstem Eifer bei der Sache sein, aber sonst keine Geschichten zu machen. – Gerne aber ergreife ich die Gelegenheit, wieder einmal gemütlich mit Ihnen beisammen zu sein; nach so viel ernster und oft auch harter Arbeit kann nur allen wahre Heiterkeit nützen. Darum wollen wir uns Sonntag – ganz unter uns! – an dem bestimmten Orte zusammenfinden: dort sollen Sie von den famosen Schrammeln die unvergleichlichen Lanner'schen Walzer vorzüglich aufgeführt hören. Besseres kann ich Ihnen nicht bieten. Mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen
Ihr, Hans Richter'

Reproduced in Mailler, *Schrammel-Quartett* (1943), 92.

³²² Martin Peche and Hugo Wetscherek, *Josef Schrammel, Gründer des Schrammelquartetts: kommentiertes Nachlassverzeichnis* (Vienna: Antiquariat Inlibris, 2000).

³²³ Egger, *ibid.*, 143

Schrammel culture and the Vienna Philharmonic. The expressive foundation and colour of string sound shared by both ensembles lay not only in their training at the Konservatorium, whose violin school was led by Josef Böhm and Joseph Hellmesberger, but in the development in tone and style within the vernacular world beyond the *Linienwall*. As Blaukopf, Egger, and Otto Strasser have argued, the familiar warmth, flexibility, and expressive quality that has defined the Philharmonic's string sound ever since emanates, in part, from the interactions with the original Schrammel Quartet and their numerous successors, as well as imitators.³²⁴ There is also a physical link through the luthier Carl Zach, who was the main violin maker for members of the Vienna Philharmonic during the late nineteenth century.

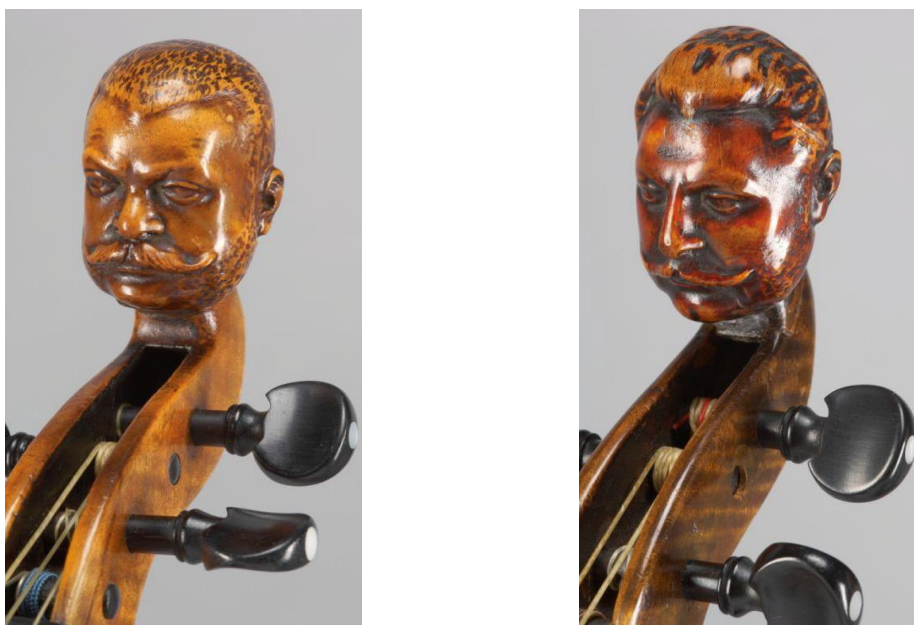


Fig. 2.7 – Josef and Johann Schrammel's violin scrollwork, C. Zach, 1883. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente³²⁵

The 'Zachschen Ehrengelgen' (Fig. 2.7), with the heads of Johann and Josef Schrammel carved into the scrolls, were presented to the brothers in 1884.³²⁶ Although the inclusion of ornamental

³²⁴ Herta and Kurt Blaukopf, *Die Wiener Philharmoniker* (Vienna-Hamburg, 1986), 276; Egger, *ibid.*, 142-144; Otto Strasser, *Sechse is'* (Munich, 1984), 157ff.

³²⁵ www.khm.at/de/object/fc657255aa/. Accessed 8 March 2022.

³²⁶ Saner, *ibid.*, 29. Also see <https://www.neubauer-geigenbau.com/en/tradition/> for more information on the Viennese violin making tradition. Accessed 8 March 2022.

scrollwork in violin making has a long history going back to the Amati brothers, and also the viola da gamba of previous generations, the two Schrammel violins above display a deep-seated affection and admiration for the position of suburban vernacular music in Vienna's broader artistic climate.³²⁷

Between October 1888 and December 1889, the ensemble undertook three major tours of Central Europe, performing in numerous towns and cities known for their lively folk culture.³²⁸ Their last stop on the first tour was in Munich, where they stayed between 16 and 20 December 1888. The *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten* review of the 18 December concert is particularly striking for its depiction of the quartet's musical qualities:

It is all unusual with this Viennese quartet: the timbre, the emotional expression of the music, the clarity and purity of the performance, the often-wondrous accuracy of the interplay, and especially the rhythmic peculiarities. An eternal change of holding back and forcing again, a constant change of tempi, which makes it puzzling that these four artists, without anyone having seen one of them just looking up to the other, play together so exactly and as pure as a bell.³²⁹

Here again, we see an emphasis on the idea of 'peculiarity', this time referring specifically to the unique employment of rubato and the surprising synchronicity of the ensemble playing.

In 1891, the clarinettist Georg Dänzer fell ill and left the Schrammel Quartet permanently. Since another suitable clarinetist could not be found, Dänzer was replaced by the accordion player Anton Ernst, the cousin of the Schrammel brothers. Despite the sudden change in sound due to the enlargement of harmonic space afforded by the 'Knopfharmonika' (a chromatic button accordion), their popularity continued unhindered.³³⁰ Soon after their performances during the Vienna

³²⁷ For examples of early decorated scrollwork, see:

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/504476> and <https://www.thestrad.com/the-special-art-of-decorated-instruments/5469.article>. Accessed 9 March 2022.

³²⁸ See Egger, *ibid.*, 200-232 for detailed itineraries of all three tours.

³²⁹ 'es ist alles ungewöhnlich bei diesem Wiener Quartett: Die Klangfarbe, der seelische Ausdruck der Musik, die Klarheit und Reinheit des Vortrags, die oft wundersame Exaktheit des Zusammenspiels und vor allem die rhythmischen Eigentümlichkeiten. Ein ewiger Wechsel der Tempi, der es geradezu rätselhaft erscheinen läßt, daß diese vier Künstler, ohne daß jemand den Taktstock führt, ja ohne daß einer zum andern nur aufsähe, so genau und glockenrein zusammenspielen.' *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten*, 19 December 1888, in Egger, *ibid.*, 207.

³³⁰ Although I do not have the space here to go into detail regarding the 'Knopfharmonika', in addition to the contraguitar and G clarinet, for more context on the role of these instruments in Viennese folk culture, see Fritz

International Music and Theater Exhibition in 1892, the guitarist Anton Strohmayr left the quartet and was replaced by Karl Daroka. During this time, Johann Schrammel's health deteriorated, and he died of a heart condition on 17 June 1893, aged only forty three. In a report on his obituary from 18 June, the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* struck a critical note regarding the folk music scene of the time and the overwhelming presence of singers and yodellers:

The Viennese folk musicians had to associate themselves with these whistlers, singers and yodellers if they wanted to be popular, and with time the musicians naturally receded into the background....There were even legal problems with the licensed folk singers, who saw their existence threatened and indeed suffered greatly from this competition. At this point the decadence of the Viennese musicians also began, the 'Schrammeln' sank...and the many other quartets simply became the musical accompaniment of the singing and whistling coachmen.³³¹

Johann Schrammel, however, was excluded from this assessment of 'decadence' in Vienna's folk music world. After the death of his brother, Josef continued with the violinist Knoll in the ensemble.³³² He was able to replicate some of the success of the former quartet with performances in Vienna and on a single month-long concert tour within Austria shortly before his death on 24 November 1895.

Schrammel Euphoria and Musical Output

The compositional output of the Schrammel brothers covered the most popular forms of instrumental music in Vienna: waltzes, polkas, marches, and the czardas, as well as their own interpretations of *Wienerlieder*. Where Josef was noted for his confidence and leadership as first violinist in the Nussdorf Trio and the Schrammel Quartet, it was his older brother Johann who

and Kretschmer (2006), 174-178. Also Katrin Anita Svoboda, *Die Gebrüder Schrammel: Vom Heurigen in die Salons der Adeligen* (Verlag Dr. Müller, 2011), 36-56.

³³¹ 'Die Wiener Volksmusikanten mußten sich mit diesen Pfeifern, Sängern und Jodlern assoziieren, wenn sie Zuspruch haben wollten und mit der Zeit traten naturgemäß die Musiker in den Hintergrund....Es kam sogar zu Rechtsschwierigkeiten mit den konzessionierten Volkssängern, welche sich in ihrer Existenz bedroht sahen und in der Tat unter dieser Konkurrenz schwer zu leiden hatten. Mit diesem Zeitpunkt trat auch die Dekadenz der Wiener Musiker ein, sanken die 'Schrammeln'...und die vielen anderen Quartette einfach zu musikalischen Begleitern der singenden und pfeifenden Kutscher herab.' *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*, 17 June 1893.

³³² Peche and Wetscherek (2000), *ibid.*, 113.

displayed more fluency as a composer and arranger. Although the total number of works written by both brothers comes to around 270, including between sixty and seventy original songs, there are unfortunately very few primary sources offering a comprehensive list of compositions together with dates and instrumentation details. A recent catalogue of manuscript sources by Peche and Wetscherek, together with brief commentaries on the Schrammel *Nachlassverzeichnis*, provides a relatively full picture of the range of musical styles, yet many details are still missing.³³³ Despite the emphasis on events, reception history, and suburban culture in these accounts, it is still possible to gain a partial understanding of the Schrammels' place as composers in late nineteenth-century Vienna.

The period 1885 to 1886 proved to be an especially productive and financially rewarding time for the Schrammel Quartet. A combination of increasingly frequent appearances at major entertainment venues, such as Danzer's Orpheum, and well-informed business decisions from Johann, ensured that the ensemble's reputation as musical ambassadors for the city of Vienna continued to climb as they entered the last decade of the nineteenth century. Their collaboration with tenor Alexander Girardi at a special Hofburg concert in April 1885, in front of a sizeable audience of Austrian nobility, included the 100th performance of Johann's own 'Schrammel March' and the first performance of Josef's 'Vindobona Walzerlied', one of his most popular compositions.³³⁴ A further appearance before high nobility followed on 30 May, when Johann dedicated his 'Eugenie Waltz' to Princess Esterházy. Other compositions were dedicated to members of the Austrian nobility later the same year, including 'Frühlingsgruß an Pauline' (to Princess Metternich), and the 'Kronprinz Rudolf-Marsch'. As well as strengthening his musical reputation in aristocratic circles, Johann Schrammel also became known as a shrewd businessman in Vienna's competitive music world. Mailler notes that the New Year's Day concert in 1886 may well have contained the first performance of Josef Schrammel's 'Nußdorfer Waltz'.³³⁵

³³³ *ibid.*

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

On 14 August that same year, the brothers celebrated their 25th anniversary as musicians with a special concert at the Garten beim Dreher. Musical contributions came from across the city, most notably from the Kapellmeister Ferdinand Fink, who composed the couplet 'Wann d'Schrammeln an Tanz d'zua spiel'n' for the occasion, as well as several numbers performed by the Neulerchenfeld Male-Voice Choir.³³⁶ Johann had also composed the march 'Wien bleibt Wien' for this jubilee concert, incorporating the song 's'Herz von an echten Weana' by Carl Lorens into the trio section. This composition would later become one of the most recognisable symbols of the Schrammel phenomenon for both locals and tourists alike. Such was the success of the 25th jubilee concert in Garten beim Dreher, that it prompted a reporter in the *Wiener Spezialitäten* to offer an article entitled 'Was sind uns die Schrammeln?' (What are the Schrammels to us?):

As a child the 'old Viennese' wise men imprinted themselves on the ear and soul and if this would not have been the case, there would have been many funny wise men...who would have been lost....So the Schrammeln are a 'living archive' for the sounding treasures of past times.³³⁷

In 1888, Johann Schrammel dedicated his three-volume folk music collection *Alte österreichische Volksmelodien* to Emperor Franz Joseph II and the manuscripts were accepted by the esteemed Viennese publishing house August Cranz.³³⁸ Due to their popularity, Schrammel's compositions were offered by various publishers within Austria in piano reductions and arranged for vocal duets.

It was not only individual aristocrats who were the recipients of musical dedications from the Schrammels; their connection with social and cultural movements can be seen in Johann's composition 'Ciclisten-Marsch' from 1890.³³⁹ His dedication of this piece to the local Sport-Verein in Vienna demonstrates not only an awareness of emerging trends in a developing metropolis, but

³³⁶ Egger, *ibid.*, 130.

³³⁷ 'Als Kind haben sich die altwienerischen Weisen ihrem Ohr und ihrer Seele eingeprägt und wäre dies nicht der Fall gewesen, so wären gar viele lustige Weisen...verloren gegangen....So sind uns die Schrammeln ein 'lebendes Archiv' für die tönenden Schätze vergangener Zeiten', *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 15 August 1886

³³⁸ Peche and Wetscherek, *ibid.*, 113.

³³⁹ Unfortunately I have been unable to find a manuscript of the score for 'Ciclisten Marsch', but an outline of the form can be found in Alois Böck and Walter Deutsch, *Das Werk der Brüder Schrammel, Folge 1, Die Märsche* (Verlegt bei Hans Schneider, 1993), 43.

perhaps also an appreciation for the outdoors and the role that physical exercise, mobility, and transport played in the life of a late-nineteenth-century citizen. Alois Böck notes that

among the emerging sports of the 1880s, cycling was a specialty of daring youth. The fact that Johann Schrammel also dedicated a work to the 'Ciclisten' sports group can probably be attributed to the popularity of the Schrammel Quartet in sports circles.³⁴⁰

In 1870, a 'velocipede' race took place in Vienna, the same year that the old Michaux design, known as 'the boneshaker', was replaced by a high-wheel frame, or penny-farthing.³⁴¹ From around 1880, the latest two and three-wheeled bicycles became widely available in Austria, although the cost was between 140 and 200 gulden. After the new designs were industrially produced, and thus became cheaper, the number of Viennese cyclists increased rapidly from the late 1880s onwards. By 1896, around 12,500 permits were issued, many of which were taken by suburban workers.³⁴²

The Schrammel brothers' progression from humble backgrounds in Neulerchenfeld to the stages of grand suburban theatres, aristocratic salons, and concert halls gave rise to a 'Schrammel euphoria' phenomenon in the city as a whole:

Over time, the group developed into a veritable cult, which not only related to the ordinary audience of folk musicians, the lower and middle classes, but also the fashionable circles of society, the nobility and the artistic world.³⁴³

This meteoric rise in popularity was also accompanied by an enlargement of Vienna's suburban boundaries in the early 1890s. Johann's composition 'Gross-Wien' celebrated this incorporation of these outlying districts:

The most solid Viennese and 'Vorortler' became a 'Gross-Wiener-Draher' tonight. Outside, at the former border of the city, where the line-wall stretches in a zigzag, all the host and coffee houses were full. At midnight, the celebratory cry of 'Cheers Greater Vienna!' sounded....Everywhere you heard jesters and variations of well-known folk songs adapted

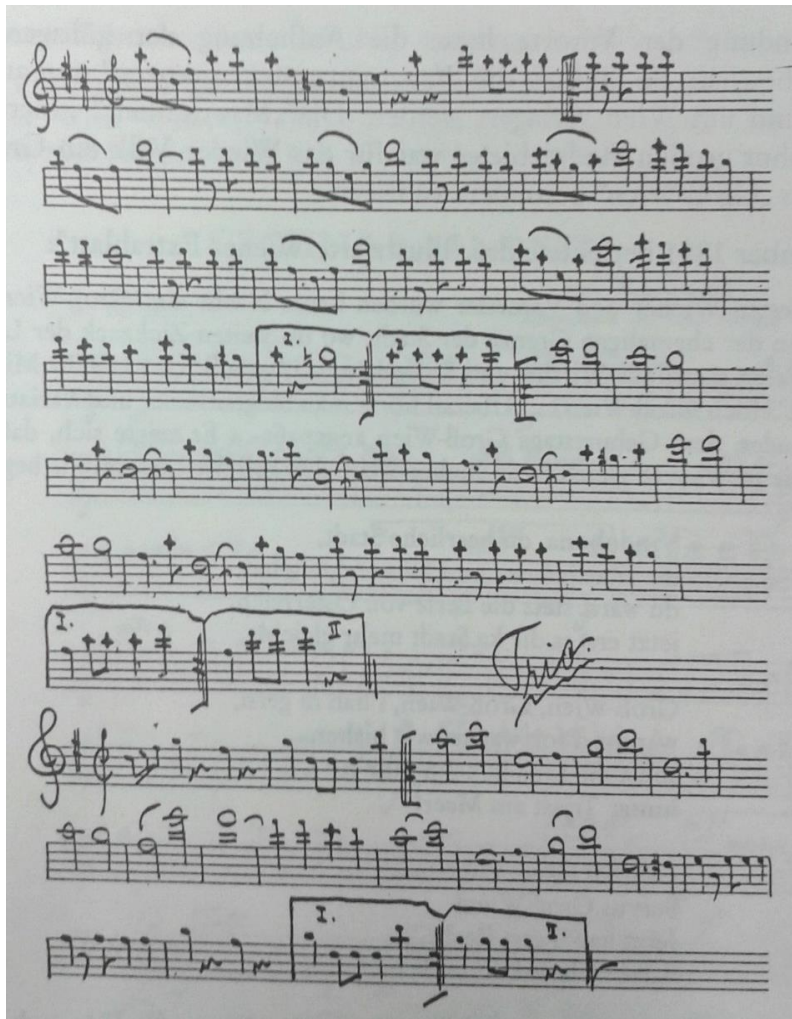
³⁴⁰ Böck and Deutsch, *ibid.*

³⁴¹ Andreas Hochmuth, *Kommt Zeit, kommt Rad* (Vienna, 1991), 28.

³⁴² Hochmuth, *ibid.*, 33.

³⁴³ 'Um die Gruppe entstand mit der Zeit ein regelrechter Kult, der sich nicht nur auf das übliche Publikum der Volksmusikanten, die Unter- und Mittelschicht, bezog, sondern auch die vornehmen Kreise der Gesellschaft, des Adels und der Künstlerschaft erfasste.' Fritz and Kretschmer, *ibid.*, 236.

to the birthdays of 'Gross-Wien'....It turned out that in the suburbs, as in Vienna, the fall of the *Lina* walls was greeted in an equally friendly way.³⁴⁴



Ex. 2.1 – Johann Schrammel, 'Gross-Wien', violin 1 part (1891)
Wiener Volksliedwerk Archive, Ottakring

The ensemble's popularity in the suburbs was not only due to weekend pleasure trips.

Susanne Schedtler explains one of the more practical economic developments behind this situation:

³⁴⁴ 'Aus dem solidesten Wiener und Vorortler wurden heute Nacht ein 'Gross-Wiener-Draher'. Draussen, an der ehemaligen Grenze der Stadt, wo im weiten Zickzack der Linienwall sich hinzieht, waren saemtliche Wirths- und Kaffehaeuser uebevoll. Um 12 Uhr Mitternacht toente es jubelnd 'Hoch Gross-Wien'!....Überall hörte man Stegreiflieder und Variationen bekannter Volkslieder, dem Geburtstage Gross-Wien angepasst....Es zeigte sich, dass man in den Vororten wie in Wien in gleich freundlicher Weise den Fall der Linienwälle begrüsst.' *Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt*, 21 December 1891.

The Viennese Sunday excursion was by no means only motivated by nature-seeking. After the incorporation of the suburbs, completed in 1890, the consumption tax was not abolished. It was extended to the whole of Vienna and remained until 1918. The advantage of the *Heurige's* location outside the *Linienwall* was over. The entertainment scene in the city gave this in return, of course, buoyancy.³⁴⁵

As Schedtler notes, the change in taxation law after 1890, bringing the whole of municipal Vienna under the same legislation, would have had both positive and negative effects on music-making in the *Vororte*. Although the original Schrammel Quartet were able to perform to more diverse audiences at major entertainment venues such as Danzer's Orpheum, the Volkstheater (from 1890), and the 1892 Vienna International Music and Theatre Exhibition, the growing popularity of the larger halls threatened the financial stability of certain *Heurigen*.³⁴⁶ Even before the 1892 exhibition, the appetite for *Wienerlieder* 'novelties', as well as yodelling groups and whistlers, began to partially overshadow the activities of the instrumentalists themselves. In addition to the changing tastes in popular culture during this period, one of the effects of the 'Schrammel euphoria' phenomenon was the rise of imitators and alternative 'Schrammel-Abende'. The original quartet's long-term residency at the Stalehner establishment in Hernals became one of many competing versions of *Schrammelmusik* offered throughout the suburbs. From 1890 onwards, regular fixtures occurred at the following establishments:

The Wilde Mann in Währing:	every Saturday in September and October
Bacchus-Saal in Fünfhaus:	every Thursday from October to December
Drei Engel-Säle in Wieden:	every Wednesday from 21 October to December
Weigl's Dreher-Park in Meidling:	every Monday in November ³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ 'Der Wiener Sonntagsausflug war also keinesfalls nur durch Natursehnsucht motiviert. Nach Eingemeindung der Vororte, die 1890 abgeschlossen war, schaffte man die Verzehrsteuer nicht etwa ab. Sie wurde auf ganz Wien ausgedehnt und blieb bis 1918 bestehen. Der Standortvorteil der Heurigen ausserhalb der Linienwall war damit dahin. Der Vergnügungsszene in der Stadt gab das im Gegenzug natürlich Auftrieb.' Susanne Schedtler, (ed.), *Wienerlied und Weana Tanz*, Beiträge zur Wiener Musik 1 (Vienna, 2004), 24.

³⁴⁶ Egger, *ibid.*, 254.

³⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 250.

In 1891, a new 'Schrammel Concert' series was founded at the Bildersaal within Bauer's wine establishment, a venue which could hold up to one thousand people.³⁴⁸ The purpose of such a concert series was to showcase the latest novelties and popular songs from a wide variety of singers and ensembles, such as a local Damenkapelle from Ottakring who performed for an appreciative audience on 15 November 1891. Despite the new opportunities afforded to the Schrammel Quartet by the rise in mass popular entertainment from the late 1880s, their own success as a musical phenomenon started to be overshadowed by the beginnings of a mythologisation process during their own lifetimes. This process subtly, and sometimes blatantly, appropriated the name and term *Schrammelmusik* as a means to acquire popular status and commercial success at the box office.

2.3 – Mythologies and Realities

Konrad the *Werkelmann*

If my focus on *Schrammelmusik* and the *Heurige* culture with which it is indelibly associated appears to occupy a more comfortable world within Vienna's outer districts, then the narrative of the distant half-brother, Konrad Schrammel (1833-1905), brings the working-class poverty and social marginalisation of chapter one back into the frame. While the younger brothers were receiving their formative violin training at the Vienna Konservatorium in the 1860s and Josef was touring the Eastern Mediterranean, Konrad's life as a war veteran and invalid meant a protracted battle with local authorities to acquire a standard barrel-organ licence in order to provide for his family. The stark difference between the well-known violinists and their older half-brother, in his daily existence as a *Werkelmann*, also provides a waypoint in my own study. More specifically, Konrad's position as a member of the family, but one who existed completely outside of the 'Schrammel euphoria' phenomenon, offers a counter-narrative which highlights the social hierarchies and heterogeneous

³⁴⁸ *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 15 November 1891.

aspects of suburban life, as well as the different forms of musical expression that drew inspiration from the same sources of folk and popular music. As I reveal in this section, the local and state bureaucracy which Konrad had to endure in order to obtain a permit and a basic war veteran's allowance precluded any genuine participation in the more refined world that Johann and Josef inhabited during the 1880s and early 1890s.

Eduard Pötzl, in his *feuilleton* column from 7 October 1883, provided a detailed and colourful description of the Nussdorf Trio as they performed for Kaspar Schrammel's 60th birthday celebration at the Luchsen tavern. After observing the distinctive, more elite, qualities of the Schrammel brothers in their highly expressive playing style, Pötzl goes on to comment about the insidious influence of the organ grinders in their causal appropriation of beloved songs and dances:

The Viennese beauty of some of the dances becomes even more apparent when the Schrammel brothers take them on the violin in their amiable manner. Many songs, which have already been taken over by the nefarious *Werkelmann* and which have been shot almost to death by them, celebrate their resurrection with the Schrammel brothers.³⁴⁹

The writer's portrayal of the 'nefarious *Werkelmann*' is part of a long-standing discourse on street musicians in the nineteenth-century city and recalls the vituperative remarks by Thomas Carlyle about the 'organ-grinding nuisance' in London during the 1850s.³⁵⁰ The similarities with German and Austrian anti-noise campaigners in the 1890s and early 1900s is also apparent in the general tone adopted by Pötzl, although a heightening of the rhetoric for the *feuilleton* may also have played a role in this. It is highly unlikely that the reporter would have been aware of Konrad Schrammel, who, after recovering from a serious injury sustained in the Battle of Montebello (1859), lived out the rest of his life as one such organ grinder.³⁵¹ By juxtaposing the Schrammel brothers with the

³⁴⁹ 'Die wienerische Schönheit so mancher Tänze kommt erst so recht zur Geltung, wenn die Brüder Schrammel sie nach ihrer liebenswürdiegen Manier auf die Geige nehmen. Viele Lieder, deren sich bereits die ruchlosen Werkel bemächtigt haben und die von ihnen fast zu Tode gedreht worden sind, feiern ihre Auferstehung bei den Gebrüder Schrammel.' Eduard Pötzl, 'Die Brüder Schrammel', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 October 1883, 2.

³⁵⁰ John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 46.

³⁵¹ Dieman (2007), 35.

Werkelmänner as a type of ‘street nuisance’, Pötzl reveals the profound differences in attitude towards both forms of vernacular music-making in the *Vororte*.

Although there are very few historical accounts of Konrad, the handful of studies produced since Hermann Mailler’s 1943 biography of the Schrammel family offer enough evidence about the half-brother’s adult career and dealings with local authorities to present at least an outline of his life from the early 1860s onwards. Mailler raises the possibility that Konrad was already a promising young violinist when the family moved from Litschau in Upper Austria to Neulerchenfeld in 1846, and may have inherited his musical skills from his father Kaspar, who was a clarinettist and violinist himself.³⁵² Details regarding the years between the Schrammel family’s move to Vienna and Konrad’s military service in Italy, however, remain very sparse. In March 1854, he enlisted in the 14th Infantry Regiment of the 3rd Fighter Battalion as a twenty year old ‘of small stature, with brown eyes, and a proportioned nose’, according to his military papers.³⁵³ In 1859, he was seriously wounded in Italy at the Battle of Montebello and in February 1860, as reported in the land register, ‘because of shortening of the radius contractor of the bend and stretching of the right forearm by a musket shot near Montebello, he was transferred to the Viennese Invalids’ House.’³⁵⁴ With military permission, he married Anna Volkmer in 1861, as marriage for members of the army was strictly regulated at the time.³⁵⁵

Konrad was granted a patent for invalidity in February 1866 and was discharged from the army unit on 31 August of the same year with the following note: ‘with parting against receipt of two years’ severance pay of 36 florins, the injury allowance continues to be paid at the rate of 10 kreuzers a day.’³⁵⁶ A few months before his dismissal, he applied for a barrel-organ license at the

³⁵² Mailler, *ibid.*, 20.

³⁵³ Egger, *ibid.*, 39.

³⁵⁴ ‘wegen Verkürzung des radius contractor der Beuge uns Strecken des rechten Vorderarms durch einen Musketenschuss bei Montebello zum Wiener Invalidenhaus transferiert.’ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ Saner, *ibid.*, 36.

³⁵⁶ ‘mit Abschied gegen Erhalt der zweijährigen Abfertigung zu 36 fl., steht im Fortbezug der Verwundungszulage täglich 10 Kreuzer.’ in Egger, *ibid.*, 46.

Lower Austria Governor's Office. A professional reference requested by the Hietzing District Office was submitted to the

Lower Austrian Governor's Office in Vienna with the most sincere remark that the application by Konrad Schrammel, despite his difficult situation, should not be granted, since the crown land of Lower Austria is already completely overcrowded with such barrel-organ players. kk Bezirk Amt Hietzing, on 13 July 1866.³⁵⁷

After a second aborted attempt at applying for a licence in 1867, Konrad made a further application in 1869, although because he had changed address and now lived in Sechshaus district, a new statement had to be sent to the local district administration to explain his situation and living conditions:

The subservient Patental-Invalid Konrad Schrammel, 36 years old, widower with 4 minor children, served in the k. k. 3rd General Batallion, was seriously wounded in the right forearm in the war period 1859 near Montebello, as a result of this he is incapable of carrying out his profession as well as any heavy work. He is currently earning his living as a barrel organist and as a result has renounced his patent, but is entitled to a wounding allowance of ten Kreuzer a day. Since at present the most subservient craftsman cannot look for an acquisition in his district or in other districts without the permission of the high Imperial and Royal Lower Austrian Governorate and is thus prevented from making an acquisition. Therefore, the petitioner, who had made his request with the utmost subservience, turned to his imperial district headquarters and, out of the most gracious consideration of the circumstances mentioned, wanted to settle him with the Imperial and Royal Lower Austrian Governorate a barrel-organ licence for Lower Austria, with the exception of the Vienna Police District, and send it here.

Your worthy imperial and royal District Headquarters

Your subordinate

Konrad Schrammel³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷ 'kk nö Statthalterei in Wien mit dem ergebensten Bemerken vorgelegt, das dem Ansuchen Konrad Schrammel, Trotz seiner bedrängten Lage keine Folge zu geben sein dürfte, nachdem das Kronland Nieder-Österreich ohnehin schon von derlei Drehorgelspielern ganz überfüllt ist. kk Bez. Amt Hietzing, am 13. Juli 1866.' in Egger, *ibid*.

³⁵⁸ 'Der untertänigst Gefertigte verabschiedete Patental-Invalid Conrad Schrammel zu Rottal in Nieder-Österreich zuständig, 36 Jahre alt, Wittwer mit 4 unmündigen Kindern, diente im k. k. 3ten Feldjäger Baon, wurde in der Kriegsepoche 1859 bei Montebello im rechten Vorderarm schwer verwundet, in Folge deessen seiner Profession so wie jeder schweren Arbeit unfähig. Derzeit sich als Drehorgelspieler ernährt und in Folge dessen für sein Patental verzichtet, jedoch mit einer Verwundungszulage von täglich zehn Kreuzern versehen. Da derzeit der untertänigst Gefertiget einen Erwerb nicht nur in seinen zuständigkeits Bezirk suchen kann und in anderen Bezirken ohne der Bewilligung von der hohen k. k. nied. Österreichischen Statthalerei beanständet und somit in seinem Erwerb gehindert. Daher wendet sich der untertänigst gefertigte Bittsteller an seine löbl. k. k. Bezirks-Hauptmannschaft wolle ihn aus gnädigster Berücksichtigung der angeführten Umstände bei der k. k. nied. Österreichischen Statthalterei eine Drehorgellizenz für nied. Österreich mit Ausnahme der Wiener

The local and regional bureaucracy hampered efforts to obtain a standard licence throughout 1869. An additional new report was required from local physicians in Sechshaus that outlined the exact reasons why Konrad was no longer able to earn a basic living, and on 18 August, the municipal council of Haugschlag, which was responsible for the local district, was instructed to 'make a precise statement about [Konrad's] family, property and reputation'.³⁵⁹

The entanglements of local officialdom continued unabated through the autumn season: on 20 October 1869, the district governor of Waidhofen an der Thaya contacted the Sechshaus district administration and they finally directed the file to the official who could provide information about Konrad Schrammel – the mayor of Altmannsdorf. The mayor certified on 2 November 'that there are no blemishes in integrity in Konrad Schrammel's personality, either politically or morally. As for his family relations, he lives here in the greatest poverty.'³⁶⁰ After a further brief report dated 10 November, which outlined the details of the family's plight and living conditions, the Lower Austrian Governor's Office stated that Konrad, as a father of three young children, 'is not suitable for admission to a pension institution, is not capable of any other acquisition according to the medical certificate...therefore he would have to be granted the requested licence.'³⁶¹ At the end of November 1869, just as his younger half-brother Josef was preparing to depart for the Eastern Mediterranean, Konrad finally received permission 'to spend six months in the larger towns of the Archduchy of Austria under the Enns, outside the Viennese police district, using a barrel-organ to seek personal gain.'³⁶² It had taken nearly four years of repeated applications for Konrad to receive the standard licence in order to practice organ grinding legally in Vienna's suburbs. Moreover, the juxtaposition of Josef's and Konrad's experiences above demonstrates the stark differences in mobility and

Polizei veranlassen und anher senden. Eurer löbl. k. k. Bezirks-Hauptmannschaft, Aller unterhänigster, Konrad Schrammel', quoted in Fritz and Kretschmer, *ibid.*, 118.

³⁵⁹ Egger, *ibid.*, 48.

³⁶⁰ 'dass gegen die Persönlichkeit des Konrad Schrammel sowohl in politischer als auch in moralischer Beziehung kein Anstand obwalte. Was seine Familienverhältnisse betrifft, lebt er hierorts in der größ Dürftigkeit.' *ibid.*

³⁶¹ 'zur Aufnahme in eine Versorgungsanstalt sich nicht eignet, laut des ärztlichen Zeugnisses zu jedem anderen Erwerb unfähig ist...so wäre demselben die erbetene Lizenz zu erteilen.' *ibid.*

³⁶² 'in den außer dem Wiener Polizeirayon gelegenen größeren Orten des Erzherzogtums Österreich unter der Enns durch sechs Monate mit einer Drehorgel sich persönlich Erwerb suchen zu dürfen.' in Mailler, *ibid.*, 21.

professional opportunity for two folk musicians from the same family. Mailler's brief description of the older half-brother in his role as a *Werkelmann* paints a vivid picture of this restricted and highly localised form of musical mobility:

With his long turnip beard, he became a familiar street figure in Vienna. Even now, too proud to bask in foreign fame, he pushed his Melzer barrel-organ from house to house, and from farm to farm. None of his listeners suspected that a Schrammel 'played music' in him, too.³⁶³

As Egger notes, Konrad's frustrating experiences with the authorities was not unique: many other war veterans and invalids would have suffered similar fates after their military service in the 1850s and 1860s.³⁶⁴ In the same year that Johann and Josef joined forces to create the new Schrammel Quartet, the Lower Austrian Patriotic Foundation finally granted Konrad Schrammel an annual stipend of 100 florins which provided a measure of financial security for the rest of his life.³⁶⁵

Despite his war injuries, privations, and convoluted interactions with Austrian state bureaucracy, Konrad outlived both Johann and Josef, and died on 29 November 1905 in Atzgersdorf. The scant details about his relationship with his father and half-brothers focus entirely on the period before his military career and so it is impossible to gauge from the evidence available why he remained distant from family affairs in general. Saner highlights the social gulf that existed between Konrad and the more famous Schrammels, despite the older half-brother's initial promise as an adolescent violinist:

There was nothing to remind us that Konrad Schrammel belonged to one of Vienna's most prominent families of musicians, although he made music with his barrel organ throughout his life in Vienna in order to survive, while his brothers celebrated great successes with their quartet.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Mailler, *ibid.*, 20-21.

³⁶⁴ Egger, *ibid.*, 50.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Saner, *ibid.*, 14.

Within the Schrammel family alone, the multiple layers of vernacular culture in Vienna can be seen in both the cosy suburban taverns frequented by Johann and Josef, and the social deprivations of the street which became Konrad's personal and professional stage. If the former amounts to a raising of the mundane through the '*Heurige* in Nußdorf' phenomenon, encompassing the more refined air of popular instrumental melodies in a chamber setting, the latter surely reflects the more uncomfortable reality that occupied an equally prominent role in the dissemination of vernacular music in the public sphere. This brief portrait of 'Konrad the *Werkelmann*' also juxtaposes two different forms of listening in the context of the Schrammels: the first is described in the colourful account from the pages of the *Extrablatt* from 7 October 1883, describing the 'holy silence' that fell across the space of the Luchsen tavern as the Nussdorf Trio commenced their performance, while the second is confronted with the sounds of urban life and the musical 'noise' of the organ grinder.³⁶⁷ It is in this productive tension between attentive and highly selective listening that a more complex sense of the vernacular resounds within the hidden layers of Schrammel mythology.

³⁶⁷ See n. 64 in part two of this chapter for the extended quote from the *Extrablatt* article.

Schrammels in Sound and Image

If the life of 'Konrad the *Werkelmann*' sharpens the contradictions of class, status, and social mobility within the Schrammel family, the scene presented in Larwin's painting below reminds us of 'music's effectiveness in stimulating a sense of identity, in preserving and transmitting cultural memory, and in establishing the sensuous production of place'.³⁶⁸ In contrast to Konrad's story, the painting blurs the distinctions between the mythologisation of this *Ur-Wiener* tradition and the reality of tavern culture in the outer districts.

Hans Larwin won the *Kaiserpreis* in 1908 for his depiction of a suburban street scene in the outer north-western district of Neustift am Walde, where we see a Schrammel trio entertaining evening strollers and a *Fiaker* coachman in the centre. The warm-hearted, touristic aspect of the image was partly facilitated by boundary changes in Vienna's outer districts from 1892, resulting in the creation of 'Greater Vienna'. In that year, Neustift was combined with surrounding settlements to form the new *Vorort* of Währing (18th District). Although its rural character as a separate village was maintained until the first decade of the twentieth century, in 1907 the city authorities finally decided to enclose the nearby Krottenbach stream which had flooded parts of the village with increasing regularity.³⁶⁹ The following year, Vienna's transport network (*Wiener Linien*) opened the first suburban trolleybus service – employing the *Mercédès-Électrique-Stoll* system – which travelled to the furthest reaches of this outer district and across the municipal border into Lower Austria.³⁷⁰ Above all, Larwin's painting highlights the effects of technological developments on the popular culture of Vienna's *Vororte* and the opportunities that modern transport networks offered those lower down the class structure to sample such musical events at weekends, where only a few years

³⁶⁸ Sara Cohen, 'Sounding Out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place', in *The Place of Music*, eds. Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (Guildford Press, 1998), 287.

³⁶⁹ Christian Gantner, *Vom Bach zum Bachkanal: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiener Kanalisation* (Vienna: Bohmann, 2008), 127.

³⁷⁰ See Jutta Fiegl, *Die Entwicklung des Weinbaues und des Heurigenwesens in Neustift am Walde*, PhD Dissertation, University of Vienna (1983).

earlier the lack of physical connection between parts of suburban Vienna would have made such regular visits to a district like Neustift am Walde that much harder.



Fig. 2.8 – Hans Larwin, *Sonntagabend in Neustift am Walde*, 1908 (Wikimedia Commons), also reproduced in Eduard Kremser, *Wienerlieder und Tänze*, Vol. 2 (1913).

These brief excursions to the semi-rural *Vororte* can be seen within the broader context of the Austrian *Sommerfrische* (summer retreat), revealing a deep-seated appreciation for nature and outdoor activity. The weekend trips to the Wienerwald and the extended holidays in the countryside provided ample opportunities for Vienna's harassed citizens to sample the delights of popular and folk culture. Yet the summer retreats also played a crucial role in the lives of composers such as

Arnold Schoenberg, who viewed these periods of relative calm as essential for his intellectual development.³⁷¹



Fig. 2.9 – ‘Schrammel-Quintett’ (Reichenau, 8 July 1900): from l to r – Louis Savant, Fritz Kreisler, Arnold Schoenberg, Eduard Gärtner, Carl Redlich (Arnold Schoenberg Centre, Vienna).

In addition, Schoenberg used the summer months to re-engage with other styles of music. Despite the wry humour on display in the photograph above, the central figure in this fantasy ‘Schrammel-Quintett’ was a lifelong admirer of Viennese popular music:

I do not see why, when other people are entertained, I too should not sometimes be entertained; I know indeed that I really ought at every single moment to behave like my

³⁷¹ A detailed sensory and materialist history of the Viennese *Sommerfrische* is given in Peter Payer, ‘Sommerfrische. Ein bürgerliches Ritual als Sehnsucht nach antiurbanen Sinnesreizen’, in *Fernweh und Stadt: Tourismus als städtisches Phänomen*, eds. Ferdinand Opll and Martin Scheutz (Studien Verlag, 2018). Also Deborah R. Coen’s study of the Exner family in *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty* (2006) puts forward a powerful argument for viewing the domesticated spaces of the *Sommerfrische* as integral to furthering Liberal ideals of self-education and integration.

own monument; but it would be hypocritical of me to conceal the fact that I occasionally step down from my pedestal and enjoy light music.³⁷²

Schoenberg's embrace of popular music forms has been discussed most recently by Áine Heneghan, where she examines the compositional methods at the start of his journey into twelve-tone music, specifically the idea of "stringing-together" [*Aneinanderreihung*]...as a way of neutralizing the issue of large-scale form', by relating them to the composer's 1925 *Gedanke* manuscript.³⁷³ My recontextualization of Schoenberg's 'Nachtwandler' from his 1901 *Brettli-Lieder*, as well as his Serenade, Op. 24, within categories of vernacular music and place arises partly from Heneghan's emphasis on 'the principles of comprehensibility [*Fasslichkeit*] and diversity [*Mannigfaltigkeit*]' from the same 1925 manuscript.³⁷⁴ It is this stylistic hybridity that I wish to tease apart in relation to broader themes of mobility and the Schrammel tradition, asking whether it might not be just as productive to view Schoenberg's first steps into twelve-tone music through the idea of playfulness and satire, shifting the focus away from the notion of a purely abstract system which is detached from the sensuousness of Vienna's *Vororte*.

Schoenberg's 'Nachtwandler' displays a particularly Viennese strain of ironic humour in its moonlit scene. It was the only song out of the eight *Brettli-Lieder* to be performed in Berlin, and in early May 1901, a guest performance by Ernst von Wolzogen's *Überbrettli* cabaret troupe was announced at the Carltheater in Vienna. Schoenberg composed three out of the eight *Brettli-Lieder* for the occasion and also conducted the ensuing performance on 23 September. The text of 'Nachtwandler' demonstrates not only a curious gender reversal to the scene portrayed in Larwin's painting from 1908 (above) – 'little Louise on the left, on the right Marie' – but also may have unwittingly reminded Schoenberg of

³⁷² Arnold Schoenberg, 'Why No Great American Music?' in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, trans. Leo Black (Faber and Faber, 1975), 178.

³⁷³ Áine Heneghan, 'The "Popular Effect" in Schoenberg's Serenade' in *Schoenberg's Chamber Music, Schoenberg's World*, eds. Alan M. Gillmor and James K. Wright (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2009), 40.

³⁷⁴ Heneghan, *ibid.*, 43.

the village-like scenes from Vienna's *Vororte* while working in the rather different setting of a small Berlin cabaret theatre.³⁷⁵ The presence of the working-class figures, 'a launderer and a seamstress', and the Italian term used for the street musicians, 'I musici', while chosen for poetic consistency, also evoke the milder climes of a more southerly location that is deeply embedded in Viennese vernacular music. For Allen Shawn, "Nachtwandler" is an example of a complex musical mind working in the theatre.³⁷⁶ The parody, rhythmic independence, subversion, and tonal ambiguity present in this song – seen in the off-kilter descending sequences in Ex. 2.2 – all contribute towards the impression of a more illustrative musical style at odds with the directness of orthodox cabaret music during this period.

47 **a tempo** 48 49 50 **rit.**

Picc *pp*

Trp [F] *pp*

klTr *pp*

pp

A - ber sind wir bei dem Hau - se, das ich euch be - zeich - net hab,

a tempo 47 48 49 50 **rit.**

pp

³⁷⁵ I am particularly referring to Maderthaner and Musner's idea of the 'village in the mind', or the 'village and madhouse' conjured by the popular entertainments of rural immigrant communities in Neulerchenfeld and Ottakring. See Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses* (2008), 29.

³⁷⁶ Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey* (Harvard University Press, 2002), 39.

a tempo

51 52 53 54

ppp *pp* *ppp*

macht ge - fäl - ligst ei - ne Pau - se, und seid schweig - sam wie das Grab!

a tempo

51 52 53 54

Ex. 2.2 – Schoenberg, 'Nachtwandler', No. 3 from *Brettli-Lieder*, bb. 47-54.

Otto Julius Bierbaum, 'Nachtwandler' (1900)

Trommler, laß dein Kalbfell klingen,
 Und, Trompeter, blas darein,
 Daß sie aus den Betten springen,
 Mordio, Michel, Mordio! schrein.
 Tuut und trumm, tuut und trumm,
 Zipfelmützen ringsherum.

Und so geh' ich durch die hellen,
 Mondeshellen Gassen hin,
 Fröhlich zwischen zwei Mamsellen,
 Wäscherin und Plätterin:
 Links Luischen, rechts Marie,
 Und voran die Musici.

Aber sind wir bei dem Hause,
 Das ich euch bezeichnet hab',
 Macht gefälligst eine Pause,
 Und seid schweigsam wie das Grab!
 Scht und hm, scht und hm,
 Sachte um das Haus herum.

Drummer, let your calfskin ring,
 And trumpeter, let it fly,
 So that they out of their beds do spring,
 Murder, Michel. Murder! they'll cry.
 Toot and blare, toot and blare,
 Night-caps appearing everywhere.

And so happy, through the glowing
 Moonlit lanes, I press,
 Between two Mademoiselles going,
 A launderer and a seamstress:
 Little Louisa on the left, on the right Marie,
 And leading the way, I musici.

But now we're near the domicile
 I told you of before.
 So if you would, please stop awhile,
 Silent as the grave once more!
 Hush and hum, hush and hum,
 Softly round the house let's come.

Michael P. Rosewall, 2011

It is this same quality of subversion found in the *Brettli-Lieder* which was carried over into two works from Schoenberg's post-war period, just as he had formulated his new twelve-tone method. The summer of 1921 proved to be a pivotal and unsettling period for Schoenberg and his family, although it was framed by an extensive engagement with the world of Viennese popular music. In June, Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern arranged and performed a set of waltzes by Johann Strauss at the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (Society for Private Musical Performances) in Vienna; the manuscripts of the waltzes were then offered at auction in order to raise funds for future performances at the Society.³⁷⁷ After an anti-Semitic incident at the summer resort of Mattsee, near Salzburg, where local authorities required visitors to provide documentation of Christian baptism, Schoenberg and his family found lodgings in Traunkirchen am Traunsee nearby. It was here that Schoenberg confided in his companion regarding his recent musical travails:

³⁷⁷ Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 60.

A summer's day near Traunkirchen in the Salzkammergut, towards the end of July 1921. Two men are taking a stroll in the country: Schoenberg, and Josef Rufer, one of the new generation of pupils that had come to him after the war. During the course of their walk Schoenberg turns to Rufer and declares: 'Today I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.'³⁷⁸

His revelation concerning the twelve-tone method has understandably overshadowed this period of Schoenberg's life and career, and particularly the events of 1921. What occurred almost immediately after this infamous conversation, however, reveals the composer paying homage to a very different tradition.

His arrangement of Johann Sioly's 'Weil i a Alter Draher bin' for violin, mandolin, clarinet, viola, guitar, and cello was most likely composed in August or September 1921 after spending the previous few weeks assisting his pupil Josef Rufer with compositional exercises and also playing cello himself.³⁷⁹ His homage to Sioly – a prominent composer of *Wienerlieder* – not only reveals his appreciation for the popular music scene in his home city, but also indicates an awareness of instrumentation from the Schrammel tradition that is revealed even more strikingly in his Serenade, Op. 24. First sketched out in September 1921 and completed by April 1923, Schoenberg's Serenade is scored for clarinet, bass clarinet, mandolin, guitar, and string trio (with a baritone soloist in the fourth movement). When Schoenberg conducted his work at the 1925 ISCM Festival, it reminded Léos Janáček of 'Viennese guitar and mandolin strumming', and his reaction to the piece was summarised in his comment that 'this work reeked only of the tavern.'³⁸⁰ In a less vituperative vein, Hanns Eisler and Paul Pisk have both observed the prevailing quality of *Leichtigkeit* (lightness) that suffuses the Serenade in general, noting that the inclusion of guitar and mandolin points strongly towards the influence of *Schrammelmusik*.³⁸¹ Far from assuming a negative connotation, however, I

³⁷⁸ MacDonald, *ibid.*, 54.

³⁷⁹ Peter Andraschke, 'Weil i a Alter Draher bin', in *Wien Musikgeschichte* (Festschrift Krones, 2009), 393.

³⁸⁰ Léos Janáček, *Janáček's Uncollected Essays on Music*, ed. and trans. Mirka Zemanova (London: Marion Boyars Publishers, 1989), 226.

³⁸¹ Hanns Eisler, 'Über Schönbergs Serenade op. 24', in *Musik und Politik, Schriften 1924–1928*,

suggest that Janáček's remark reveals aspects of the work which conform to Schoenberg's own view from his 1925 *Gedanke* manuscript, that 'the popular effect of popular music is based on its broad understandability.'³⁸² Alban Berg's annotation of the Serenade reveals the paratactic nature of the first movement's musical form, and his comments in the table below demonstrate that he 'was clearly surprised by the degree of literal repetition.'³⁸³ As Heneghan points out, the regular eight-bar phrase which defines the March movement exemplifies Pisk's concept of 'stringing-together' [*Aneinanderreihung*] of musical units.³⁸⁴

Divisions	Annotations (translations)
bb. 17–24	U von 1–8 <i>inversion of 1–8</i>
bb. 25–32	25–32 = U von 9–16. Das Ganze! <i>25–32 = inversion of 9–16. The whole thing!</i>
bb. 33–40	33–40. Wörtlich wie 9–16 <i>33–40. Literally like 9–16</i>
bb. 41–48	41–47/8. Wörtlich wie 25–31/2 und [U] von 9–15/6 <i>41–47/8. Literally like 25–31/2 and [inversion] of 9–15/6</i>

Berg's annotations of Schoenberg's Serenade, Op. 24, I. Marsch (opening section), table reproduced in Áine Heneghan, 'The "Popular Effect" in Schoenberg's Serenade' (2009)³⁸⁵

For other commentators, such as Allen Shawn, the first movement appears to be 'a kind of apotheosis of the cabaret 'Nachtwandler' from 1901.'³⁸⁶ The combination of an off-kilter bass line and a trio of voices from the clarinets and violin, in Ex. 2.2 below, suggests 'drunken out-of-tune

ed. Günter Mayer (Gesammelte Werke, III/1; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973), 454; and Paul A. Pisk, 'Arnold Schönbergs Serenade', *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (May 1924), 201. This point is also discussed by Áine Heneghan (2009), 45.

³⁸² Schoenberg, *Gedanke* manuscript (6 July 1925), T37.08, paragraph 2, reprinted in Heneghan, *ibid.*, 43.

³⁸³ Heneghan, *ibid.*, 46.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 46–47.

³⁸⁵ Annotations found in Berg's score of the Serenade, catalogued at F 21 Berg 170/II in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, table reproduced in Heneghan, *ibid.*, 46.

³⁸⁶ Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey*, *ibid.*, 219

singers' with liberal sprinklings of Viennese *Schmäh*, or sardonic humour. Moreover, the tone colour and doubling of instrumental lines heard in Schoenberg's March recalls the similar treatment of melody used by the original Schrammel Quartet from 1884 to 1891, when the addition of Georg Dänzer's G clarinet was often used to strengthen the first violin part. In Schoenberg's placement of accents and *sforzandi*, the listener might also glean a parodied sense of that 'rhythmic peculiarity' which was noted by reporters in Munich after the Schrammel Quartet's concert tours in the late 1880s.³⁸⁷

Ex. 2.3 - Schoenberg, Serenade, Op. 24: I. Marsch, bars 7-17 (Edition Wilhelm Hansen)

³⁸⁷ See n. 83 for the comments about the quartet's playing style from *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten*, 19 December 1888.

It is not only in the more prominent melodic material of Schoenberg's additive structure where the mood of the *Überbrettel* cabaret and Larwin's hazy street scene can be glimpsed, but also in the hushed 'noise' of phrase endings.

Ex. 2.4 - Schoenberg, Serenade, Op. 24: I. *Marsch*, bars 23-24

Each eight-bar unit is brought to an abrupt halt with a rhythmic stuttering in the strings, heightened by the instructions *springender Bogen* (flying staccato) and *Stange geschlagen* (hitting with the wood of the bow – indicated in the score by the abbreviation 'Stschl'). If the brief flowering of melody in Ex. 2.2 signifies the voices of familiar street characters attempting to give full flight to their compromised vocal abilities, then the two bars in Ex. 2.3 illustrate the inevitable stumbling of these inebriated strollers.

In 2006, the Austrian record label Col Legno released an album entitled *Schoenberg und die Schrammelbrüder* with the Klangforum Wien ensemble. A tapestry of original compositions by Johann Schrammel and his contemporaries are interspersed with selected movements from

Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and the Serenade, Op. 24, as well as three aphoristic songs by Friedrich Cerha from his collection *Eine Art Chanson*.³⁸⁸ The cross-connections and hybrid styles contained within this album have demonstrated a willingness to highlight the porous musical networks in *fin-de-siècle* suburban Vienna and to break down certain psychological barriers between modernist repertoire and the world of vernacular music. This can be seen by comparing the *Tanzscene* (fifth movement) from Schoenberg's Serenade with Johann Schrammel's song 'Der Schwalbe Gruß', Op. 105 – two works that are juxtaposed on the Klangforum Wien recording. The latter became known in the popular press as Schrammel's own 'Lindenbaum', with Karl Lindau's lyrics expressing a preoccupation with romantic reverie and the consolation of nature.³⁸⁹ The word-setting and chromatic tension in the lines 'in einem Zug kommt sie von weit / in schnellstem Flug, in heller Freud', / erblickt von Ferne schon ihr Haus' reveals Schrammel's conservatory training in classical composition and his position as a composer who was equally comfortable writing for the wine tavern of a working-class suburb and the aristocratic salons of the Inner City.

Ex. 2.5 - Schoenberg, Serenade: V. Tanzscene, bars 41-44

³⁸⁸ *Schoenberg und die Schrammelbrüder*, Klangforum Wien, Jenny Renate Wicke and Walter Raffeiner (Col Legno 20276, 2007)

³⁸⁹ Dieman, *Schrammelmusik* (Kaleidoskop, 1981), 92.

ist: Sei mir ge - grüsst! In ei - nem Zug kommt sie von weit im schnellsten

pp dolce.

Flug' in hel - ler Freud', erblickt von fer - ne schon ihr Haus, vom Lenz ge -

küsst, sei mir ge - grüsst! Wenn Schwalbe du zwei Äuglein siehst, so lieb' und

treu, flieg' nicht vor - bei und ruf' für mich, das bitt' ich dich: sei mir ge -

Ex. 2.6 - Schrammel 'Der Schwalbe Gruss', bars 15-30 (Verlag August Cranz)

The extract from Schoenberg's *Tanzscene* in Ex. 2.4 takes the familiar tropes of the arpeggiated bass line, the gentle alternating octaves, and the triple-metre lilt found in Schrammel's song and twists the material into a sharp parody of popular dance styles, complete with heavily accented harmonics

in the violin, the exaggerated guitar chords landing on each third beat, and the augmented split octaves played by the mandolin. At first glance, Schoenberg's dance movement appears to evoke a nightmarish vision of vernacular music-making, refracted through a wider palette of instrumental colour, extended techniques, and his own twelve-tone method. Yet the macabre and the mildly sardonic are qualities that have remained inextricably entwined in Viennese culture, and if Ex. 2.4 bears a resemblance to the sharp musical satire found within Gustav Mahler's symphonic scherzo movements, this only serves to demonstrate the difficulty of disentangling classical and popular music in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, where the shifting tastes within both worlds were more varied than is often assumed.

The combination of melodic material and instrumental chatter, or 'noise', seen in the extracts from the first and fifth movements of Schoenberg's *Serenade*, form a portrait of the composer indulging in a musical vernacular dialect on multiple levels within the broader framework of modernist classical music. When placed alongside the *Extrablatt* review of the Schrammel Quartet's concert at the Luchsen tavern on 4 October 1883, the discourse around musical and non-musical sounds begins to merge: 'it is the homely Viennese dialect set to music that speaks to us from the 'whimpers' of the Schrammel brothers and the 'clacking' of Strohmayer'.³⁹⁰ The 'noisy' sounds of the instruments themselves, from the slides of Strohmayer's contraguitar to the bowing instructions in Ex. 2.3 above, also raises the possibility of viewing non-musical sound as crucial to the conveyance of a distinctive popular character, rather than isolating noise as a subject that is always imposed on musical events from outside. If Joy Calico's examination of 'noise music' [*Lärmkunst*] in Schoenberg's 'scandal concert' of 31 March 1913 reminds us of the importance of viewing the composer's works in relation to place and urban culture, then a closer analysis of the colour and texture of sound within the *Serenade*, Op. 24 can help to deconstruct the debates over noise explored in chapter one

³⁹⁰ 'es ist der anheimelnde Wiener Dialekt cler in Noten gesetzt aus den 'Winseln' der Schrammel'schen Brüder und der 'Klampfe' Strohmayers zu uns spricht.' *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 7 October 1883.

through a musical lens.³⁹¹ By jettisoning a more formal analysis of Schoenberg's twelve-tone method, and focusing instead on the treatment of rhythm, the employment of popular tropes, and the instrumental sounds themselves, the influence of the Schrammel Quartet can be heard more clearly as a major element in the compositional fabric, rather than as brief, distant echoes which colour the surface of Schoenberg's modernist ambitions.

* * * *

The Schrammelmusik sounded so much easier on the ear in the bar last night, more tonal, sweeter. And livelier. But then so was Schoenberg's Serenade. Was Schoenberg in the bar too?³⁹²

Ernst Strobel's question above, from his essay accompanying the *Schönberg und die Schrammelbrüder* recording, provides a somewhat surreal and appropriate endpoint to my exploration of the Schrammels and their position in Vienna's suburban culture, having started and ended this chapter in the mild alcoholic haze of a *Heurige*. It highlights the equally important roles of those characters depicted in Kupfer's painting at the opening: the attentiveness of the two young children set against the rowdier adult guests pre-occupied with the wider world. An acknowledgement of multiple ways of listening to both *Schrammelmusik* and Schoenberg's Schrammel-infused Serenade, Op. 24 affords an opportunity to tease apart some of the musical and social entanglements which encompassed the rich music-making tradition of the Schrammel brothers and their renowned quartet. In doing so, I have moved from the borderlands of Lower Austria to the periphery of Vienna and across south-east Europe to imperial outposts in Constantinople and Alexandria. The networks which radiated from and gravitated towards an outer district like Neulerchenfeld provide fertile ground for a consideration of competing musical centres of

³⁹¹ Joy H. Calico, 'Noise and Arnold Schoenberg's 1913 Scandal Concert', *Journal of Austrian Studies*, Vol. 50, Nos. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 2017), 29-56. See the second section of Chapter 1 for a brief discussion of Calico's concepts in the context of urban sound.

³⁹² Ernst P. Strobel, 'Atmospheric Simultaneities, Sweet Sorrow', trans. Katie Ritson, CD Liner Notes to *Schönberg und die Schrammelbrüder*, Klangforum Wien, Jenny Renate Wicke and Walter Raffeiner, Col Legno 20276 (2007)

activity in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and highlight the significant place that mobile vernacular traditions from the *Vororte* occupied in the wider musical landscape of the city. Although the young Schrammel brothers may have felt an affinity with the classical world of central Vienna through their conservatory training and later invitation from Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic, in other ways, the Inner City remained distant for much of their career. One could even say that it remained a peripheral concern for the world of *Schrammelmusik* and the mildly inebriated *Stammgäste* who coveted this peculiarly Viennese tradition.

CHAPTER 3 | Songs of City Folk: Shifting Subjectivities in *Wienerlieder*

Popular song is indelibly associated with the history of Vienna and its suburbs, acting as a musical canvas upon which both the mythology and reality of this urban centre has been painted, smudged, and regularly revived. Despite my focus on social history and instrumental repertoire in previous chapters, references to the songs of the city have appeared fleetingly in relation to other genres, evoked by their position in the broader musical life of the *Vororte*. My brief exploration of suburban establishments in the final part of chapter one, represented by the experimental music-making inside the Liebhartsthal tavern in Ottakring and Kubanek's post-war paen to this distinctive venue, highlighted the influence of rural *Jodler* melodies on chromatically inflected Viennese *Dudler* songs. Likewise, the inclusion of 'Der Schwalbe Gruß' in chapter two has also revealed the close connection between the *Schrammelmusik* phenomenon and *Wienerlieder* more generally. The sixty to seventy original songs composed by the Schrammel brothers, many of them in collaboration with the leading song lyricist Wilhelm Wiesberg, drew much nourishment from the mixture of rural and urban styles that circulated within the numerous taverns of the *Vororte*.³⁹³ However, the period of 'Schrammel euphoria' and its afterglow in the first decade of the twentieth century resulted in many traditional *Wienerlieder* being appropriated by the label *Schrammelmusik*, primarily through strategic advertising, driven by the lure of commercial box office success in larger suburban establishments.³⁹⁴ While I refrain from examining the more detailed implications of the post-Schrammel appropriation of Viennese song in this chapter, I offer a shift in emphasis from the folk-inflected instrumental repertoire of my previous case study, with its regional and transnational mobilities, to the urban aspect of *Wienerlieder*, represented most strikingly in the themes and contents of the song texts.

³⁹³ Dieman, *Schrammelmusik* (1981), 88.

³⁹⁴ Dieman, *ibid.*, 88-89. Also see Egger (1989), 250-254 for a discussion of the historical situation behind this appropriation in the 1890s.

In general terms, I explore the position of these songs and their relationship to the city by analysing texts from some of the most notable proponents of the genre from the early 1870s to 1914, represented across two generations by Wilhelm Wiesberg, Carl Lorens, Josef Hornig, and Ludwig Gruber. The following subjects form the main framework of my analysis: the expansion of Vienna during the *Gründerzeit* and the razing of the *Linienwall* in the 1890s; technological development and its effect on daily urban life; and the status of language disputes and cultural commentary. Gertraud Pressler's pioneering and comprehensive coverage of the professional song industry and its close connection with city life informs my own approach to the issue of popular song and urban modernity.³⁹⁵ However, instead of adopting Pressler's focus on the period around 1897 as a key turning point in the political and cultural life of Vienna, I offer an expanded chronology that traces the influence of song prints and street culture on the emergence of *Wienerlieder* as a powerful journalistic as well as musical force in the late nineteenth century. In addition, if Pressler's topography of song seeks to encapsulate the richness of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna through a wide-ranging catalogue of urban phenomena, events, technologies, cultural trends, and political tropes, then I propose a narrower frame of reference that situates the content of song texts in relation to suburban life and the shifting identities of residents as they negotiated the rapid developments of the cityscape.

³⁹⁵ Gertraud Pressler, 'Aus Wiener Lieddrucken der Jahrhundertwende', in *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*, Studien zur Musikgeschichte Österreichs, Vol. 8, ed. Christian Glanz (Peter Lang, 1999).

Historical Background

The Austrian folk music scholar Walter Deutsch points out that the *Wienerlied* 'is a relatively young form within the traditional song collection in Austria and occupies a special position as a song of the city.'³⁹⁶ Despite the emphasis on urban themes in Viennese song, the history of the genre in the first half of the nineteenth century is replete with elements from far beyond the outer walls of Vienna. Nicholas Parsons highlights the bewildering variety of influences on *Wienerlieder* when he describes how the genre draws on

medieval ballads and the material of later folk singers from the Residenzstadt's incrementally incorporated villages; the repertoire of singing harpists; Bohemian polkas, together with the gypsy laments of the Pannonian plain; the traditional music of the Alpine rivermen and the Styrian yodellers; market cries from all over the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the march-tempos of the old Kaiserlich und Königlich military; likewise dance music from the Austrian Crown Lands and beyond.³⁹⁷

The inherent geographical and stylistic hybridity depicted in the quote above would appear to match the richness of those urban–rural networks outlined in the previous two chapters, as the folk musicians of the *Vororte* sought to capitalise on the multi-cultural demographics of outer districts like Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld in remolding instrumental and vocal styles. This influx of music from around Austria-Hungary offers fertile ground for exploring the various ways in which rural musical traditions have been co-opted and transformed in a suburban context.

The four to five decades between the Biedermeier era and the 1880s saw the rise of new fusions of instrumental and vocal popular styles. The mixture of new folk-singing practices encouraged by the reforms of Johann Baptiste Moser (more detail can be seen on p. 162), together with the gradual development of Viennese waltz culture under the Strauss dynasty and Josef Lanner, among others, produced what is termed as the 'classical Viennese refrain song'.³⁹⁸ These songs are

³⁹⁶ Walter Deutsch, Gerlinde Haid and Herbert Zeman (eds.), *Das Volkslied in Österreich* (Vienna, 1993), 261.

³⁹⁷ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural and Literary History* (Signal Books, 2008), 66.

³⁹⁸ Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (eds.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Vienna, 2006), 210.

characterised by four- or eight-bar phrases, rhyming couplets, and a two-part structure which contained a duple-meter introductory section, often performed in a free, recitative-like fashion, followed by a triple-meter main section displaying the rhythmic and melodic patterns found in countless Strauss or Lanner waltzes of the period. The regular phrase structure combined with large intervallic leaps and occasional chromatic passing notes, which were to be found in many of the Jodler and Dudler songs that I briefly discussed in section 1.3 (p. 85-87), all point towards a cozy and familiar musical style which mixed the liveliest elements of Viennese dance culture of the mid nineteenth century with recently imported rural styles which would have been heard every week in numerous suburban wine taverns.

Draußen in Sievering blüht schon der Flieder...
Wienerlied aus der Operette
„Die Tänzerin Fanny Elssler“

Werte von Hans Adler Musik von Johann Strauss
Für die Bühne bearbeitet von Oskar Stalla
Gesang Moderato Für Gesang und Laute gesetzt von Johann Pickart

Un poco più
dam-mert schon, der Tag ist aus, kein Mü-del bleibt da ge-rau zu Haus. Sie schläft in ihr ge-klei-nes Haus, von uns ent-deckt, wo grün ein Kranz am To-re-steckt. Ganz weit von Has-tund
cresc.

Moderato
kuf-tes Kleid und ist für ih-ren Schatz be-reit. Er fragt ge-lant, „Wo wil-let du hin? Was Lär-met der Zeit schenkt dort der Wirt die So-ße-keit. Ein Gar-ten-zam am End der Welt, der
cresc.

Un poco più
ist denn los, heut Nacht in Wien! Da is-selt sie und sagt ganz still. Du weißt ja, was ich al-les Glück um-schlo-sen hält, daß man sich dort hin sohn zu Zwi-n. das macht nicht nur der
un poco meno *rit.* *ralz.*

Un poco REFRAIN
riten. Valse molto moderato

Wein! 1. 2. Drum-Gen in Sie-ve-ring blüht schon der Fie-der, merkst du's,
pp

spürst du's, hast du's ge-ahn? So ei-ne Früh-ling-s-nacht kommt nicht bald
pp

wie-der, heu-te, fühl' ich, muß was ge-scheh'n. Drau-ßen in
pp

Un poco più
Sie-ve-ring blüht schon der Fie-der, lok-kerd wie ein lei-ses
pp

Lento
Fiehn, du-fet im Mon-des-schein, zieht sich in's Herz hin-ein, merkst du's,
pp *cresc.*

1. spürst du's, hast du's ge-ahn? 2. hast du's ge-ahn?

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Ex. 3.1 – ‘Draußen in Sievering blüht schon der Flieder’, aria from J. Strauss II’s operetta *Die Tänzerin Fanny Elssler*

These musical characteristics can be seen in one of the most notable Viennese songs of the late nineteenth century above – Strauss’ ‘Draußen in Sievering’ (‘Outside in Sievering the lilacs are already blossoming’). The operetta is set in the 1830s and tells the story of Austrian dancer Fanny Elssler (1810-1884), one of most famous ballerinas of her era. Fanny’s professional and romantic entanglements, set in Vienna, Eisenstadt, and Meidling, form the main thrust of the operetta’s narrative. The aria above encapsulates the heavily perfumed, romantic character of a spring night in Vienna’s suburbs as the lilacs have just blossomed, with the lines ‘duftet im Mondenschein, zieht sich in’s Herz hinein’ (‘fragrant in the moonlight, draws itself into the heart’) providing a brief moment of chromatic tension that highlights the sentimental nature of such popular songs. While Strauss’ beloved song demonstrates a perfect concordance of musical and textual intent, where both elements express the familiar *gemütlich* character of Viennese life which often blurred the boundaries between everyday reality and self-mythologisation, the song texts I will examine later in this chapter differ markedly in one respect: the themes expressed in the lyrics, which highlighted the disruptive changes being witnessed in the new capital city, often jarred with the much more accessible musical style used to communicate these sentiments to local audiences. For the sake of thematic concision, however, I put aside an in-depth analysis of musical characteristics in Viennese song in order to assess how the textual themes outlined on page 155 reflected the changing everyday reality for Vienna’s population. In summary, I extend Eva Hois’ concept of a ‘new Viennese consciousness’, which developed alongside the expansion of the city, and examine in more detail how this was expressed through language.³⁹⁹

The linguistic world of *Wienerlieder* has much in common with the *Heurige* scenes outlined in the previous two chapters, especially in the atmosphere created by the social and musical entanglements in Kupfer’s painting. More crucially, the language used in song texts played a pivotal

³⁹⁹ Eva Maria Hois, ‘Wienerliedtexte der Jahrhundertwende als Spiegel sozio-ökonomischer, technischer und politischer Entwicklungen’, *Zeitschrift des Spezialforschungsbereichs Moderne – Wien und Zentraleuropa um 1900*, Sonderheft 1 (March 2001), 11. For details on the musical characteristics of *Wienerlieder* in the mid to late nineteenth century, see Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (eds.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Vienna, 2006), 213-227, 294-305.

role in the adoption of a more journalistic, reflexive position for the benefit of local audiences, as the Viennese dialect of German, *Wienerisch*, was understood by a broad cross-section of society, from the labourers residing in Favoriten and Ottakring to the intellectual class and minor aristocracy. A culture which revelled in blurring the boundaries between the macabre, sardonic humour, sharp satire, and sentimentalism was neatly encapsulated by a distinctive vocabulary within *Wienerisch*, seen in the following familiar words and phrases: *Gemütlichkeit* – approximating to ‘cosiness’; *Schmäh* – unique Viennese humour, often emphasising dryness with heavy doses of irony; *Maschekseitzn* – under the counter, in a roundabout way; *auf Lepschi* – having nothing much to do; *nua ned hudln* – don’t stress; and *des Glück is a Vogerl* – luck is volatile.⁴⁰⁰ These phrases highlight the distinctive atmosphere of the city and its environs, as well as the notion of Vienna as an urban idyll recycled in countless classic *Wienerlieder* texts and poems since the early nineteenth century. As a dialect spoken across class divides and by both native German-speaking, as well as immigrant Czech, Hungarian, and Slovenian communities within the city, *Wienerisch* was often a unifying element for the population when it came to leisure time and the ever-popular weekend retreat. While any attempt to render the more obscure idioms of *Wienerisch* into English, particularly those phrases whose exact, local meaning has been lost over time, will inevitably involve significant linguistic and poetic compromise, my translations in this chapter are part of my broader concern for raising the profile of dialect song in assessing the vernacular culture of late-nineteenth-century Vienna.

Two volumes by Rudolf Wolkan entitled *Viennese Folksong over five centuries*, published in the 1920s, reveal precursors to *Wienerlieder* focusing on the glorification of the city and hymns of praise to Viennese life with its idyllic pleasures, particularly during the Biedermeier period.⁴⁰¹ Most of the repertoire collected by Wolkan is made up of *Standeslieder* (class or professional songs), which

⁴⁰⁰ An invaluable resource for the historical and contemporary usage of *Wienerisch* can be found in Robert Sedlaczek. *Wörterbuch des Wienerischen* (Haymon Verlag, 2011). As well as an extensive *Wienerisch-Hochdeutsch* dictionary, Sedlaczek offers a list of *Wienerlieder* that employ the most common words and phrases.

⁴⁰¹ Rudolf Wolkan, *Wiener Volkslieder aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Vienna, 1924).

act as self-representations of individual professional groups, and *Spottlieder* (mocking songs), a genre 'that poked fun at otherness, usually playing on the naïveté of rural life.'⁴⁰² The following characters are represented in the two volumes: craftsmen in general, bakers, nail-makers, farmers, beggars, fishermen, guards, and the horse-drawn carriage drivers (Fiakers).⁴⁰³

Given the plethora of later images associating Vienna with its local vineyards, Maria Walcher has observed that only two songs from the 1800 to 1848 period in the Wolkan collection are about wine, with much greater emphasis being placed on love songs, soldiers' songs, and alpine themes.⁴⁰⁴ The following texts offer a small representative example of the major topics covered in the Biedermeier section: the first, 'Die Wiener', offers a familiar *gemütlich* portrait of the imperial capital with its emphasis on 'loyal blood in all hearts / one prince, one heart, one mind', although wine is absent here as well. In Bäuerle's text from 1822, the subject of aesthetic changes to the Prater and grounds in front of the military fortifications, which would later become more sharply defined in the *Gründerzeit*, is already present long before the razing of Vienna's military fortifications – 'are the houses and streets still standing higgledy-piggledy? / you don't recognise it anymore'. The single strophe by Bäuerle offers a glimpse into a longer history of development and regulation in the city's green spaces.

Die Wiener

Schön ist die grosse weite Welt
 wo ich gewesen bin,
 und wo's am besten mir gefällt,
 das ist allhier in Wien.
 Die Weiber schön, die Männer gut,
 in allen Herzen treues Blut.
 Nur ist ein Fürst, ein Herz, ein Sinn.
 Wer wäre wohl nicht gern in Wien?

⁴⁰² Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 158.

⁴⁰³ Maria Walcher, 'Die Veränderung der Wienerlied-Texte durch die Eingemeindung der Vororte Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Musikalische Volkskultur in der Stadt der Gegenwart*, eds. G. Noll and W. Schepping (Metzler, 1992), 197.

⁴⁰⁴ Walcher, *ibid.*, 198.

The big wide world is beautiful
 where I have been
 and where I like it best,
 That's all here in Vienna.
 The women are beautiful, the men good,
 loyal blood in all hearts.
 Only one prince, one heart, one mind.
 Who would not like to be in Vienna?

Dated 1807, from Wolkan, *Wiener Volkslieder* (1924)

‘Aline – oder Wien in einem anderen Welteil’ (‘Aline – or Vienna in another part of the World’)

Was macht denn der Prater, sag blüht er recht schön?
 Blätter falln ab, es ist völlig nicht zu gehen.
 ‘Die Häuser und Strassen, stehns Kreuz noch und Quer?’
 alles verschönert, man kennts gar nicht mehr.
 Grad auf der Burgbastei war einst ein Zelt?
 Jetzt sein zwei Gärten dort, eine ganz neue Welt.
 O das muss ja prächtig sein, da möcht ich hin.
 Ja nur ein Kaiserstadt, ja nur ein Wien.

What is the Prater doing, is it blooming beautifully?
 Leaves are falling off, it's impossible to walk.
 Are the houses and streets still standing higgledy-piggledy?
 Everything is beautified, you don't know it any more.
 Was there once a tent on the castle bastion?
 Now there are two gardens there, a whole new world.
 Oh, that must be splendid, I'd like to go there.
 Yes, only one imperial city, yes, only one Vienna.

By Adolf Bäuerle (1822)

Bäuerle's gently satirical take on urban aesthetics and beautification appeared shortly before major developments in the world of Viennese folk music. From 1830 to 1848, Johann Baptiste Moser's attempts to reform the folk music scene had a long-term impact on the mobility and dissemination of such music, despite the relatively swift expansion of the city from the

1860s.⁴⁰⁵ He encouraged piano accompaniments in place of street harpists and lobbied local police to regulate those establishments that offered platforms for folk singers by managing a new license system. These newly regulated licenses, which were issued from 1852, provided for a maximum of five people as members of a small Folk Singer's Society, normally associated with a particular neighbourhood.⁴⁰⁶ In order to compete with more commercial establishments offering a wider variety of popular instrumental music, there was a gradual shift towards performing in larger singing halls [*Singspielhalle*] and variety theatres located in Vienna's inner suburbs, with Danzer's Orpheum being a prominent example.⁴⁰⁷ For their audiences, which consisted mainly of workers and middle-class citizens, these venues offered convenient replacements for opera and larger theatrical events which were financially out of reach.

As plans were brought in by the municipal government to incorporate the *Vorstädte* into the city's administrative boundaries from 1858 onwards, and urban expansion finally became possible, so the range of topics addressed in *Wienerlieder* broadened in parallel with the growth of the city – from food prices, rent, and the employment situation to issues of migration and language.⁴⁰⁸ Gertraud Pressler notes that

the folk singers knew what they were talking or singing about, as many of them had only found their way into the entertainment business after they themselves had become impoverished or unemployed as craftsmen or simple tradesmen.⁴⁰⁹

In addition to employment pressures following the 1848 revolutions, Vienna could no longer offer space to the growing waves of immigrants from the far reaches of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In order to make room for the rapidly growing population, a major building boom was encouraged and the municipal government 'granted 15 to 20 years of tax exemption' for each building activity within

⁴⁰⁵ Ernst Weber, 'Schöne Liada – Harbe Tanz: Die instrumentale Volksmusik und das Wienerlied', in *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1*, eds. Fritz and Kretschmer (2006), 185-186.

⁴⁰⁶ Weber, *ibid.*, 187.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁴⁰⁸ Hois, *ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁰⁹ Pressler, *ibid.*, 239.

the *Linienwall*.⁴¹⁰ In 1868, this exemption was extended to the formerly independent suburbs beyond the outer city wall. It was during this period that Vienna practically transformed into one huge building site, and the loss of familiar landmarks and environments expressed by Bäuerle became an alarming reality for suburban dwellers. The sudden acceleration of building work in the city began with the demolition of the bastion in 1858 and the construction of the Ringstrasse from 1860.

Maria Walcher emphasises the fact that the earlier incorporation of the *Vorstädte*, from 1858 onwards, 'did not find as much expression in song lyrics as was later the case with the *Vororte*.'⁴¹¹ Despite this assessment, several prominent song lyricists sought to describe the earlier urban transformation in satirical form – one of the earliest examples being the writer and folk singer Wilhelm Wiesberg. His 'Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten' (Memory of Better Times), examined later in this chapter, mixes mild nostalgia with a strong Viennese strain of sardonic humour and contemporary observations of the sudden alteration of the landscape and its social consequences. Wiesberg and Carl Lorens represent the first generation of *Wienerlieder* lyricists who provided sharper formulations about social, cultural, and political events occurring during the *Gründerzeit* and the urban cauldron of the 1890s.⁴¹² Accompanying the deluge of Viennese songs that came onto the publishing market between 1870 and 1910, including around 900 texts by Wiesberg alone before his death in 1896, an increasing number of manufacturing companies and publishers, most notably Gustav Lewy, Ludwig Doblinger and Josef Blaha, accelerated their production of small-format song prints, most of which were formerly sold by the Viennese street *Liederweiber* until the 1860s.⁴¹³

The acceleration in composition, production, and dissemination of *Wienerlieder* was marked towards the end of the century, driven by the expansion of the city boundaries from 1890. Former villages such as Ottakring, Döbling, Hernals, and Grinzing were finally incorporated into 'Greater Vienna' (Gross-Wien), spawning a plethora of artistic responses from instrumentalists such as the Schrammel brothers and lyricists like Carl Lorens and Josef Hornig. These *Vortragslieder*, as

⁴¹⁰ Walcher, *ibid.*, 202.

⁴¹¹ Walcher, *ibid.*, 202.

⁴¹² Weber, *ibid.*, 200.

⁴¹³ Pressler, *ibid.*, 239.

Gertraud Pressler describes them, frequently embed social critique and feature differing styles of journalistic commentary as they fleetingly examine a range of individual motifs, including mother-in-law relations, the telephone, urban poverty, and the smell of the Wien River.⁴¹⁴ By contrast, other songs – such as Lorens’ ‘Nur aussa mit’n Hamur!’ – are devoted to the single theme of the fall of the *Linienwall* and its associated tax payments. Before delving into the texts of the most significant *Wienerlied* lyricists in the late nineteenth century, a brief detour into the history of the *Liederweiber* character and the role of broadsides, or *Flugblätter*, will provide a backdrop to the social and economic developments of the early *Gründerzeit*.

3.1 – Street Trade and Song Prints

Of the many street characters in early- and mid-nineteenth-century Vienna, the *Liederweiber* (‘song women’) held a prominent position in the promotion and dissemination of popular broadside lyrics. These ‘song women’, whose function overlapped with the *Urteilsweiber* (literally, ‘judgement’ or ‘verdict women’), were a crucial source of information for the town’s residents, performing multiple roles as street criers and hawkers, as well as selling notices of execution, small-form journalistic bulletins, and song sheets. On the subject of executions, Gertraud Schaller-Pressler notes the following:

In medieval criminal proceedings, the confession of the accused was printed together with the verdict and sold on the day of execution by the *Urteilsweiber*, whereby particularly enterprising printers additionally furnished these execution slips with the “last words of the criminal on the scaffold”, with sermons at the gallows, funeral orations at the grave, and finally also with songs to attract the public.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 240.

⁴¹⁵ Gertraud Schaller-Pressler, ‘Das Lied als Wäre. Von Bänkelsängern und Liederweibern’, in *Wien Musikgeschichte. Volksmusik und Wienerlied*, ed. Fritz and Kretschmer (Vienna, 2006) 37.

These street figures also appeared in an entrepreneurial capacity during Joseph II's reign and into the early nineteenth century by passing on profits to the poets and printers of the leaflets and song-sheets.⁴¹⁶ The relative freedom from censorship under Joseph II, and the gradual enlargement of literary presses, allowed the *Liederweiber* to expand their activities across the city. A change in legislation in 1795, banning uncensored leaflet printing and its distribution, began to alter the fortunes of the 'song women'. In many cases, this resulted in hefty fines, threats of imprisonment, or expulsion from the Inner City – 'In 1795, the ambulatory cry was banned "once and for all and without exception, under penalty of penitentiary."' Uncensored leaflet printings had provoked violent reactions from the authorities.⁴¹⁷ Although the local police continued to exert a heavy-handed approach towards the very existence of the *Liederweiber* during the *Vormärz* period and after the 1848 revolutions, their popularity with the general public meant that they continued to play an informal role on Vienna's streets until the last public execution in 1868.⁴¹⁸

It was from the 1840s to 1880s that broadside song-sheet formats, or *Flugblätter*, became extremely popular with the Viennese public and developed in parallel with Johann Moser's folk-song reforms and the emergence of officially licenced *Volkssänger* societies. These song sheets were often produced as a single side of paper with small woodcuts that included lyrics and sometimes musical notation, essentially acting as 'narrative contrafacts relying on well-known stories and melodies.'⁴¹⁹ From the 1850s onwards, they were sold in a more commercial capacity by an increasing number of small independent publishers. The expansion of printing presses and the introduction of copperplate engraving around 1840 by Franz Barth, as would have been used for the two *Flugblätter* images below, gradually pushed the 'song women' out of business with their reliance on more primitive woodcuts. The thin decorative strip which was often used in the earlier pamphlet songs was replaced

⁴¹⁶ *ibid.*, 38.

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*, 37.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴¹⁹ Bohlman, *ibid.*, 165.

with more striking images taking up the top quarter of the folded sheet.⁴²⁰ This updated broadside format is described by Bohlman below:

It might follow the lives of specific individuals—the coachman or conductor—but it used such lives to chronicle the sweep of history. Because of these dual narrative functions, broadsides opened particularly complex ways of connecting the stories of individuals to the historical dramas within which they constituted the *dramatis personae*. Broadsides, therefore, constituted a discourse network, a means of reproducing diverse forms of communication and technology that are woven together as discourses for an extended historical period.⁴²¹

As Bohlman has noted in his assessment of dialect song culture in Vienna, the production and distribution of broadsides had an important dual purpose: their ability to articulate the social evolution of the city and suburbs through both factual reporting and storytelling, as well as the public's desire for a blending of mythology and reality in tracing the reformulation of urban identity.⁴²²

Just as the city authorities had razed the old military fortifications and begun building the new Ringstrasse around the historical Inner City, Vienna suffered one of the worst floods of the century in February 1862. This natural disaster was reported on widely in the Viennese press, but was also captured succinctly and poetically in two *Flugblätter* printed the same year.

⁴²⁰ Schaller-Pressler, *ibid.*, 37.

⁴²¹ Bohlman, *ibid.*, 166

⁴²² *Ibid.*



Fig. 3.1 – 'The Flood in Vienna', by Johann Ernst (Carl Barth, 1862). Permission from Wiener Volksliedwerk Archive.

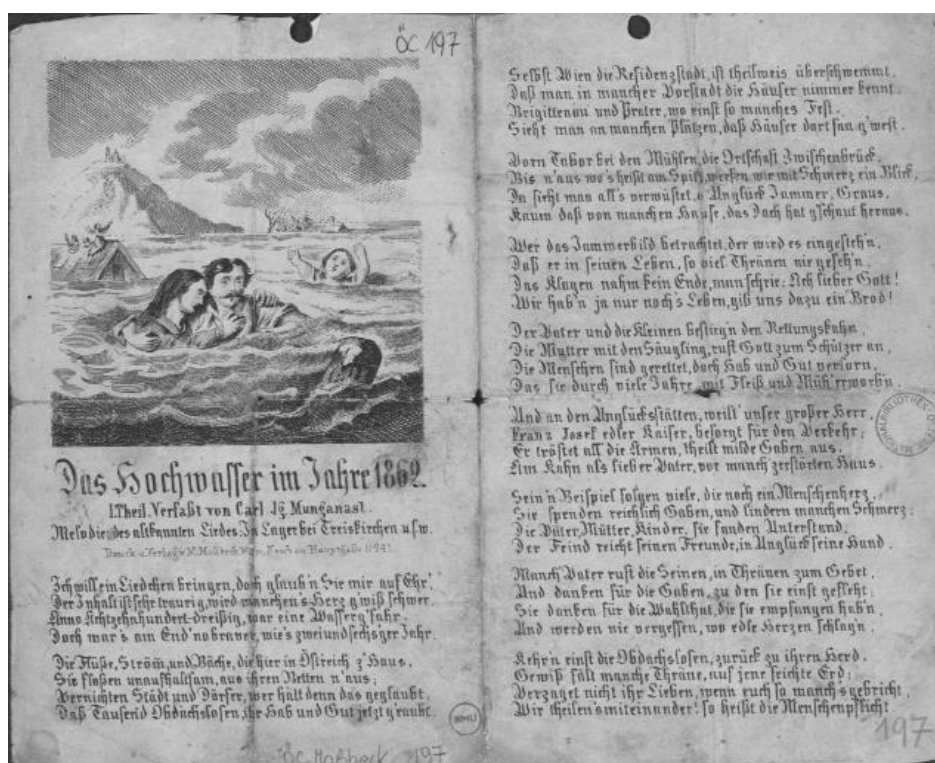


Fig. 3.2 – 'The Flood in 1862', by Carl Jg. Munganast (Mathias Moßbeck, 1862).

‘Das Hochwasser im Jahr 1862’ (‘The Flood in 1862’)

Ich will ein Liedchen bringen, doch glaub’n Sie mir auf Ehr’,
 Der Inhalt ist sehr traurig, wird manchen ‘s Herz g’wiß schwer.
 Anno Achtzehnhundert-dreißig, war eine Wasserg’fahr,
 Doch war ‘s am End’ no braver, wie ‘s zweiundsechz’ger Jahr.

Die Flüsse, Ström und Bäche, die hier in Öst’reich z’ Haus,
 Sie flossen unaufhaltsam, aus ihren Betten n’aus;
 Vernichten Städt und Dörfer, wer hätt den das geglaubt,
 Daß Tausend Obdachlosen, ihr Hab und Gut jetzt g’raubt.

Selbst Wien die Residenzstadt, ist theilweis überschwemmt,
 Daß man in mancher Vorstadt die Häuser nimmer kennt.
 Brigittenau und Prater, wo einst so manches Fest,
 Sieht man an manchen Plätzen, dass Häuser dort san g’west.

Vorn Tabor bei den Mühlen, die Ortschaft Zwischenbrück,
 Bis n’aus wo ‘s heißt am Spitz, werfen wir mit Schmerz, ein Blick,
 Da sieht man all’s verwüstet, o Unglück, Jammer, Graus,
 Kaum, dass von manchen Hause, das Dach hat g’schaut heraus.

Wer das Jammerbild betrachtet, der wird es eingesteh’n,
 Daß er in seinem Leben, so viel Thränen nie geseh’n.
 Das Klagen nahm kein Ende, man schrie: Ach lieber Gott!
 Wir hab’n ja nur noch ‘s Leben, gib uns dazu ein Brod!

Der Vater und die kleinen bestieg’n den Rettungskahn,
 Die Mutter mit dem Säugling, ruft Gott zum Schützer an.
 Die Menschen sind gerettet, doch Hab und Gut verlorn,
 Das sie durch viele Jahre, mit Fleiß und Müh’ erworbn.

Und an den Unglücksstätten, weilt’ unser großer Herr,
 Franz Josef edler Kaiser, besorgt für den Verkehr.
 Er tröstet all’ die Armen, theilt milde Gaben aus,
 Am Kahn als lieber Vater, vor manch’ zerstörten Haus.

Sein’n Beispiel folgen viele, die noch ein Menschenherz,
 Sie spenden reichlich Gaben, und lindern manchen Schmerz.
 Die Väter, Mütter, Kinder, sie fanden Unterstand,
 Der Feind reicht seinen Freunde, in Unglück seine Hand.

Manch' Vater ruft die Seinen, in Thränen zum Gebet,
 Und danken für die Gaben, zu den sie einst gefleht;
 Sie danken für die Wohlthat, die sie empfangen hab'n,
 und werden nie vergessen, wo edle Herzen schlag'n.

Kehr'n einst die Obdachlosen, zurück zu ihren Herd,
 Gewiß fällt manche Thräne, auf jene feichte Erd';
 Verzaget nicht ihr Lieben, wenn euch so manch's gebricht,
 Wir theilen 's miteinander! So heißt die Menschenpflicht.

Text by Carl Jg. Munganast (Verlag Mathias Moßbeck, 1862).

I want to bring a little song, but take my word for it,
 The content is very sad, it's sure to weigh on some people's hearts.
 In the year eighteen hundred and thirty, there was a flood,
 But in the end it was as good as the sixty-second year.

The rivers, streams and brooks that here in Austria are at home,
 They flow unstopably from their channels and out;
 Destroy towns and villages, who would have believed,
 That the goods and chattels of a thousand homeless are now robbed.

Even Vienna, the capital, is partly flooded,
 That in many a suburb the houses are no longer known.
 Brigittenau and Prater, where many a festival once took place,
 In some places you can see that houses have been there.

In front of Tabor by the mills, the village of Zwischenbrück,
 To where it's called am Spitz, we cast a painful glance,
 There we see all devastated, O misfortune, misery, horror,
 The roof of many a house has scarcely peeped out.

He who looks at the picture of misery will admit it,
 That in his life he never saw so many tears.
 There was no end to the lamentations, people cried out: Oh, dear God!
 All we have left is life, give us some bread!

The father and the little ones boarded the lifeboat,
 The mother with the infant calls on God for protection.
 The people are saved, but their possessions are lost,
 Which they have earned through many years of toil and trouble.

And in the places of misfortune, our great Lord dwells,
 Our great lord, Franz Josef, noble emperor.
 He comforts all the poor, distributes charitable gifts,
 By the barge, as a dear father, before many a ruined house.

His example is followed by many who still have a human heart,
 They give abundant gifts and relieve many a pain.
 Fathers, mothers, children, they found shelter,
 The enemy reaches out to his friends, in misfortune his hand.

Many a father calls his own, in tears to prayer,
 And give thanks for the gifts they once implored;
 They give thanks for the blessings they have received,
 And will never forget where noble hearts beat.

Once the homeless return to their hearths,
 Surely many a tear shall fall on that damp earth;
 Do not despair, my dears, when many a thing you lack,
 We'll share it with you. Such is the duty of man.

The developments in printing technology allowed more detailed images to be included on these song sheets. The two pictures we see above capture the spirit of helplessness suffered by the working people of the city, whose homes were inundated by the floodwater, juxtaposed with the paternalistic, almost Messiah-like portrayal of Emperor Franz Josef who 'comforts all the poor, distributes charitable gifts'. The absence of a flood plain on the left bank of the Danube meant that numerous houses in the nearby inner suburbs of Floridsdorf and Brigittenau were severely damaged, and 'the military had to build pontoon bridges to reach settlements on the other side of the Danube, as most bridges had become impassable.'⁴²³ Although the flooding destroyed much of the city's infrastructure to the east of the historical centre, total disaster was averted due to the earlier regulation of the Alser and Ottakring streams, where population density was much higher.

My brief detour into the history of *Flugblätter* in the mid-nineteenth century demonstrates how the role of publishing and printing technologies, as well as the more informal networks of street hawkers and *Liederweiber*, were an integral part of Vienna's self-mythologisation process. This was facilitated by advances in copperplate engraving which enabled illustrators to expand the storytelling element of the *Flugblätter* as they responded to the increasing demand for cheap, easily accessible forms of

⁴²³ Helmut Kretschmer and Herbert Tschulk, 'Brände und Naturkatastrophen in Wien', in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 1 (1995), 16.

creative journalism that reacted swiftly to the most pressing themes of the day. In many ways, the multiple functions that broadsides held in the daily life of the city ‘contested the public sphere of the metropole’, as summarised by Bohlman.⁴²⁴ The *Flugblätter* provided an important outlet for the refashioning of history and myth, symbolised not only by the paternalistic image of the emperor, seen in the song sheet from 1862, but also the heightened sense of patriarchal rule adopted by Karl Lueger around 1900 – an issue I touch upon in chapters one and four. The flexible, highly reactive form of vernacular dialect song prints laid the groundwork for developing a more sophisticated urban imaginary in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, nourished by the urgency of a rapidly expanding capital city.

3.2 – Boundary Changes and Life beyond the *Linienwall*

The collection of *Wienerlieder* that appears in this first section spans three decades of song composition, from 1874 to 1905, and includes texts written by four prominent lyricists of this period – Wilhelm Wiesberg, Carl Lorens, Josef Hornig, and Ludwig Gruber. This grouping represents the most pluralistic combination of writers and styles of the three main themes I offer in this chapter, reflecting my desire to trace the spatial transformation of the city and the tensions between inner and outer districts through various modes of poetic satire and critique. In addition, I examine differing expressions of cultural nostalgia that emanate from a conflicted and interrelated set of priorities that juxtapose the professional, cosmopolitan networks of song production and dissemination with the hankering for a semi-rural existence at the periphery of Vienna. The four texts I set out here act as commentaries on two major development projects: the aftermath of the Ringstrasse development and the Vienna World Fair, and the fall of the outer city wall in the early 1890s with the resulting suburban expansion. Finally, in Gruber’s ‘Jetzt spielt’s ma an Tanz’ from

⁴²⁴ Bohlman, *ibid.*

1905, I continue my exploration of suburban tavern culture and assess the role of military conscription in daily life, together with Gruber's parade of real and imagined characters.

I begin my analysis with one of the most prolific song lyricists of his generation, Wilhelm Wiesberg. His prodigious talent for composing popular couplets appeared during his adolescent years and after a decade of copious work as a journalist and satirist, he joined forces with the folk singer and comedian Wenzel Seidl in 1879, forming the 'Seidl and Wiesberg Society' at the Grünen Thor tavern in the suburb of Alsergrund.⁴²⁵ After the inclusion of composer, pianist, and folk singer Johann Sioly in this 'society', the collaboration became one of the most successful musical ventures of the 1880s, advancing the stylistic changes in textual and musical setting brought about by Moser's reforms from several decades earlier. One such setting from 1874 can be seen below.

WNr 15262



Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten.
Lied, verfaßt und gesungen von
W. Wiesberg
Mitglied der Singspielhalle
A. Amon.

Druck u. Verlag v. M. Moßbeck Wien Wieden Waaggasse 1.
Tempo di Valse.

Weil wir von der Gegenwart gar nix mehr hab'n,
in-nen mir Wie-ner uns öfter mit-samm an
jene ver-gan-ge ne herr-li-che Zeit, voll
Fest und Gau-de und voll Froh-se-lig-keit, wo
wir no nit frun-ken hab'n aus gschliff-nen

Glas, ge-müth-li-chen gessen im üppigen Gras, wo s
uns hab'n s-Bier in Pfu-ger gschenkt und äußerst
billig gschrie-b'n; das Bier hat längst der Teufel
g'holt, die Pfu-ger sein uns klee-n.

Wie ein-fach war'n früher die Mo-den und nett,
Gott-vater-rück d' Männer statt kurze Jaquet,
die Damen a weißes mousselinees Tuch,
kein Cu de Paris, aber Kreuz-handels-schwach,
Man hat mit'n S'wand sich halt damals be-schränkt,
Bis end-lich der Luxus hat Alles verdrängt,
Jetzt hab'n auf 's Elegan-tes-te
die Feut' Alles in Neu Wien,
nur Sammt und Seid'n und gold'nen Schmuck,
aber in Ver-sam-mel drinn.

O brä-der du herr-liches schaff-tige Re-vier
Voll Wurst-ken, Sau-sirer, Salami und Bier
Wann i denk' wie fidel d'ieser Kerl einst war
Und wie er jetzt is nach'm Aus-stellungs-jahr.
So g'spreizt und so fat daß a Jeder nur schaut,
A Wiener-kind rein nimmer eini sich traut:
So oft i jetzt mein brä-der sieh
So ruf' i ganz ge-rührt
O herr Baron, was hab'n S' ge-htan?
Den hab'n S' uns schon - - - re-gulirt!

D'o Kas-tei'n d'o so mächtig einst dag-standen san
hab'n fall'n mü-ßen durch'n Er-weiterungs-plan,
die Stadt-hö-re auch, die s' zur Si-cher-heit
Ge-sperrt immer hab'n in der nächst-lichen Zeit,
Sein a demolirt word'n ab-krat, wie d' Kas-tei
Jetzt steht un-ser Wiener-stadt offen und frei,
Wir brauchens' auch nicht zu-zü-heren,
Laß'n wir's offen in Got-tes Nam,
S' kann uns kein Men-sch was aus-trag'n,
Weil wir nix mehr drinnat hab'n.

Fig. 3.3 – Wiesberg, 'Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten', song sheet (Wiener Volksliedwerk)

⁴²⁵ Weber, *ibid.*, 200.

In 'Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten' ('Memories of better times'), Wiesberg displays an accessibility of musical language, communicating popular appeal through straightforward melodic contours – avoiding the more frequent intervallic leaps found in Strauss' 'Draußen in Sievering' – and reflecting the musical heritage of the earlier Biedermeier years, as well as the mass appeal of Strauss and Lanner waltzes through a sentimental, nostalgic tone. The Founders' Period witnessed not only the consolidation and aesthetic refinement of more sentimental *Wienerlieder*, expressed in numerous solo and duet versions by Wiesberg and Sioly, but also the expansion of urban themes that deftly wove the gentle, nostalgic vein, found in the musical setting, with a sharper critique of the physical changes to the cityscape. The text below was written before the formation of the Seidl–Wiesberg partnership and appeared at a crucial juncture in Vienna's Liberal period – one year after the World Fair and stock market crash.

Wilhelm Wiesberg, 'Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten' ('Memory of Better Times'), 1874

O Prater, du herrliches, schattig's Revier,
 voll Wursteln, Hausirer, Salami und Bier,
 wann i' denk, wie fidel dieser Kerl einst war
 und wie er jetzt is nach'm Ausstellungsjahr,
 so g'spreizt und so fad, dass a Jeder nur schaut,
 a Wienerkind rein nimmer eini sich traut.
 So oft i jetzt mein' Prater siech,
 so ruf' i ganz gerührt:
 "O, Herr Baron, was hab'n S' getan?
 Den habn S' uns schön --- reguliert!"

Die Bastei'n die so mächtig einst dagestanden san,
 hab'n fall'n müssen durch'n Erweiterungsplan,
 die Stadthore auch, die sie zur Sicherheit
 gesperrt immer haben in der nächtlichen Zeit,
 sein a demoliert word'n akkrat, wie d' Bastei.
 Jetzt steht unser' Wienerstadt offen und frei,
 wir brauchen s' auch nicht zuzusperr'n,
 laß'n wir s' offen in Gottes Nam',
 s' kann uns kein Mensch was außitragen,
 weil wir nix mehr drinnat hab'n.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁶ Text from Wilhelm Wiesberg, 'Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten' (Mathias Moßbeck, 1874).

O Prater, you wonderful, shady district,
 full of sausages⁴²⁷, peddlers, salami and beer,
 when I think how jolly this fellow once was
 and how he is now after the exhibition year,
 so overblown and so bland that everyone just looks,
 a Viennese child never goes there.
 Whenever I see my Prater now,
 I call out, full of emotion:
 "Oh, Baron, what have you done?
 You've regulated it prettily!"

The bastions that once stood there so mighty,
 have had to fall due to the enlargement plan,
 the city gates as well, which, for safety
 have always been closed at night,
 have also been demolished, for sure, like the bastion.
 Now our Vienna is open and free,
 we don't need to lock it up either,
 we leave it open in God's name,
 no one can take anything out from us,
 because there's nothing left inside.

Wiesberg's general tone and choice of recognisable landmarks in Vienna can be viewed, in one sense, as an extension of Bäuerle's 'Aline' text from 1822, but providing a more sharply defined answer to the latter's question – 'Was macht denn der Prater, sag blüht er recht schön?' If Bäuerle's earlier remark, stressing the beautification of the city, is restricted to the disappearance of tents and cultivation of gardens in front of the military fortifications – 'alles verschönert, man kennts gar nicht mehr', then Wiesberg elevates this mild form of nostalgia to a more sardonic level, expressed succinctly in the line 'sein a demoliert word'n akkrat, wie d' Bastei.' This satirical mode is discussed by Nicholas Parsons in his overview of *Wienerisch* and its connection with the music of the city when he highlights two common 'staples of Viennese discourse': *raunzen* (grumbling) and *nörgeln* (carping).⁴²⁸ The last line of the text portrays this state of mind particularly well, and also hints at the image of Vienna as a building site when Wiesberg exclaims that there is no longer any reason to

⁴²⁷ The use of the word 'Wursteln' could also be a reference to 'Hanswurst', the character in Viennese popular comedy.

⁴²⁸ Parsons, *ibid.*, 58.

guard the city's many treasures, 'weil wir nix mehr drinnat hab'n'. Although the lyrics still retain a sentimental aspect that harks back to 'Alt-Wien', before the demolition of the *Bastei*, this element is tempered by conveying the shock of the new that must have greeted residents used to the semi-rural character of the land beyond the *Vorstädte*. In typical Viennese fashion, the *raunzen* and *nörgeln* are clothed in a musically sentimental garb, demonstrating an important tension between textual content and musical presentation which became a defining feature of popular song during the last third of the nineteenth century.

The subject of the first stanza and the focus on regulating open spaces also recalls Kramer's 1873 aerial photo from my introduction, taken shortly before Wiesberg penned his song text. The manner in which the city authorities made the Prater 'so g'spreizt und so fad', according to the poet, may well have come about through the retention of those geometric forms seen in the Vienna World Fair exhibition zones subsequently carved into the meadow, emphasised even further by the parallel course of the straightened Danube to the east. The expansiveness of the Prater, that 'wonderful shady district', offered a sense of liberation for city residents, where class identities jostled against one another in what Klaus Hödl calls 'a kind of intermediary space.'⁴²⁹ Wiesberg's colourful evocation of this peripheral zone, 'full of sausages, peddlers, salami and beer', provides a glimpse of the heterogeneous nature of this recreation ground, 'where ethnic identity could be at once concealed, enacted, and destabilized', and where the upper and lower classes of Viennese society often swapped roles and pretended to inhabit other characters, if only for a single afternoon.⁴³⁰ Felix Salten's atmospheric vignette of the *Wurstelprater*, from 1911, gives a clear indication of the different performative modes adopted by locals, reflecting the general appreciation for urban theatre and spectacle of many kinds:

When the aristocrats are up for some fun, they pretend they're just plain folk, go to the Prater, ride the merry-go-round, [...] go to the shooting galleries and try out a rifle. But

⁴²⁹ Klaus Hödl, *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in fin-de-siècle Vienna*, trans. Corey Twitchell (Berghahn Books, 2019), 133.

⁴³⁰ Steven Samols, 'Capturing Difference: The Wurstelprater Photobook in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (January 2022), 5.

this is not befitting their station. They have the privilege of hunting outdoors in the forests, of going stalking on their own ground [...]. This is where people come who only know hunting from pictures [...] who can only dream of 'big game' and of 'prey'.⁴³¹

Alexandra Seibel points out the reverse process in Salten's description, when the Viennese writer also observed how a

young working-class man in hunter's dress tries, day after day, to shoot a tin eagle—strangely, without ever managing to hit it. 'The stands belong to these people,' is the conclusion, one that prompts him to overlook the homogenizing effects of mass culture.⁴³²

This image of heroic failure in the light-hearted attempts of the working-class figure above emphasises the importance of amateur performance that, according to Salten, defined the *Wurstelprater* as a space apart from Vienna in its distance from the clean, homogenised façades and glittering arts venues of the Ringstrasse and *Vorstädte*. In his analysis of character tropes and entertainment, Steven Samols highlights the crucial role of amateurism:

Salten reserves his fiercest criticism not for the flawed performers, but rather for those who are 'too good' to perform in the Prater. Encountering a group of jugglers, Salten criticizes them because they are too 'honest and settled', and therefore do not belong in the park.⁴³³

In Wiesberg's nostalgic glance to the more unregulated spaces and hidden corners of the Prater, where children and adults alike could indulge in their own real and imagined adventures, a more extroverted and expansive equivalent of the *Heurige* scenes from Vienna's *Vororte* can be glimpsed,

⁴³¹ Felix Salten, 'Wurstelprater.' in *Felix Salten. Wurstelprater. Ein Schlussetext zur Wiener Moderne*, eds. Siegfried Mattl, Klaus Müller-Richter, Werner Michael Schwarz (Vienna: Promedia, 2004), 69-70, in Alexandra Seibel, *Visions of Vienna: Narrating the City in 1920s and 1930s Cinema* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 41.

⁴³² Seibel, *ibid.* For a recent assessment of the *Wurstelprater* through the photobook by Emil Mayer accompanying Salten's text, with emphasis given to the idea of suspended social hierarchies, see Samols (2022), particularly the author's focus on Jewish difference and how the Prater was a space 'where a more vernacular kind of Jewishness could be experienced', p. 6.

⁴³³ Samols, *ibid.*, 9-10.

providing ‘a space similar to the Wild West, in that prevailing norms were suspended there.’⁴³⁴ The momentary dissolving of class boundaries in this ‘eternal periphery’, and the focus on raising the profile of amateur performance, is summarised in Salten’s desire to grasp ‘the essential dignity’ of these vernacular entertainers, despite the heavy employment of irony and social satire, elements which also characterise Wiesberg’s song text.⁴³⁵

Although Wiesberg’s ‘Erinnerung an bessere Zeiten’ conveys a particularly keen eye for the physical and cultural developments of the 1860s and 1870s, the period in which it was written was characterised by the retention of the *Linienwall* which divided the *Vorstädte* from the *Vororte*. This physical and psychological barrier still determined how residents viewed the communities situated either side, despite Vienna’s transformation into a network of construction sites and the significant aesthetic alterations being applied to both inner and outer districts in the later years of the *Gründerzeit*. Built in 1704 to help defend the Inner City from Turkish forces, as well as from the threat of the Kuruc insurgents from the Kingdom of Hungary, the *Linienwall* acted as an important source of revenue for the city authorities when the ‘consumption tax’ [*Verzehrungssteuer*] was introduced in 1829 for anyone wishing to bring goods into the city.⁴³⁶ This ‘fiscal border’, which encouraged the economic growth of taverns and entertainment venues in Neulerchenfeld, due to its advantageous position outside the toll zone, remained in place until 1891, when it was finally abolished along with the gradual demolition of the *Linienwall* itself.⁴³⁷ Carl Lorens’ ‘Nur aussa mit’n Hamur’, given below, was written in response to the major changes introduced by the municipal government in the early 1890s, stressing the physical and economic developments arising from the fall of the outer boundary line and the creation of an expanded metropolitan Vienna.

⁴³⁴ Hödl, *ibid.*, 132. The phrase ‘the Wild West’, coined by Victor Adler, is a phenomenon I examine briefly in my thesis conclusion in relation to the suburban establishments and unregulated borderlands between districts.

⁴³⁵ Samols, *ibid.*, 9.

⁴³⁶ Elisabeth Strömmer, ‘Der Vorläufer des Gürtels: vor 300 Jahren wurde mit dem Bau des “Linienwalls” begonnen’, *EXTRA Lexikon, Wiener Zeitung* (19 November 2004).

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

Carl Lorens, 'Nur aussa mit'n Hamur!' ('Just out with a sense of humour!'), 1892

Die Weanastadt muss grösser werd'n,
 Der Linnagrab'n muss fall'n,
 Verschwinden muss das Defizit,
 Ka Steuer brauch ma zahl'n;
 Drum kommt jetzt Penzing, Ottakring,
 Wass Gott was no dazua,
 Wir krieg'n jetzt fünfundzwanzig Bezirk,
 I glaub', das is jetzt g'nua.
 Von Simm'ring bis nach Podiebrad
 Kommt All's zur Weanastadt.
 "Juhe! Hallo! Nur aussa mit'n Hamur!"
 "Warum is uns're Stadt zu klein?"
 Wird Mancher frag'n. Mir fällt's schon ein:
 "'s is halt kein rechter Platz mehr d'rinn,
 Es sein z'viel Böhm in Wien!"⁴³⁸

The town of Vienna must become bigger,
 The 'Lina' ditches must fall,
 The deficit must disappear,
 No tax to pay at all;
 So here comes Penzing, Ottakring
 God knows what else besides,
 We're only getting twenty-five districts,
 I think that's enough now.
 From Simmering to Podiebrad
 All come to the town of Vienna.
 "Yippee! Hello! Just out with good humour!"
 "Why is our town too small?"
 some will ask. It'll come to me:
 "There's just no room in it anymore,
 There are too many Bohemians in Vienna!"

Carl Lorens (1851-1909) was a prolific composer of broadsides and is known to have penned over 2000 song texts and melodies in his relatively short career.⁴³⁹ He is best known for providing the lyrics for Gustav Pick's 'Fiaker Lied', as well as the cosy sentimentalism of "'s Herz von an echten

⁴³⁸ Song text taken from Carl Lorens, 'Nur aussa mit'n Hamur!' (Gustav Lewy, 1892).

⁴³⁹ See Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, Vol. 4 (Vienna: Kremayr and Scheriau, 1995), 90ff.

Weana' in collaboration with Johann Schrammel.⁴⁴⁰ As well as satisfying the public demand for the stereotypes of 'Alt-Wien' and the gently seductive qualities of *Heurige* culture, Lorens also chronicled the evolution of Vienna's physical form, its social undercurrents, and political battles with a keen sense for the everyday experiences of the suburban dweller. Although he was born outside Meidling, which was situated beyond the *Linienwall*, this peripheral district became his adopted home for around three decades and provided Lorens with an alternative perspective of the city, especially Vienna's character as an overgrown village that was partially contained by the outer boundary line.⁴⁴¹ As a folk singer, self-taught composer, and lyricist, his modest upbringing paralleled that of Wilhelm Wiesberg, and the period in which he was active – from around 1870 to 1909 – offers a neat historical overview of the continuities and disruptions from the period of the Ringstrasse development until the penultimate year of Karl Lueger's governance as city mayor.⁴⁴² In Lorens' song text above, the perspective of the suburban resident is taken when a hint of celebration is conveyed in the line 'Ka Steuer brauch ma zahl'n', reflecting the abolition of the 'consumption tax' for those bringing goods into the city. As an adopted 'Meidlinger', Lorens may well have been reacting to the general relief of his suburban neighbours now that the toll charge was dropped. However, as I explore in Josef Hornig's song below, not all communities in the *Vororte* were satisfied with the new economic reality.

A gradual progression in subject matter can be traced in the song 'Nur aussa mit'n Hamur!', beginning with the more mundane issue of the disappearing tax charges through to the sardonic observations of Vienna's suburban expansion, when many districts were subsumed into larger administrative areas, and finally arriving at the humorous question – 'Warum is uns're Stadt zu klein?'. Lorens' answer reflects both the practical reality of Vienna's constricted spatial form,

⁴⁴⁰ See Bohlman (2008), 154-157, 162-164 for a brief assessment of Lorens' role in tracing the mobility of the Fiaker in dialect song.

⁴⁴¹ Ernst Weber 'd' Leut hab'n z'wenig Geld': Der Volksdichter und Komponist Carl Lorens (1851-1909) als Chronist des späten 19. Jahrhunderts', *Meidling Blätter des Bezirksmuseums*, Vol. 49/50 (2000), 4. A short biography of Lorens is provided by Weber and the main primary source for details of his life and career can be found in Josef Koller, *Das Wiener Volkssängertum in alter und neuer Zeit* (Vienna, 1931), 115-117.

⁴⁴² Weber, *ibid.*, 6.

together with the exponential increase in population, and the more uncomfortable theme of ethnic stereotyping in the final line, 'Es sein z'viel Böhm in Wien!' This sharp rebuke to the changing demographics of the suburbs, particularly in Favoriten and Ottakring, reflected the tensions behind the long-standing 'Bohemian question', which would result in the language ordinances of 1897 – an issue I examine in texts by Ludwig Gruber later in this chapter. While the general tone of the last line mirrors the ruthlessness of literary satire that was generated around 1900, Pressler highlights the need to balance the more harmless nostalgia invoked by Lorens with the anti-Semitic undertones that characterised many of his texts during the 1890s, arguably strengthened by the election of Karl Lueger in 1897.⁴⁴³

The song's main themes are inextricably tied to a very specific time and place: the eagerly anticipated creation of an expanded metropolitan Vienna in the early 1890s. In this sense, it represents the literary equivalent of Schrammel's instrumental march 'Gross-Wien', which celebrated the razing of the *Linienwall* and the beginning of a new era for many residents who had become accustomed to the stark divisions between the urban existence inside the boundary line and the agrarian character of Vienna's satellite villages. If Lorens celebrated the government's decision to abolish the 'consumption tax', then Josef Hornig provides the opposite view – that of a city resident who had enjoyed the cheaper rates of suburban establishments and now laments the dissolving 'fiscal border'.

⁴⁴³ Pressler (1999), 244-245.

Ländlich! Städtisch!
Wiener Lied.

999
Text von Josef Hornig. Musik von Th. F. Schild.



1. Seit - dem mir Gross - Wien schreib'n in neu - e - rer
Zeit, än - dern sich die Strassen, die Gas - sen und d'Leut. 's
wird All's ver - schö - nert ob dort o - der hier und
dri - nat im Sack werd'n wir all - weil mehr stier! Fahr'n
mir heut zum Bei - spiel nach Siv - ring hin - aus, kost
dort a Mit - tag - mahl bei - nah a klans Haus. Beim
Sa - cher is bald a net theu - rer vor All'n! Ja,
Andante.
länd - lich kann man noch ge - nie - ssen a - ber
stä - dtisch muss ma zahl'n! Ja, länd - lich kann man noch ge -
nie - ssen a - ber stä - dtisch muss ma zahl'n!

Ex. 3.2 – Josef Hornig, 'Ländlich! Städtisch!', song sheet (Wiener Volksliedwerk)

Josef Hornig, 'Ländlich! Städtisch!' ('Rural! Urban!')

Seitdem mir Gross-Wien schreib'n in neuerer Zeit,
ändern sich die Strassen, die Gassen und d'Leut
's wird All's verschönert ob dort oder hier
und drinat im Sack werd'n wir allweil mehr stier!
Fahr'n mir heut zum Beispiel nach Sivering hinnaus,
kost dort a Mittagmahl beinah a klans Haus
Beim Sacher is bald a net theurer vor All'n!

Ja, landlich kann man noch geniessen,
aber städtisch muss ma zahl'n!

Mit uns're Altwiena
Da spiest es sich schon,
Dafür trifft man üb'rall
Jetzt Neuwiena an.
Es wird net lang dawern,
Geht draussten am Land
Der Hauer sammt Sohn
In ein Frack umanand
Will Ana a G'selcht's
A paar Würsteln blos nur-
So leg'ns am jetzt drausst schon
A Speisezettel vor.
Bei so Ana Zech fangt
Das Blut an zum wall'n.
Ja, ländlich kann man noch genießen-
Aber städtisch muass ma zahl'n!⁴⁴⁴

Since we've been writing 'Greater Vienna' in recent times,
the streets, the alleys and the people have changed,
everything is beautified whether here or there
and our wallets are getting more and more empty!
Today, for example, if we're going out to Sievering,
a lunch there almost costs a small house,
at Sacher's it's soon no more expensive than anywhere else!
Yes, you can still enjoy in the countryside,
but in the city you have to pay!

Our old Viennese
are already a mess,
but you'll find the New Viennese
everywhere now.
It won't take long,
out in the countryside,
for the winegrower and his son
to go about wearing tailcoats.
If one wants some cured meat,
merely a few sausages -
so they're already
presenting one a menu.

⁴⁴⁴ Lyrics taken from Josef Hornig, (text) and Th F. Schild (music), 'Ländlich! Städtisch!' (Josef Blaha, undated).

With such a bill,
 the blood begins to surge.
 Yes, you can still enjoy in the countryside,
 but in the city you have to pay!

For the citizens of Vienna in the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century, one of the clearest indicators of economic change was the price of food. Such a basic necessity of daily life was noticed by residents of all backgrounds and became a common cause for complaint among both the wealthy and working classes, whether dining out at the finest inner-city restaurants or grabbing a few cheap 'Würsteln' for lunch. The economy of the stomach is the main theme of Hornig's song 'Ländlich! Städtisch!', placed into a context of creeping homogenisation in financial terms between the historical centre and the outer districts. As Susanne Schedtler notes, before the boundary changes of the early 1890s, the *Vororte* benefitted from preferential tax rates for eating establishments and recreation facilities, which partly explained the growing popularity of weekend retreats at the outer edges of the *Wienerwald* and the hills of Lower Austria, as well as the custom of the *Sommerfrische* (summer retreat).⁴⁴⁵ After the municipal expansion, however, these economic differences gradually became less stark, and this resulted in a levelling up of prices in the semi-rural districts. Hornig laments the disappearance of old certainties and of clear distinctions in urban and rural living, reflected in his sharp critique of 'Neuwien' with its pretensions to outward sophistication.

In the first stanza, Hornig draws the listener in through the use of the first-person plural pronoun in narrating his own experiences of the city. Once again, the emphasis on beautification of the city's façades, and the tendency of urban planners to homogenise their designs – 's wird All's verschönert ob dort oder hier' – is taken up by Hornig in a similar manner to Bäuerle and Wiesberg in their description of newly regulated spaces. The northern suburb of Sievering, located on the slopes of the *Wienerwald*, was one of several middle-class *Vororte* that witnessed an economic surge in the 1890s and early 1900s due to a widening tram network and a growing interest from middle-

⁴⁴⁵ Susanne Schedtler (ed.), *Wienerlied und Weana Tanz*, Beiträge zur Wiener Musik 1 (Vienna, 2004), 24.

class professionals wishing to commute to the Inner City.⁴⁴⁶ The poet's exclamation that a single lunch at an established tavern in Sievering can now be equated to a meal at the famous Sacher's restaurant offers a critique of the new economic situation that city residents found themselves facing after the fall of the *Linienwall* and the abolition of the toll payment.

'Ländlich' versus 'Städtisch', 'Alt-wien' versus 'Neu-wien': these divisions become even more pronounced in the second verse with its image of new wealth threatening to gentrify, and presumably overrun, the more down-to-earth character of Vienna's peripheral scene. 'Dafür trifft man üb'rall / Jetzt Neu-wien an' could easily refer to the accelerated urbanisation of the *Vororte* – the grid-like street patterns and clean façades of apartment blocks – as much as to the incongruous image of a winegrower and his son in tailcoats – 'Der Hauer sammt Sohn, / in ein Frack umanand'. A touch of satire in the following lines, 'Will Ana a G'selcht's / A paar Würsteln blos nur / So leg'ns am jetzt drausst schon / A Speisezettel vor', highlights the absurdity of a fine dining experience being thrust upon a customer who only desires a few sausages for lunch.

Hornig focuses his attention on the everyday activities of the city's residents to demonstrate the personal financial burden of rising living costs; the effects of equalising the tax rates between the inner and outer suburbs; and the resulting image of the expanding capital flattening out local differences between districts and microcosms of rural culture still clinging to the edge of the city's boundaries. Despite the overriding tone of business and economics – 'kost dort a Mittagmahl beinah a Klans Haus' and 'Bei so Ana Zech fangt / Das Blut an zum wall'n' – the song's narrator strikes a sentimental note in his longing for a time before less aggressive forms of capitalist enterprise began devouring different ways of living. This streak of sentimentality is, once again, expressed most potently in Schild's musical setting (Ex. 3.3, p. 181). The similarity to Wiesberg's melodic style, in its straightforward, mostly stepwise motion, contrasts sharply with the more pressing issues being communicated in the lyrics. One moment of satirical colouring, however, comes in the chromatic passing note at the beginning of the phrase 'but city dwellers have to pay!' ('aber städtisch muss ma

⁴⁴⁶ Paolo Capuzzo, 'The defeat of planning: the transport system and urban pattern in Vienna (1865-1914)', *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1998), 32.

zahlen!'). This brief highlighting of the economic issue highlighted in the final phrase is delivered with a hint of wry recognition for the tavern audiences who would have been keenly aware of the playful nature of such a musical setting. The irony is that those lyricists who pined for a more agrarian lifestyle did so from a cosmopolitan platform which gave much of the initial impetus to the strongly urban dimension of late-nineteenth-century *Wienerlied* texts. Writers often walked a fine line between harmless nostalgia and a somewhat cynical manipulation of newer urban forms of journalistic dissemination, making extensive use of the city's professional networks and its advantageous economic position, while lamenting the receding semi-rural identity of Vienna's *Vororte*. The accelerating urbanisation of the outer districts, as a process to oppose and gently mock, provided an opportunity to comment on what was topical and controversial for both inner-city residents and those living beyond the *Linienwall*.

The texts by Wiesberg, Lorens, and Hornig that I have examined so far have tempered the more classic sentimental tone seen in earlier dialect songs from the Biedermeier period with different levels of social critique, employing satire to trace the evolution of Vienna's physical form and its effect on the daily lives of residents. By contrast, the last song text in this section focuses on a colourful portrait of suburban tavern culture by Ludwig Gruber and juxtaposes the less familiar topic of military conscription with the vernacular music-making I have already explored in previous chapters. Instead of lamenting the loss of old divisions between city and countryside, or carping over the regulation of green spaces, Gruber's lyrics capture the festivities and mild chaos of a common social event at a single point in time.

Ludwig Gruber, 'Jetzt spielt's ma an Tanz' ('Now play a dance'), 1905

Es is' Assentirung, der Schurl kummt dran
 A kerng'sundes Ban von Groß-Wien.
 Er stellt sich auf d' Maaß' und das Brettel fällt 'rab –
 Und "tauglich" schrein's Alle glei d'rin!
 Zu d' Spleni natürli, das bitt' er sich aus,
 Dass nachher er zugetheilt wird;
 Da lacht der Major und at zu seiner Freud'

Zu d'Edelknab'n ihn engagirt.
 Im Wirtshaus, da warten schon d' Freunderln auf ihn,
 "Heut", schreit er, "wird aufdraht, wann alles is hin!

Jetzt spielt's ma an Tanz, dass' ma all'weil gut geht",
 Schreit er zu der Musi, dö unten schon steht,
 "Do spielt's für an 'Krumpen' a Deutschmasterliad,
 Das is ja das höchste fürs weanrische Gmüt."

A Schuaster, der sich sammt die Frau und dö Buam
 Hat nur von Brampuri ernährt,
 Der hat gar auf anmal an Haupttreffer g'macht,
 Und is ganz Verrückt wia er's hört.
 Er haut glei' sein Bankerl mit'n Papp um dö Erd'
 Und beutelt voll Freuden dö Buam.
 "Macht's feierab'nd", schreit er,
 "schläft's eini in d'Schall'n."
 Zum Heurigen geht's dann in Sturm,
 Dö Buam müssen dudeln, sein Alte sogar,
 Der Schuaster pascht mit und schreit dann wia a Narr:

Jetzt spielt's ma an Tanz, dass' ma all'weil gut geht,
 Jetzt san ma Cav'lier, dann vorbei is' das G'frött –
 Heut bin I' net schmutzi, da braucht's net lang schau'n,
 Heut kann eng mit d'Kranl'n dö Fenster einhau'n."

Wanns endlich für uns anmal abblasen than,
 Mir müssen in Himmel hinein,
 Da spannen dö Engerln dann g'wiss für uns zwa
 Das höchste Fiackerzeug ein.
 Dann fahr'n ma in Himmel hinauf voller Pracht,
 Der Petrus wart, schon an der Thür,
 In aner Hand halt er in Maaskrug voll Wein,
 In der andern a Pitschen mit Bier.
 Der Schmitter empfängt mit an Stehgreif uns g'wiß,
 Wobei der Refrain auf dö Art nachher is:

"Jetzt spielt's uns an Tanz, daß' uns allweil guat geht,
 Strauss, Lanner und Schrammel, das höchste Terzett,
 Jetzt leb'n ma als Urweana alle beinand,
 Jetzt san ma im Himmel, verkauft's unser G'wand."⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Text from Ludwig Gruber, 'Jetzt spielt's ma an Tanz, dass' ma all'weil guat geht!' (Josef Blaha, 1905). Song sheet from the Wiener Volksliedwerk archive.

It's conscription time, it's George's turn,
 a lanky lad from Greater Vienna, [fit as a fiddle]
 He stands on the scales and the board falls down
 and everyone shouts 'passes muster' right away!
 To the Spleni⁴⁴⁸ of course, that's what he requests,
 that he be assigned there afterwards;
 then the Major laughs and is glad to
 see him employed as a member of the Regiment.
 His friends are all waiting for him at the inn,
 'Today', he cried, 'we'll party, as if all is lost!'

Now let's play a dance, so that I'll always be well,
 he shouts along to the music, which is already downstairs,
 "Let's play a regiment's song⁴⁴⁹ for a bread crumb,
 it's a most splendid thing for a Viennese soul.

A shoemaker, together with his wife and boys
 has only lived on potatoes [*Bramburi*],⁴⁵⁰
 all of a sudden he's hit the jackpot,
 and is quite mad when he finds out.
 He knocks his bench over and potato mash flies all over the floor,
 and he shakes the boys with joy.
 "Call it a day", he cries, "slip into your robes."
 Then it's off to the wine tavern in a rush,
 the boys must tootle, even his wife,
 the shoemaker claps along and shouts like a fool:

Now let's play a dance, so that I'll always be well,
 now we're cavaliers, all the trouble will be over -
 today I'm not filthy, you don't need to look long,
 today I can smash open your windows with crowns.

When the bell finally tolls for us,
 we have to go to heaven,
 where the angels will harness for the two of us
 the best Fiaker team.
 Then we'll drive to heaven full of splendour,

⁴⁴⁸ 'Spleni' refers to the 'Hoch- und Deutschmeister' Infantry Regiment, nicknamed 'Hoch und Spleni'. See Johann Sioly's *Wienerlied* 'Die Leni von Hoch und Spleni' – a marching song which provides more historical context regarding the infantry regiment. Eduard Merkt wrote the text to a soldier's song (a *Deutschmeisterlied*) 'I bin a alter Spleni', with the line 'Wo dort der Steffel kirzengrad als Spleni Posten steht' (Vienna: Josef Blaha Verlag).

⁴⁴⁹ 'Deutschmasterliad' – refers to the song of the 'Hoch- und Deutschmeister' regiment (see note above).

⁴⁵⁰ *Bramburi* comes from the Czech word for potatoes (*brambor*). See Robert Sedlacek, *Wörterbuch des Wienerischen* (Haymon Taschebuch, 2011), 41.

Peter is already waiting at the gate,
 in one hand he holds a jug full of wine,
 and in the other a pitcher of beer,
 the grim reaper welcomes us with an impromptu,
 with a refrain like this:

Now let's play a dance, so that we'll always well,
 the best trio, Strauss, Lanner and Schrammel,
 now we all live together as real Viennese,
 now we're in heaven, we'll sell all our robes.

In this song text from 1905, we find Gruber in a light-hearted vein, describing the important position that vernacular music-making in the city's taverns held in the context of military conscription ('Assentirung') and a pub raffle or jackpot for local residents ('an Haupttreffer'). The prevailing tone of the three verses is one of extroversion, joy, and celebration of a rite of passage. Many 'Wiener Typen', or stock characters, are mentioned by Gruber in his nostalgic portrait of the city, including the *Schuaster* (shoemaker) and *Fiaker* (coach driver), as well as real and mythological figures – the *Ban* (lanky lad), *Edelknab'n* (member of the 'Hoch- und Deutschmeister' Regiment), *Petrus*, and *Schmitter* (grim reaper). The heavenly collective of the 'Fiakerzeug' together with the top-notch trio of Strauss, Lanner, and Schrammel hover over this song text as *ur-wienerisch* symbols. This cavalcade of characters echoes the scene in Kupfer's painting from chapter two, *Bei den Schrammeln in Nussdorf*, where the haze of a typical afternoon in a suburban *Heurige* shrouds the viewer's ability to distinguish between mythology and reality. Yet it is in the blurring of boundaries between the two where the refashioning of Vienna's self-image took place during the late nineteenth century, amplified by the cultural outlook of the Christian Social government under Karl Lueger.⁴⁵¹

In addition to the heavy reliance on nostalgia which was carried over from the 'classic *Wienerlied*' to later generations of song composers at the end of the nineteenth century, Gruber's first two verses deal with everyday events in the life of ordinary citizens and the role of societal

⁴⁵¹ The evolution of Viennese 'stereotypes' and the urban imaginary is examined in more detail in my final chapter.

structures and individual luck.⁴⁵² The festive atmosphere of the first verse is brought about by a military conscription event – a necessary rite of passage for many adolescent boys in what was still a highly militarised culture in Austria. As Laurence Cole notes, the heavy focus on the *Gründerzeit* and the *fin-de-siècle* period in scholarly literature on Vienna ‘overlooks almost entirely a key institution which had a massive presence in the city: the army.’⁴⁵³ After the *Ausgleich* of 1867, a new universal three-year conscription period from age seventeen was brought into force; the suitability for military service is represented in Gruber’s line ‘und “tauglich” schrein’s Alle glei’ d’rin.’ Although the prevailing mood in this scene is more frivolous and riotous than might be expected for such an important ritual – ‘Im Wirtshaus, da warten schon d’Freunderln auf ihn, “Heut”, schreit er, “wird aufdraht, wann alles is hin!’ – this event was almost universal in Austrian society from the 1870s onwards and Gruber acknowledges its crucial role in the lives of ordinary, young male citizens. The fleeting reference to the ‘Deutschmeisterliad’ also reveals the urban background to this song text, as highlighted by Cole:

In 1896, Vienna hosted the 200th anniversary celebration of a regiment long associated with the city, the *Deutschmeister*, following which the council promised to erect a monument in its honour. Unveiled in 1906 between the Rudolf barracks and the *Ringstraße*, the monument constituted a major departure in iconographic terms from the military hero statues of the 1850s, 1860s, or 1890s.⁴⁵⁴

The *Deutschmeister* figure became a popular topic in song and literature in the *Gründerzeit* and Lueger years, and was employed by Wiesberg, Lorens, and Johann Sioly as a cultural trope within the developing canon of urban ‘stereotypes’.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Ernst Weber discusses the salient characteristics and position of the ‘klassischen Wienerlieder’ from the early to mid-nineteenth century and examples from the ‘second generation’ of song composers, such as Hornig and Gruber, who were born in the 1860s and 1870s. See Weber, ‘Schöne Liada – Harbe Tanz’ in *Wien. Musikgeschichte*, eds. Fritz and Kretschmer (2006), 216-232, 294-305.

⁴⁵³ Laurence Cole, *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 50.

⁴⁵⁴ Cole, *ibid.*, 105.

⁴⁵⁵ Iris Mochar, ‘Beim Entschwinden im Gesang Gefeierte: Die Popularisierung von Wiener Typen im Wienerlied und Wiener Schlager des 20. Jahrhunderts.’, in *Wiener Typen: Klischees und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Wolfgang Kos (Vienna Museum und Brandstätter Verlag, 2013), 238.

The highly specific, local setting of Gruber's event may appear divorced from the high politics and narratives of strategy common to accounts of military history, but the atmosphere portrayed in the song text indicates the more visible role that military life played under Franz Joseph's neo-absolutist rule, due in large part to the three-year compulsory conscription period. In his recent study on military culture in late Habsburg Austria, Cole draws attention to the displacement of the military presence in Vienna after the demolition of the old fortifications and construction of the Ringstrasse. Emperor Franz Joseph's investment in infrastructure during the 1850s and 1860s resulted in an extensive barracks being built several miles south of central Vienna: this new 'Arsenal' was an alternative centre of activity for military personnel – almost a town in itself – and 'assumed a central place in the public memorialisation of the Habsburg Army, becoming home in 1891 to the Army History Museum (*Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*).'⁴⁵⁶ Despite the increased emphasis on civic infrastructure around the Ringstrasse in the last third of the nineteenth century, military culture did not retreat into the background, but shifted its geographical position and role in Austro-Hungarian society. If the army's physical presence in the Inner City was reduced to symbolic positions at court, no longer needing to protect the aristocracy from foreign invaders across the open tract of land in front of the old fortifications, its new barracks assumed a strategic position roughly halfway between the rural boundaries of the city and the Ringstrasse. As the new barracks were placed close to the railway stations recently built in the *Vorstädte*, they became further embedded into the social fabric of the city. Cole notes that aside from the expansion of the army following the conscription law, this displacement towards the outer districts was partly a result of

a 'transaction' agreement in 1891 following the incorporation into the city of the outer districts beyond the old outer defence line (Linienwall). Under this agreement, military 'enclaves' were transferred from inner urban areas to the suburbs so as to facilitate economic, social, and infrastructural improvements.⁴⁵⁷

The army's physical dispersal across the expanding city presents a stark contrast to the pre-1859 portrait of a strict division between historical centre and *Vorstädte*, as can be seen in the earlier

⁴⁵⁶ Cole, *ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

map from 1856 presented in chapter two. In one sense, the spatialisation of military enclaves across the wider metropolitan area in the late nineteenth century was part of a broader trend of urban development which witnessed not only the construction of the Ringstrasse, upon former land that was designed for military encampment and defence, but also the razing of the outer city wall which had significant socio-economic repercussions.

The journey I have undertaken in this section on boundary changes and life beyond the *Linienwall*, tracing Vienna's spatial transformation through time, has focused on the significant social and topographical developments over a thirty-year period. This is reflected in the range of themes covered by lyricists, such as the reminiscences of the Prater and its regulation; the sardonic complaints about the increasing costs of weekend retreats to the *Vororte*; and ending with the common experience of military conscription and its accompanying social rituals. The ability of lyricists to respond to Vienna's altered appearance in a journalistic manner also offers a perspective of the city that prioritises the shifting identities and attitudes of the residents themselves. Furthermore, this demonstrates the crucial need to explore either side of the *Linienwall* in order to trace the evolution of these popular songs and their relationship with the idea of 'Greater Vienna'.

3.3 – Technology and Urban Modernity

The *Wienerlieder* I have already examined deal with identifiable landmarks and places of entertainment that contributed to the development of Vienna's self-image at the end of the nineteenth century and performed an important role in the growing tourist industry. If the first collection of song texts displays commonalities with my assessment of Schrammel culture in the *Vororte*, particularly in the musical and literary reactions to the creation of 'Gross-Wien', the following section focuses on the technological and material phenomena of the young metropolis and the effects that modern forms of transport and municipal development plans had on an individual's

negotiation of the public sphere. The three texts I have chosen, composed by Carl Fiala and Josef Hornig, represent a small sample of the themes covered by lyricists and composers in the *fin-de-siècle* period.⁴⁵⁸ Of the numerous topics not mentioned in this chapter, Pressler and Hois have revealed that logistical issues such as the municipal gasworks developed by Lueger; the inconsistent lighting of Vienna's streets; the introduction of new water pipelines; and the development of telephones and telegram services are just a few of the subjects clothed in satirical garb by Wiesberg, Lorens, and many others.⁴⁵⁹ The tone and content of the lyrics offered below provide, instead, a retrospective glance at the theme of sound and modernity covered in chapter one, together with a forward look to the writings of Georg Simmel that I examine in my final chapter.⁴⁶⁰ In the material by Fiala, I focus on the acoustic signals of urban technology and the rhythms of the metropolis – phenomena and concepts that are elaborated upon by Simmel through the notion of shifting subjectivities. Finally, a single, brief stanza by Hornig shines a light on poverty and homelessness in the city and the social gulf that existed between the glistening façades of the Ringstrasse zone and the uncomfortable reality of life in Vienna's many tenement blocks.

Carl Fiala, 'Es ist erreicht!' ('It is achieved!')

Elekterische Strassenbahn,
 Automobil und Rad,
 Das sind die Mitteln zum Verkehr,
 Die heutzutag' man hat.
 Doch wer tam, tam, kling, kling, töff, töff
 Net hört, der is verlör'n
 Für den wär's wirkli besser g'west,
 Er wär gar net gebor'n.
 Und wer net g'stoss'n, g'rädert wird,
 Den streift a Draht vielleicht,

⁴⁵⁸ For a comprehensive coverage of urban themes in song, see Pressler, 'Aus Wiener Lieddrucken der Jahrhundertwende' (1999).

⁴⁵⁹ Pressler, *ibid.*, 255-262; Hois, 'Wienerliedtexte der Jahrhundertwende als Spiegel sozio-ökonomischer, technischer und politischer Entwicklungen', 19-23.

⁴⁶⁰ Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Free Press, 1950), reprinted in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), *Simmel on Culture* (Sage, 1997), 174-185.

Der purzelt hin und is maustodt,
Hurrah! "Es ist erreicht!"⁴⁶¹

Electric tram,
automobile and bicycle,
these are the means of transport
which you have nowadays.
But whoever cannot hear
'bang, bang, cling, cling, puff, puff' is lost,
for him it would really be better
if he hadn't been born at all.
And who isn't knocked down or whacked,
might get hit by a wire,
he'll fall and be as dead as a doornail,
Hurrah! "It is achieved!"

Carl Fiala's 'Es ist erreicht!' is one of the many song texts written at the end of the nineteenth century which deal with the rapid rise of new transportation technology in a young metropolis. Compared to European capitals such as London and Paris, Vienna's public transport network was still in its infancy in the 1890s and was lagging behind other major cities even several years after the demolition of the *Linienwall*. A limited number of tram lines existed within the *Vorstädte* in order to accommodate the burgeoning working-class population, and this network thinned out dramatically once one stepped beyond the outer boundary line.⁴⁶² As a reflection of technological advancements at the turn of the century, 'Es ist erreicht!' neatly encapsulates a brave new world for the city's residents in sonically enhanced and mildly humorous terms. The visual and aural disorientation experienced by the hapless character in Fiala's text would not have been out of place in one of Felix Salten's commentaries on Vienna – a figure struggling to come to terms with his new surroundings and the rapid transformation of a typical street scene around 1900.⁴⁶³ The opening four

⁴⁶¹ Lyrics taken from Carl A. Fiala (text), J. F. Wagner (music), 'Es ist erreicht!' (Josef Eberle, undated).

⁴⁶² See Capuzzo (1998).

⁴⁶³ I refer specifically to the colourful set of essays gathered in Felix Salten, *Das österreichische Antlitz: Essays* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1910). These include extracts from his portrait of the *Wurstelprater*, as well as vignettes describing his wanderings through the suburbs – 'Spaziergang in der Vorstadt', and nighttime activities – 'Nachtvergnügen'.

lines set out the new hierarchy of public transport in the first decade of the twentieth century, reflecting the fact that the 1890s witnessed an intensely fuelled competition between different forms of technology, namely, steam, petrol, and electricity.⁴⁶⁴

The title, 'Es ist erreicht!', hints at both the accomplishment of such technological innovation and its deployment on Vienna's streets, as well as the individual's daily challenge in negotiating this new, complex reality. The 'Elekterische Strassenbahn' takes pride of place at the beginning of the song text, referencing the decision by Mayor Karl Lueger to electrify the tram system in January 1897. The increase in noise produced by the trams on the Ringstrasse had a major impact on the daily commutes of workers from the suburbs, particularly those coming from the less developed *Vororte* where the tram network had only just begun to make headway thanks to the efforts of Wiener Linien.⁴⁶⁵ Most strikingly, it is the central portion of Fiala's text which points towards new forms of listening in the metropolis – 'Doch wer...net hört, der is verlor'n.' Within the artistic form and expressive potential of popular song, these central lines evoke the fragmented existence of individuals amid the rising decibel levels of urban life, described by Simmel in his 1903 essay, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', as 'the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions'.⁴⁶⁶ The lyricist's lines also offer a creative, if partial, answer to Peter Payer's question (offered in chapter one) – 'How can we imagine the intensity of the background noise of that time?'⁴⁶⁷ Despite the sardonic humour on display in the following lines – 'Für den wär's wirkli besser g'west, / Er wär gar net gebor'n' – Fiala points towards the sense of desperation experienced by this first generation of commuters on Vienna's transport networks and an awareness of increasing anonymity in their identity as urban citizens.

The focus on mass movement in restricted spaces – 'wer net g'stoss'n, g'rädert wird' – and the constant danger of such new technology – 'der purzelt hin und is maustodt' – paints a striking

⁴⁶⁴ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Harvard University Press, 1983), 113.

⁴⁶⁵ See Hans Peter Pawlik and Josef Otto Slezak, *Ring-Rund. Das Jahrhundert der elektrischen Straßenbahn in Wien* (Vienna, 1999).

⁴⁶⁶ Simmel (1903), *ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁶⁷ Peter Payer, *Unterwegs in Wien. Kulturhistorische Streifzüge* (Czernin Verlag, 2013), 25.

portrait of an urban individual being forced to develop ever more elaborate forms of defence against the visual and aural disorientation in Vienna. The ‘sharp discontinuity’ and ‘onrushing impressions’ of modern city life present in Simmel’s essay are represented in Fiala’s text by the onomatopoeic expressions ‘tam, tam, kling, kling, töff, töff’, symbolising the acoustic signals of the conductor’s whistle and the rhythms of the tram’s engine as it judders along. Fiala’s choice of language in separating out the individual sounds on Vienna’s tram network draws attention to the city’s increasingly complex acoustic environment. The satirical framing and inclusion of everyday occurrences in the song text reveal the pressures underneath the whirling street activity and the frenetic nature of Vienna’s new cosmopolitan identity.

Josef Hornig, ‘s Anzige was uns d’erhalt!’ (‘The only thing that keeps us alive’)

Wohin ma kommt und wo ma schaut
 than d’Leut nur lamentirn,
 a Jeder sagt’s ganz offen h’raus:
 “s is not zum existirn!”
 Und stell’n s’ das alte Wien am Kopf.
 Was lasst si denn da thuan?
 Es wird weg’n den nöt anderst werd’n,
 Wann mir darüber murr’n.
 Der Fortschritt is a wilder G’sell,
 Der kennt durchaus ka Gnad’,
 Das d’Wien [= der stinkende Wienfluß] ihm nöt zum Opfer fällt,
 No das is wirklich schad!

Die Linawall werd’n wegrasirt,
 Die Mauthen ham’s verlegt,
 A Hochbahn kummt, das wird a Leb’n,
 Wir ham schon das Projekt.
 Wohin ma schaur’ wird’s Arbeit geb’n,
 Viel Geld kommt unter d’Leut,
 Mill’onen Gulden werd’n roullir’n,
 Das wird hernach a Freud!
 Die gold’ne Zeit, die ruckt heran,
 Nur fragt si’ Jeder: “Aber wann?”⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁸ Lyrics from Josef Hornig (text), Th. F. Schild (music), ‘s Anzige was uns d’erhalt!’ (Gustav Lewy, undated).

Wherever we go and wherever we look
 people only complain,
 everyone says it quite openly:
 'it is unbearable!'
 And they turn old Vienna upside down.
 What can be done?
 It will not be different for this reason,
 when we grumble about it.
 Progress is a wild bachelor,
 who knows absolutely no mercy,
 that the Wien River will not fall victim to it,
 ach, that's a real pity!

The outer walls will be razed to the ground,
 the tolls have been moved,
 an elevated railway is coming, that'll liven things up,
 wherever we look, there'll be work,
 Millions of florins will be in circulation,
 It'll be a joy when it's over!
 The golden era is approaching
 only everyone wonders: 'but when?'

The main themes that run through Josef Hornig's "s Anzige was uns d'erhalt!" overlap briefly with my previous section with regards to the appearance of the *Linienwall* and the commentary on the disappearing toll charges. Yet the general message that Hornig conveys to the reader and listener is one that concerns the idea of 'progress' in the context of Vienna's expansion in the 1890s. The lyricist draws on familiar elements of Viennese living: the culture of grumbling and carping, and the aroma of the Wien River. The line 'Der Fortschritt is a wilder G'sell' becomes an insidious process that advances across Vienna's *Vororte* with scant regard for local topographical or sociological realities – a wild bachelor 'who knows absolutely no mercy.' The first stanza ends with pointed satire when the writer observes that the Wien River will 'not fall victim' to technological progress, as though the distinctive aroma is an essential part of what gives local residents another good reason for a daily round of complaint.

This disappearance of familiar landmarks and old certainties from the street, and from the public sphere in general, was part of a larger nineteenth-century trend that reflected the inevitable encroachment of modernity and regulation of the urban environment. As Andreas Huyssen summarises:

The price paid for progress was the destruction of past ways of living and being in the world. There was no liberation without active destruction. And the destruction of the past brought forgetting. From the beginning, modernity was Janus-faced in its negotiations of cultural memory.⁴⁶⁹

The ‘Janus-faced’ nature of progress was expressed, in Viennese terms, by the desire for both a freeze in time, evoked through literary reminiscence and the plastic arts, and a compelling lurch towards the future, reflected in Hornig’s breathless cataloguing of impressive projects that were said to be on the horizon – or the ironic appeal to a ‘Golden Age’ which has only ever existed in the imaginations of the local population. The aesthetic homogenisation of the city’s streets, tenement blocks, and the prioritisation of modern transport had unintended consequences for those residents who valued older, less regulated, or even beautified, forms of architectural expression, or found meaning in the eccentric features of Vienna’s urban fabric. Although Hornig couches the notion of insidious ‘progress’ in satirical terms, he does so with an eye, and indeed a nose, for the mundane elements of everyday life – characteristics that provided fertile ground for song lyricists in general. The social critique within Hornig’s “s Anzige was uns d’erhalt!” draws its effectiveness from the idealistic plans of urban designers whose dreams of a metropolitan future, or a Golden Age, for Vienna would inevitably be complicated by the social and economic realities of appeasing the city’s fractious, multicultural population.

I end this section by presenting a single stanza from a song text that deals with the uncomfortable side of daily life in Vienna and the effects of urban modernity that were felt more acutely by the city’s working-class population, which increased rapidly from the late 1880s through to 1910.

⁴⁶⁹ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2003), 2.

Josef Hornig, extract from 'Was mir alles hab'n' ('What a lot of things we have')

Mir hab'n Parkanlagen, Prachtpalais,
Hab'n am Ring a herrliche Allee.
Moderne Zinskasernen ein dazua
Aber Obdachlose habn ma gnua.⁴⁷⁰

We have parks, palaces,
a magnificent avenue on the Ring.
modern tenements as well,
but enough homeless to contend with.

In 'Was mir alles hab'n', Hornig continues his succinct observations of Vienna's urban form with its many glittering historicist façades that present a homogenised architectural aesthetic, replicated from the Ringstrasse towards the suburbs. At the same time, the social gradient that lay behind these outer walls declined sharply as one travelled outward to the periphery, and this was partly explained by the distinctive economic and social organisation of the city.⁴⁷¹ While Hornig's narrator in the previous song was joyfully anticipating the new 'golden era' in which 'millions of florins' would be invested in new technologies and grand transport projects, which never quite materialised, the single stanza presented above provides a sharper mode of social critique. The theme of inequality is revealed by juxtaposing the wealth of the Ringstrasse with the suburban poverty encountered around the numerous tenement blocks that were situated close to the factory quarters in Simmering and Favoriten.⁴⁷² By placing the 'magnificent palaces' alongside the *Zinskasernen* (tenements), as well as the growing homeless population that found shelter underneath the arches of the old *Linienwall* and in the hidden corners of working-class districts, Hornig provides a poetic counterpart

⁴⁷⁰ Song text from Josef Hornig, 'Was mir alles hab'n!' (Josef Blaha, undated). Source: Wiener Volksliedwerk archive.

⁴⁷¹ Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna, Bridge Between Cultures* (Belhaven Press, 1993), 62.

⁴⁷² See Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Berghahn, 2008), 50-53.

to the social reportage found in the writings of Max Winter and Ivan Cankar, examined briefly in my first chapter.⁴⁷³

According to Heidi Hakkarainen, there was a particular dearth of novelists in Vienna during this period who were able to 'raise social consciousness' by portraying the poverty-stricken enclaves of society that the more refined classes often ignored and marginalised.⁴⁷⁴ This gap in the literary world was filled by the naturalistic essays of Winter and Cankar, and enriched further by song lyricists such as Hornig, Lorens, and Wiesberg, whose own humble experiences as folk singers and suburban dwellers enabled them to offer first-hand accounts of more complex urban realities. The single stanza I have chosen from Hornig's 'Was mir alles hab'n' expresses the double-edged nature of modern progress in a young metropolis, summarised almost aphoristically in four lines that place the two faces of Viennese society into relief, expressed through a deft mixture of mild surprise and disdain.

3.4 – Language and Culture

Tavern culture in late-nineteenth-century Vienna played a significant role in the social life of the city's residents. It not only provided a cosy resting place for tired workers and local artisans, but also offered a range of musical entertainments on a daily basis and a social mixing which dissolved class boundaries and sometimes ethnic groupings, albeit temporarily. Such a convivial portrait of leisure time was a common theme for *Wienerlied* lyricists towards the end of the century, and the gradual shift away from smaller, local *Heurigen* towards more commercialised establishments in Hernals and

⁴⁷³ A parallel can be drawn here between Hornig's song text and Ivan Cankar's literary sketch, *Vor dem Ziel*, in which the suburban protagonist, Jereb, walks a tightrope between his fantasies of a glamorous middle-class existence and the misery of his actual life. See the section 'A Sensorium of Suburban Poverty' in Chapter 1 for details.

⁴⁷⁴ Heidi Hakkarainen, *Comical Modernity. Popular Humour and the Transformation of Urban Space in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Berghahn, 2019), 221.

Ottakring offered writers an additional layer of cultural commentary from which to extract increasingly humorous narratives.⁴⁷⁵

Ludwig Gruber, 'Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua' ('That's the way it goes on Earth')

Wann d'Tagesarbeit is' vorbei
 Geht man in's Wirtshaus h'nein
 Da sieht man wie an jedem Tisch
 A Gast sitzt ganz allein.
 Da sitzt a Bohm, - da a Krowat,
 A Ungar hint im Eck, -
 A Weana er lahnt an der Schank
 und traut sich net vom Fleck.
 Und kummens' endlich in's Gespräch
 Gibr's glei' an Sprachenstreit,
 Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua,
 Das heissens' Gemütlichkeit!

S' wird ein Gemälde ausgestellt
 Von einem grossen Wert
 Natürlich läuft das Publikum
 Gleich hin wie es das hört.
 Doch wird man aus dem Bild net klug
 Und niemand weiss gewiss
 Was eigentlich das vorstell'n soll
 Nur dass a Kunstwerk is'
 Der sagt: "A Fee is's!" - Der: "A Affa!"
 Der dritte: "A Kanone"
 Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua,
 Das heissen's Secession!⁴⁷⁶

When the day's work is over
 you go into the pub,
 there you see how at every table
 a guest sits all alone.
 There sits a Bohemian, there a Croat,
 a Hungarian behind in the corner, -
 a Viennese leans against the bar

⁴⁷⁵ See Pressler (1999), *ibid.*, 273-276.

⁴⁷⁶ Lyrics taken from Ludwig Gruber, 'Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua!' (Josef Blaha, undated). Source: Wiener Volksliedwerk archive.

and does not dare to leave the spot.
 And when they finally start to talk,
 there's a language quarrel right away,
 see, that's the way it goes on earth,
 that's what they call "Gemütlichkeit!"

A painting of great value
 is being exhibited,
 of course the audience runs
 as soon as they hear of it.
 But one does not know from the picture
 and no one knows for sure
 what it's supposed to represent,
 only that it's a work of art.
 One says, "It's a fairy!" - This one: "A monkey!"
 The third: "A cannon"
 See, that's the way it goes on earth,
 That's what they call the Secession!

As one of the leading song lyricists of the 'second generation', Gruber was very well placed to observe the transformation of the city around 1900 and its implications for Viennese society. In his song 'Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua', the lyricist presents the audience with two contrasting scenes which at first sight could not be further removed from each other. The first stanza finds us in the midst of a typical cosy tavern scene, one of many spread out among the suburbs both within and beyond the *Linienwall*. Here the focus of the lyrics is on the multicultural make-up of the pub's clientele: guests drawn from the major constituent parts of the empire are gathered in the same room to enjoy the relaxed atmosphere of the establishment. The comical portrait Gruber paints, however, reveals an absurd element in the visual setup – 'Da sitzt a Bohm, – da a Krowat / A Ungar hint im Eck, – / A Weana lahnt an der Schank / und traut sich net vom Fleck.' Are we to believe that each table is occupied by one 'nationality' sitting all alone? It seems so. Like a contemporaneous political map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire folded out across this particular tavern, the sole Viennese figure remains above the fray, literally standing up 'an der Schank', presumably in a state of mild inebriation. The culmination of this pub scene centres on a language dispute which erupts as soon as the various guests attempt to communicate with each other. Despite the widespread use of

Viennese German, which held common currency among migrant communities in the suburbs, the multi-lingual character of the city was one of its most defining features (Czech-inflected *Wienerisch* in the working-class district of Favoriten being one example).⁴⁷⁷ This linguistic tension resulted in the 1897 crisis, specifically in reference to Prime Minister Count Badeni's language ordinances, which became one of the most notorious and disruptive periods in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Badeni's attempt to raise Czech to the same status as German for civil servants caused over two years of political turmoil for Vienna's government and represented the beginning of the protracted malaise which afflicted the end of empire. After Prime Minister Taaffe's resignation in 1893, an attempt at a grand political coalition by Prince Windischgraetz quickly collapsed after the refusal of the United German Left party to acknowledge Slovenian 'as a language of secondary education'.⁴⁷⁸ Members of the party saw it as an imminent threat to the linguistic dominance of German within the Austrian education system.

The second stanza shifts the reader's attention towards a more rarefied setting, or so it appears at first. A Secessionist art exhibition is underway and the desperation of the audience to devour the latest offerings is clear – 'Natürlich läuft das Publikum / Gleich hin wie es das hört'. The excitement and anticipation of such an event, however, is soon brought back down to earth by the actual images in front of the observers: 'niemand weiss gewiss / was eigentlich das vorstell'n soll'. The crisis of representation here – 'a fairy...a monkey...a canon' – acts as a surreal mirror image of the linguistic confusion in the first verse, reflecting the lack of a common framework for communicating ideas and the sharp challenge to the audience's aesthetic predilections. Is the stock Viennese character earlier in the song a blurred mixture of reality and myth perhaps? Gruber's refrain, 'Seg'ns so geht's auf der Erden zua / das heissen's Gemütlichkeit...das heissen's Secession', brings these disparate worlds into focus. The political realities of language disputes and

⁴⁷⁷ See the discussion of *Wienerisch* in Nicholas T. Parsons, *Vienna: A Cultural and Literary History* (Signal Books, 2008); and the interview on definitions of Viennese dialect in Robert Sedlacek, *Wörterbuch des Wienerischen* (Haymon Taschebuch, 2011) 5-10.

⁴⁷⁸ Philip Pajakowski, 'The Polish Club, Badeni, and the Austrian Parliamentary Crisis of 1897', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. 35, No. 1/2 (March-June 1993), 103-120.

representation, especially when set against the increasing support for Pan-German nationalist leader and virulent anti-Slavic campaigner Georg Schönerer after 1897,⁴⁷⁹ are viewed against the backdrop of a fragmenting sense of individual and collective identity, pointing towards the underlying theme of shifting urban subjectivities that is refracted through different modes of satire and critique.

As one of the pre-eminent song lyricists and composers of his generation, and an exact contemporary of Schoenberg and Richard Strauss, Gruber's output spanned an extensive period of Vienna's history in which multiple transformations in urban development, politics, and culture created a particularly rich and varied wellspring of raw material. Among his one thousand or so songs, 'Opfer der Kultur' stands out as a sharp, witty critique of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna in its many guises, not least due to Gruber's ability to satirise the pressing themes described in his lyrics through a musical style distinctly at odds with the tone of the words.

Ludwig Gruber, 'Opfer der Kultur' ('Victim of Culture')

Ersetzt sind tausende von Menschen,
 "Elektrisch" heißt die neue Kraft,
 die nun vereint mit Dampfmaschinen
 selbsttätig jede Arbeit schafft.
 Erspart ist jeder Fleiß der Hände,
 der Arbeiter fast zwecklos nur,
 er läuft herum mit'n leeren Magen,
 als armes Opfer der Kultur!

Die Jüngste Tochter lernt Salome,
 Der Sohn tagsüber komponiert,
 Die Frau Mama spricht Volapük nur,
 Die ält're Tochter deklamiert.
 Das Kleinste malt sezessionistisch
 Es zeigt das Linnen seine Spur.
 Der Vater kommt zum Schluß am 'Steinhof' –
 Er ist das Opfer der Kultur!⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ Pajakowski, *ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁸⁰ Lyrics taken from Ludwig Gruber, 'Opfer der Kultur' (Josef Blaha, undated).

Thousands of people have been replaced,
 "Electric" is the name of the new power,
 which now combined with steam engines
 does every job autonomously.
 Spared is every diligence of the hands,
 the worker is almost useless,
 he walks around with an empty stomach,
 as a poor victim of culture!

The youngest daughter learns Salome,
 The son composes during the day,
 The Mama speaks Volapük only,
 The eldest daughter declaims.
 The youngest paints in Secessionist style,
 The canvas shows its trace.
 The father ends up at the 'Steinhof' -
 He is the victim of culture!

Text und Musik von L. Gruber.

Moderato.

1. Er - setzt sind tau - sen - de von
 Men - schen, „E - lek - trisch“ heißt die neu - e
 Kraft, die nun ver - eint mit Dampf - ma -
 schi - nen selbst - tä - tig je - de Ar - beit
 schafft. Er - spart ist je - der Fleiß der
 Hün - de, der Ar - bei - ter fast zweck - los
 nur, er läuft her - um mit'n lee - ren
 Ma - gen, als ar - mes Op - fer der Kul - tur!

Ex. 3.3 – Ludwig Gruber, 'Opfer der Kultur', song sheet (Wiener Volksliedwerk)

In just two stanzas of eight lines each, Gruber encompasses the themes of employment and automation; labour and poverty; the liberal bourgeois arts world; the creation and usage of artificial language ('Volapük'); and finally mental breakdown (Steinhof being the psychiatric hospital on the city's periphery). If such a bewildering range of topics might have become unwieldy in less assured hands, Gruber creates a scene which traverses Vienna with a keen eye for embedded social critique. This acute sense of class identity and consciousness, together with the everyday reality for the suburban working classes and the role that aesthetics and 'high art' played in the urban fabric, is revealed in the way Gruber portrays both the personal and impersonal faces of the city. Tying all these themes together is a musical treatment which heightens the sense of self-satisfaction that played an increasingly important role in how Vienna's inhabitants viewed their home city towards the end of the nineteenth century. The expansive melodic contours of each two-bar phrase, very traditional harmonic treatment mostly alternating between tonic and dominant chords (implied in Ex. 3.3 above), and the bright, optimistic atmosphere conveyed entirely in F major all contribute towards another portrait of musical *Gemütlichkeit* which acts as a sonic façade for the much more uncomfortable everyday realities described by the singer.

The first stanza focuses on the specific effects of automation in former manual jobs and the broader structural inequalities that result from increased unemployment, poverty, and lack of purpose in daily life. In contrast to the aural and psychological effects of transport technology on the individual, as seen in Fiala's text, here the 'new power' of electricity and steam writ large across the capital is the main indicator of economic progress: the replacement of the horse and carriage with trams and motor cars, as well as the more modern factories built in the mainly Czech-speaking, working-class district of Favoriten and the Schmelz – a formerly disused tract of land near Ottakring.⁴⁸¹ With the exponential increase in migration to Vienna from across Austria-Hungary in the 1890s and 1900s, there was acute pressure on city authorities to find enough housing and work for the ballooning population. Gruber provides a stark reminder of the increasing poverty in the lines

⁴⁸¹ See Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Berghahn, 2008)

‘der Arbeiter fast zwecklos nur / er läuft herum mit’n leeren Magen’, resulting from a compressed economic development that arrived comparatively late in a major European capital. Here, Gruber’s heightening of the words ‘empty stomach’ (‘leeren Magen’) is aided by the harmonic progression alighting onto an implied ii chord before a general pause (helped by the natural harmonic rhythm that would result from a syllabic setting of the last two lines). Although it is merely a single moment, this musical satirising of a major social concern of the day offers a glimpse into a world of popular song which reflected a complex mixture of alarming social commentary and self-mythologisation.

The switch from joblessness to a domestic scene of music-making and aesthetic nourishment appears striking at first, but Gruber’s new focus in the second stanza highlights the gulf between different strata of Viennese society. Although recognisable terms such as ‘Salome’ and ‘Secessionist’ are used, the poet’s sense of parody is indicated by the hermetically sealed representations of ‘high’ culture by each individual, together with a lack of communication in the family unit and the final progression towards mental breakdown. Gruber’s reference to ‘Volapük’ may in part be a way to emphasise the decadence of bourgeois values, particularly the excess of leisure time and the ability to sample culture at whim like an extravagant buffet. Volapük was a constructed language created in 1879 to 1880 by Johann Martin Schleyer, a priest from Baden, Germany.⁴⁸² Whether Gruber was referring to the third and final Volapük convention which took place in Paris in 1889, and at which only Volapük was spoken in contrast to German for the previous two conventions, remains an open question. However, the satirical nature of the line ‘Die Frau Mama spricht Volapük nur’ indicates a strong possibility.

The lines ‘Das Kleinste malt sezessionistisch / Es zeigt das Linnen seine Spur’ provides a humorous reference to the commodification of high art and its connection with material comfort in domesticated spaces, as well as placing the rise of social and cultural concerns into relief against the demise of a working-class or lower middle-class family’s economic power as new technologies provide further automation, ultimately making the factory worker redundant. Finally, although

⁴⁸² Andrew Drummond, *Handbook of Volapük* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2006).

Gruber does not directly link the father figure back to the worker who ‘walks around with an empty stomach’, it is striking that the ‘poor victim of culture’ is caught between the economic woes illustrated in the first stanza and the artistic decadence and absurdity of the second. If Viennese song at the end of nineteenth century provided a distinctive platform for channelling a rich variety of literary satire and social critique, coloured by sardonic humour and musical sentimentalism, then Gruber reveals a sharper strain of journalistic observation, symbolised by the fractured identity of his hapless ‘victim’ gradually unravelling at the thought of confronting his new reality.

If my exploration of *Wienerlied* texts exudes a rather more earthbound quality in its analysis of localised urban phenomena, suburban tavern culture, and the grumblings of residents – ‘the *Raunzer* and *Nörgler* ingesting beer and sausages at street-corner stands’ –, it does so in order to raise the profile of both demotic speech and vernacular song culture within the wider musical landscape of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.⁴⁸³ As observed by Steven Beller, Leon Botstein, and others, the high art songs of *Die Wiener Moderne*, while occupying an important place within liberal bourgeois culture, did not necessarily perform a significant role in the city as a whole.⁴⁸⁴ A closer examination of Viennese dialect song, on the other hand, offers an alternative forum in which the journalistic aspect of the lyrics is refracted through a more linguistically visceral mode of satirical critique. The popularity of *Wienerlieder* with socially diverse audiences resided to a large extent in the lyricists’ ‘ability to provide texts...that connected to the social and aesthetic expectations of the moment in which they came into existence.’⁴⁸⁵ This reflexive form of poetic and musical creation enabled writers and

⁴⁸³ Nicholas T. Parsons (2008), 66.

⁴⁸⁴ Steven Beller, ‘The Influence of Jewish Immigration on the Modern Culture of Vienna 1900’, in *Migration und Innovation um 1900: Perspektiven auf das Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Böhlau Verlag, 2016) 194; Leon Botstein, ‘Gustav Mahler’s Vienna’, in *The Mahler Companion* ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

⁴⁸⁵ Philip V. Bohlman (ed.), *Central European Folk Music: An Annotated Bibliography of Sources in German* (Routledge, 1996), 29.

composers to respond to the most pressing themes of the day by tracing the complex shifts in urban identity in a manner not dissimilar to the highly localised references in *feuilleton* columns.⁴⁸⁶ If, as Parsons maintains, ‘the patrimony of the *Wienerlied* is a “psychogram” of the Viennese’, then the texts I have presented in this chapter arguably provide a platform for exploring the inextricable interrelationships of cosmopolitan development and nostalgia for a semi-rural existence; the mixture of professional networks and scenes of amateur music-making in the *Vororte*; and the blurring of boundaries between social reality and Vienna’s self-mythologisation process. By opening up a space for analysing the evolution of dialect song texts across two generations, from the extensive urban changes of the *Gründerzeit* to the expansion of the suburbs in the 1890s, I suggest that this form of musical commentary can offer a distinctive foundation for assessing the formation of new urban subjectivities and for enriching our understanding of these popular songs of city folk.

⁴⁸⁶ The culture of Viennese *feuilleton* columns has been explored extensively, but for more recent examples, see Endre Hárs, ‘Ein Wiener Feuilletonist geht auf Urlaub. Ludwig Hevesis Die Althofleute. Ein Sommerroman (1897)’, *Neohelicon*, Vol. 45 (2018), 17-33; and Peter Payer, ‘Wiener Feuilletonistinnen (1848 bis 1938)’, *Literatur und Kritik*, Vol. 541-542 (2020), 101-110.

CHAPTER 4 | Winding Clocks, Grinding Organs: Temporality and Rhythm in Vienna

Pfiat Gott, du alter Werkelmann,	God be with you, old organ grinder
Dein Zeit, die ist vorbei,	Your time, it is past,
Geh' spiel uns g'schwind zum Abschied	Go swiftly play us a waltz melody
noch a Walzermelodei,	to say farewell,
Un werkel' uns zum letzten Gruss	Give us for your last greeting
A Weanalied ganz keck	a cheeky Viennese song
Pfürst Gott, du alter Werkelmann,	God Bless, you old organ grinder,
Du alter Drahanek. ⁴⁸⁷	You old 'Drahanek'.

Josef Hornig's song text, 'Der letzte Werkelmann' (The Last Organ Grinder), was published shortly after Vienna's municipal government officially adopted Central European Time and expresses the disappearing reality of the organ grinder's existence as it is overtaken by newer, faster, and louder urban technologies. For song lyricists, composers, residents, and the remaining 'Wiener Typen' on the street, the decade before the outbreak of the First World War resembled, to a large extent, the disappearing sands of the hourglass, encapsulated in the nostalgic, sentimental tone of *Wienerlieder*. The various pressures of metropolitan modernity that affected the daily lives of workers and commuters from the outer suburbs were as much temporal in nature as spatial; in Vienna, this was demonstrated in a particularly acute manner through the conjoining of circular energy and linear propulsion symbolised by the modern transportation networks flowing to and from the Ringstrasse. In my first three chapters, I assessed the spatialisation of urban form and its sociological consequences through case studies on major working-class protests and riots, as well as spotlighting the journeys of individuals and groups who travelled beyond Vienna and Austria-Hungary, represented by Josef Schrammel's 'Orientreise'. In one sense, my effort to trace these transnational

⁴⁸⁷ Josef Hornig (text), Ludwig Gruber (music), 'Der letzte Werkelmann' (Josef Blaha, 1912). The reference to 'Drahanek' most likely comes from the reputation of the Drahanek family who were prominent musicians in Vienna alongside Joseph Lanner and were active as players, composers, and ensemble directors from the 1820s to 1870s. See Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (eds.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Vienna, 2006), 55, 166, 171.

mobilities and urban-rural networks brings to mind the expanding and contracting movements of the bellows within the ‘Schrammelharmonika’ itself, and illustrates the quality of social decompression which characterised the role of popular entertainment in the *Vororte*.⁴⁸⁸ By contrast, this final chapter pivots to the temporal dimension by reassessing the Ringstrasse zone and radial streets of Vienna’s suburbs through the prism of clock faces and the cranking motion of the *Werkelmänner*. I focus my attention on the peculiar phenomenon known as the ‘Viennese Clock Misery’ (‘Wiener Uhrenmisere’) alongside the declining fortunes of the organ grinders, whose peripatetic existence disturbed the increasingly calibrated lives of the city’s middle classes.

Although this fixation on circular forms risks an overly deterministic view of the city as a text waiting to be deciphered from above, my inclusion of the Viennese organ grinder points to a messier set of relationships between the more abstract conception of urban rhythms and a material history of objects that considers the impact of technology and legislation on the daily lives of street musicians. This final case study also returns to several key theoretical issues explored in my first chapter, particularly in reference to the class-based discourse on new forms of ‘civilised’ metropolitan identity adopted and vociferously advocated by members of the intellectual class in relation to noise and sound. If the examples offered in chapter one revealed more of the common acoustic features that Vienna shared with other European capitals, rather than reinforcing the notion of the city as a place apart, then the analysis I present here refracts the vernacular through a different, more distinctive, lens – one that connects the idea of ‘civilised sound’ with ‘civilised time’. André Dombrowski has recently drawn attention to the complex and confusing reality that lay behind time synchronisation in late-nineteenth-century France, emphasising the strategies shared by many European countries in their negotiation of ‘temporal formlessness’.⁴⁸⁹ While taking into account that Vienna’s long-running battle with synchronising time in the public sphere was by no means unique in

⁴⁸⁸ See Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Berghahn, 2008), 68-77, particularly the way in which they draw attention to the temporal and spatial compression of mass popular entertainment being ‘subjected to the dictate of industrial time organization’, 70.

⁴⁸⁹ André Dombrowski, ‘Impressionism and the Standardization of Time: Claude Monet at Gare Saint-Lazare,’ *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 102, No. 2 (2020), 110.

the broader context of late-nineteenth-century Europe, I argue that the city's peculiar temporal plurality, exacerbated by technological mishaps which occurred across four decades from the late 1860s to shortly before the First World War, can help to reveal a more distinctive facet of urban life that has remained relatively unexplored.

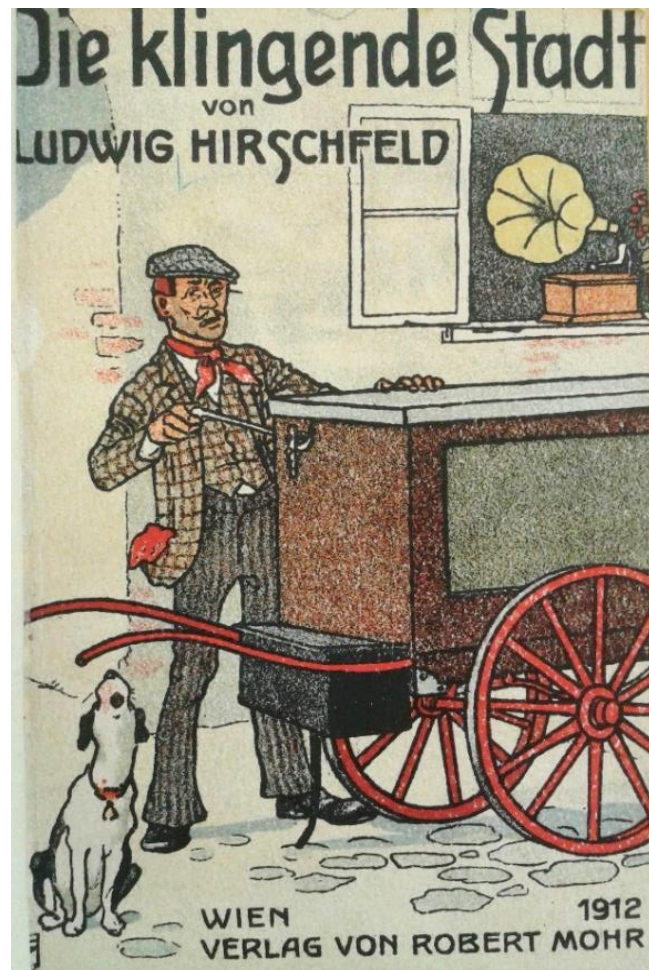


Fig. 4.1 – Front cover of Ludwig Hirschfeld's *Die klingende Stadt* (1912), displaying an illustration of a Viennese *Werkelmann*.

The image above encapsulates the wide-ranging theme of sound in the city, examined in my first chapter, and neatly summarises in visual form the technological progression in mechanical music reproduction. The musical rhythms and melodies of the *Werkelmann*, when heard in the context of Vienna's general acoustic environment, become one 'noise' among a cacophony of other noises, illustrated by the howling dog, the amplification from the cobbled street, and the gramophone

playing from the open window. The sounds of the *Werkelmänner*, however, were the source of never-ending complaints over street noise in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, and so in this chapter I ask what might happen if the musical rhythms and social activities of the organ grinder were made tangible once more and examined through both an acoustic and temporal lens. I contend that it is through a materialist exploration of Vienna's public time displays, the temporal disorder of the city, and the local mobilities of organ grinders where a more productive tension between urban rhythms and street music can be found. In titling this chapter 'Winding Clocks, Grinding Organs', then, I aim to reveal elements of daily life which may have been hidden in plain sight, including a comparative study of changing attitudes to time in late-nineteenth-century Beirut and Vienna. My brief return to a transnational approach, introduced through Josef Schrammel's stopover in the Ottoman port city, reveals that the narratives of temporal modernity and progress projected by neighbouring imperial powers onto one another often cloud our understanding of quotidian reality. While I draw on the invaluable observations of urban experience from Simmel's 'Metropolis and Mental Life', I go beyond his formulation of sensory impressions and individual consciousness to encompass ideas from Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis*.⁴⁹⁰ In particular, I ask how Lefebvre's theory of 'the moment' can provide a useful starting point for understanding the temporal confusions experienced on Vienna's streets, and how the everyday ruptures that arose from the 'Wiener Uhrenmisere' phenomenon open up a space for examining an alternative sense of the vernacular.

⁴⁹⁰ Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Free Press, 1950), reprinted in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), *Simmel on Culture* (Sage, 1997), 174-185; Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (Bloomsbury, 2013).

4.1 – One More Time: Vienna as Village and Metropolis

One of the most important themes that ran through *Wienerlieder* composed during the *Gründerzeit* (Founders Period) and Lueger years was the spatial transformation of the city, especially when dealing with the demolition of the *Linienwall* in 1892 and the subsequent incorporation of the *Vororte* into 'Gross-Wien'. Song titles such as 'Ländlich! Städtisch!' ('Rural!' Urban!') highlighted the vital importance of such boundaries for Viennese citizens and new arrivals from far-flung corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was not only the physical presence of an outer city wall which affected the daily lives of the inhabitants, as well as the resulting differences in taxation and general cost of living, but also the symbolism of a boundary line and a borderland, and the consequences of this for the inner lives of suburban residents. In previous chapters, I discussed the concept of Vienna as a 'village-metropolis' with regard to its particular social ecosystems and the relatively late development of its suburbs. The case studies of Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld demonstrated that their village-like characters were not completely eradicated after the major developments of the early 1890s, but retained distinctive semi-rural elements due to the proximity of the vineyards and the Wienerwald. Historians such as Karl Renner and Wolfgang Maderthaner have stressed the idea of the 'village in the mind', or 'village in the city', for the people who resided there, especially for migrants who brought multiple imagined geographies with them to the periphery of Vienna.⁴⁹¹

If memories of rural patterns of living that were imported into the *Vororte* determined the sociological characteristics of these districts to a large extent, with their rich tavern culture and entertainment scenes that remixed folk and popular styles, one of the major factors in the evolution of these semi-agrarian communities was the pluralistic conception of time. Maderthaner and Musner describe this conception, held by suburban migrant communities, as one 'that was quite different from the urban one, expressing a finite, locally bound, and circular annual rhythm of

⁴⁹¹ Karl Renner, *An der Wende Zweier Zeiten. Lebenserinnerungen* (Vienna, 1946), 187, in Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses* (Berghahn, 2008), 29.

seedtime and harvest as opposed to the infinite and linear time flow of industrial production.’⁴⁹² In contrast to the ‘spatial determinism’ of the Ringstrasse development and Otto Wagner’s regulation plans for the suburbs, which channelled and disrupted multiple ways of inhabiting real and imagined places that lay outside the bounds of homogenised modernist planning, a temporal topography of Vienna during the same period reveals a different story.⁴⁹³ The ‘ordinance of time’ over social cohesion, which Schorske described in his portrait of the Ringstrasse, with its emphasis on transport lines and economic efficiency, became a new battleground, one where the efforts of urban planners and ‘science-based urbanism’ were continually confronted with the tenacity of local time and forms of knowledge that subscribed to different suburban rhythms.⁴⁹⁴

Time Reform and Global Contexts

In the second half of the nineteenth century, time reform in Europe and North America became one of the most pressing issues for the effective running of society. Efforts to standardise time regionally and nationally, which began with the gradual synchronisation of railway timetables, culminated in an international plan for global time zones proposed at the Prime Meridian Conference in October 1884, held in Washington D.C..⁴⁹⁵ Yet the situation by 1900 was still deeply fragmented on multiple levels, with many countries, smaller regions, and even individual cities relying on multiple temporalities to organise daily life. The enormity of the task that faced governments and institutions was complicated by a bewildering variety of local times, especially when juxtaposed with the

⁴⁹² Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁹³ Tanja Winkler, ‘Vienna’s Ringstrasse: A Spatial Manifestation of Sociopolitical Values’, *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2021), 271.

⁴⁹⁴ Winkler, *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ On the extensive literature relating to the history of Greenwich Mean Time, the Washington conference, and temporality in the nineteenth century, see Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago, 1996); Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (London, 1980); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Charles S. Maier, ‘The Politics of Time: Changing Paradigms of Collective Time and Private Time in the Modern Era’, in *Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe*, ed. Maier (Cambridge, 1989), 151–175; and Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: a Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 67–76.

desperate need for standardised railway timetables as further industrialisation resulted in exponential increases in railroad traffic and passenger numbers. Stephen Kern points out that 'in 1870 there were still about 80 different railroad times in the United States alone.'⁴⁹⁶ This situation continued for several decades in Europe as government officials and railway engineers had to come to terms with a new conception of unified, 'public' time. Jürgen Osterhammel notes that 'since 1855 some 98 percent of all public clocks in the United Kingdom had used Greenwich Mean Time', but that 'this became compulsory only in 1880.'⁴⁹⁷ In 1891, the French government passed a law making 'Paris time' the '*heure légale*' for the whole country, 'but the railroads actually ran five minutes behind it in order to give passengers extra time to board: thus the clocks inside railway stations were five minutes ahead of those on the tracks.'⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps the most striking example of how European citizens struggled to adapt to the new abstract formation of time came from the German railway system, where a standardised time for the whole country was introduced in 1892. Despite this, German railway officials' conception of the immutability of 'absolute, natural time' took precedence over the artificially imposed 'standard' time when calculating the new schedules. Vanessa Ogle observes that 'they revealed a remarkable ineptitude at imagining such units of time as hours or zone times as constructed entities that would be grafted onto the duration of a full rotation of the earth.'⁴⁹⁹

In order to make trains run at the same absolute point in time as they had under local sun time, officials adjusted timetables accordingly. Hence, in a location where the new standard time ran eighteen minutes ahead of local sun time, a train that had previously departed at 9 A.M. was now rescheduled to run at 9:18 A.M. Behind such measures was the belief that the course of things would still be determined by "real" time, and that any event, being as intrinsically stable and immovable as it was, would merely receive a new name (9:18 instead of 9:00).⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁶ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: a Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 70.

⁴⁹⁸ Kern, *ibid.*, 13. Despite the 1891 law, the French government did not officially adopt GMT until 1911.

⁴⁹⁹ Vanessa Ogle, 'Whose Time Is It? The Pluralization of Time and the Global Condition, 1870s–1940s', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 118, No. 5 (December 2013), 1382.

⁵⁰⁰ Ogle, *ibid.*

This stubborn adherence to what was called the ‘true’ time by many officials in this period reveals the strength of local knowledge and an overriding concern for maintaining such frameworks within the larger regional structure of unified time, essentially performing an act of temporal compromise. The protracted process of temporal synchronisation across nations and smaller regions can be seen most clearly when comparing the local times in central European cities around 1890.



Fig. 4.2 – M. Herz Global Time Zones Table, 1890 (Vienna Clock Museum)

The notable differences between Austrian cities – Graz being four minutes behind Vienna, Linz eight minutes behind, and Innsbruck nineteen – shows the complex situation within a single nation at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰¹ Even as late as the 1930s and 1940s, unified time was still a slippery concept in many parts of the world, and ‘was largely a fiction in the heads of a few mainly Euro-American railway engineers and scientists.’⁵⁰² Despite the international conference on the new global division of time zones in 1884, and the adoption of *mitteleuropäische Zeit* by the whole of the German Empire in 1893, Austria-Hungary introduced ‘standard time’ during the 1890s in stages and exclusively for railway and telegram traffic.⁵⁰³ As Peter Payer observes, this was complicated even further because ‘railway traffic from west to east was calculated according to Munich, Prague and

⁵⁰¹ For contemporaneous reports on local times in Europe, see Eugen Guglia, *Wien. Ein Führer durch Stadt und Umgebung* (Vienna, 1908).

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 1377.

⁵⁰³ Peter Payer, *Die synchronisierte Stadt. Öffentliche Uhren und Zeitwahrnehmung, Wien 1850 bis heute* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2015), 74. ‘Standard time’ was introduced for railways and post offices in the following order: Kingdom of Hungary in 1890, Kingdom of Bohemia in 1891, Austria in 1893, and finally Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in 1894. See Payer, *ibid.*

Krakow time, while telegraph traffic was only calculated according to Vienna time.⁵⁰⁴ In the same way that individual passengers had to devise their own conversion systems to accommodate the differences between local solar time and railway timetables, businesses and institutions that relied on railway and telegraph communication took advantage of conversion schemes 'that came onto the market to facilitate time orientation.'⁵⁰⁵

A comparison between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary in their differing attitudes towards temporal synchronisation, and employment of science and technology more generally, reveals further disparities in the logistical implementation of time displays within Central Europe. Even before German unification in 1871, early attempts at standardisation could be seen in Prussian efforts to unite distant urban centres: Dohrn-van Rossum reveals that 'as early as 1825 a 'standard clock' (*Normaluhr*) was installed at the main Prussian post office in Berlin, in order to standardize the time between Königsberg (in East Prussia) and Cleves (in the distant Prussian Rhineland).'⁵⁰⁶ Although the lands east of the Rhine shared certain liberal values around the use of science and technology for political consensus, independent thinking, and character building, Prussian attitudes towards technological progress were intimately bound up with extensive industrialisation. This practical mindset contrasted with Austria's more pliable, nuanced approach towards empirical science, where new definitions of rationality were affected by the need 'to discredit at once the absolute claims of religion while justifying their claim to knowledge that transcended a narrowly class- or nation-based perspective.'⁵⁰⁷ The absence of an overarching, singular nation-state, as well as the complex ethnic construction of the empire, may have played a large part in Vienna's

⁵⁰⁴ 'So wurde in Österreich-Ungarn beim Eisenbahnverkehr von Westen nach Osten nach Münchener, Prager und Krakauer Zeit gerechnet, beim Telegrafenvorkehr nur nach Wiener Zeit.' Payer, *ibid.*, 73-74.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Eigene Umrechnungsschemata zur Erleichterung der zeitlichen Orientierung kamen auf den Markt.' *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁰⁶ Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, 'Time', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume I: Peoples and Place*, ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford University Press, 2015), 158.

⁵⁰⁷ Deborah R. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 12. Coen's thesis on the embrace of scepticism in mid- to late-nineteenth-century Austria is key to this argument, particularly around the role of 'probabilistic reasoning' (p. 12), the 'rejection of absolute claims' (p. 13), and the educational philosophy of *Vielseitigkeit*: 'Many-sidedness expressed a liberal vision of a society whose cohesion would emerge from successful communication, not from imposed uniformity.' (24).

reluctance to adopt a unified, 'standard' time across the whole of public life until May 1910. Yet this still does not explain the city's relative backwardness in relation to neighbouring urban centres such as Prague and Budapest, where *mitteleuropäische Zeit* (MEZ) was adopted two years earlier (1891) than Vienna for the railways and post offices. Ian Bartky has suggested that comments from one contemporaneous reporter 'linked Vienna's refusal to the opposition voiced by the director of the Vienna Observatory [Edmund Weiss]', and 'that his opposition to enacting a change was based on time consistency in astronomical and meteorological observations.'⁵⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Vienna's government finally relented in 1893 and joined Prague and Budapest in the MEZ zone.

The issue of temporal synchronisation in Europe from the 1850s to the First World War shifted from the concern of scientists and engineers to a much wider circle of public figures including government officials and legislators. As a result, the task of reorganising time began to display more political overtones, seen most strikingly in France during the 1870s and 1880s, where the dual system of railway timetables and local city times resulted in clock makers and officials carrying 'precision chronometers' on trains throughout the country in order to synchronise the new railway times at each station.⁵⁰⁹ An example of how terminology may have affected a group's perception of temporal and social uniformity is the very concept of Central European Time itself. Although Austria-Hungary adopted the new time in stages through the 1890s, the Viennese government's protracted decision-making process on this issue can be seen in a different light when taking into account the geopolitical tensions between the two largest spheres of influence in the region. On the broader implications behind the new time regime, Ogle points out that the German term *mitteleuropäische Zeit* 'conveys strong geopolitical, imperial, and even racial notions tied to ideas about where Germany was situated and how far it should extend eastward'.⁵¹⁰ Although the majority of Vienna's population spoke German with numerous dialect variations, its multi-ethnic character and position at

⁵⁰⁸ Ian R. Bartky, *One Time Fits All: The Campaigns for Global Uniformity* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 126, 238 n.15. The reports are taken from Louis de Busschère, 'L'unification des heures en Europe', *Bulletin de la commission internationale du congrès des chemins de fer* (1891), 202.

⁵⁰⁹ André Dombrowski, 'Impressionism and the Standardization of Time' (2020), 111.

⁵¹⁰ Ogle, *ibid.*, 1390.

the periphery of the German-speaking lands were crucial factors in its ambivalent stance towards the imposition of temporal uniformity from outside the empire.

Temporality in *fin-de-siècle* Beirut and Vienna

After their travels through the borderlands of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, on 15 September 1870, the young Josef Schrammel and his troupe of folk musicians arrived at the port of Beirut, where they stayed for a fortnight before journeying onwards by steam ship to Alexandria.⁵¹¹ Although Schrammel did not provide any commentary on the sights that greeted him as he came ashore, his stopover in this modest port city, which would become the provincial capital in 1888, occurred at a pivotal moment in Beirut's post-war period. Around 1870, the local population had begun to witness a gradual transformation of urban space as further trade with other Mediterranean port cities contributed to a growing commercial centre. Despite the increasing social and ethnic diversity that resulted from foreign connections, its own merchants still maintained a strong hold over the local economy.⁵¹² Migration from neighbouring regions in the Ottoman Empire started to alter the periphery of the town in ways not dissimilar to the semi-rural slopes of Vienna's western *Vororte*, reflecting general patterns of population morphology and urban transformation across Europe and the Middle East during the late nineteenth century. Jens Hanssen states that

⁵¹¹ 'Dort fuhren wir an's Land, übernachteten dort bei der Neuen Gesellschaft und Sonntag den 11 um Mittag Fuhren wir mit demselben Schiffe Alle nach Beyruth, da kamen wir Donnerstag den 15 September an, auf dieser Reise hatten wir sehr viele Merkwürdigkeiten gesehen, den wo das Schiff Station machte, fuhren wir auf's Land, den es machte doch 3 mahl Station, aber so lustig ist es, wen man Tage lang nichts sieht als Wasser und Himmel. Beyruth ist in Sirien nächst Egibten, wo die Wüsten zuhauße sind. Dort bleiben wir 14 tage und dan setzten wir unsere Reise weiter nach Alexandrien, wir fuhren nämlich den 30 September vom Beuruth weg mit einen Lloid Dampf, der dem Nahmen Hungaria hatte, weg, und kamen denselben Tag um 3 Uhr in Kaiffa.' 'Tage Buch des Josef Schrammel', p. 24-25, in Stefan Winterstein (ed.), *Josef Schrammel im Serail: Die Aufzeichnungen des Wiener Volksmusiklers über seine Reise in den Vorderen Orient 1869-1871* (Hans Schneider, 2007) 26-27.

⁵¹² Jens Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut: the making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 13.

the borders between city and countryside were rather fluid. As more immigrants came to Beirut, orchards turned into suburbs, which emerged concentrically around the nucleus of the old town and along established traffic arteries.⁵¹³

The circulation of new journals and newspapers accompanied this spatial transformation, and Beirut soon became the provincial centre for scholars who waded into debates around new forms of education and ideas of self-fashioning affected by the recent social and economic reforms during the Tanzimat period (1839 to 1876). In the crucial years of 1861 to 1888, 'the intellectual production in and of Beirut had a profound impact on self-perception as well as the physical shape of the city—it produced Beirut as a simultaneously real and imagined city.'⁵¹⁴ The literary discourse which arose during this period was part of a broader educational programme in the Ottoman Empire called *Nahḍa* ('awakening'), which sought to reconcile European visions of modernity with local religious and philosophical beliefs.

The flourishing print culture in Beirut, which was run by both Christians and Muslims, developed alongside 'reform societies' that focused on disseminating the latest European scientific discoveries and encouraged citizens to learn more about western modernity in various guises.⁵¹⁵ Ogle writes about the impact of such reforms in the context of geopolitical and cultural tensions:

On the peripheries of the empire, the Tanzimat entailed raising the provinces to the level of modernity now claimed by the imperial centre. One effect of the twofold European and Ottoman challenge was that Levantine intellectuals and public moralists began to feel politically, economically, and culturally besieged and in turn devised ways and means for "Easterners" to withstand such encroachment.⁵¹⁶

For public intellectuals in Beirut, the issue of time and temporal reform became one of the most productive channels through which to advocate a more 'modern' mentality as a bulwark against Ottoman and European hegemony. However, enacting such reforms proved highly complex and was reflected in the difficulty of imposing 'an imperial rhythm of time on a city where at least five

⁵¹³ Hanssen, *ibid.*, 2.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵¹⁵ 'Beirut was home to a number of such institutions, while at the same time it was the centre of the *Nahḍa* publishing culture. Butrus al-Bustani, a Maronite who converted to Protestantism, founded one of the first papers, *al-Jinan*, in 1870.' Ogle, *ibid.*, 1391.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

different calendars structured public life, two of which were Ottoman—the fiscal and the Islamic calendars.⁵¹⁷ Tensions between imperial notions of ‘Ottoman time’ and the local Muslim population ensured that Beirut maintained an extremely diverse topography of time until at least the 1920s.

One of the most intriguing developments in the *Nahḍa* programme of individual self-improvement came from the Arabic translation of Scottish writer Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help*, originally published in 1859.⁵¹⁸ In Smiles’ guide for the ‘self-made’ man of private enterprise, particular attention was paid to the importance of punctuality and industriousness in cultivating a sense of moral purpose and good character in all business dealings. Although the book became extremely popular across the English-speaking world in the decades following publication, Donald Reid notes that due to the rise in workers’ movements and labour unions, ‘Smiles had already begun to outlive his popularity in the West twenty years later when Sarruf translated the book into Arabic.’⁵¹⁹ For the latter audience, the *value* of time as expressed in western, cosmopolitan terms – an abstract entity that could be commodified (‘time is money’, for example) – became paramount for the continued growth of the local and regional economy. Debates on this topic were being printed as early as 1870 in Butrus al-Bustani’s newspaper, *al-Jinan*, with a focus on time as ‘a currency that could be spent, gained, and lost.’⁵²⁰ For Ogle, the literary discourse on time culminated in an extended article from 1908, published in the Lebanese newspaper *Thamarāt al Funūn*, where sheikh Muhammad Salih al-Bahrayni ‘declared the need to radically change people’s moral economy of time.’⁵²¹

What is the meaning of your life if you wasted your lifetime and lost your time, and if the present circumstances lead you to calamitous future consequences. At this point you look at yourself and find yourself to be nothing, as if you did not live one minute in your time, which you lost.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ Hanssen, *ibid.*, 244.

⁵¹⁸ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London, 1859). The Arabic translation by Ya‘qub Sarruf appeared in 1880: Ya‘qub Sarruf, trans., *Sirr al-Najdh* (Beirut, 1880). See Donald M. Reid, ‘Syrian Christians, the Rags-to-Riches Story, and Free Enterprise’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, No. 4 (1970), 358–367.

⁵¹⁹ Reid, *ibid.*, 362.

⁵²⁰ Ogle, *ibid.*, 1397. She refers specifically to the article, ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Mu‘ayyad, “Al-Waqt Dhahab”, *al-Jinan* 1 (1870), 277–278.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² ‘Qimat al-Waqt’, *Thamarāt al Funūn*, 11 May 1908, 2–3, in Ogle, *ibid.*, 1398.

Although Al-Bahrayni's speech was originally given at a religious institution in Mecca, the general tone is striking for its conception of time in more abstract terms. This can be viewed as one consequence of a gradual change in Arabic terminology during the last third of the nineteenth century, where earlier scholars distinguished between the word *waqt* (associated with time on the clock), and the concept of *dahr* (denoting time as a lifespan and also religious fate). Challenges to Islam's sovereignty over the temporal realm, instigated within the *Nahḍa*, resulted in a merging of linear and circular notions of time and

in many turn-of-the-century articles on time management, *waqt* and *dahr* occur alongside each other and are used interchangeably...*Dahr* hence became a vehicle for translocating what Levantine Arabs viewed as the European obsession with time into an Eastern context, where it resonated with a very different religio-philosophical tradition of thought.⁵²³

In the 1890s, attempts to enact a modern vision for Beirut in the temporal realm, which took into account the plurality of time structures, 'only accentuated Ottoman efforts to manipulate the city's daily rhythms.'⁵²⁴ The installation of the 25-metre-high 'Ottoman Clocktower' in January 1897, while imposing a new temporal order and form of consciousness on Beirut, juxtaposed local and imperial times by having 'two clock faces with Arabic and two with Latin numerals, [which] soberly heralded exact (but dual) city time.'⁵²⁵ This not only represented a victory for Beirut's Muslim population, but also became the most striking example of the city's diplomatic employment of both European and Ottoman technologies. Moreover, the dual display of the new clocktower shows the 'capacity of human beings to resist time and to live simultaneously in more than one temporal order: that is, to cope with discontinuous mundane experiences of time as well as with the abstract time of the clock and calendar.'⁵²⁶ In the burgeoning intellectual climate of late-nineteenth-century Beirut, however, public discourse on the need to overlay local constellations of religious and imperial time with more Europeanised attitudes to temporality resulted in a warped sense of urban modernity as seen from the periphery:

⁵²³ Ibid., 1399.

⁵²⁴ Hanssen, *ibid.*

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 246.

⁵²⁶ Osterhammel, *ibid.*, 73.

Public intellectuals such as those writing and publishing some of the first Arabic-language newspapers in the region had internalized criticism among Europeans that found non-Western cultures to lack a linear-progressive understanding of time and to display casual attitudes toward punctuality. What they translated and adopted into their own political, social, and religious context, however, was an exaggerated and essentialized notion of homogeneous time that was absent among Europeans themselves in this period.⁵²⁷

While journalists and scholars in Beirut were beginning to discuss the practical and moral benefits of standardised time structures for the effective running of society, Josef Schrammel and his Viennese troupe had returned to a European capital whose own temporal order in the years following the 1873 World Exhibition still relied heavily on a bewildering mixture of mean solar times. The gradual centralisation of dual imperial and religious time for the multi-ethnic population of Beirut had no direct equivalent in Vienna, despite the twin centres of the cathedral and new town hall; the ambitions of the municipal authorities and urban planners to synchronise the rhythms of the city, therefore, were thwarted by extremely localised formations of time that projected an image of Vienna as a conglomeration of villages in need of a cosmopolitan vision. The situation can be seen clearly in newspaper extracts published in the 1860s and 1870s:

It is an original fact that one can leave the Paulanerplatz in Vienna (Wieden), while the transparent clock there tell you it is 12 o'clock exactly, and arrive at the Stephansplatz with the hands of the clock of the cathedral pointing to 11.45. This may be very pleasant for cheapskates who quibble with the wages owed to coachmen for the running time...but for honourable and peaceful residents...for the businessman for whom time is money, the differences between all the public clocks in Vienna often have quite disagreeable results.⁵²⁸

Despite the government's desire to portray an image of a well-ordered imperial capital at the 1873 exhibition, notwithstanding the major stock market crash that almost bankrupted the city later the same year, a report published in *Das Vaterland* noted that 'the clock on the machinery building in the world exhibition area of the Prater had no hands.'⁵²⁹ The humour behind this comment

⁵²⁷ Ogle, *ibid.*, 1399.

⁵²⁸ *Die Presse*, 31 January 1866, 11, in Peter Payer, 'The City and the Clock: Public time perception in Vienna, from 1850 to 1914' (2018, unpublished manuscript), 16-17.

⁵²⁹ Payer, *ibid.*, 16.

nevertheless hinted at a more systemic issue in Vienna's public display of time, and this could be seen in more vituperative remarks from the *Neue Freie Presse*:

The state of the time display by the public clocks in Vienna deserves the most serious reprimand. Differences in the indication of the time by quarter hours and more are not only frequent, but quite permanent. There is something uncivilised and oriental about it, and it is quite incompatible with life in a large city.⁵³⁰

When the extract above is viewed in light of the 'essentialized notion of homogeneous [European] time' developed by writers in Beirut, a more nuanced picture emerges regarding the flow of knowledge between imperial centres and across peripheral zones. As Osterhammel points out, 'keeping open at least the possibility of nonlinear historical movement frees us from the false alternative of binary simplification or Eurocentric homogenization.'⁵³¹ An analysis of both Vienna and Beirut during the Austrian *Gründerzeit* and Lebanese post-war period reveals that efforts to unify time in both cities reflected an idea of modernity and progress which was much more varied and paradoxical than was expressed by contemporaneous writers in either region.

The major contributing factor to Vienna's pluralistic temporal order during the late nineteenth century was the continued reliance on district-level solar, mean times, where differences between outer suburbs could be several minutes or more, for example, between Hernals in the north west and Simmering in the south east of the city.⁵³² One visual display of time that still played a relatively prominent role on the streets of Vienna was the vertical sundial. Payer notes that 'there are currently 120 sundials in Vienna and more than 3,300 in the whole of Austria, making it one of the most sundial-rich countries in the world.'⁵³³ In Vienna, around 20 were constructed across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a further 77 built in the twentieth – the vast majority of

⁵³⁰ 'Der Zustand der Zeitanzeige durch die öffentlichen Uhren in Wien verdient die ernstlichste Rüge. Differenzen in der Zeitangabe derselben von Viertelstunden und mehr sind nicht allein häufig, sondern ganz permanent. Das hat etwas Uncivilisiertes, Orientalisches und ist durchaus mit dem Leben einer Großstadt unverträglich.' *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 August 1875, 6.

⁵³¹ Osterhammel, *ibid.*, 69.

⁵³² Payer, *ibid.*, 17.

⁵³³ 'Insgesamt 120 Stück gibt es derzeit in Wien, mehr als 3.300 in ganz Österreich, das damit eines der sonnenuhrreichsten Länder der Welt darstellt.' Payer (2015), 61.

the dials being vertical types on building façades. In 1878, engineer Carl Mayrhofer wrote about the need to overcome the reliance on such technology in the following extract:

The way the public clocks in Vienna tell time is no longer viable. They differ by many minutes, by quarter-hours and more often on sundials...situated quite near each other. The more the traffic life of a city develops, the more improved punctuality and cooperation between the different elements is required, and the need for reliable corresponding time becomes increasingly important in all districts of the city.⁵³⁴

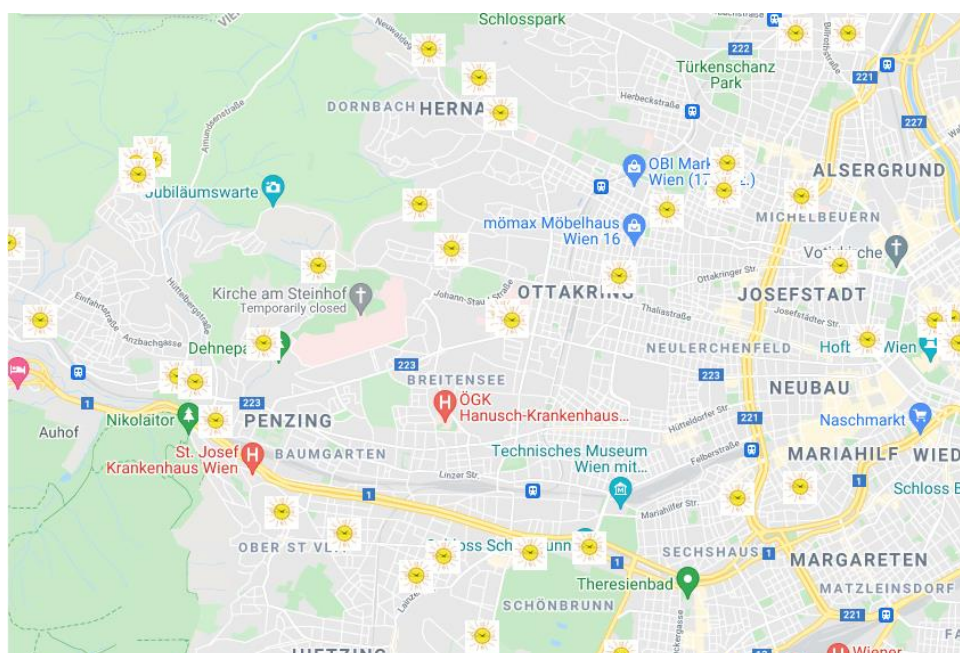


Fig. 4.3 - Distribution of sundials in Vienna's western suburbs, taken from Gnomonicae Societas Austriaca (GSA), Arbeitsgruppe Sonnenuhren im Österreich Astronomischen Verein (online catalogue).⁵³⁵

Mayrhofer's comment is borne out when we take a closer look at the western *Vororte*, seen in the map above. The clusters of dials within each district, while indicating the more obvious signs of former village settlements that gradually connected with each other, emphasise the tenacity of local time and the visual dominance of older technologies. As noted by Dombrowski, 'local time was once truly local, more one's own time, born of one's given place under the sun and many variable

⁵³⁴ Quoted after J. Rathan-Haefelen, *Denkschrift an den wohlloblichen Gemeinderath der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien, anlässlich der am 24. Februar d. J. ablaufenden Probezeit der pneumatischen Uhren in Wien* (Vienna, 1878), 11, 16, in Payer (2018), 9-10.

⁵³⁵ <http://gnomonica.at/GSA/GSA.php>. Accessed 6 February 2022. The GSA website includes a brief history of sundials in Austria, the scientific background to their role and usage, and an interactive map showing the distribution of all sundials in the country.

methods of timekeeping.⁵³⁶ While sundial construction in Vienna had lain relatively dormant for much of the nineteenth century, and only started to gain momentum from the 1890s onwards, the situation in England was very different.⁵³⁷ In 1821, Charles Lamb lamented the diminishing status of sundials when he wrote the following: ‘Why is it almost everywhere vanished? If its business-use be superseded by more elaborate inventions, its moral uses, its beauty, might have pleaded for its continuance.’⁵³⁸ Lamb’s paen to the sundial of the Inner Temple gardens, although situated in the centre of a bustling city, juxtaposes the coldness of more modern technology – ‘What a dead thing is a clock, with its ponderous embowelments of lead and brass’ – with the practical, aesthetic, and allegorical purpose of the older gnomonic device.⁵³⁹ For Lamb, it was in the instrument’s ability to collapse nature and culture into each other, and its responsiveness to mundane existence determined by the earth’s rotation where meaning could be found. The sundial ‘spoke of moderate labours, of pleasures not protracted after sunset, of temperance, and good-hours.’⁵⁴⁰ Lamb’s poetic heightening of the vernacular is intertwined with the time of the heavens, while nature and the divine work in tandem with the daily rhythms of human life.

This raising of quotidian experience in poetic form had a visual corollary on Vienna’s streets. Two examples of the many sundials installed on the façades of ordinary houses can be seen below, one from either side of the *Gürtel* (outer belt road).

⁵³⁶ Dombrowski, *ibid.*, 112.

⁵³⁷ Figures taken from <http://www.sundials.co/deutsch/kata.htm>. Accessed 6 February 2022. The centres of sundial construction in Austria were in the Tyrol and Lower Austria, especially through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁵³⁸ Charles Lamb, ‘The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple’, in *Elia: Essays* (London, 1823), 190-191, in Marcus Tomalin, ‘the most perfect instrument’: Reassessing Sundials in Romantic Literature’, *Romanticism*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2015), 81.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*



Fig. 4.4 - 'Sonnenuhrhaus', Gumpendorfer Straße 116, Vienna, 1900
(Source: Bezirksmuseum Mariahilf)

The photograph above shows the vertical sundial on the corner of Gumpendorfer Straße and Sonnenuhrstraße, located in the district of Mariahilf (an inner suburb). The lack of numerals on the dial is due to the east-facing position of the façade, therefore it would not have received any sunlight past midday or one o'clock. Below is a sundial built in 1891, located in the outer district of Hietzing, again facing east, displaying more clearly the symbolism behind its former usage in the landscape gardens of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ See Marjorie Sykes, 'Adjusting to Garden Time: Mysteries of Floral Sundials', *Country Life*, 6 September, 1979, 703-704.



Fig. 4.5 - Sonnenuhr, Lainzer Straße 72 in Wien-Hietzing (1891).
© Ewald Judt (Creative Commons BY 4.0)

The continuation of the numeric band into the stem of the sunflower and the presence of birds in the bottom corner all point towards the closeness of rural life in Hietzing and reflect the fact that such time displays, in their role as passive receptacles of sunlight, 'do not impose upon or coerce nature...they do not offer abstract generalisations.'⁵⁴² This evocation of a pastoral idyll became a common theme for modern sundials installed from the 1890s onwards and contributed to a flowering of artistic creativity in their construction. Yet the heavy emphasis on ornament and aesthetics over practical considerations also raises the possibility of a more mundane explanation for their popularity in the *fin-de-siècle* period: their function as public art.

If the striking presence of sundials in early-twentieth-century Vienna offered an artistic outlet for those wishing to engage on local terms at a more vernacular level, it also represented an alternative conception of temporality from the city's periphery, one whose passive identity was at

⁵⁴² Tomalin, *ibid.*, 80, 82.

odds with the proliferation of more modern clock technology. The latter's tendency towards colonising space – imposing an artificial, mechanical regularity on multiple district-level times – caused widespread consternation in the population, as seen in newspaper extracts, and the confusing temporal desynchronisation of the city hung like a shadow over the daily lives of workers who relied on regulated schedules.⁵⁴³ In contrast to the tangled web of local and 'standard' (railway) times in Vienna, Vanessa Ogle's analysis of Beirut's temporal topography demonstrates a curious reversal of assumptions, seen in journalistic extracts from Vienna and Beirut, about the onward march of modernity in both Europe and the Middle East. The elites in Beirut

may have had a strategic advantage: to them, the plurality of socially and religiously constructed times must have come naturally, and they occasionally appeared better-equipped for modern globality than their European contemporaries.⁵⁴⁴

The emphasis on 'social' and 'religious' time, exemplified by the dual clocks of the 'Ottoman Clocktower' from 1897, points to the existence of temporal identities determined not by extremely localised formations, but by a network of communities whose daily rhythms were spread much more widely across Beirut. As I return to Vienna in the following sections, then, I reveal how the increasing tension between local solar times and the build-up to the introduction of MEZ in 1910 affected the everyday lives of citizens, focusing in particular on the connection between the rhythms of the Viennese *Werkelmänner* and the desynchronised clock technology of an expanding city.

⁵⁴³ Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift have even gone so far as to suggest that 'there is no such thing as clock time. Rather clock time comprises a number of concepts, devices, and practices which have meant different things at different times and places, and even in any one place have not had a unitary meaning.' Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2009), 9. quoted in Tomalin, *ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁴⁴ Ogle, *ibid.*, 1402.

4.2 – ‘Clock Misery’ and Urban Rhythms

As the construction of sundials in Vienna entered a new phase of artistic renewal at the beginning of the twentieth century, the mayor’s office calculated that ‘there were already 69 public clocks in Vienna; 42 on steeples and 27 on facades or columns.’⁵⁴⁵ The spatial transformation of the city in the *Gründerzeit* and 1890s was accompanied by an exponential increase in the number of clocks installed at strategic points along main thoroughfares and on the façades of important buildings. Until the early 1860s, the most important clock in Vienna stood on the southern façade of St. Stephen’s Cathedral and provided a striking visual time display for the city. In 1873, the journalist August Silberstein described his memories of this well-loved symbol after it was dismantled during restoration work on the spire and gables: ‘From this tower, a clock used to look far into the countryside and struck the hours with a marked tone for times of joy and sorrow.’⁵⁴⁶ Between the dismantling of the display and the completion of the new city hall in 1883, Vienna entered a crucial phase of what Peter Borscheid calls ‘the era of acceleration’.⁵⁴⁷ This period witnessed the installation of large clockfaces in the four main railway stations between 1858 and 1874; the establishment of six ‘announcement pavilions’ along the Ringstrasse in 1866 containing illuminated clocks; and the construction of the main clock tower of the city hall which became the new secular time centre.⁵⁴⁸ Away from the Inner City, an overview of clock distribution in Vienna shows that the density of public time displays decreased the further one travelled outwards from the centre and also highlights the architectural role played by entertainment venues:

For example, the well-known Hernals ‘Uhrhaus’ at Elterleinplatz 8, a popular Biedermeier inn with two clocks in its dormer windows. Schwenders Colosseum, a well-known entertainment establishment on the corner of Mariahilfer Straße and Reindorfsgasse, and such well-known cultural venues as the Fürsttheater and the Lustspieltheater in the Prater

⁵⁴⁵ *Die Gemeinde---Verwaltung der Reichshaupt---und Residenzstadt Wien im Jahr 1902: Bericht des Bürgermeisters Dr. Karl Lueger* (Vienna, 1904), 218, in Payer (2018), *ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁴⁶ ‘Von diesem Thurme blickte früher eine Uhr weit ins Land und schlugen die Stunden für Freud und Leid mit markigem Tone.’ August Silberstein, *Die Kaiserstadt am Donaustrand. Wien und die Wiener in Tag- und Nachtbildern* (Vienna, 1873), 49, in Payer (2015), 20.

⁵⁴⁷ Peter Borscheid, *Das Tempo-Virus. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Beschleunigung* (Frankfurt, 2004), 62.

⁵⁴⁸ Payer, *ibid.*, 23-24.

also had clocks installed on their façades and were thus among the time pioneers in their respective environments.⁵⁴⁹

Although the examples above, particularly those in the centre of the city, could be said to represent a transfer of temporal power from the religious to the secular world, symbolising ‘the claim of rulership over time’ as Payer believes, there is a risk of overinterpreting the visual dominance of clocks as instruments of political policy and control.⁵⁵⁰ On this topic, Dohrn-van Rossum highlights the pitfalls of replicating ‘the erroneous idea that clocks on church towers were signs of the church's dominance over the public time order or that clocks on town halls represented the strengthened power of the bourgeoisie.’⁵⁵¹ A more nuanced perspective on the development of clock technology and its deployment in Vienna would take into account the allegorical and aesthetic dimensions of such objects – the reliance on artisanal knowledge and practices – as well as the localised impact on urban life. Despite repeated efforts to synchronise the most prominent clocks in the city across more than four decades, from the late 1860s to 1912, multiple newspaper reports and commentaries demonstrate the significant obstacles that authorities faced when reconciling the plethora of local temporalities and numerous technological failures with the need to provide a single, accurate ‘Viennese’ time.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘Etwa das bekannte Hernalser ‘Uhrhaus’ am Elterleinplatz 8, ein beliebter Einkehrghasthof aus dem Biedermeier, in dessen Dachgaupen zwei Uhren prangten. Auch ‘Schwenders Colosseum’, ein bekanntes Unterhaltungsetablisement in der Mariahilfer Straße/Ecke Reindorf-gasse, und so bekannte Kulturstätten wie das Fürsttheater und das Lustspieltheater im Prater hatten Uhren an ihren Fassaden installiert und gehörten somit zu den Zeit-Pionieren in ihrem jeweiligen Umfeld.’ Payer, *ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁵⁰ Payer (2018), 7.

⁵⁵¹ ‘Die Aura der Kirchengebäude und der Klang der Glocken haben vielfach zu der irrigen Vorstellung geführt, dass die Uhren auf Kirchtürmen Zeichen für die Herrschaft der Kirche über die öffentliche Zeitordnung gewesen seien oder, dass Uhren auf Rathäusern die erstarkte Macht des Bürgertums repräsentierten.’ Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, ‘Review of P. Payer, *Die synchronisierte Stadt* (2015)’, <https://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-23099>. Accessed 7 February 2022.

The 'Wiener Uhrenmisere' Phenomenon

In his essay 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), Georg Simmel noted the growing importance of fixed time schedules in urban environments:

If all the clocks and watches in Berlin would suddenly go wrong in different ways, all economic life and communication of the city would be disrupted for a long time. In addition, an apparently mere external factor – long distances – would make all waiting and broken appointments result in an ill-afforded waste of time.⁵⁵²

If Simmel had used *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as his main case study, he would have witnessed an example of temporal disorientation in a capital city caused by the conflicting demands of district-level solar times and standardised railway and telegram schedules, both disrupted by significant problems with clock mechanisms and the resulting desynchronisation of time displays. One light-hearted example of a technological mishap that confused nearby pedestrians comes from an account in *Die Presse*, published on 15 July 1868:

The clock of the Landstrasse parish church...showed a conspicuous discrepancy between the optical and acoustic time display in July [1868]. It had, according to the ironic report, 'developed an unfortunate split between the walking and striking mechanism....For when the hand is at six with apodictic precision, the striking mechanism hastens to announce thirteen, which involuntarily causes passers-by, unprepared for such a late hour, to double their steps.' The reason given for this was a lack of operational knowledge on the part of the person responsible for the clock.⁵⁵³

This unfortunate incident of the 'winding clock' calamity, although somewhat tongue-in-cheek, provides a glimpse into the important acoustic role of clock chimes and the pedestrian rhythms of life in suburban Vienna, rhythms which were about to be altered even further by the saturation of

⁵⁵² Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Free Press, 1950), reprinted in David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (eds.), *Simmel on Culture* (Sage, 1997), 177.

⁵⁵³ 'Die Uhr der Landstraßer Pfarrkirche wiederum wies im Juli des folgenden Jahres eine auffällige Diskrepanz zwischen optischer und akustischer Zeitanzeige auf. Sie hatte, so der ironische Bericht, "eine bedauerliche Spaltung zwischen Geh- und Schlagwerk herausgebildet....Wenn nämlich der Zeiger mit apodiktischer Genauigkeit auf sechs steht, beeilt sich das Schlagwerk dreizehn zu verkünden, was die auf so späte Stunde nicht gefaßten Passanten unwillkürlich zur Verdopplung ihrer Schritte veranlaßt." Als Grund dafür wurden mangelnde Betriebskenntnisse der für die Uhr zuständigen Person genannt.' *Die Presse*, 15 July 1868, 9, in Payer (2015), 67.

public space with myriad clock designs, including new pneumatic technology, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁴

A significant event in the history of clocks in Vienna occurred on 24 February 1877, when the first pneumatic drive, designed by engineer Carl Mayrhofer, was turned on. Installed on the Schottenring, this striking new object (Fig. 4.6), complete with three dials, three gas candelabras, and sitting atop a sentry guard shelter, caught the attention of the international media with the announcement that Vienna was the first city in the world to install a pneumatic device, ahead of Paris, Berlin, and London.⁵⁵⁵



Fig. 4.6 - Pneumatische Uhr am Schottenring, 1898.
(Permission granted © Sammlung Wladimir Aichelburg)

Reporters in the *Neue Freie Presse* emphasised the benefits of a system where ‘public and private clocks that show the exact astronomical time [are] in full agreement with each other, regardless of

⁵⁵⁴ Payer provides a comprehensive account of the many clock designs in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna in *Die synchronisierte Stadt* (2015), 17-62. These include tower clocks, façade clocks, pavilion clocks, advertising clocks, column clocks, cube clocks, weather clocks, art clocks, design clocks, and sundials.

⁵⁵⁵ Payer (2018), *ibid.*, 10; E. Bruton, *The History of Clocks and Watches* (New York, 1989), 172.

the distance.⁵⁵⁶ Unfortunately, such expectations were soon undercut by the increasing disparity between time displays. This fed into a long-running public discourse about the widespread use of defective technology which resulted in daily disorientation for workers and businesses who were increasingly reliant on standardised schedules. The calamitous technological issues arose in addition to the already bewildering temporal plurality of the city which was determined by local solar times.

Despite the compression of technological development during the 1880s and 1890s, the confusing temporal situation continued unabated into the twentieth century. In July 1908, a Mr Emil Hübsch wrote to the *Neue Freie Presse* with a proposal to use floodlights to illuminate the façade of St. Stephen's Cathedral with different colours to indicate the striking of each hour:

The inhabitants of Vienna and those in the surrounding area up to miles away could set their watches to the minute according to Viennese time when the hourly colours changed. Even the quarter hours could be precisely indicated by flashing. The landmark of Vienna visible at night would also be the most grandiose orientation feature for strangers and tourists.⁵⁵⁷

The deafening roar of complaints submitted to the local council in the first decade of the twentieth century finally persuaded the authorities to adopt MEZ across the whole of public life. Payer notes that 'even the powerful Vienna University Observatory, which had seen itself as the preserver of "Viennese time" and had repeatedly spoken out against the introduction of MEZ, was now in favour of the changeover.'⁵⁵⁸ The efforts of the *Neue Freie Presse* bolstered the support of the liberal classes for the necessary synchronisation of Viennese time, and on the appointed day of the change, on 1 May 1910, emphasised that 'it should be strictly integrated into middle-class life'.⁵⁵⁹ While taking into account the newspaper's general appeal to the liberal bourgeoisie, the comment is striking for its inclusion of a class descriptor in the context of temporal synchronisation. There was undoubtedly a

⁵⁵⁶ 'in voller Übereinstimmung mit einander, unabhängig von der Entfernung gehende, die genaue astronomische Zeit zeigende öffentliche und Privat-Uhren.' *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 February 1877, 6.

⁵⁵⁷ 'Die Einwohner Wiens und die der Umgebung bis auf meilenweite Entfernung könnten bei dem Wechsel der Stundenfarben ihre Uhren auf die Minute genau nach Wiener Zeit richten. Es könnten sogar die Viertelstunden durch Blinken genau angegeben werden. Das nachts sichtbare Wahrzeichen Wiens wäre auch das grandioseste Orientierungsmerkmal für Fremde und Touristen.' *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 July 1908, 14, in Payer (2015), 70.

⁵⁵⁸ 'Selbst die mächtige Wiener Universitätssternwarte, die sich als Bewahrerin der 'Wiener Zeit' verstanden und zuvor wiederholte Male gegen die Einführung der MEZ ausgesprochen hatte, war nunmehr für die Umstellung eingetreten.' Payer (2015), 75.

⁵⁵⁹ Payer (2018), 18.

desperate need for such unified time in Vienna's *Mittelstand* society, which was reflected in the daily rhythms of business, trade, and politics. However, the line from the *Neue Freie Presse* report raises the possibility of other sections of Viennese society existing in alternate temporalities, namely, the working classes and especially street characters, whose sense of 'social time' relied on different conceptions of everyday life, enacted through their own form of suburban rhythms. This theme of alternative temporal and rhythmic patterns is a major factor in how I explore the position of the organ grinder in relation to Vienna's 'clock calamity' phenomenon later in the chapter. Returning to the process of synchronisation in May 1910, the differences between local times were, in theory, no longer an issue in the daily lives of Vienna's population.



Fig. 4.7 – Caricature on the forthcoming introduction of Central European Time, 1909 (Permission granted © Sammlung Peter Payer). Reproduced in Payer, *Die synchronisierte Stadt* (2015), p. 75.

However, two years after the full implementation of MEZ in Vienna, reports were still being published in major newspapers regarding the clock situation. The most noteworthy was printed in February 1912 by the Austrian politician Alfred Lindheim, who coined the phrase ‘Wiener Uhrenmisere’:

The differences between the clocks in Vienna are enormous. They often vary by up to 10 minutes, and this is a major problem in Vienna in particular, where everyone has a different time arrangement (dining hour, working hours in the workshops) and so many unnecessary minutes and hours are wasted waiting, working, writing, logging, obsessing – in a word – through incorrect orientation to the public clocks....In the months of October to December last year, there were differences of 5 to 12 minutes between the Cathedral Church of St. Stephen and the four main churches of the first district.⁵⁶⁰

Despite efforts to synchronise daily life in Vienna, the failure of government and technical institutions to implement a co-ordinated clock system continued to undermine the city’s attempts to catch up with the metropolitan agendas of other European capitals until after the First World War. On the subject of the ‘Wiener Uhrenmisere’, the historian Erhard Chvojka has suggested that the Viennese attitude to time during this period lay predominantly within the concept of *Gemütlichkeit*, where clock time and ‘natural time’ both ‘moved more slowly than elsewhere.’⁵⁶¹ This reluctance to adopt the full ramifications of modernist development, while revealing a strain of exceptionalism that provides further evidence for Vienna’s village-like identity, held consequences for how individuals would relate to the changing urban environment, and how fragmented clock times would interfere with the musical rhythms of the organ grinder. The latter scenario was brought about through the clash between government regulations, which determined when street musicians could perform, and the confusing temporal situation, which affected the organ grinder’s position as a conveyor of his own distinctive rhythms. Paraphrasing Dombrowski’s quote from earlier, I argue that the changing

⁵⁶⁰ ‘Die Differenzen der Uhren in Wien sind enorm. Sie variieren oft bis zu 10 Minuten, und dies ist gerade in Wien ein Hauptübelstand, wo jedermann eine andere Zeiteinteilung (Speisestunde, Arbeitszeit in den Werkstätten) hat und durch falsche Orientierung an den öffentlichen Uhren so viele unnötige Minuten und Stunden gewartet, gearbeitet, geschrieben, protokolliert, verfassen -- mit einem Worte vergeudet werden....In den Monaten Oktober bis Dezember vorigen Jahres waren zwischen der Domkirche zu St. Stephan und den vier Hauptkirchen des ersten Bezirkes Differenzen von 5 bis 12 Minuten.’ *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 February 1912, 9.

⁵⁶¹ Erhard Chvojka, ‘Dem Glücklichen schlägt keine Stunde...oder Wie die Vorstellung von der ‘Wiener Gemütlichkeit’ entstand’, *Ausstellungskatalog des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien* (Vienna, 2001), 8–15, in Payer (2015), 72.

fortunes and identities of the *Werkelmänner* symbolised a ‘truly local’ sense of urban rhythm, one that was caught up in the bewildering array of time displays and regulations.

Fractured Temporalities

The fractured temporal order, wrought by the ‘Wiener Uhrenmisere’ phenomenon and the tenacity of localised times, added an extra layer of disorientation for Simmel’s metropolitan individual, whose ‘time in the mind’ was already confronted with the noises and ruptures of urban modernity, as described in Felix Salten’s ‘city whirl’ comment from 1910.⁵⁶² In the shifting subjectivities of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, the clash of public and private rhythms took a somewhat surreal turn when we consider Ann Banfield’s comment that ‘in the streets, the private worlds are in motion relative to one another. It is a post-relativity world: each has its own clock, keeping its own time.’⁵⁶³ A pedestrian’s ability to negotiate the transformation of Vienna’s public space around 1900 depended not only on acoustic orientation, but also temporal. For Robert Musil’s protagonist in *The Man Without Qualities*, Ulrich, a fascination with urban rhythms could be found by gazing through the window of his suburban dwelling, stopwatch in hand, ‘timing everything whirling past that he could catch in the net of his eye.’⁵⁶⁴ Upon finishing his calculations, Ulrich’s thoughts turn to the current state of urban life with its incessant fluctuations:

Time was on the move. People not yet born in those days will find it hard to believe, but even then time was racing along like a cavalry camel, just like today. But nobody knew where time was headed. And it was not always clear what was up or down, what was going forward or backward.⁵⁶⁵

Although Musil’s characterisation of pre-war Vienna operates on a grander scale, summoning up the image of time’s wayward historical trajectory, his description takes on a different, more bizarre, hue

⁵⁶² Felix Salten, *Das österreichische Antlitz: Essays* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1910), 248.

⁵⁶³ Ann Banfield, ‘Remembrance and Tense Past’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Modernist Novel*, ed. Morag Shiach (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 55.

⁵⁶⁴ Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*, trans. Sophie Wilkins (Picador, 1995), 6.

⁵⁶⁵ Musil, *ibid.*, 7.

when seen in the context of fractured, local temporalities. It also highlights the tension that existed between what Lefebvre calls 'linear' and 'cyclical' forms, expressed not only through the simple design of the clockface, but also the layout of Vienna's Inner City and its *Vorstädte*.⁵⁶⁶ When these two images are superimposed, they neatly encapsulate the spatial and temporal formations of the city whose main rhythmic artery, the Ringstrasse, resembled the very object whose technological faults adorned its route.

A view of the Ringstrasse as a zone of rhythmic absorption and propulsion emanates from what Laura Marcus calls an 'identification with the energies of the city as machine.'⁵⁶⁷ Although my portrait of Vienna focuses on the pre-cinema age, before the appearance of the earliest 'city symphonies', it is nevertheless instructive to consider how a less organically conceived notion of urban rhythm and energy, in opposition to the 'vitalist' aesthetic in early cinema criticism, arises out of the disjointed temporal and musical reality of the street. Lefebvre's question regarding the transformation of society and the concealment of energy proves especially productive in this sense, in as far as studies of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna have, until very recently, been resistant to exploring quotidian experience: 'Is there nothing left of the visible, the sensible?...The gaze and the intellect can still grasp directly some aspects of our reality that are rich in meaning: notably the everyday and rhythms.'⁵⁶⁸ Returning to Ulrich in his suburban house noting the speeds and frequencies of passing vehicles and pedestrians, the reader encounters an intellect which is simultaneously fascinated and humoured by the visual and acoustic sensations outside his window. Musil's description of this mass of urban energy and its effect on an individual's consciousness – the 'fluctuations of the psyche' – also relates to Lefebvre's own experience of gazing upon and listening to the city from the raised view of balconies and through apartment windows.⁵⁶⁹ For Lefebvre, in order to distinguish between

⁵⁶⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (Bloomsbury, 2013), 18.

⁵⁶⁷ Laura Marcus, 'A Hymn to Movement': The 'City Symphony' of the 1920s and 1930s', *Modernist Cultures* Vol. 5, No. 1 (2010), 31.

⁵⁶⁸ Lefebvre, *ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁶⁹ Musil, *ibid.*

rhythms in the tumultuous noise of the modern city, in his case, Paris, one's 'attentive ear' must have a privileged platform from which to grasp these fleeting occurrences:

From the window opening onto Rue Rambuteau facing the famous Pompidou Centre...the noises distinguish themselves, the flows separate out, rhythms respond to one another....The noise grows in intensity and strength, at its peak becomes unbearable....Hard rhythms: alternations of silence and outburst, times both broken and accentuated, striking he who takes to listening from his window, which astonishes him more than the disparate movements of the crowds.⁵⁷⁰

This act of listening, or merely hearing, from an interior space recalls the earlier commentaries on noise in Vienna, where the rhetoric of Austrian and German anti-noise campaigners focused on the aural invasion of the private sphere from outside on the street. One major source of irritation for these residents was the Viennese *Werkelmann*, seen most strikingly in Michael Haberlandt's polemics against the 'day thief' from 1900.⁵⁷¹ In contrast to the class-based views on street musicians from figures such as Haberlandt and Lessing, the next section deals with the social and musical reality of Viennese organ grinders as the players negotiated the rapid development of the city alongside changes in legislation and musical taste.

⁵⁷⁰ Lefebvre, *ibid.*, 38-39.

⁵⁷¹ Michael Haberlandt, 'Vom Lärm', *Cultur im Alltag* (Wiener Verlag, 1900), 179.

4.3 – The Changing Fortunes of the *Werkelmann*

The organ grinder became an integral feature of the popular romantic imagination in the nineteenth century. After Schubert's song setting of Wilhelm Müller's 'Der Leiermann' in *Winterreise*, other Austrian and German composers adopted the solitary figure in a different guise, most notably Carl Banck in his cycle *Des Leiermanns Liederbuch* (1838-1839). Graham Johnson explains the composer's approach to the poem as taking up 'the thread of the story of *Winterreise* where Schubert and Müller leave off—a kind of sequel, or *Winterreise II*.⁵⁷² Although Banck pays homage to his older contemporary in the use of open fifths and the sombre conclusion, the brief melismatic treatment of line endings and much more harmonically active phrase structure already betray hints of a musical mythologisation process at work, 'as if he were making an arrangement of a folk song.'⁵⁷³ By the time we reach settings by German composer Cyrill Kistler, published in 1878, and the Austrian Wilhelm Kienzl, roughly a decade later, any trace of that icy chill from Schubert's earlier setting has been thoroughly thawed.⁵⁷⁴ Kistler's song (Ex. 4.1) paints a cosy scene through a combination of flowing tempo (*sehr bewegt*), the harp-like arpeggiation in bars 17 to 22 suggesting the mechanical quality of the organ grinder, and a generally optimistic, if somewhat sentimental tone.

⁵⁷² Graham Johnson, CD Liner Notes: 'Songs by Schubert's Friends and Contemporaries', *Hyperion Schubert Edition*, CDJ33051/3 (March 2006), 98; see also Maria Behrendt, 'Keiner mag ihn hören, keiner sieht ihn an...' Carl Bancks Liederzyklen *Des Leiermanns Liederbuch* und *Des Müllerburschen Liebesklage in Mond und Morgenliedern* – Streitschriften eines Schubert-Advokaten?', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, Issue 6 (2017), 42–47.

⁵⁷³ Johnson, *ibid*.

⁵⁷⁴ [Cyrill Kistler](#) (1848-1907), 'Der Leiermann' from *Drei Lieder für Bariton mit Pianoforte*, Op. 30 (Munich: Aibl, 1878); [Wilhelm Kienzl](#) (1857-1941), 'Der Leiermann' from *Zwei Lieder*, Op. 38 (Bote und Bock, c. 1888); also [Theodor Heinrich Gerlach](#) (1861-1940), 'Der Leiermann' from *Gesprochene Lieder mit Pianoforte*, Op. 16 (Magdeburg, Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1898).

dro . hen kann. Bar . fuss auf dem Ei . . so schwankt er hin und

her, — und sein klei . ner Tel . . ler bleibt im . . mer

leer. Kei . ner mag ihn hö . ren, Kei . ner sieht ihn

an, — und die Han . de bram . . men um den al . ten

pp

dolce

pp

cresc.

p

Ex. 4.1 - Cyrill Kistler, 'Der Leiermann', Op. 30, No. 3 (1878), bars 16 – 31

The restless harmonic rhythm, moving swiftly through more distantly related keys until we return to the tonic at bar 50, indicates a very different aesthetic approach to the subject of Müller's poem. Gone is the sense of disillusionment from the text and the obsessive quality of Schubert's musical conception; instead, the listener is treated to a more nostalgic portrait of a street character whose fortunes had been steadily declining since the 1830s. Both interpretations provide a neat frame for my own exploration of the organ grinder in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The idea of being trapped in a cycle, echoing J. W. Smeed's point that the figure in Müller and Schubert 'must endlessly repeat and relive his sufferings in song', is juxtaposed with the cultural formation of the 'Wiener Typen', where the dividing line between symbol and reality is never as straightforward as it appears.⁵⁷⁵

Der Leiermann; Drehorgelspieler. Both terms encompass the physical act of rotating or cranking, from *leiern* and *drehen*, and also refer to the specific mechanical parts of a machine – a rotary switch or lathe, for example. Johann Sioly and Wilhelm Wiesberg penned the following humorous duet about a certain Viennese organ grinder droning on (and on):

There's a *Werkelmann* at the corner
 who drives me to despair,
 I can talk all I want
 The guy can be quiet for minutes
 Whether I'm rough or fine,
 he drones on about everything.⁵⁷⁶

The sharp wit on display in the song text, with the ambiguity of 'er leiern mir in Alles d'rein' referring to the musical and verbal droning, relies heavily on the connection between mechanical movement and sound suggested by the two more familiar German terms above. In a Viennese context, however,

⁵⁷⁵ On the subject of 'urban folk types' in Vienna and Berlin, see Jens Wietschorke, 'Urbane Volkstypen: Zur Folklorisierung der Stadt im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 110/2 (2014), 215-242.

⁵⁷⁶ 'Am Eck dort steht a Werkelmann / der bringt mi' zur Verzweiflung no, / da derf i reden was i will / der Kerl is kann' Minuten still / ob i jetzt grob bin oder fein, / er leiern mir in Alles d'rein.' Johann Sioly, Wilhelm Wiesberg (lyrics), 'Der Werkelmann' (Wienerlied). Text reprinted in Elisabeth Fritz and Helmut Kretschmer (ed.), *Wien Musikgeschichte. Volksmusik und Wienerlied, Band 1* (Lit. Verlag, 2006), 122.

the local expression for an organ grinder takes on another set of associations.

Gertraud Schaller-Pressler explains that

in the Vienna Hofburg the dishes of the Imperial Court kitchen were served in large, heat-retaining, lockable tin boxes, also called 'Werkeln', and were transported the long way through wide corridors and up high stairs to the dining room.⁵⁷⁷

In light of this usage, the word *Werkelmann*, denoting a mechanical quality arising from artisanal labour and the reproduction of short musical works (from the diminutive *Werk'l*), also points towards the social origins of these street musicians. The verb *werkeln* can mean 'to potter about', and in Viennese dialect suggests a more extreme form – 'to slave away', or even 'to work oneself to death' (*werkeln* = *abplagen*).⁵⁷⁸ The organ grinder's historical background as an invalid and war veteran, from the later years of Maria Theresa's reign onwards, attests to this picture of slow, mobile drudgery 'by imperial grace', whereby players were granted a 'beggar's music licence' as a form of social welfare in place of a pension or alternative support, a situation which did not change until 1930.⁵⁷⁹

The curious case of the half-brother Konrad Schrammel, outlined in chapter two, was one such example of an injured veteran who was finally granted a licence to practise organ grinding in specific suburbs. If Konrad's trials and tribulations represented the less comfortable side of the Schrammel family, the final two decades of his life, when he received an annual sum of 100 florins from the Lower Austrian Patriotic Foundation, would have been relatively stable in comparison to the precarious existence of many other *Werkelmänner* from Vienna's suburbs. The impoverishment suffered by street musicians during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was often reported in the pages of the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, and such descriptions reveal the reality of life in the social underbelly of an expanding city, where firmly established prejudices against the physical and

⁵⁷⁷ 'in der Wiener Hofburg die Speisen der k. u. k. Hofküche in ebenfalls 'Werkeln' genannten, großen, wärmehaltenden, verschließbaren Blechkästen den langen Weg durch weite Korridore und über hohe Stiegen in den Speisesaal transportiert wurden.' Fritz and Kretschmer, *ibid.*, 105.

⁵⁷⁸ See Robert Sedlaczek, *Wörterbuch des Wienerischen* (Haymon, 2011).

⁵⁷⁹ Otto Krammer, *Wiener Volkstypen: von Buttenweibern, Zwiefel-Krowoten und anderen Wiener Originalen* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1983), 138.

aural presence of organ grinders were combined with the growing body of regulation which curtailed their activities in both a spatial and temporal sense. In December 1881, the newspaper provided an account of the vagabond Andreas Guth, sentenced to prison for 18 months for stealing 'the barrel organ of the *Werkelmann* Wenzel Trimmer, who was just strengthening himself in the inn'.⁵⁸⁰ One particularly desperate case was recounted in September 1885:

The old 'Werklerin' and 'wife of an organ grinder' Anna Sperat cut her throat with a razor; the 'septuagenarian' was already too weak to go begging herself, her husband earned 'only enough to support himself'. A fundraising campaign initiated shortly before in the circle of Viennese factory owners in favour of this impoverished couple unfortunately came too late.⁵⁸¹

The quote above shows the connection between factory labour and the mechanical aspect of the street musician's wares. Yet it also highlights the organ grinder's precarious position between a slightly more stable working-class existence and the outright destitution suffered by those without access to either family support or financial assistance from benefactors and workers' unions.

A mere two months after the report of the Sperats, the experiences of the one-armed *Werkelmann* Julius Blaschek in the outer district of Sechshaus, close to the Schönbrunn Palace, demonstrates the role of the police authorities in enforcing the requirements of the 'beggar's music licence'. In this instance, the security official detained Blaschek for a lack of discretion in advertising his musical works while going from 'vault to vault' [*von Gewölbe zu Gewölbe*]:

The judge justified the sentence by saying that the organ grinder was indeed licensed to play, but by no means to 'push the buckle'. He is only entitled to receive voluntary gifts, but may not harass the public in an obtrusive manner.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ 'Drehorgel des Werkelmannes Wenzel Trimmer, der sich eben im Wirtshaus stärkte', *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 18 December 1881, quoted in Fritz and Kretschmer (2006), *ibid.*, 125.

⁵⁸¹ '1885 schnitt sich die alte 'Werklerin' und 'Frau eines Drehorgelführers' Anna Sperat mit einem Rasiermesser die Kehle durch; die 'Siebenzigern' war bereits zu schwach, um selbst betteln zu gehen, ihr Mann verdiente 'nur soviel, um sich selbst zu versorgen'. Eine kurz zuvor im Kreise von Wiener Fabrikanten eingeleitete Spendenaktion zugunsten dieses verarmten Ehepaares kam leider zu spät.' *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 19 September 1885, in Fritz and Kretschmer, *ibid.*

⁵⁸² 'Der Richter begründete die Verurtheilung damit, daß der Drehorgelführer wohl die Lizenz zum Spielen, aber keineswegs zum 'Schnallendrücken' besitze. Er ist nur berechtigt, freiwillige Gaben in Empfang zu nehmen, darf aber nicht das Publicum in zudringlicher Weise belästigen.' *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 2 December 1885, 4.

The expression ‘zum “Schnallendrücken” besitze’ refers here to the act of repeatedly appealing to an influential audience, presumably the more ‘respectable’ middle-class customers of each establishment. On the subject of ‘harassing’ his captive audience at each restaurant, the faint echo of lyrical humour from Sioly and Wiesberg is certainly detectable in Blaschek’s situation.

Despite the lowly position occupied by organ grinders in Viennese society, their role in the ongoing formation of urban ‘stereotypes’ in the closing decades of the nineteenth century relied heavily on local economic networks that complicate the notion of ‘fixed images put into circulation by artists and the entertainment and tourism industries’.⁵⁸³ The studio photographs by Otto Schmidt from the 1870s are the most prominent example of such images that reacted to and encouraged the need for an urban imaginary that was intimately familiar to the liberal bourgeoisie and yet socially demarcated. In the *fin-de-siècle* period under Karl Lueger, the evolution of ‘Viennese types’ began to reflect the economic and cultural predisposition of the mayor and the ruling political party; the strong emphasis on small business ownership allied with a strain of cultural conservatism were major factors in the shifting forms of urban representation. For Lueger and the elite strata of society, figures like the *Werkelmann* fulfilled the need for a loveable, somewhat eccentric, figure of the working class whose reliance on local enterprise, while strengthening the mayor’s political image, nevertheless remained at a safe distance.

⁵⁸³ Wietschorke (2014), *ibid.*, 219.



Fig. 4.8 – *Werkelmann*. Adolf F. Czihak (publiser), Otto Schmidt (Photographer), c. 1878, Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 120735/8, CC0

By the end of the 1880s, Germany was already manufacturing around 82,000 mechanical instruments, at least fifty percent of which were exported across Europe.⁵⁸⁴ The success of companies like Paul Ehrlich & Co., renamed as Leipziger Musikwerke, in their invention of the 'Ariston' organette in 1877, spurred other companies to compete in the marketplace of mechanical music. Vienna became a major centre for such exports, for although the number of street musicians in general declined markedly from 1838 to 1914, from around 800 to 100, Payer calculates that in

⁵⁸⁴ Fritz and Kretschmer, *ibid.*, 106.

1900 there were still 120 organ grinders active in the capital.⁵⁸⁵ As a result of legislation passed in June 1884 banning the *Werkelmänner* from the Inner City, the players became even more reliant on small companies in the outer districts for logistical and financial assistance.⁵⁸⁶ One enterprise that provided a lifeline for organ grinders and their families was located in Hyrtlasse, Ottakring. Frau Pippich's 'Werkel rental company' provided barrel organs and related tools on a monthly basis, and after an extended period, if the borrower had paid their rent punctually, the player acquired ownership of the instrument.⁵⁸⁷ Although there were occasional complaints regarding high monthly rental costs, the enterprise became extremely well-known throughout Vienna's suburbs and spawned a further ecosystem of 'Werkel entrepreneurs' who 'soon came up with the idea of renting out their second or third Werkel to "non-concessionaires", in exchange for a share in the turnover of these "borrowers"'.⁵⁸⁸ Karoline Pippich, nicknamed 'Baroness' by clients, died by suicide in 1912 and it is reported that almost 1,500 people, including many *Werkelmänner* and their relatives, attended her funeral at Ottakring Cemetery.⁵⁸⁹

The changing economic climate for organ grinders was also observed by *feuilletonist* Ferdinand Scherber in his article 'Das Werkel', published in May 1906:

Today's 'Werkelmann' is only the owner, not the proprietor, which the jurists are in the habit of subtly distinguishing. The owner is the big businessman who leases barrel organs to subcontractors for interest. All this is actually against existing regulations. Here, too, the force of the times was more powerful than that of the law.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ Peter Payer, 'The Age of Noise. Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870-1914', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 33, No. 5 (July 2007), 789; Krammer (1983), *ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁸⁶ 'Wir haben die Unbeliebtheit amtlich verbürgt in einer Note des Wiener Magistrats vom 7. Juni 1884, wo von 'vielfachen Klagen des Publikums' gesprochen und die innere Stadt als Bann gebiet für Werkel erklärt wird.' Ferdinand Scherber, 'Das Werkel', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 3 May 1906, 3.

⁵⁸⁷ Krammer, *ibid.*, 137-138.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Besonders findige 'Werkel-Unternehmer' kamen bald auf die Idee, ihr zweites oder drittes Werkel an 'Nichtkonzessionierte' weiterzuvermieten bzw. sich am Umsatz dieser 'Ausleiher' zu beteiligen.' *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵⁸⁹ Krammer, *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ 'Der heutige Werkelmann ist nur Besitzer, nicht Eigentümer, was die Juristen spitzfindig zu scheiden pflegen. Der Eigentümer ist der Großunternehmer, der Drehorgeln an Subunternehmer gegen einen Zins verpachtet. Alles das eigentlich gegen bestehende Verordnungen. Die Kraft der Zeiten war auch hier mächtiger als die des Gesetzes.' *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 3 May 1906, 2.

The writer also highlights the change in working styles, as the physical and aural transformation of Vienna required younger organ grinders to develop a sharper business acumen for their means of survival:

The division of labour is becoming more and more important, the work needs two people for its creative utilisation. One is the crank-turner, the musician, the other is the cashier, also a cap juggler, who must know how to attract the attention and magnanimity of passers-by with a tremendously developed *port de bras* and playing with a cap in his hand.⁵⁹¹

Although this familiar image follows a nostalgic glance towards the ‘timid sound’ of the older invalids on barrel organs, Scherber provides one of the most accurate accounts of *Werkelmänner* in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. With a subtle literary flair typical of many Viennese *feuilletonists*, he offers a portrait of these street figures that traces their historical origins, the past and present social and economic positions, and developments in musical repertoire and taste.

Scherber’s column contributes to the evolution of the Viennese ‘stereotype’ by combining a more mollified form of anti-noise rhetoric with a deeper, and admittedly satirical, exploration of the organ grinder’s role in urban life. The opening scene could be interpreted as a straightforward description of the daily routine of any respectable ‘intellectual’ in Vienna around 1900:

I sit at my desk and work. A difficult physiological problem....There are powerful rooms that are made for contemplation....In the flat where I live, I’m told, a proper professor has also breathed his last....I am in a hurry of thoughts, my mind constructs monumental buildings of knowledge in which common sense sits locked up in the cellar and sighs, longing for freedom. I feel how my brain becomes etherealised by the constant thinking, evaporates and floats into the distance as a completely denatured spirit.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ ‘Arbeitsteilung macht sich geltend, das Werkel braucht zwei Personen zu er schöpfender Ausnützung. Die eine ist der Kurbeldreher, der Musiker, die andere ist der Kassier, auch Kappenjongleur, der durch ein ungeheuer entwickeltes Port de bras und Spiel mit einer in seiner Hand, fast nie auf seinem Kopfe befindlichen Kappe die Aufmerksamkeit.’ *ibid.*

⁵⁹² ‘Ich sitze an meinem Schreibtische und arbeite. Ein schweres physiologisches Problem....Mächtige Zimmer gibt es, die zu Betrachtungen wie geschaffen sind....In der Wohnung, wo ich hause, soll auch ein ordentlicher Professor seinen Geist ausgehaucht haben....Ich bin im Eilzuge der Gedanken, mein Geist baut wissenschaftliche Monumentalbauten in denen die gesunde Vernunft im Keller eingesperrt sitzt und sich seufzend nach Freiheit sehnt. Ich fühle, wie mein Gehirn durch das fortwährende Denken sich ätherisiert, verdunstet und als völlig denaturierter Spiritus in lichte Fernen schwebt.’ *ibid.*, 1.

But it can also be read as a sharp satire on the hypersensitive rhetoric of noise abatement campaigners – ‘The cry of terror: “A Werkelmann!” quivers across my lips.’ The narrator struggles to find the appropriate curse to hurl down at the solitary organ grinder, but then stops:

I can't just curse him, this *Werkelmann*. After all, in just a few minutes he brings a little music and joy to all those who have not been calibrated in counterpoint or found to be fully capable of the coin of infinite melody. The *Werkel* is not such a negligible quantity as one might think. It is the wandering orchestra of the suburbs, the only instrument that most often satisfies the modern need for polyphonic music for the broadest strata of the people, and therefore of no small influence on mass artistic education. This explains the rich industry in mechanical music works.⁵⁹³

‘The wandering orchestra of the suburbs’ was often the only means by which working-class communities living in the side streets of crowded districts like Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld could hear and familiarise themselves with popular melodies from Viennese operettas, waltzes, marches, mazurkas, and arrangements of *Wienerlieder*. The services provided by small enterprises like Pippich’s ‘Werkel rental company’ and the regional growth of the mechanical music industry both played a fundamental role in this musical education of the street. Later in his essay, Scherber goes on to describe recent changes in the organ grinder’s repertoire, noting the disappearing traces of popular arias and choruses from Weber’s *Der Freischütz* – ‘a solitary boulder on the plain’; followed by Verdi, ‘the last flowery branch of the mighty tree of the Neapolitan school’; and finally ‘the many little wafers of “Kapellmeistermusik” slowly creeping through the fields’.⁵⁹⁴ A programme from the older generation of *Werkelmänner* reveals a different musical world:

‘Radetzky March’, ‘Die Schönbrunner’, ‘Wia i bin verwichen zu mein’ Dirndl g’schlichen’, ‘So leb’ denn wohl’ du stilles Haus’ and finally ‘Wir winden dir den Jungfernkranz’, whose popular power Heine describes so vividly and delightfully in his ‘Briefe aus Berlin’. Are

⁵⁹³ ‘Ich kann ihn nicht so ohne weiters verfluchen, diesen Werkelmann. Er bringt doch auf wenige Minuten allen jenen, die nicht kontrapunktlich geeicht oder von der Münze der unendlichen Melodie als vollkaratig befunden sind, ein bißchen Musik und Freude. Das Werkel ist keine solche quantität negligeeable, als man glaubt. Es ist das wandernde Orchester der Vorstadt, das einzige Instrument, das dem modernen Bedürfnisse nach mehrstimmiger Musik für die breitesten Schichten des Volkes am häufigsten genügt, darum von nicht geringem Einflüsse auf die künstlerische Massenerziehung. So läßt sich die reiche Industrie in mechanischen Musikwerken erklären.’ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ ‘ein einzelstehender Felsblock in der Ebene...Der letzte blütenreiche Ast vom mächtigen Baume der neapolitanischen Schule...die vielen kleinen Wäfferchen der ‘Kapellmeistermusik’, die langsam durch die Felder schleichen.’ *Ibid.*, 2.

there still such thoroughly popular plays today? Folk and popular are not identical terms. Margis' 'Valse bleue' was very popular here for a while, but certainly not folk-like. Music as a social art is losing its power. The musically inconspicuous *Werkel* proves it.⁵⁹⁵

This distinction between *Volksmusik* and *volkstümlich Musik* was already a common refrain among commentators in the 1880s and 1890s, when reporters lamented what they perceived as the artificial conflation of elements from older folk styles – the Schrammel's Nussdorf Trio and its predecessors for example – with the new popular songs influenced by mass entertainment. For Scherber, the more modern repertoire heard on the street

climbs to self-constructed heights far from the public, constructs new harmonies, distils new forms and strange derivatives from the elements of music, painting and poetry, enormously expands the technical field of the art of sound, but without even a drop falling from the [castalian] source for the people.⁵⁹⁶

The description refers to a range of classical and vernacular music heard in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but makes special reference to Wagner as 'the overpowering Klingsor' who causes the people 'to be seen wandering straight ahead in a kind of psychic inertia, wandering helplessly to and fro without guidance.'⁵⁹⁷ Despite the disconcerting image, Scherber does highlight some positive developments in the organ grinder's musical arsenal, particularly the virtual disappearance of a musical potpourri known as 'Fleckerlpatschen' (literally 'cheap slippers'). This custom would entail the player splicing together different opening bars of movements and often the

⁵⁹⁵ 'Radetzky-Marsch', 'Die Schönbrunner', 'Wia i bin verwichen zu mein' Dirndl g'schlichen', 'So leb' denn wohl du stilles Haus' und endlich 'Wir winden dir den Jungfernkranz', dessen populäre Kraft Heine in seinen 'Briefen aus Berlin' so auschaulich und ergötzlich schildert. Gibt es heute noch so durchaus volkstümliche und populäre Stücke? Volkstümlich und populär sind nicht identische Begriffe. Margis' 'Valse bleue' war hier eine Zeitlang sehr populär, aber gewiß nicht volkstümlich. Die Musik als soziale Kunst büßt ihre Macht ein. Das musikalisch unscheinbare Werkel beweist es.' Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Ganz nahe ergreift uns der Jammer der jüngsten Musik, die auf selbstgezimmernten Höhen fern vom Publikum klimmt, neue Harmonien konstruiert, neue Formen und absonderliche Derivate aus den Elementen der Musik, Malerei und Poesie destilliert, das technische Gebiet der Tonkunst ungeheuer erweitert, ohne daß jedoch vom [kastalischen] Quell auch nur ein Tropfen für das Volk abfällt.' *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁷ 'der übermächtige Klingsor....Das Volk sieht man aber in einer Art psychischen Beharrungsvermögens geradeaus weiterwandern, ohne Führung ratlos hin- und herirren.' *ibid.*

second halves of pieces in order to fit more music onto the reel. Along with the demise of this 'witch's offence' comes a renaissance of popular melodies by Josef Lanner and Johann Strauss I.⁵⁹⁸

The broad range of music performed by the Viennese *Werkelmänner* confirmed their status as a 'one-man orchestra' of the street who traced the evolution of musical style, both classical and vernacular, in a highly distinctive manner. An eccentric aspect of this wandering 'orchestra', one which proved to be intensely irritating to nearby office workers and pedestrians, was the unusual tempos chosen for familiar pieces and styles. Even though the organ grinders identified as musicians and attempted to replicate dynamic effects through skilful manipulation of stops, they were often accused of being unmusical. Emil Löbl recalled that the barrel organ 'suffered from the musical inadequacy of the 'Werkeldreher', who loved to rattle off the march in the tempo of a Kyrie eleison and a love song in the time of the fast polka.⁵⁹⁹ The unusual rhythmic signatures of the organ grinders became one of their most recognisable features and marked them out not just as eccentric working-class characters, who occupied a paradoxical position as active players in the refashioning of Vienna's suburban imaginary and social outcasts from beyond the old *Linienwall*, but also as being out of time on multiple levels.

Out of Sight and Out of Time

Michael Haberlandt's identification of the *Werkelmann* as the 'day thief' [*Tagdieb*] from the street focused overwhelmingly on the idea of sound as irritant for the professional classes going about their daily routine, as well as the allusion to the social underbelly of the suburbs. For the most sensitive members of the Vienna Anti-Noise League, the mechanical nature of the barrel organ and the perceived lack of proper musicality by the player amounted to nothing more than unnecessary noise

⁵⁹⁸ Scherber, *ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Auch litt es unter der musikalischen Unzulänglichkeit der Werkeldreher, die es liebten, den Marsch im Tempo eines Kyrie eleison und ein Liebeslied im Zeitmaß der Schnellpolka herunterzuleiern.' Emil Löbl, 'Verlorenes Paradies, Erinnerungen eines alten Wiener', in *Die gute, alte Zeit*, ed. Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (Vienna-Leipzig, 1924), 57, in Fritz and Kretschmer (2006), *ibid.*, 114.

which disturbed their mental balance. While retaining the aural element as a crucial factor in assessing urban experience in the public sphere, with its inevitable intrusion into private realms, there is another level on which Haberlandt's comment operates: the 'day thief' as a perpetrator of 'stolen time'. In the light of Emil Löbl's quote above, the employment of *tempo rubato* by the organ grinder himself was, it appears, in short supply. Yet a transference of this musical phenomenon to the wider temporal realm, contextualised through the increasing commodification of time in daily life around 1900, offers a way of analysing the urban rhythms and 'energies of the city' which encompasses the dynamic social, technological, and musical processes of the street. If time became a 'currency that could be spent, gained, and lost', according to Butrus al-Bustani in Beirut, then the relationship between the intellectual worker and the Viennese organ grinder now becomes more convoluted.

This complication of power relations between classes and individuals can be seen in the opposition and entanglement of 'linear' and 'cyclical' conceptions of time. If the transformation of Vienna's Ringstrasse zone and suburbs in the late nineteenth century resulted in a prioritisation of teleological movement and fully synchronised time, encouraged vociferously by the liberal bourgeoisie, then the more discursive mobility of the *Werkelmänner* offered a distinct challenge to the middle-class individual's idea of 'civilised time' as intimately bound up with 'civilised sound'. On the other hand, the overwhelming demands of *Mittelstand* society in the development of the public sphere, in addition to the temporal disorder and the 'Wiener Uhrenmisere' phenomenon, would have also had a significant impact on the organ grinder's ability to navigate the maze of regulations.

As well as being banned from the Inner City in 1884, the *Werkelmann* was subject to ever more constrictive rules over what sounds were deemed 'acceptable' at what times of day. The 'beggar's music licence' which was offered to street musicians came with stringent conditions: the barrel organs could only be used between midday and 6pm in winter and 8pm in summer.⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰ Krammer (1983), *ibid.*, 138.

However, problems arose with enforcing this due to the unusual clock situation, as can be seen in the commentary below that accompanied the caricature from the periodical *Wiener Luft*.



Fig. 4.9 – Caricature of Security Guard and *Werkelmann*, *Wiener Luft*, No. 15, (1881)
© Sammlung Peter Payer

Sicherheitswachmann: 'Wissen's nit, daß's vor Zwölfe net spiel'n derf'n?'

*Werkelmann: 'So, und nach welcherer Uhr als ma si z'richt'n hat, steht aber net in der Verordnung!'*⁶⁰¹

The picture above acts as a visual summary of the plethora of complaints submitted to major Viennese newspapers regarding the combination of street noise from organ grinders and the 'clock

⁶⁰¹ Security Guard: 'Don't you know you're not allowed to play before 12 o'clock?'; *Werkelmann*: 'Well, what clock should I follow, it's not in the regulations!'

misery' situation. Although the image was published in 1881, similar commentaries on Vienna's temporal calamity were printed until shortly before the outbreak of the First World War (noted in the section earlier), despite the extended preparations for the full adoption of *mitteleuropäische Zeit* in May 1910. Although legal mechanisms were put in place to severely restrict the activities of the *Werkelmänner*, this was undermined by daily temporal disorientation. On a more detailed level, the clash of clock times in the caricature above can be filtered through Lefebvre's theory of 'moments', or *Augenblicke*, 'moments of crisis in the original sense of the term...a gateway where past and future collide.'⁶⁰² Formulated partly as a corrective to the dominance of Henri Bergson's philosophy of *durée* in the early twentieth century, Lefebvre stressed the importance of recognising 'the instant' as a point of revolutionary potential and of a sudden opening where orthodoxies can be overturned. The 'moment' can also be read simply as a turning point in one's own life and encountered through a spontaneous recognition of the friction between different elements or beliefs. Stuart Elden has summarised Lefebvre's theory as 'non-calculable, as resistant to abstracting generalisation and in need of being understood as 'lived''.⁶⁰³ In a Viennese context, this tension between 'clock time' and 'lived time' is encapsulated not only in the clash between the authority figure of the Security Guard, regulating time and schedules, and the *Werkelmann* expressing his own sense of musical tempo among the melee of clocks, but also in the meeting point of fractured urban times sowing discord among all characters involved in the scene. The physical act of the organ grinder rotating the crank and producing his distinctive tempos is confronted with the desynchronised hands of Vienna's clocks, and under the regulations from the local authorities, forced to comply with a different set of times and urban rhythms. In this sense, it is the *Drehmoment*, or torque, of both the organ grinder and the clock which finally acts as a cipher through which the vernacular energy of the street is subsumed within the grander forces of urban modernity in turn-of-the-century Vienna.

The caricature above acts as a convenient nodal point for the multiple contestations of urban experience in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, explored not only in this chapter but also in 'Rioting beyond the

⁶⁰² Stuart Elden, 'Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction', in Lefebvre (2013), *ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

Ring'. The regulations over public noise, in the form of mechanical music, are entangled with that of public time, urban rhythms, and more broadly, class-based ideas of progress in a rapidly expanding capital city. If the presence of the organ grinder resulted in the loss of precious time for the businessman or intellectual working indoors, then the gradual marginalisation of these street figures by those same liberal professionals meant an existence that became increasingly out of time, or 'out of sync', with the dictates of modern metropolitan life. The partial disappearance of urban and vernacular musical memory was one of the many consequences of this evolution in Vienna's acoustic and temporal environment.

CONCLUSION

The 'Wild West'

After an exploration of street music and temporality offered in the final chapter, I now return to the familiar scene of Vienna's western *Vororte* and the cultural life of the many *Heurigen* dotted among the working-class tenement blocks and more affluent villas near the Wienerwald. Towards the end of chapter one, I presented a brief portrait of the Liebhartssthal tavern owned by the Matauschek family and the position it occupied in the social and musical life of this leafy suburban corner, paying particular attention to the experimentation in vernacular song that filled the rooms and dance hall on a regular basis. The establishments in Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld served many purposes for the local population: they acted as places of entertainment and relaxation at weekends, as well as meeting points for social groups and various societies. If a wine tavern such as the Liebhartssthal was a 'breeding ground' for musical experimentation, or 'Musiklärm' depending on your perspective, then the Goldener Luchs (Golden Lynx), also located in Ottakring, was an establishment where vernacular culture rubbed shoulders with the sounds of political agitation and workers' movements.

Several years before the politician Franz Schuhmeier began to be viewed in the press as a genuine threat to the authorities, the socialist firebrand held his first May Day speech at the Golden Lynx in 1890.⁶⁰⁴ In the same year, he had already converted his former smoking club – in reality, an illegal workers' association – into a new group called 'Apollo', which was rapidly acquiring members. By the end of 1891, this association 'had a membership of 2,300 and held its sessions in such legendary Neulerchenfeld inns as the Rote Bretzen, the Schwarzer Adler, and the Weißer Engel.'⁶⁰⁵ Within four years of his inaugural May Day speech, Schuhmeier was being described by the police authorities as one of the 'most radical agitators' in Vienna.⁶⁰⁶ Even the Social Democrat leader, Victor Adler, offered a sharp critique of the talented populist: 'Then there's Schuhmeier, who has

⁶⁰⁴ Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses* (Berghahn, 2008), 138.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 139.

brewed up a kind of noisy opportunism which would be impossible outside of the Wild West.’⁶⁰⁷ Adler refers specifically to the outer districts west of the former *Linienwall*, mainly encompassing the working-class enclaves within Neulerchenfeld, Ottakring, and, to a lesser extent, Hernals. Despite the opprobrium from Adler and many others, Schuhmeier’s ‘noisy opportunism’ was not just limited to stirring speeches and workers’ meetings in cultural venues, but was also channelled into long-lasting educational endeavours such as the founding of the Ottakring Arbeiterheim, a venue for the promotion of Social Democratic values and ‘a people’s college in the best sense of the word.’⁶⁰⁸ This multi-purpose residential centre, located in Kreitnergasse, was constructed between 1905 and 1907, and contained 42 apartments, various meeting rooms, a large dining hall, a pub, a youth library which opened in 1910, and spaces for educational and cultural events.⁶⁰⁹ Folk dancing classes became a regular fixture, as well as language courses which sought to cultivate closer connections between the German and Czech communities.⁶¹⁰ The Arbeiterheim acted as a strong centre of gravity for the residents of Ottakring and the surrounding districts, and provided a space for the working-class community to construct their own cultural and political identities during a period of rapid suburban transformation.

This ‘Wild West’ also encompassed what Klaus Hödl calls the ‘*Volkssänger Wars*’, where a significant meeting of folk musicians from across Vienna took place at the Goldener Luchs on 27 December, 1901. The purpose of the gathering was ostensibly to debate the Hungarian ban on a Viennese *Volkssänger* ensemble from performing in Budapest, but the agenda soon descended ‘into a forum for various arguments, spite, insinuations and much commotion.’⁶¹¹ The main issues were the ethnic tensions within Austria-Hungary between competing groups of singers and the general

⁶⁰⁷ Victor Adler, *Briefwechsel mit August Bebl und Karl Kautsky* (Vienna, 1954), 378, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 140.

⁶⁰⁸ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*

⁶⁰⁹ Christine Klusacek and Kurt Stimmer, *Ottakring. Von Brunnenmarkt zum Liebhartsthal* (Verlag Kurt Muhl, 1983), 101; Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien – Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919–1934*, (Vienna: Edition Spuren, 2002). The Ottakring Arbeiterheim was active between 1907 and February 1934, when it was attacked by police and military forces, and finally demolished.

⁶¹⁰ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 140–141.

⁶¹¹ Klaus Hödl, “‘Jewish History’ beyond binary conceptions: Jewish performing musicians in Vienna around 1900’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2017), 382.

poverty suffered by the majority of *Volkssänger* in Vienna, despite their local popularity. Hödl's detailed examination of the 'Volkssänger Wars' offers a rich vein of further scholarly enquiry into connections between the popular and folk music scenes in Vienna and Budapest.⁶¹² It also emphasises the concept of *communitas* in working-class districts, a process which recognised difference within the framework of a professional Viennese community of musicians and entertainers. The Goldener Luchs as a site of the vernacular, when viewed within the broader context of Vienna's suburban culture, reveals an environment where working-class and lower-middle-class residents participated in a remapping of consciousness occurring not only outside a boundary line, but at the very centre of musical and political hybridity.

This reformulation of suburban identity in taverns and educational-cultural centres, expressed through the juxtaposition of musical experimentation and the strong proletarian element in Ottakring, had a truly 'wild' side in the marginal zone called the Schmelz. This no-man's land was situated at the southern edge of the many new tenement blocks built in Ottakring from the 1890s onwards and became a byword for social squalor. Police reports from 1904 and 1911 highlighted the unruly youth and flotsam of the *Vororte*, whose presence in the protests and hunger riots often shocked members of the elite class who lived closer to the Ringstrasse.⁶¹³ The local historian Siegfried Weyr described this heath as 'a landscape of destiny', referring to the usage of this space between districts across the nineteenth century, from Napoleon's review of his military forces in 1809 to the proclamation of the end of the revolution in October 1848, and onwards to the temporary Radetzky barracks, built on the northern side of the Schmelz in 1896.⁶¹⁴ Yet it was in 1911, a year after Mayor Karl Lueger's death, that the planned construction of a 'Luegerstadt', designed by Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner, reinforced the boundaries between social classes by proposing a 'fashionable quarter', with strong bourgeois overtones, containing the City Museum and Academy of

⁶¹² Klaus Hödl, *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, trans. Corey Twitchell (Berghahn Books, 2019), 79-85.

⁶¹³ Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 15, 17.

⁶¹⁴ Siegfried Weyr, *Von Lampelbrunn bis Hohenwarth. Durch Wiener Vorstädte und Vororte* (Vienna, undated), 83, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 103-104.

Fine Arts, 'separated from its proletarian surroundings by a wall.'⁶¹⁵ The ambitions of architects and local authorities were thwarted, however, by the onset of war and unrealistic designs for the area. Instead, a scaled-back plan was used, and the space became known as the *Nibelungenviertel*.⁶¹⁶ Despite the urban development and gradual encroachment of the suburbs from three sides, the Schmelz retained a strong identity as a borderland squeezed between working-class enclaves. The uncultivated areas offered local residents a much-needed recreation ground, where realities and myths were conjured up in the imaginations of children and adolescents:

Clumps of trees and fantastic military entrenchments formed islands crossed with secretive ditches, in which rare weeds grew rank, and lizards, frogs, and toads abounded; on the plains there were even field mice and wild hares. For us children the heath was a measureless prairie, an African desert, the playground of Asiatic hordes, and when the rain poured down it became a sea full of all kinds of dangers. In this empty space we established a republic of children, playing out stories of the Wild West learned from Cooper and Hoffmann in the most realistic way.⁶¹⁷

* * * *

In my introduction, I opened with an image of the city and suburbs by Oscar Kramer, and briefly explored the topography of the Prater as a zone of cosmopolitan and imperial imaginaries expressed in the many national exhibition halls of the Vienna World Fair. After the case studies offered in my first three chapters, covering working-class living conditions, suburban musical venues, *Heurige* culture, and the role of vernacular instrumental music and song, I finally arrive at another borderland which conjures up the blurred boundaries and stark divisions between real and imagined places. If my attempts to interrogate simplified notions of centre and periphery in the vernacular culture of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna have resulted in the creation of a new dichotomy which focuses on districts like Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld as epicentres, with the rural hinterlands of Austria and edges of

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 104. Also see https://www.meinbezirk.at/rudolfsheim-fuenfhaus/c-lokales/das-nibelungenviertel-von-der-gstetten-zum-buergerlichen-graetzel_a2377218 for a local summary of the area. Accessed 2 March 2022.

⁶¹⁶ https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/reflexionen/vermessungen/606266_Wiens-gruene-Lunge.html?em_cnt_page=2. Accessed 2 March 2022.

⁶¹⁷ Alfons Petzold, *Das rauhe Leben. Roman eines Menschen* (Graz, 1970), 66, in Maderthaner and Musner, *ibid.*, 104.

neighbouring empires acting as peripheral concerns, then Petzold's colourful description above serves as a reminder that such binaries, when viewed through a more imaginative lens involving musical and literary expression, have limited usage.

The section on Josef Schrammel's 'Orientreise' in chapter two demonstrates the process of constantly overlapping forms of centre and periphery in the exporting of Viennese culture from the *Vororte* to another suburb in a major urban centre of the Ottoman Empire, which is positioned as marginal to the daily lives of many Viennese residents, despite the central position occupied by folk and popular music in the city as a whole. Such a contradictory set of relations may be enough to ward off any further examination of what is really deemed to be 'central' or 'peripheral' to the cultures operating in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Yet to collapse such a framework entirely would be to impoverish our understanding of the power dynamics at work during a period of major urban transformation. As demonstrated in chapters one and four, a recognition of class-based discourse, in allowing marginalised voices to re-appear in the scholarly narrative, must also be accompanied by a more nuanced view of heterogeneous interests within social strata. An exploration of the mixed residential zones in Ottakring, with tavern audiences compromising both working- and lower-middle-class individuals, plus the more intriguing interactions between organ grinders and members of the intellectual class in their negotiation of Vienna's bewildering acoustic and temporal environments, disrupt an overly deterministic view of class struggle while also stressing the power imbalance that contributed to social crisis in the suburbs.

Throughout the thesis, I have endeavoured to build upon recent reassessments of 'Vienna 1900' by highlighting the role and impact of vernacular music in everyday life, focusing particularly on the less explored arena of suburban culture outside the *Linienwall* (or *Gürtel*). If the Schrammel tradition has been used as a case study for interrogating the mobility of folk musicians from semi-rural districts, whose *volkstümlich* music was popularised across major European and Middle Eastern urban centres, then the *Wienerlieder* texts analysed in chapter three have provided a platform for highlighting the more immediate concerns of individuals in their negotiation of urban space during

the latter years of the *Gründerzeit* through to 1911. The journalistic role of these lyrics, often sung in Viennese dialect, acted as nodal points for responding to the most prominent themes of the day, whether it was the rapidly changing appearance of the city, financial insecurity, concerns over language disputes, or a generalised nostalgia for 'Alt-Wien' before the razing of the military fortifications. More importantly, the most prominent *Wienerlied* lyricists and composers, such as Carl Lorens and Ludwig Gruber, operated on the threshold of multiple worlds – between the heavily cosmopolitan identity of popular song, with its reliance on urban technologies and economic networks, and the pining for a more agrarian way of life that only existed in small, isolated pockets of Vienna's most distant *Vororte* by 1911. The development of copperplate printing technology and proliferation of song sheets during the *Gründerzeit* also contributed to a blurring of boundaries between reality and the myth-making process which was encouraged even further under Karl Lueger, contributing to more elaborate forms of self-imagining. All of the themes mentioned above can be channelled through the idea of shifting subjectivities and identities for the Viennese citizen, where the use of vernacular dialect in song created a more visceral connection between musical expression and the everyday experiences of audience members.

A 'sense of the vernacular' becomes a key phrase in the different approaches I have taken in each chapter. By using the vernacular both as an integral element and a backdrop to my study of Vienna's acoustic and temporal environments in chapters one and four, I have attempted to question scholarly assumptions about the role of music in the wider arena of urban sound, while extending such an enquiry to include an examination of urban rhythm and temporality. In many ways, an exploration of sound in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna has revealed rather mundane qualities, such as the material fabric of the city, the mechanical sounds of technology, the noise of transport, and the irritating presence of human voices. All these elements were highlighted in noise abatement literature which referred to the acoustic environments of many European and North American cities. Vienna was not exceptional or even distinctive in this regard, but reflected the shared strategies of other young metropolises in

negotiating the demands of modern living with the limited ability of residents to cope with the increasing noise and activity in daily life. With the exception of isolated details, such as the proportion of cobbled streets and the gradient of tenement blocks radiating outwards from the Ringstrasse, which arguably exacerbated the background noise, an attempt to find distinctive qualities in Vienna's acoustic environment lies not so much in the sounds themselves – apart from the linguistic dimension aligned to street dialect – but in the reactions to them found in newspapers and polemical articles. My section on the activities of anti-noise campaigners, focusing on the language and rhetoric of Michael Haberlandt, has offered evidence for how Viennese and Austrian intellectuals viewed certain mechanical and human sounds through strongly articulated moral categories, divorced from the more practical concerns of small businesses and labour unions.

If it is the case that distinctive qualities in Vienna's acoustic environment can only be found in the reactions within the noise abatement literature from around 1900, then it falls to other dimensions and theoretical frameworks to discover a closer imbrication of vernacular music with the experiences of daily life in the city. This is where my interpretation of urban rhythms through the lens of temporality has attempted to fill gaps in our understanding of perception and materiality in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, by aligning the notion of 'civilised sound' with that of 'civilised time', channelled through the image of fragmented time and the disrupted rhythms of the *Werkelmann*. The final chapter has been shaped partly as a response to Celia Applegate's plea for studies of music-making to be more attentive 'to the *where* of it', as well as taking notice of objects that are 'hidden in plain sight'.⁶¹⁸ A consideration of clocks and sundials may not, at first appearance, have much in common with vernacular music-making in the metropolis, but as I have hoped to demonstrate, it is through a reassessment of what it means to examine vernacular forms in an urban context that an alternative method for tracing distinctive urban and musical phenomena can be found. It is in the plural sense of the vernacular, then, that my study of music and culture in suburban Vienna has sought to shed light

⁶¹⁸ Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), 50.

on marginalised corners of the city, and to offer a new framework for understanding how vernacular culture helped to define, challenge, and affirm the shifting identities of Vienna's population.

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