

Exhumations, Honorary Graves, and the Fashioning of Vienna's Self-Image as the "City of Music"

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The opening gambit of Robert Schumann's famous essay of 1840 on Schubert's "Great" C-major Symphony considers the experience of a young musician visiting Vienna for the first time.¹ Initially charmed by the bustle of the streets and awed by the tower of St. Stephen's Cathedral, soon the musician will remember that not far from the inner city there lies a graveyard more important than all other sights and attractions. Schumann goes on to recall his own visit to Vienna, when he headed to the graves of Beethoven and Schubert but a few paces apart from one another in this cemetery in the suburb of Währing. He found a rose bush growing by the spot where Beethoven lay; Schubert's grave by contrast was unadorned — a potent symbol for the neglect of his music. For Schumann this visit, related as a romantic pilgrimage, was the fulfillment of one of his most ardent wishes; he goes on to inform readers that he almost envied a certain Count O'Donnell, whom he remembered as being buried between the two composers.²

As with his appreciation of Schubert's compositions, Schumann's love of Vienna was no passing fancy and it was an enthusiasm that he sought to inculcate in younger generations. In 1852 he wrote to Carl Debrois van Bruyck commenting on the allure of the city: "Ever again it draws one thither, as if the spirits of the great departed masters were still visible, as if it were the actual musical home of Germany."³ No doubt it was partly on account of Schumann that the young Brahms felt drawn to Vienna as the ultimate city of music. In 1862, some six years after Schumann's death, Brahms rejoiced over his new surroundings in Vienna: "I live here ten paces from the Prater and can drink my wine where Beethoven drank his."⁴ The following year, writing to Adolf Schubring, he would elaborate on his love of the city, referring to the "holy memory of

the great musicians of whose lives and work one is here daily reminded.”⁵ Like Schumann, Brahms styled his enchantment with Vienna as a private matter, fueled by an excitement in discovering unknown manuscripts and in making personal connections with the sites and witnesses of the city’s illustrious musical past.

Pilgrimages to Vienna and to the graves of the city’s musical heroes remained popular for musicians in the late nineteenth century, but the experience of such visits would have been radically different from the solitary pilgrimages made by Schumann and Brahms: by the end of the nineteenth century, with its massively increased population and developing transport network, Vienna had swollen into a modern metropolis. The most obviously apparent aspect of this transformation was, of course, the array of grand buildings that sprung up around Vienna’s new Ringstrasse following the razing of historic city walls in the late 1850s. As has frequently been noted, this architectural remodeling of Vienna was marked by the energy and ambition of the powerful bourgeoisie, but by the time that many of the buildings were completed the liberal values of this educated elite had been overshadowed in Vienna’s municipal council by populist and more radical politics.⁶ Brahms was resident in Vienna during this period of change and in April 1897, the month in which he died, the anti-Semitic Christian Social Karl Lueger was installed as mayor of the city, against the wishes of Emperor Franz Joseph.⁷

Specifically with regard to Vienna’s sense of its own musical history, though, the second half of the nineteenth century saw several significant developments. Historian Martina Nußbaumer suggests that as a result of imposing new buildings such as the

Court Opera (1869), the Musikverein (1870), and the Konzerthaus (1913), together with the naming of streets after famous musicians and the growing number of composer monuments dotted around the city, the idea of Vienna as a *Musikstadt* in fact came to be written into the city's newly-transformed physiognomy.⁸ Nußbaumer connects these changes to Vienna's gradually diminishing importance as a center of power within Europe. In planning monuments, she suggests, civic authorities sought to validate the modern city, not so much through monarchs and military heroes, but by looking back to its most famous cultural icons. One representative figure at the center of these developments was the industrialist and patron of the arts Nikolaus Dumba (1830-1900), who played a key role in instigating monuments for Schubert, Schiller, Beethoven, Grillparzer, Mozart, and Makart.⁹ Thanks to his efforts and those of other members of the privately-organized monument committees, by 1900, musicians wandering around the city need not recall the spirits of Vienna's past masters as Schumann had done — they would be reminded of these famous composers through their oversized likenesses, carved in marble and cast in bronze.¹⁰

This article explores a surprising development in late nineteenth-century Vienna that removed forever the possibility of repeating Schumann's solitary pilgrimage to the burial spots of Beethoven and Schubert at the cemetery in the suburb of Währing. In June and September 1888 the remains of these composers were exhumed and then reburied in opulent honorary graves in Group 32A of Vienna's new Zentralfriedhof. Financed and organized by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and the Männergesangsverein, these events afforded Vienna's modern musical institutions the

opportunity of casting themselves as custodians of the city's cultural inheritance and – as Christopher H. Gibbs has observed – allowed a Viennese population more than two generations removed from the original burials of 1827-28 to mark these musicians' legacies.¹¹ Similar honorary graves were created for other noteworthy Viennese residents during these years, but the reburials of Beethoven and Schubert were distinguished as the first figures in a cluster of famous musicians. In the years after 1888 Schumann's wish to slumber alongside these musical luminaries would be granted to various prominent musicians who had been active in the city, including Christoph Willibald Gluck and Johann von Herbeck (1831-77) – the result of further exhumations and reburials – and Franz von Suppé, Brahms, and Johann Strauss II, following their deaths in Vienna in 1895, 1897, and 1899 respectively. The graves present in Group 32A are arranged in a fan shape around a statue in memory of Mozart (itself moved from what was believed to be his burial spot in the St. Marx Cemetery). By 1900 these graves functioned collectively as a multi-piece monument to Vienna's cultural past, connecting famous musicians of different styles and historical eras.

Drawing on an array of primary source materials this investigation explores the establishment of the honorary graves for musicians in Vienna up until the end of the 1890s in the context of civic and institutional representations of Vienna's musical past. Nußbaumer's ideas about the late nineteenth-century construction of Vienna as a *Musikstadt* provide an important background for the study, but the critical mindset of the account is also informed by the historian Pierre Nora's concept of "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*).¹² Nora defines such sites as "any significant entity, whether material

or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.”¹³ For an idea of how the graves appeared in the early twentieth century, we can turn to an extraordinary photographic record of Vienna, *Wien und Umgebung* by Karl Mayreder and Martin Gerlach, published in 1912, which includes two images of the Cemetery.¹⁴ One of these photographs shows smartly dressed visitors strolling around Group 32A and reveals something of the visual splendor of the then still new *Ehrengräber*. (See Figure 1.) The history of Vienna’s honorary graves for musicians in the 1880s and ‘90s is the story of how the burials shown here were shaped by – but also helped to sustain – Vienna’s collective cultural memory of itself as the “City of Music.” These honorary graves memorialize the city’s great musical dead, but the real fascination of this monument lies in the way that it shapes and distorts perceptions of the very history it seeks to honor.

The Zentralfriedhof and the *Ehrengräber* Project

Vienna’s Zentralfriedhof officially opened on 1 November 1874, but had already been for several years the subject of complaint in the local press. The creation of a large, new cemetery had been agreed upon by Vienna’s municipal council back in 1866 to combat the lack of space in five communal cemeteries in the city’s suburbs (the Sankt Marxer Friedhof, the Matzleinsdorfer Friedhof, the Hundstürmer Friedhof, the Schmelzer Friedhof and the Währinger Allgemeiner Friedhof) and to provide a burial ground for Vienna’s rapidly increasing population. After a competition, in May 1871 plans by the Frankfurt-am-Main-based architects Carl Jonas Mylius (1839–83) and Alfred Friedrich

Bluntschli (1808–81) were selected for the design of the new cemetery.¹⁵ However, few decisions about the Zentralfriedhof seem to have been made without some form of dissent. Controversy was sparked by the idea of maintaining the cemetery as an interdenominational burial ground – a plan with ardent proponents and critics that was ultimately thwarted, both by the allocation of a separate Jewish burial ground within the plot of land and by the Catholic consecration ceremony that took place just prior to the cemetery's opening in 1874.¹⁶

Probably the most regularly criticized features of the cemetery, though, were its barren appearance and its distant location. Over five miles southeast of the heart of Vienna, the Zentralfriedhof was, in geographical terms, anything but central.¹⁷ On 5 November 1874 the satirical paper *Kikeriki* humorously drew attention to the cemetery's perceived ugliness and inaccessibility by printing a hypothetical conversation among the dead. One recently-buried individual humorously contrasted the grand monumental buildings enjoyed by the living inhabitants of Vienna with the wasteland (*Einöde*) of the Zentralfriedhof; another complains about having dutifully paid taxes his entire life only to be buried in the vicinity of a knacker's yard (*Schinderhaus*).¹⁸

Similar criticisms continued into the following decade and it is partly in this context that we should understand the municipal council's plan of creating groups of special graves in honor of famous figures from Vienna's past. The lengthy process of planning these graves began in 1877 when the city archivist, Karl Weiß, was commissioned to compile a list of the resting places of historically famous Viennese citizens and to identify individuals buried in the five cemeteries scheduled for closure

who merited reburial in the Zentralfriedhof. An article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* from June of that year estimated that this entailed the consideration of some 9,000 graves, but stressed the great cultural and historical significance of this work for the city.¹⁹ Weiß's *Gräberbuch*, which was reported to have been finished in 1881, was described in the press first and foremost as a reference work (*Nachschlagebuch*) and not all of the noteworthy figures recorded therein were to be reburied.²⁰ At Vienna's municipal council meeting on 2 May 1884 plans were advanced for organizing a commission that would select those individuals who had rendered a lasting service to the city of Vienna or to the Empire to have their earthly remains set in a special place of honor in the Zentralfriedhof. While the council would make decisions about the allocation and location of graves, the costs incurred in this process were to be met either by surviving family members or by organizations with a particular interest in the individual cases.²¹ The *Ehrengräber* reburials allowed for the creation of permanent resting places for these notable Viennese residents. As an appealing civic monument, it was also hoped that the graves might alleviate the unpopularity of the Zentralfriedhof by providing the new cemetery with a ready-made history.

The *Ehrengräber* project itself inevitably provoked a certain amount of controversy. There were unsurprisingly a number of objections raised about this proposal to disturb the repose of the dead, though there were precedents for this as some of the graves in the older city cemeteries had already been relocated to the Zentralfriedhof.²² The most hotly-debated aspect of the *Ehrengräber* project centered on the individuals who were to be honored. In April 1886 Vienna's newspapers carried

details of the reburials recommended by the specially-appointed commission.²³ The list grouped the historically-important Viennese citizens into two classes: individuals designated as “famous” (*berühmt*) were to have their remains transferred to full-scale honorary graves, while those described merely as “eminent” (*hervorragend*) were to be reburied in a slightly less distinguished area by the cemetery wall. Beethoven, Schubert and Gluck together with the piano manufacturer Anton Streicher were earmarked for first-tier reburials, as were fifteen other men including three artists (Josef Danhauser, Carl Rahl and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller), the poet Friedrich Hebbel, the engineer Carl von Ghega, the architect Eduard van der Nüll, field marshal Heinrich von Hess and the botanist Friedrich Mohs.²⁴ The individuals identified for reburial had graves in cemeteries that were scheduled for closure and this detail explains the otherwise puzzling omission from the list of the dramatists Grillparzer and Raimund and the musicians Johann Strauss I and Joseph Lanner.²⁵ Critics of the scheme were however quick to note that the list slighted some historically-important figures. The paper *Figaro* published a range of objections, questioning (among other details) whether Anton Streicher merited his place among the elite of Viennese celebrities, and complaining that the actor and playwright Johann Nestroy and the musician Josef Strauss had been inappropriately placed on the second tier.²⁶ The *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung* wryly commented that future generations would have little difficulty in deciding how to class members of the municipal council themselves.²⁷

The appearance of Beethoven and Schubert on this list in 1886 however was little more than a formality, for it is apparent that the memorialization of the city’s most

distinguished composers was crucial to the *Ehrengräber* project from its early stages. At the end of its report on the proposed reburials the *Neue Freie Presse* article noted that the re-siting of the monument marking the location of Mozart's burial at the St. Marx cemetery had previously been agreed upon.²⁸ And two years prior to this, back in 1884, the removal of the remains of Beethoven and Schubert from the Währinger Ortsfriedhof had in fact already been officially sanctioned. A brief report on this matter in *Die Presse* notes that the Wiener Männergesangverein had put together a fund large enough to provide the city's "Prince of Song" with "a worthy grave monument" and reports also that it had been said the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde would make similar arrangements for Beethoven's grave.²⁹ A short notice in the *Neue Freie Presse* at the start of December that year stated that the Mozart monument would be placed next to the graves of Beethoven and Schubert.³⁰ This positioning of the graves and monument at the center of Group 32A can be seen in a diagram that was printed in one of Vienna's illustrated papers ahead of Beethoven's reburial in June 1888. (See Figure 2.) Among the honorary graves in Group 14A there small groupings of artists, doctors, and politicians, but nothing equivalent to this impressive tripartite musical memorial.³¹

Also of note in printed diagram from June 1888 are several planned and already extant *Ehrengräber*. These include the graves for the military generals Franz von Uchatius (1811-1881) and Franz von John (1815-1876) which were in place respectively following exhumations and reburials in October 1883 and May 1885. The grave monument for the industrialist Carl von Ghega (1802-60) was unveiled in October 1887 together with monuments for the art historian Rudolf Eitelberger (1817-85) and the artist Friedrich von

Amerling (1803-87) – the latter unmarked in the diagram. Though the site of the honorary grave for Hans Makart (1840-84) is shown here the famous artist would not be reburied until October 1890. The burials of these personages in honorary graves were reported on in the local press, although they tended to be small in scale, involving just a few civic dignitaries, surviving family members, and representatives from the committees or institutions who had been responsible for financing the new grave monuments.³²

Reburying Beethoven and Schubert in 1888

Mozart's monument from the St. Marx Cemetery was relocated without spectacle to Group 32A of the Zentralfriedhof by June of 1888.³³ From the speeches that accompanied later burials and reburials we can gauge that the loss of Mozart's earthly remains through his burial in an unmarked grave back in 1791 was taken as a point of shame as it was felt to indicate Vienna's poor treatment of one its foremost musical heroes and probably on account of this there was little attempt to fashion a civic celebration from the re-siting of the grave marker.³⁴ By contrast, the reburials of Beethoven and Schubert in 1888, events that – as had been suggested four years earlier – were planned and financed by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and Männergesangverein, were carried out in a manner that allowed for the participation of Vienna's contemporary residents. The events took place separately, Beethoven's in June and Schubert's the following September, and both were two-day affairs: the exhumation one day, the burial the next. These occasions were vividly described in the newspapers and served to provide an

opportunity for more general reflection on these composers' legacies and their relationship with Vienna.

The exhumations of Beethoven and Schubert were carried out on 21 June and 22 September respectively and were witnessed by only small crowds of officials and admirers.³⁵ These were in fact second exhumations for both composers because back in 1863, so as to slow down the process of decomposition, their remains had already been dug up and transferred to metal coffins.³⁶ The newspaper reports reveal that there was a certain amount of confusion over how the proceedings in 1888 were best to be managed and understood. Among those present at the Währinger Ortsfriedhof were magistrates, representatives from both the city's municipal council and either the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde or the Männergesangverein, surviving relatives of the composers, journalists, members of Vienna's Anthropological Society and a small number of other interested onlookers including Anton Bruckner. A valuable photograph of the group present at Schubert's exhumation in September was included in Otto Erich Deutsch's iconographic study of the composer published in 1913 (Figure 3).³⁷ The ornate metal outer coffin that can be seen at the center of this photograph was supplied by the Viennese firm of A. M. Schorner.³⁸ The attitudes of the various personages in attendance on these occasions seems to have ranged from deep reverence to a more detached scientific curiosity.

Bruckner, whose behavior was characteristic of the former, was present in both June and September (though he is hard to make out in the photograph); his reaction to

the first of the two exhumations was described in an evocative account by his pupil Carl Hruby:

On the day of the exhumation of Beethoven's remains I was invited by Bruckner to travel out with him to the old Währinger Ortsfriedhof. Participants in that ceremony will certainly still remember that unforgettable scene when suddenly, just at the very moment that the coffin was lifted and in the circle round about an instinctive silence reigned, a nightingale from a nearby tree – as if as a last greeting to the great singer – convulsively began to raise its song.³⁹

Judging by the continuation of this narrative, Bruckner appears to have been greatly moved by the exhumation, which later allowed him to catch a glimpse of Beethoven's decaying bones. Hruby records Bruckner's delight on his return home to find that he appeared to have dropped one of the glasses from his *pince-nez* into Beethoven's coffin. And in the case of Schubert's exhumation three months later he was granted a special honor. Permitted to lay his hand on Schubert's skull, Bruckner, it was recorded by the *Neue Freie Presse*, was the last person to touch Schubert's mortal remains.⁴⁰

Not everyone was attuned to the profundity of these moments, though, and in his description of Beethoven's exhumation Hruby concedes that the deep impression left by the nightingale was quickly overshadowed when the delegated representatives of the City of Vienna began to quarrel.⁴¹ There was a dispute over whether Beethoven's coffin should be opened directly in the cemetery itself or in the nearby chapel, and from newspaper reports it becomes clear that the argument arose in response to the wishes of

members of Vienna's Anthropological Society to examine and measure Beethoven's remains. In the end, the measurement of Beethoven's bones took place in the chapel and when it came to Schubert's exhumation in September the proceedings were wisely agreed upon in advance, averting any possibility of a graveside brawl. The results from the Anthropological Society's examinations – a list of measurements and a description of the state of decay of the composers' remains – were published in the Viennese papers, and the findings also formed the basis of two more extensive, drily-worded reports.⁴² The rather haphazard way in which Beethoven's remains appear to have been treated during the examination contrasts with the respectful devotion shown by Bruckner. Some newspaper accounts in fact found it necessary to quash the rumor that, during the exhumation, two of Beethoven's molar teeth had gone missing.⁴³ The circumstances through which this idea arose are revealing: we learn that "immediately after the opening of the coffin a doctor took hold of the skull roughly and then set about examining the lower jaw."⁴⁴ Schubert's remains do not appear to have been subject to quite the same ministrations – though his skull was also scrutinized, with the photographic images published as part of the Anthropological Society's official report. (See Figure 4.)⁴⁵

While the exhumations of Beethoven and Schubert were fairly similar, when it came to the reburials, the way in which the events were managed reflected the differing priorities of the respective organizers. The plan for Beethoven's reburial was devised by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, which aimed to keep proceedings solemn and dignified, effectively replaying the original burial that had taken place some sixty years

earlier.⁴⁶ The newspaper reports emphasized the somber nature of this event and in the detailed coverage provided by the *Neue Freie Presse* the procession with Beethoven's coffin is referred to as a funeral cortege (*Trauerzug*). Tickets were issued for the portion of the ceremony that took place at the Zentralfriedhof. Noteworthy here are the instructions to the attendees, who are designated as mourners (*Trauer Gäste*), and requested to appear dressed in black clothing. See Figure 5.

Though ticketing somewhat curtailed the number of attendees at the actual reburial, the procession with Beethoven's coffin from Währing through the city of Vienna could in theory be seen by all. The symbolism of Beethoven reentering the city in which he had lived and worked was noted in the accounts of the event included in the Viennese papers. For readers of the *Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt* the reburial was a subject of great interest and one receives a good visual impression of the proceedings from a tripartite illustration that appeared on the front page of the paper. (See Figure 6.) Depicted in the uppermost section is the hearse provided by the firm Concordia – one of Vienna's premier funeral companies. The report in the *Neue Freie Presse* describes the behavior of the crowds as this vehicle drew by:

Nowhere was there mere idle curiosity and even the less educated spectators appeared to feel the significance of the memorial ceremony; they sensed that a great man was being carried to the grave. As soon as the hearse went past, in which the coffin covered with wreaths was visible, the spectators, deeply moved, bared their heads and the dead Beethoven was

greeted with great reverence on his journey through the new Vienna by the descendants of his contemporaries.⁴⁷

The second image provided by the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* shows events at the Zentralfriedhof shortly after the arrival of the carriage. Beethoven's coffin was carried onto a large catafalque by professors of Vienna's music conservatory, and the composer's remains were blessed. Next the coffin was taken to Group 32A – where, after the singing of the *Libera me* by the choir of St. Stephen's Cathedral and a performance of Beethoven's "Amplius" from Vienna's Singverein⁴⁸ – the famous actor Joseph Lewinsky stepped forward to deliver a eulogy. It is this scene that is shown in the final illustration.

The words spoken by Lewinsky had been penned by Privy Councilor Josef von Weilen, and, according to the *Neue Freie Presse*, from the very start Lewinsky held the audience spellbound. Various described in the newspapers as a "commemorative address (*Gedenkrede*) or a "euology" (*Trauerrede*), Weilen's speech drew extensively on the words by Franz Grillparzer that had been employed in Beethoven's original burial ceremony in 1827, itself delivered by one of the leading actors of the time, Heinrich Anschütz.⁴⁹ Grillparzer had claimed that through his death Beethoven had been won, not lost, for "no living being can enter the halls of immortality."⁵⁰ The powerful effect of reaffirming Beethoven's immortality, together with Grillparzer's injunction to mourners to gather in unity around Beethoven's grave, seem to have been heightened by Lewinsky's impassioned delivery.⁵¹ The speech apparently brought many women and girls to tears.⁵² Afterwards Heinrich von Billing, Vice-President of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, addressed those present and formally entrusted the new grave

monument to the City of Vienna. Proceedings closed with a performance of Beethoven's *Die Ehre Gottes* sung by the Singverein and the coffin was lowered into the new grave.

The reburial of Schubert in Group 32A followed on 23 September 1888. Though this was also an emotive occasion, in contrast to the solemnity of Beethoven's reburial the program worked out by Vienna's Männergesangverein was more cheerful in tone and Schubert's final journey appears to have been choreographed in a grander and almost jubilant manner. Significantly, whereas Beethoven's procession through Vienna had been largely silent, Schubert was escorted to his new resting place with music provided by the city's assembled choral societies. Probably on account of the singing, the crowd turnout was greater for Schubert's reburial, and the countless wreaths and garlands mentioned in newspaper reports suggest that the occasion also proved to be enormously lucrative for the city's florists.⁵³

A detailed commemorative illustration by Moritz Ledeli depicts important scenes, both within Vienna and at the cemetery (see Figure 7).⁵⁴ At the top is an impressive hearse, similar to that used to transport Beethoven's remains, and the central image shows Schubert's new grave in the Zentralfriedhof. It is, however, the lowest section of the illustration that is the most striking: here we see the procession with Schubert's coffin on course towards the city center as it draws past the Votive Church. This was an important point in the reburial ceremony, because it was here that the members of Vienna's choral societies, some twelve hundred singers in total, joined the procession.⁵⁵ The singers followed the funeral carriage through the city to Vienna's Schillerplatz, where in front of further crowds their performance took place. (A depiction of this latter

scene was chosen for the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* showing a throng of singers clutching their music and ordered into groups around placards.) The music sung was predictably a work by Schubert himself – *Die Nacht*, Op. 17, No. 4, but with a new text written specially for the occasion by Franz Krämer:

In schön'res Grab	Into a more beautiful grave the ashes of
Senket die Asche	Schubert descend!
Schubert's hinab!	
Längst weilt er in lichter Zone	Long he has resided in a brighter realm
In der Harmonie der Sphären.	in the harmony of the spheres.
Wien gibt heut' die letzten Ehren	Today Vienna, in mourning, gives the
Trauernd seinem großen Sohne.	last honor to its great son.
I	
Im vollen Chor,	Climb up to him, funeral lament, in a
Nänie, steige	full-voiced chorus!
Zu ihm empor!	
Meister, blick' auf uns hernieder	Look down on us, master, from the
Aus des Himmels blauer Ferne,	distant sky, your songs glisten brightly
Hell wie seine ew'gen Sterne	like eternal stars.
Glänzen ewig deine Lieder! ⁵⁶	

Krämer's opening reference in this text to a "more beautiful grave" was more than just abstract poetic sentiment. Whereas Beethoven's grave marker at the Zentralfriedhof had been fashioned as a replica of the obelisk originally present in the cemetery at Währing,

Schubert's final resting place was graced with a newly-conceived monument – the work of the famous sculptor Carl Kundmann and leading architect Theophil Hansen.⁵⁷ The new grave monument seems to have been integral to the Männergesangverein's plans for Schubert's reburial, and at the instigation of Nikolaus Dumba, former president of the society, proposals had been solicited back in December of 1884.⁵⁸ The epitaph on Schubert's original grave had referred to a creative life cut short: "Music has entombed here a rich treasure, but still fairer hopes."⁵⁹ Implications of unfulfilled promise were confidently sidelined in the impressive new headstone: here Schubert is crowned with laurels, an assertion of his absolute, unqualified genius.

Not all commentators took kindly to the manner in which Schubert's reburial proceedings were managed. To the composer's devotees it might have felt as if the reburial provided an opportunity for the type of stately send-off that had been omitted following Schubert's death in 1828. One newspaper report in fact described the reburial of the composer as a duty of honor fulfilled by the city of Vienna for its great son.⁶⁰ What is striking in comparison with Beethoven's reinterment, though, is the seemingly celebratory nature of the events. (Tellingly, the elaborate musical performance on the Schillerplatz was described in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* as a "homage."⁶¹) While some commentators, such as Richard von Perger, appreciated the more buoyant mood, suggesting that it made little sense to mourn composers who had died over half a century earlier,⁶² others felt that Schubert's opulent reburial lacked dignity. The *Neue Freie Presse* implied that at times the procession through the city threatened to descend into shallow spectacle.⁶³ Probably the wittiest and most memorable critique of Schubert's

reburial, though, was one that had been delivered beforehand in the pages of the satirical paper *Kikeriki*. This took the form of a re-writing of Wilhelm Müller's poem "Das Wandern," set by Schubert as the opening song of *Die schöne Müllerin*. Speaking from beyond the grave Schubert now addresses those planning his reburial: "To wander is the miller's joy... However, after the time of death, leave it to others!" He then goes on to complain about both the inevitable "gawping at bones" (*Beindlstiererei*) brought about by exhumations and the accompanying speeches (*und dann die Reden noch dabei*), concluding – in perfectly-rhymed verses – that he would prefer to know nothing of this type of wandering after death.⁶⁴

Schubert's reburial was an easy target for satire in part because of the tendency in late nineteenth-century Vienna to capitalize upon such events for theatrical display. The writer Stefan Zweig would have been a child in 1888 but fondly remembered the love of spectacle in his native city during this period:

Everything that externalized color or music became a festive occasion – religious processions like that of the Feast of Corpus Christi, military parades, the music accompanying the changing of the guard, even burials were greeted by enthusiastic throngs, and it was the ambition of every true Viennese to have a good funeral [*schöne Leich'*] with a splendid procession and many attendants; a true Viennese transformed even his death into a visual delight for others.⁶⁵

These comments provide one way of thinking about Schubert as a "true son" of the city of Vienna; Zweig's words also suggest that we perhaps shouldn't infer too much merely

from a large turnout in September 1888. Schubert's reburial, impressive though it was, would have paled in significance compared with other grand ceremonial events, such as the famous pageant orchestrated by Hans Makart to mark the silver wedding anniversary of Franz Joseph and his wife Elisabeth in 1879. Theatrical display was also significant in the political sphere and John Boyer has suggested that part of the success of the opportunistic Karl Lueger in Vienna of the 1890s lay in his recognition of the importance of the public face of political life in the city.⁶⁶

But setting aside the general love of theater in late nineteenth-century Vienna, there was a strong sense during Schubert's reburial proceedings that the events were shaped by an updated perception of the composer's legacy. Christopher H. Gibbs has drawn attention to the extraordinary burgeoning interest in Schubert's music in German-speaking lands during the mid and late nineteenth century.⁶⁷ The decades after 1828 saw premieres of numerous Schubert masterpieces that were largely unknown at the time of his death, including those of the "Great" C-major Symphony mentioned by Schumann (first public performance in Leipzig in 1839 under Mendelssohn) and the "Unfinished" Symphony (first performed in Vienna in 1865 under Johann von Herbeck). For Eduard Hanslick, writing in the 1860s, the outpouring of newly discovered music gave the impression of posthumous productivity:

If Schubert's contemporaries rightly gazed astonished at his creative power, what shall we, who come after him, say, as we incessantly discover new works of his? For thirty years the master has been dead, and in spite of

this it seems as if he goes on working invisibly – it is impossible to follow him.⁶⁸

An article in *Die Presse* at the time of Schubert's reburial in 1888 echoed Hanslick's words, marveling at the fact that two generations after the composer's death unknown creations were still coming to light.⁶⁹ The Schubert who was reburied in 1888 was thus a very differently-understood composer from the musician whose life was perceived to have been so tragically cut short six decades earlier.

Despite the variations between the Beethoven and Schubert reburial proceedings, one common theme in the way that the newspapers reported on the events was the desire to emphasize continuities between modern Vienna and the city that had been home to these composers in the early nineteenth century. The easiest means of doing this was to draw attention to those few individuals alive in the 1820s who also participated in the exhumations and reburials: Schubert's surviving half-brothers P. Hermann (1826-92) and Andreas (1823-93), the Cathedral Capellmeister Gottfried Preyer (1807-1901) – described by the *Neue Freie Presse* as a contemporary of Beethoven's – and the elderly Auxiliary Bishop Eduard Angerer who (according to the same paper) as a boy had witnessed Beethoven's burial in 1827.⁷⁰ The presence of such individuals, together with the symbolic reentries of Beethoven and Schubert into Vienna's city center, seem to have allowed the Vienna's contemporary residents and institutions to perform their own sense of connectedness to the musical heroes of the city's past. By 1888 there were various reasons why such a performance might have been felt to be necessary.

In terms of its appearance, the city which the remains of Beethoven and Schubert reentered in 1888 was a hugely different from the place in which they had died, though the newness of the new buildings was at some level hidden from view on account of the use of varied historic architectural models – what Ilsa Barea has memorably termed Vienna’s “orgy of decorative styles.”⁷¹ When Beethoven and Schubert were buried in the Währinger Ortsfriedhof the suburb of Währing was still separated from the central portion of Vienna by the historic city walls. Returning to Moritz Ledeli’s souvenir illustration of Schubert’s reburial it is worth contemplating the route of the procession into the center of Vienna. Notable in particular is the Votive Church, depicted in the lowermost illustration, in front of which members of Vienna’s choral societies assembled. In 1888 this neo-Gothic building was still quite new – construction had begun in 1853 and the building was consecrated in 1879. The historical styling of other new buildings invites a more sustained ideological investigation: the severe classical forms of the Austrian Parliament building on the Ringstrasse (completed in 1883) implied a tradition of democracy, while the neo-Gothic Town Hall designed by Friedrich von Schmidt that was completed in the same year drew on the models of Belgian town halls which had historically been home to independent burgher administrators.⁷² These splendid edifices proclaimed the ambitions of Vienna’s powerful bourgeoisie, but in so doing it also seems as if they attempt to construct a past that never was.

The notion of constructed traditions is helpful in reflecting on what might have been at stake for the three institutions responsible for organizing the reburials of Beethoven and Schubert, because all these institutions were either of relatively recent

origin or had been quite newly transformed. Vienna's municipal council, the instigator and overseer of the *Ehrengräber* project came into being after the revolution of 1848. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde was founded back in 1812 but by the 1880s had become a rather different, more professionally-oriented organization from that known to Beethoven and Schubert. Otto Biba and Leon Botstein have described the increasingly sharp divisions between professional and amateur music-making that developed in Vienna during the later nineteenth-century with reference to the popularity of amateur choral societies and the increasing norm of both orchestral music and chamber works being played by professional musicians in concert halls in front of a paying audience.⁷³ The establishment of the Männergesangverein in 1843 was crucial within these changes, while an obvious outward marker of the developments was the opening in 1870 of the large Musikverein building as a new home for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The reburials of Beethoven and Schubert were conceived as acts that preserved Vienna's cultural legacy, but for the municipal council and city's leading musical institutions the occasions contributed helpfully to their own historical self-legitimation.

In the case of Schubert's reburial we gauge something of this from the later published histories of the Männergesangverein and of another of Vienna's notable choral society's, the Schubertbund. The latter was represented among the choral societies that performed at the Schillerplatz in September 1888 but members of the society sought to make up for the relatively small role they played in Schubert's actual reburial through a separate afternoon performance at the Zentralfriedhof following the composer's reinterment. The Schubertbund's musical homage was briefly mentioned at the end of

the *Neue Freie Presse* report and was described in greater depth in a 1913 publication by Anton Weiss, who explained the cause of this performance was the lack of opportunity within the official proceedings for an independent vocal contribution from the society.⁷⁴ By contrast, the 1893 history of the Männergesangverein proudly narrated the society's leading role in organizing Schubert's reburial, attesting (in distinction to the somewhat skeptical newspaper reports quoted above) that: "The entire ceremony proceeded in the most dignified manner and did not fail to make an uplifting impression on all who witnessed it."⁷⁵ In a later report from the same society, published in 1938, Karl Adametz described Schubert's reinterment as "definitely the most memorable day in the history of the society."⁷⁶ As well as providing a detailed discussion of the exhumation and reburial, Adametz's account included an image of the ornate golden key for Schubert's new coffin that was symbolically held in the Männergesangverein's collections.

The Musicians' Grove in the 1890s

In the years after the reburials of Beethoven and Schubert the site of their new graves, along with the Mozart monument in Group 32A, became a popular place of pilgrimage. The graves quickly grew into a tourist attraction and were listed in guidebooks as early as 1891.⁷⁷ But the new burial spot was also familiar to Vienna's own residents. On All Souls' Day it was customary for the Viennese to visit cemeteries to lay flowers on the graves of their relatives, and there was a tradition in the city of visiting other important burial places at this time. A report on the subject in *Die Presse* in 1889 noted that the Imperial Tomb was made accessible to visitors and that the graves of Beethoven and

Schubert and the Mozart monument were graced with flowers donated by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, the Conservatory, the Court Opera, and various choral societies, including both the Männergengesangverein and the Schubertbund.⁷⁸ A visual impression of how Group 32A might have appeared during these early years (though without the floral tributes) is provided by an attractive woodcut illustration based on an image from the Viennese photography studio of Michael Frankenstein. (See Figure 8.) Notable also in this illustration is the caption: “The Graves of our Great Musicians in Vienna,” implying that Mozart’s earthly remains are located here as well – a mistake also repeated in several travel guides.

Pious visits aside, commentary on the musicians’ honorary graves occurred in the Viennese newspapers most often during the 1890s on those occasions when further exhumed remains and other more recently deceased musicians were added to their number. The enlargement of Group 32A allowed for repeated celebrations of Vienna’s musical heritage, and the speeches accompanying the reburials and burials typically took up the theme of continuity between Vienna’s past and present musical life that featured during the ceremonies of 1888. Additionally, the newspaper reports, memorial speeches and eulogies on these occasions also often made a feature of kinship, drawing attention to the links between the musicians honored in Group 32A, as though seeking to fashion a single musical dynasty from these noteworthy individuals who were separated by time and, in some cases also, musical style.

With the approval of Vienna’s municipal council four further musicians’ graves were added to Group 32A in the first half of the 1890s. The new graves honored Gluck

and the piano manufacturer Andreas Streicher, along with two musicians who had played important roles within Vienna's musical life during the mid-nineteenth century: Johann von Herbeck and the famous opera tenor Alois Ander (1821-64). While none of these events were as grand as those of 1888, the reburials of Gluck in 1890 and Herbeck in 1891 are of particular interest because once again they were staged and financed by two of Vienna's major musical institutions – the Court Opera and the Männgergesangverein.⁷⁹

Gluck's remains were moved from the Matzleinsdorf Cemetery in late September 1890, and his skull and bones – like those of Beethoven and Schubert – were examined by representatives from Vienna's Anthropological Society. The reburial ceremony included contributions from various members of the Court Opera: choruses were sung from Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* and a speech was delivered by director Wilhelm Jahn. The report on Gluck's reburial in the *Neue Freie Presse* referred to the existing graves of composers in Group 32A as the "Musicians' Grove" (*Bosquet der Tondichter*) and quoted the words spoken by Jahn.⁸⁰ Monarchical metaphors had occasionally figured in the newspaper commentaries on Beethoven's and Schubert's reburials, but Jahn's short speech was striking in pushing this idea further. Drawing attention to the obvious superiority of the new burial spot, he addressed Gluck's coffin as follows:

We have accompanied your mortal remains here, you immortal one, from a lonely grave to a royal vault [*Königsgruft*], to a site that the grateful city of Vienna has built for the princes of the spirit [*Fürsten des Geistes*].⁸¹

Not everybody agreed with such sentiments, and from one irate letter to the *Neue Freie Presse* it transpires that Gluck's "lonely grave" had originally been next to that of his wife.⁸² She had not been otherwise mentioned in the report accompanying the reburial and seems not to have been deemed worthy of interment alongside her husband in his new elite resting place.

The reburial of Herbeck followed in June 1891 and took place without equivalent controversy. The event was notable in contrast to the previously discussed reburials because his death was still relatively recent and – unlike Beethoven, Schubert, and Gluck – he would have been personally known to many of the people arranging the proceedings. A powerful figure in Viennese musical life, Herbeck served as conductor of the Männergesangverein, the Singverein and had been director of both the Court Opera and the concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. In 1877 his remains had been committed to a resting place in the newly-opened Zentralfriedhof, so the upgrading of his burial required moving the coffin but a short distance. Such a detail, however, did not serve to put a damper on the excitement of the occasion. Both the Männergesangverein and Singverein participated in the event and the speech accompanying the reinterment was delivered by Nikolaus Dumba.⁸³ Inevitably Dumba's words stressed Herbeck's vital role in recent Viennese musical life, but he also drew particular attention to the location of the conductor's new resting place in close proximity to that of Schubert – a composer whose reputation he had played such an important role in reviving in the mid-nineteenth century.

The most celebrated additions to the Musicians' Grove in Group 32A during the 1890s took place in the second half of the decade following the deaths of Franz von Suppé, Brahms, and Johann Strauss II. While one should be cautious of imposing modern and more rigid notions of high and low art on Viennese musical culture of the nineteenth century, von Suppé's allocation of an honorary grave in Group 32A seems significant as his renown was a popular musician (as noted above, back in 1886 Josef Strauss had been grouped in the second tier of Viennese celebrities, not deemed appropriate for a full honorary grave).⁸⁴ Suppé's remains, however, were not transferred to his final resting place directly following his funeral in May 1895 and it was not until a full two years later – after the death of Brahms – that he was at last committed to the Musicians' Grove in a fairly low-key ceremony.⁸⁵ In October 1896 the death of Anton Bruckner occasioned lavish processions through the center of Vienna to the Karlskirche where his funeral took place. As recorded in the *Neue Freie Presse*, the City of Vienna met the costs for Bruckner's funeral and this civic celebration of Bruckner's musical legacy occasioned the participation of musical societies such as the Schubertbund, the Akademischer Wagner-Verein, the Männergesangverein and the presence of the city mayor and his two deputies. But as Bruckner had left specific instructions in his will about what was happen to his body there was no prospect for a burial in the Zentralfriedhof; after the funeral his coffin was taken by train westward from the city to St. Florian where he was laid to rest below his favorite organ in the monastery church.⁸⁶

The burials of Brahms in April 1897 and Strauss in June 1899 were both managed by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and more so than any other equivalent events in

the 1890s they allowed for the powerful extension of Vienna's *Musikstadt* narrative. Conceived so as to capitalize on the rich symbolism of the moments of interment, the events were strikingly alike, with the funerals both taking place in Vienna's Lutheran Church on Dorotheergasse, followed by short choral performances from the balcony of the Musikverein. Considering these burials in conjunction with the events of 1888, though, the most startling feature is their similarity to the recent reinterments. The correspondences also extended to the ways that the recently deceased composers were celebrated: the German Brahms, like Beethoven before him, had elected to live in Vienna, while Strauss, like Schubert, was honored as a true son of the city.

It is commonly suggested that it was Brahms's desire to be buried alongside Beethoven and Schubert, but considering his funeral and burial in their entirety one is forced to the conclusion that the arrangements were made first and foremost so as to use the occasion for a civic and institutional celebration of his legacy. That this process had begun well in advance of the actual funeral can be observed from the memoirs of the singer George Henschel. One of Brahms's friends and collaborators, Henschel had arrived in Vienna just after Brahms's death on the morning of 3 April:

I hurried to the death-chamber which had been transformed into a *chapelle ardente*. The arrangements usual in Catholic countries: a plentiful display of silver crosses on draperies of black velvet; huge brass candelabra on which huge wax candles were burning, presented a strange contrast to the simplicity of the life and habits of the master (who had been a Protestant), and it was only the beautiful flowers which Love and Admiration had

piled up in great and fragrant masses on the floor beneath the canopy until they reach high above the coffin, almost completely hiding it from sight, that somewhat reconciled one to the inappropriateness of the official decoration of the room.⁸⁷

The deceased composer was photographed later that same day and a death mask was made by Carl Kundmann. On 5 April, another German Protestant, Brahms's future biographer Max Kalbeck, visited the apartment in the Karlsgasse and like Henschel before him was ill at ease with the laying out of the composer's body. In a diary entry he noted that he was "glad to stand outside again," going on to complain that "Brahms should have been spared the tastelessness of this morbid magnificence."⁸⁸

From such reactions one gets the sense that upon his death Brahms had become public property. In his memoirs of the composer published in 1898 the Swiss writer Joseph Victor Widmann recalled his personal sorrow on learning of Brahms's passing: "I knew well that the sorrow over such a deceased person belonged not to me nor any other individual, for it instead concerned everybody."⁸⁹ Of concern to everybody, perhaps, but of particular concern to the city of Vienna and its musical institutions. In the absence of immediate family, it was the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde that organized and financed Brahms's funeral, having issued a death notice on 4 April to give news of the passing of its "honorary and directing member" Dr. Johannes Brahms.⁹⁰ On the same day the *Arbeiter Zeitung* informed its readers that immediately after his death the City of Vienna had granted Brahms an honorary grave in the "Musicians' Grove."⁹¹

From the diary of the composer and critic Richard Heuberger we can surmise that it was Karl Lueger, who had facilitated this speedy decision.⁹²

For all his disdain over the laying out of Brahms's body, Kalbeck himself would end up playing a key role in shaping perceptions of Brahms's burial wishes. Notably it was he who was the source for the often repeated claim that it was Brahms's desire to have his final resting place in Group 32A. In his influential biography of the composer he recalled visiting the Zentralfriedhof with Brahms following the funeral of the composer's friend Theodor Billroth back in 1894. After finding the spot where Billroth would ultimately be buried, Kalbeck notes that they "entered the secluded grove that encloses the monuments of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert" at which point Brahms opined that "it would be rather good to rest someplace round about there."⁹³ A shorter account of this episode had appeared in an issue of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* of 4 April 1897 in the context of discussions over how Brahms's funeral arrangements should best be managed.⁹⁴

Kalbeck's story should not be too readily dismissed, but it is important to note that there no corroboration of this wish. Later biographers, including the otherwise cautious Siegfried Kross, repeat the claim but without citing Kalbeck as a source.⁹⁵ Brahms's written instructions for what was to happen to his remains after his death – expressed in a document known as the Ischl Testament of May 1891 – actually stipulated that his body should be cremated.⁹⁶ This was unusual in Vienna at the time and would have required transporting his remains to the German city of Gotha.⁹⁷ The possibility of cremation was discussed in April 1897 and confirmation that this was what Brahms had

desired came from his publisher Fritz Simrock.⁹⁸ The absence of a legally binding will might have made it hard to carry out such unconventional arrangements and Brahms's body ended up being buried directly in Group 32A.

The extensive newspaper reports covering Brahms's funeral and burial give a good sense of how grandiose these events became. The funeral took place on the afternoon of 6 April and it was reported that six carriages were required to carry floral tributes. The crowds congregated outside Brahms's home in the Karlsgasse at 2 pm. At 2:30 pm, the coffin was brought out, adorned with wreaths from both the City of Vienna and Brahms's birthplace, Hamburg. The procession that followed involved many of Brahms's friends and fellow musicians (among them Antonín Dvořák, Arthur Nikisch, Eduard Strauss, and Marie Schumann), along with journalists, leading figures from Vienna's cultural and civic life, and representatives from musical institutions around Europe. According to one journalist the effect of the amassed crowds, flowers and the grand funeral cortege was one of "princely pomp,"⁹⁹ while a reporter for the *Arbeiter Zeitung* noted – with seeming relish – that the funeral was of a kind that Vienna had not seen for a long time.¹⁰⁰

A photograph shows the funeral cortege watched by a crowd of observers on the corner of the Karlsgasse (Figure 9). In the background of this image is the Musikverein, the home of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and it was toward this building that the procession was headed. The Musikverein had itself been decked out with symbols of mourning: an imposing black flag waved from the gable of the building, and the doors were draped with black cloth. It was here that Dr. Edler von Billing of the Gesellschaft

der Musikfreunde and Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, director of the Vienna Conservatory, made speeches, following which the Singverein performed Brahms's part-song "Fahr wohl," Op. 93a, No. 4.

The funeral service in the Lutheran Church on Dorotheergasse was witnessed by a much smaller crowd due to shortages of space. Those without the necessary admission ticket could read about the service in the newspaper reports or scrutinize the scene inside of the church through an illustration printed in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* a couple of days later (Figure 10). This image shows the composer's coffin and, in the center, Pastor Zimmermann who led the service and preached the funeral sermon. At the end of the service Vienna's Männergesangverein, under the direction of Eduard Kremser, performed "Wanderers Nachtlied" by Karl Reissiger and the funeral procession left the church, heading off to the Zentralfriedhof.¹⁰¹

The location of Brahms's grave was a point much emphasized in the press, and for several commentators it seemed to provide definitive legitimation of his artistic achievements. In describing the burial proceedings, the *Neue Freie Presse* noted that Brahms was buried close to Beethoven, Schubert, and Herbeck and the significance of the location was also not lost on Richard von Perger, the conductor of the Singverein who made a speech at the graveside. Perger referred evocatively to the Musicians' Grove as a "sacrosanct space," as the "mausoleum of German music," and suggested that only now at the moment of his death would Brahms be in the company of his "worthy spiritual brothers."¹⁰²

Such words resonate with the way in which Brahms's musical career had been summarized in the preceding days in the local press. The musicologist Ingrid Fuchs has observed that a common tendency in the Viennese Brahms obituaries was for writers to embed Brahms's achievements in a larger narrative of music history.¹⁰³ For the liberal press, this approach made it possible to cast Brahms as the heir of Viennese musical traditions – the successor of Beethoven and Schubert – helping to sideline the music of Brahms's contemporaries Richard Wagner and Anton Bruckner. Such a viewpoint informs the obituary by Kalbeck, and would be played out more fully in his four-volume biography of the composer published in the first decades of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ As Sandra McColl notes, for Kalbeck, Brahms was to be praised as a classicist, a musician who rejected the sensuality of poetic program music in favor of higher aesthetic ideals and timeless compositional techniques.¹⁰⁵

But while for Kalbeck stressing Brahms's proximity to his musical forebears served as a means of validating his artistic achievements, a subtly modified version of the same idea could also be used to praise Brahms as a historicist while allowing space for his contemporaries as more radical innovators. Karl Lueger, had been present at Brahms's burial and he expressed his sorrow over the death at a municipal council meeting held the day after his election as mayor.¹⁰⁶ Lueger described Brahms as a composer "who walked in the paths of Beethoven and Schubert," noting that Brahms, like Bruckner, was a great German musician who had helped the city of Vienna obtain an eminent position in the history of music.¹⁰⁷ Lueger went on to add that like Beethoven before him, for Brahms the city of Vienna proved a congenial environment for his art to

flourish and became a second home. A similarly laudatory account of Brahms's achievements was provided by Carl Staubach in the German nationalist paper *Deutsches Volksblatt*. While asserting the merits of Bruckner's music, Staubach praised Brahms as the "last classicist,"¹⁰⁸ and noted that the composer's passing was a great loss to German culture as a whole. For both Lueger and Staubach here mourning Brahms as a historically-inclined *German* musician was a way of accommodating him to their anti-Semitic ideologies.

Given that during Brahms's lifetime much of his support came from the liberal press, the attempts to draw on his legacy for very different political purposes may seem surprising, but this detail is in keeping both with shifting conceptions of nationalism in the sphere of musical criticism and with the ways in which the *Musikstadt* topos was taken up by Lueger's Christian Social Party in Vienna in the late 1890s.¹⁰⁹ The comments of Staubach and Lueger are probably best viewed in the context of the racially-charged nationalism identified by David Brodbeck as a growing force in Viennese musical circles in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This nationalism was different from that of liberal critics such as Hanslick and Kalbeck, for whom "Germanness" was an attribute that could be earned by outsiders (including Jews) through the embrace of German cultural values, but this did not preclude both factions from attempting to lay claim to the same cultural icons.¹¹⁰ In her discussion of the construction of composer monuments around Vienna, Nußbaumer emphasizes that the fashioning of Vienna as a *Musikstadt* was a project initially bound up with the cultural values of the city's bourgeoisie, but goes on to note that the Christian Social Party would themselves make their mark on the

process with the erection of a monument in memory of Anton Bruckner that was unveiled in Vienna's Stadtpark October 1899, a mere three years after the composer's death.¹¹¹ The funeral and burial of Johann Strauss in June earlier that same year provides a further example of the political appropriation of Vienna's rich musical past, involving as it did a larger number of representatives from the City of Vienna and a graveside speech from Karl Lueger.

In most respects the public ceremonies that marked Strauss's death were similar to those for Brahms in 1897. Following the city council meeting on 6 June he was quickly allocated a burial spot among the honorary graves.¹¹² His body was also laid out in a lavish manner and a deathbed photograph taken by Josef Löwy was even included in the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*.¹¹³ (See Figure 11.) Preceding the funeral in the Lutheran church there was a procession from Strauss's home in the Igelgasse and after the funeral service the cortege stopped in front of the Musikverein building for speeches and a performance of "Fahr wohl" – the very same part song by Brahms that had been sung some two years earlier. On the basis of theatricality and sheer splendor, though, Strauss's funeral was in a different league. While it is difficult to estimate the number of Viennese residents who took to the streets to mark the loss of the Waltz King, the *Neue Freie Presse* coverage suggested that not since the burial of Makart in 1884 had one seen such a long row of carriages follow a coffin to the cemetery.¹¹⁴

A particularly detailed account of the majestic funeral procession was provided in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and describes the procession on its way toward the church:

The arrangement was splendid and stylish. At the head rode a scepter-bearer in black old Spanish dress. He was followed by two lantern-bearers in the same costume likewise on horseback. Then came six carriages of flowers. The first carriage of flowers contained the wreaths from artists, in the second wreaths with black ribbon, in the third those with white, in the fourth and fifth those whose ribbons were brightly colored. In the sixth lay the wreaths from the family and the City of Vienna. Then came the hearse of the firm Concordia, which was drawn by eight powerful, richly-harnessed black horses. Stable boys with black riding crops in old Spanish dress led the horses by the reins. The glass body of the carriage had rich ornamentation, the figure of a female reposed on the superstructure with a palm branch in her hand. On each side of the coffin there were four crest-bearers. On the crests the letter "S." is to be seen. Eight torch-bearers on each side comprise the outer accompaniment, and behind the coffin two private officers carry the medals and badges of honor on red velvet cushions. A private officer carried the lyre and conducting baton on another cushion and on a fourth lay the violin with a black crape. The male members of the family walked behind the coffin with the directing members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, the professors of the Conservatory, the artists and deputations. The widow Adele Strauss followed with the female members of the family in the funeral carriage.¹¹⁵

When it came to the eulogies and memorial speeches the orators brought together ideas that had been articulated in conjunction with the earlier interments in Group 32A. Pastor Zimmermann who led the funeral service stressed the wide appeal of Strauss's compositions. Then, echoing the words of Grillparzer that had been quoted at Beethoven's reburial in 1888, he went on to declare that the man they had assembled to mourn on this day was like a gift of grace to the present disharmonious age. Privy Councilor Koch von Langentreu, vice-president of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, thanked Strauss on behalf of the many people who had found comfort and relaxation in his music, expressing gratitude in the name of all music lovers in Vienna, "for the master contributed so much to consolidate and enhance the reputation of our beautiful Vienna as a city of music."¹¹⁶ As with Brahms's funeral a large number of musicians were listed among Strauss's mourners (including Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Rosé, concertmaster of the Vienna Philharmonic) but there was also an impressive turnout from official representatives of the city – both Karl Lueger and the vice-mayor Josef Strobach attended the funeral along with around forty representatives from the municipal and city council. Lueger's speech delivered at the Zentralfriedhof drew attention to the site of Strauss's burial: "We have chosen your resting place among the great heroes of the classical art of music. In so doing we wish to proclaim that when Vienna is spoken of, the name Strauss will and must also be named."¹¹⁷ Another speech was given by Richard von Perger who noted the closeness of Strauss's burial spot to his friend Brahms, a point also made in the coverage of the *Fremden-Blatt*, which stressed additionally the proximity of Schubert's grave.¹¹⁸

Beyond his friendship with Brahms and his status as a successor to Schubert as another Viennese musical genius, Strauss's interment in Group 32A was of consequence in a more general manner in the way that he could be seen to connect up the range of figures already buried there. While viewed first and foremost as a successful popular musician, as Camille Crittenden has observed, during the later nineteenth century Strauss benefitted from a level of institutional endorsement from the city's arbiters of musical taste to a much greater extent than his fellow operetta composers such as von Suppé and Carl Millöcker (1842-99). Strauss's compositions were discussed by Eduard Hanslick in the pages of the *Neue Freue Presse* and he was also closely connected to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.¹¹⁹ In a feuilleton published on 4 June, the day after Strauss's death, Kalbeck stressed the composer's artistry, noting the opinion of conductor Hans von Bülow that Strauss's waltzes were worthy of the concert hall. Kalbeck suggested that Strauss had "emancipated the dance from servitude to fashion and raised it to become a free, autonomous and independent entity."¹²⁰ As Strauss's career bridged the divides between operetta, dance music and high art he provided the link between von Suppé and Brahms – the two high-profile musicians most recently interred in Group 32A. Through his long career and connection to a musical dynasty of the mid-nineteenth century he could also been seen to bridge the gap between Vienna's musical history of the early and late nineteenth century.

A particularly telling detail in the burials of both Brahms and Strauss in 1897 and 1899, though, was the fact that their interments in Group 32A were initially made purely for ceremonial purposes. At the time of their funerals the graves were not ready and

after the lengthy speeches and the departure of the crowds both men's coffins would have been removed and set in temporary resting places. Brahms's final interment took place on 12 June 1897, Strauss's on 8 October 1899.¹²¹ This circumstance meant that on Brahms's birthday in May 1897 his admirers left flowers on his provisional grave and on the site of the intended final burial. (Images of both burial spots were included in Maria Fellingner's published collection of Brahms photographs.¹²²) For Brahms and Strauss the reburial proceedings were low-key, involving only a small group of dignitaries and (in Strauss's case) family members. These final discreet reinterments throw into relief the performative element of the public ceremonies organized by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde some months earlier, revealing a clear desire to take advantage of the dramatic symbolism of the burials.

Conclusion

Visitors to Group 32A in Vienna's Zentralfriedhof will today find that there were further expansions to the constellation of acclaimed musicians buried in this spot after the interment of Johann Strauss II in June of 1899. Strauss and von Suppé would soon be joined by other stars from the sphere of Viennese popular music: by the operetta composer Carl Millöcker who died at the end of December 1899, and by Johann Strauss I and his sometime rival Joseph Lanner, whose remains were reinterred in the Zentralfriedhof in 1904. Another noteworthy addition to the cemetery around this time was the ardent Wagnerian and outspoken enemy of Brahms, Hugo Wolf. The early twentieth century also saw the interments of individuals whose renown was much more

local: Vienna's cathedral organist Gottfried von Preyer (1807-1901), who attended Beethoven's reburial, and – buried next to Brahms – Nikolaus Dumba, who in earlier decades had been energetic in organizing the composer monuments throughout the city.¹²³ While the placement of Dumba and Preyer in the company of Mozart and Brahms may seem strange to modern music lovers their presence is reflective of the late nineteenth-century origins of the honorary graves, uniting important figures from Viennese musical life from different ages as though members of one elite family.

Elsewhere in the Zentralfriedhof there have been further important developments, such as the building of the St. Charles Borromeo Cemetery Church, which was completed in 1911 to plans by the *Jugendstil* architect Max Hegele. The practice of creating honorary graves for noteworthy Viennese residents has continued to the present and necessitated the addition of further groups around the cemetery when the original sites reached their capacity. These later groups of honorary graves are not strictly themed, though Group 14C contains the burial spots for many of the city's twentieth-century politicians and Group 32C has the graves for a number of actors. There are several musicians buried in these more recent groups, including Arnold Schoenberg in Group 32C, Alexander von Zemlinsky, and György Ligeti in Group 33G. Additionally, a number of notable musicians are also to be found in other sections of the Zentralfriedhof: in Group 52a, part of the old Jewish portion of the cemetery, lies the grave of the composer Karl Goldmark (1830-1915), while Group O (what was originally the space for "second tier" Viennese celebrities) contains the graves of Antonio Salieri (1750-1825), Carl Czerny (1791-1857), and Simon Sechter (1788-1867) – the result of

exhumations in the early twentieth-century. Another frequently-visited grave is that of the singer songwriter Johann Hölzel, or “Falco” (1957-98) to be found Group 40. Today the allocation of honorary graves is ultimately decided by Vienna’s mayor, while their maintenance falls within the remit of the Kulturamt, Department No. 7 in the city’s municipal administration.

In the early twenty-first century the graves of Group 32A function as both an appealing multi-piece monument to Vienna’s illustrious musical past and a popular tourist destination. Visitors to the cemetery are well provided for through the presence of the Bestattungsmuseum (Funeral Museum) and a range of tour guides who wander around the honorary graves rehearsing key details about the lives of the musicians buried there (Beethoven’s deafness, Schubert’s tragically short life, and the unfortunate loss of Mozart’s body in an unmarked grave). Superficial though these commentaries might be, the guides provide a fairly compelling demonstration that to wander around this group of graves is indeed to tread a path through Vienna’s musical history. A trip to the Zentralfriedhof seems a necessary part of all modern musical pilgrimages to Vienna; for while the spiritual legacy of the musicians buried here is kept alive in the city’s concert halls and opera houses it is the cemetery that preserves their earthly remains. So seductive do the graves remain that in April 2019 *The New York Times* could report on a Japanese business that offers music lovers the opportunity to have their remains laid to rest nearby. Having purchased a tomb close to Group 32A in one of the Zentralfriedhof’s old arcades, Mr. Mishimi of World MusicFan Cemetery Co., Ltd. now offers spaces within it for sale. According to the newspaper article, customers may choose from a

range of burial plans (beginning at approximately \$27,000) and can arrange for the shipment of their ashes from around the world. Mr. Mishimi's own words about his enterprise echo both Robert Schumann's wish of 1840 and the comment that Max Kalbeck attributed to Brahms: "I saw the graves of Beethoven and Schubert, and felt in my heart how happy I would be if I could have eternal sleep with them."¹²⁴

Beyond their touristic appeal and the commercial opportunities they represent, to historians, the graves of Group 32A are likely to be of interest for the stories that they don't tell, for the continuities that they seem to force, and for the figures who are conspicuous by their absence. Bruckner could not be granted honorary burial due to the stipulations in his will; the remains of Joseph Haydn, initially interred in the Hundsturm Cemetery in Vienna, were exhumed in 1820 for reburial in Eisenstadt (at which point it was discovered that Haydn's skull had been covertly removed for phrenological investigation).¹²⁵ Perhaps more significant than these gaps, though, the connecting up of Gluck and Mozart with Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, and Strauss purely on the basis of their common ties to Vienna overlooks the vastly different cultural and social worlds to which they belonged and the very different ways in which they, as creative musicians, were regarded during their own lifetimes. This list of musicians also underscores the predominantly Germanic nature of *Ehrengräber* — as a representation of Viennese musical life they offer little recognition of other musicians who achieved stardom in city, such as Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), whose operas enjoyed enormous popularity in Vienna during the lifetimes of Beethoven and Schubert.

If perceptions of Group 32A today are likely to be framed by tour guides, for Vienna's inhabitants of the late nineteenth-century a similar role was fulfilled by the press. There are in fact striking similarities between the treatment of the Musicians' Grove encountered in tourist literature and the afore-cited newspaper reports and speeches that accompanied the burials and reburials in the 1880s and '90s. The common appeal to Vienna as the "City of Music" in all of these texts tends to treat the graves as though they have always been there, dwelling on the great achievements of the musicians being memorialized, but making scant reference to the more recent origins of the *Ehrengräber* project itself. One standard guide to the honorary graves, for example, provides birth and death dates of the buried individuals, but does not record the different dates when the interments in Group 32A actually took place.¹²⁶ Writing about the construction of composer monuments in the center of the city of Vienna, Nußbaumer comments that these statues around the Ringstraße gave rise to a cultural landscape that quickly became the "second nature" of the city.¹²⁷ The musicians' graves in Group 32A have played an important role in the process of naturalizing Vienna's *Musikstadt* myth. Like Schumann and Brahms, today's tourists may be seduced by the notion of Vienna as the "City of Music", but what for these composers was an alluring idea, appears to modern visitors as an inevitability. The Musicians' Grove affirms Vienna's identity as a *Musikstadt* by setting it in stone.

¹“Der Musiker, der zum erstenmal Wien besucht, mag sich wohl eine Weile lang an dem festlichen Rauschen in den Straßen ergötzen können, und oft und verwundernd immer vor dem Stephansthurme stehen geblieben sein; bald aber wird er daran erinnert, wie unweit der Stadt ein Kirchhof liegt, ihm wichtiger als Alles was die Stadt sonst an Sehenswürdigem hat, wo zwei der Herrlichsten seiner Kunst nur wenige Schritte von einander ruhen.” Robert Schumann, “Die 7te Symphonie von Franz Schubert,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12, No. 21 (10 March, 1840): 81.

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² Schumann slightly misremembered this detail: between the Schubert and Beethoven graves were those of the Hardmuth and Schlechta families and then that of Count O'Donnell. See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: Dent, 1946), 828; quoted in Christopher H. Gibbs, “Schubert’s *Tombeau de Beethoven*,” in *Franz Schubert and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 290.

³ “Was Sie mir sonst über Wien schreiben, war mir aus eigener Anschauung von früher her bekannt. Und doch zieht es einen immer wieder dahin, als ob die Geister der geschiedenen großen Meister noch sichtbar wären, als ob es die eigentliche musikalische

Heimath Deutschlands wäre." F. Gustav Jansen, ed., *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1904), 356.

⁴ "Ja, so geht's! Ich habe mich aufgemacht, ich wohne hier, zehn Schritt vom Prater und kann meinen Wein trinken, wo ihn Beethoven getrunken hat." Letter to Julius Otto Grimm, November 1862. Johannes Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908), 110.

⁵ "Und nun gar für uns das heilige Gedächtnis der großen Musiker, an deren Leben und Schaffen hier man täglich erinnert wird." Letter to Adolf Schubring, March 1863. Johannes Brahms, *Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1915), 196.

⁶ For a classic account of the construction of the Ringstrasse buildings see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 24-115. Schorske's understanding of the decline of Liberalism in late nineteenth-century Viennese politics has since been challenged by historians including John Boyer and Pieter Judson. For an overview of more recent views see Allan Janik, "Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems," in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 27-56.

⁷ The best account of Lueger's rise to power in late nineteenth-century Vienna is provided by John W. Boyer, see his *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

⁸ Nußbaumer's monograph examines the establishment of the topos of Vienna as the "city of music" in the years between 1860 and 1914. In addition to the materialization of Vienna's self-image in buildings and monuments she investigates travel guides to the

city and explores public exhibitions and celebrations. Martina Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien. Die Konstruktion eines Images* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2007).

⁹ Dumba was eulogized in the *Neue Freie Presse*: “Truly, the figures of our spiritual heroes have been immortalized through his efforts, to him they owe their visible, widely-comprehended immortality and the fact that their fame does not fade away into the thin air.” (“Wahrlich, die Gestalten unserer Geisteshelden sind durch sein Bemühen verewigt worden, sie verdanken ihm ihre sichtbarer, gemeinverständliche Unsterblichkeit und daß ihr Ruhm nicht in die leere Luft verklingt.”) “Feuilleton. Mäcenat,” *Neue Freie Presse*, March 25, 1900, 2. For a well-researched biographical study of this figure see J. M. Tzafettas and E. Konecny, *Nikolaus Dumba (1830-1900): A Dazzling Figure in Imperial Vienna* (London: Akakia Publications, 2015).

¹⁰ Monuments to Schubert, Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart were unveiled in 1872, 1887, 1888, and 1896 respectively. See Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien*, 92–153.

¹¹ Christopher Gibbs, “Performances of Grief: Vienna’s Response to the Death of Beethoven,” in *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 262.

¹² Nora’s concept underlies an impressive, multi-authored study of collective cultural memory in France. *Les lieux de mémoire: Sous la direction de Pierre Nora*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); for an abridged English translation of the French publication see Lawrence D. Kritzman, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past. Under the Direction of Pierre Nora*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Nora’s ideas have previously been taken up within the field of

musicology; see Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹³ Pierre Nora, "From Lieux de mémoire to Realms of Memory," ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xvii.

¹⁴ Karl Mayreder and Martin Gerlach, *Wien und Umgebung* (Wien: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1912), 122–23.

¹⁵ The key dates in planning of the new cemetery were reviewed in newspaper articles at the time of its opening. See "Wiener Angelegenheiten. Die ersten Todten," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1 November 1874; for background information about the Zentralfriedhof and the older cemeteries in Vienna see Brigitte Werner, ed., *Zur Geschichte der Friedhöfe in Wien*, vol. 1 (Wien: Wiener Stadtwerke, 1992), 246–257.

¹⁶ With clear disgruntlement, an article on the front page of the liberal *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* reported on the consecration of the cemetery by Domdechant Eduard Angerer on the morning of October 30. "Das Friedhofs-Konkordat," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 31 October 1874. See also Werner, ed. *Zur Geschichte der Friedhöfe in Wien*, vol. 1, 248.

¹⁷ Simmering was officially a suburb (*Vorort*) of Vienna until 1892, when it became district (*Bezirk*). Today it is known as the 11th district of Vienna. Electric trams only began to run to the Zentralfriedhof at the start of the twentieth century.

¹⁸ "Wenn die Todten reden könnten," *Kikeriki*, 5 November 1874.

¹⁹ "Wiener Angelegenheiten. Das Gräberbuch von Wien," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 17 June 1877, 3.

²⁰ "Gemeinderath. Oeffentliche Sitzung vom 16. November," *Wiener Zeitung*, 17 November 1881.

²¹ "Die Commune wird nur den Platz bestimmen und die Ausschmückung des Grabes besorgen. Die Kosten der Uebertragung, der Aufstellung und Erhaltung von Monumenten soll jedoch den Angehörigen der Verstorbenen und jenen Corporationen und Behörden überlassen bleiben, welche für jeden speciellen Fall interessirt sind."
"Wiener Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten. Gemeinderath. Sitzung vom 2. Mai," *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 May 1884, 4.

²² Exhumations and reburials had to be arranged within a period of ten years from the opening of the Zentralfriedhof in 1874 "Centralfriedhof," *Wiener Zeitung*, 17 October 1874.

²³ "Die Ehrengräber auf dem Central-Friedhof," *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 April 1886.

²⁴ The other seven figures on the list were the noted physician Johann Peter Frank, the diplomat Friedrich von Gentz, the scientist Josef Jacquin, the politician Eugen Megerle von Mühlfeld, the technologist Johann Joseph von Prechtel, the industrialist Michael Spörlin, and the scholar and librarian Dr. Ferdinand Wolf.

²⁵ Strauss and Lanner were buried in the Döblinger Friedhof. Raimund at the Friedhof Gutenstein while Grillparzer's remains had been moved in 1879 from the Währinger Friedhof to cemetery at Hietzing.

²⁶ "Einige unverfängliche Fragen an die 'Denker Wien's,'" *Figaro*, 24 April 1886.

²⁷ *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung*, 19 April 1886, 2.

²⁸ “Die Uebertragung des Grabmals Mozart’s aus dem St. Marxer Friedhofe wurde vom Gemeinderathe, der auch endgiltig über die vorliegende Liste zu urtheilen hat, schon vorher beschlossen.” “Die Ehrengräber auf dem Central-Friedhof,” 6.

²⁹ “Der “Wiener Männergesang-Verein” hat seit der Errichtung des Schubert-Denkmal einen Fonds gebildet, der reich genug bedacht ist, dem Wiener Liederfürsten ein würdiges Grabdenkmal herstellen zu lassen. Für Beethoven’s Grab, hieß es einmal, werde die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Vorkehrungen treffen.” “Beethoven und Schubert,” *Die Presse*, 2 April 1884, 9; the official report accompanying Schubert’s reburial records that his exhumation was sanctioned on 16 March 1884. Karl Adametz, *Franz Schubert in der Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines* (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines, 1938), 52.

³⁰ “Der Magistrat hat in seiner heutigen Sitzung beschlossen, das Mozart-Monument vom St. Marxer auf den Central-Friedhof zu übertragen und nächst den Gräbern von Schubert und Beethoven aufstellen zu lassen.” “Ein Ehrengrab für Mozart,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 2 December 1886, 21.

³¹ Brahms’s friend Theodor Billroth (1829-1894) is buried in Group 14A alongside the Austrian physician Eduard Hofman (1837-1897). A number of Vienna’s celebrated artists ended up being buried in Group 14A, sometimes side by side, but the arrangement of their burials is more haphazard than that of the musicians in Group 32A.

³² The small ceremony that accompanied the unveiling of the grave monuments to Amerling, Eitelberger, and von Ghega was reported in the *Neue Freie Presse*.

“Gedächtnißfeier auf dem Central-Friedhofe,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 31 October 1887, 3.

³³ 1891 is often erroneously given as the year when Mozart's grave marker was moved to the Zentralfriedhof. See, for example, Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, ed. Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1342; from newspaper reports it is hard to establish exactly when the grave marker was moved, though this appears to have taken place between January 1888 (when the Zentralfriedhof was discussed as a possible site for a new Mozart monument) and June of 1888 (when the monument was mentioned as being in place ahead of Beethoven's reburial). "Das Mozart-Denkmal," *Der Floh*, 15 January 1888, 4; "Die Exhumierung Beethoven's," *Die Presse*, 6 June 1888, 11.

³⁴ The speech at Beethoven's reburial, for example, referred to the fact that presence of Mozart's grave monument (and not his actual remains) "harbored a shameful reproach to his contemporaries" (*den beschämended Vorwurf für seine Zeitgenossen birgt*). This remark apparently occasioned "a loud bravo!" from crowd present. "Das Leichenbegängnis Beethoven's," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 23 June 1888, 3–4.

³⁵ A brief overview of Schubert's exhumation and reburial is provided in the *Schubert-Enzyklopädie*. See Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, eds., "Exhumierung," in *Schubert-Enzyklopädie*, vol. 1 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2004), 179–81. Beethoven's exhumation and reburial have previously been discussed by William Meredith in conjunction with his investigation into Beethoven's skull fragments. See William Meredith, "The History of Beethoven's Skull Fragments: Part One," *The Beethoven Journal*, 2005, 3–46.

³⁶ The 1863 exhumation was instigated by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and led to the publication of a lengthy report detailing the state of the composers' remains that included detailed measurements. *Actenmäßige Darstellung der Ausgrabung und Wiederbeisetzung der irdischen Reste von Beethoven und Schubert* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1863); Christopher Gibbs notes that on the occasion of this first exhumation Gerhard von Breuning contrasted the composers' remains, describing the "almost feminine thinness" of Schubert's skull. Gibbs, "Schubert's Tombeau de Beethoven," 288.

³⁷ Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert: Sein Leben in Bildern* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1913), 99; a cropped version of the same image appeared in a later publication, with the man standing third from the left identified as Schubert's half-brother, Andreas. See Adametz, *Franz Schubert in der Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines*, 52–53; for a reproduction of a wood engraving showing Beethoven's exhumation see Michael Ladenburger and Silke Bettermann, eds., *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall: Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002), 180.

³⁸ In the official report accompanying Schubert's exhumation this is referred to as a "Metall-Übersarge." See Adametz, *Franz Schubert in der Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines*, 52; for a photograph of Beethoven's similar outer coffin see Ladenburger and Bettermann, *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall*, 184.

³⁹ "Am Tage der Exhumirung der Reste Beethovens wurde ich von Bruckner eingeladen, mit ihm auf den alten Währinger Ortsfriedhof hinauszufahren. Theilnehmer an jener Feier werden sich gewiß noch jener unvergeßlichen Scene erinnern, da just in dem Augenblick, als der Sarg gehoben war und im Kreise ringsum unwillkürlich feierliches

Schweigen herrschte, von einem nahen Baume eine Nachtigall plötzlich, – gleichsam als letzten Gruß an den großen Sänger, – ihr schluchzend Lied anzuheben began. "Carl Hruby, *Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Vienna: Friedrich Schalk Verlag, 1901), 21.

⁴⁰ "In tiefer Bewegung umstanden die Anwesenden den Sarg, und es erregte allgemeine Rührung, als Professor Bruckner um die Erlaubniß bat, das Haupt des Meisters breühren zu dürfen, und dann in tiefer Erregung lange seine Hand auf die Stirne des toten Meisters legte. Er war der Letztes, der die sterblichen Reste Schubert's berührte." "Die Wiederbestattung Schubert's," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23 September 1888, 6.

⁴¹ "Der tiefe Eindruck wurde zwar sofort wieder dadurch verwischt, daß die delegierten Vertreter der Stadt Wien vor dem Sarge darüber zu zanken anfangen, ob dieser am Friedhofe selbst oder erst in der Kapelle geöffnet werden solle." Hruby, *Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner*, 21.

⁴² *Bericht über die an den Gebeinen Ludwig van Beethoven's gelegentlich der Uebertragung derselben aus dem Währinger Orts-Friedhof auf den Central-Friedhof der Stadt Wien am 21. Juni 1888 vorgenommene Untersuchung. Bericht über die an den Gebeinen Franz Schubert's gelegentlich der Uebertragung derselben von dem Währinger Ortsfriedhofe auf den Central-Friedhof der Stadt Wien am 22. September 1888 vorgenommene Untersuchung.*

Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.

⁴³ See, for example, "Die Exhumirung Beethoven's," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 22 June 1888, 8; "Die Exhumirung Beethoven's," *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 June 1888, 5.

⁴⁴ "Offenbar entstand dieses Gerücht dadurch, daß gleich nach Oeffnung des Sarges ein Arzt den Schädel heftig in die Hand nahm und dann an den Zähnen des Unterkiefers Untersuchungen pflog." "Die Exhumirung Beethoven's [NFP]," 22 June 1888, 5.

⁴⁵ "Er [der Schädel] ist besser erhalten, als derjenige Beethoven's welcher, schon an der Leiche verstümmelt, in viel höherem Grade der Verwesung ausgesetzt war." "Die Wiederbestattung Schubert's [NFP]," 6; Another reason for the poor condition of Beethoven's lay in the experiments conducted after his death with the goal of understanding his deafness. See Gerhard von Breuning, *Aus dem Schwarzspanierhause: Erinnerungen an L. van Beethoven aus seiner Jugendzeit* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1907), 214.

⁴⁶ For accounts of Beethoven's original funeral and burial in 1827, see Gibbs, "Performances of Grief: Vienna's Response to the Death of Beethoven," 227-44, and Artemio Focher, *Ludwig van Beethoven: 26 - 29 Marzo 1827* (Lucca, 2001). Focher's study of Beethoven's burial covers the events of 1827 in great detail but provides only brief mention of the 1863 and 1888 exhumations.

⁴⁷ "Nirgends gab sich bloße Neugierde kund, und selbst die den minder gebildeten Classen angehörenden Zuschauer schienen die Bedeutung der Trauerfeier zu fühlen; sie ahnten, daß ein Großer zu Grabe getragen werde. Sobald der Leichenwagen, in welchem der mit Kränzen bedeckte Sarg sichtbar war, vorüberfuhr, entblößte man, von tiefer Bewegung ergriffen, die Häupter, und mit weihvoller Ehrfurcht wurde der todte Beethoven auf seiner Fahrt durch das neue Wien von den Nachkommen seiner

Zeitgenossen begrüßt." "Die Wiederbestattung Beethoven's," *Neue Freie Presse*, June 23, 1888, 5.

⁴⁸ This is likely to have been Ignaz von Seyfried's vocal arrangement of the third of Beethoven's "Drei Equale" (WoO 30, Nr. 3). The composition was also sung at Beethoven's original burial in March 1827. Among the newspaper reports there is minor disagreement over exactly who sang during the reburial proceedings: in contrast to the *Neue Freie Presse* report, the details included in the *Wiener Zeitung* suggest that singers from other choral groups also participated in the performance. *Wiener Zeitung*, 23 June 1888, 25.

⁴⁹ The words spoken at the graveside were included in many newspaper reports. In the printed version of Weilen's text was it was designated simply as a "speech" (*Rede*). See Ladenburger and Bettermann, *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall*, 184.

⁵⁰ "Nicht verloren habt ihr ihn, ihr habt ihn gewonnen. Kein Lebendiger tritt in die Hallen der Unsterblichkeit ein." "Die Wiederbestattung Beethoven's [NFP]," 6.

⁵¹ "Wenn noch Sinn für Ganzheit in uns ist in dieser zersplitterten Zeit, so laßt uns sammeln an seinem Grabe."

⁵² "Viele Frauen und Mädchen weinten."

⁵³ The floral tributes were not just used within the procession, but also decorated sites such as the Schubert birth house on Nußdorferstrasse and the monument in the Stadtpark that was been unveiled in 1872. Writing about the event fifty years later, Adametz suggested other possible reasons for the greater turnout for Schubert's reburial

being the composer's greater popular appeal and the fact that it took place on a Sunday.

Adametz, *Franz Schubert in der Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines*, 53.

⁵⁴ Ledeli (1856-ca. 1920) was born in Brno and studied at the Akademie der bildenen Künste. He worked as an illustrator for various newspapers. Some of his paintings of street scenes are preserved in the Wienmuseum. The illustrations of Schubert's reburial presented here also appeared in the *Neue Illustrierte Zeitung* on 7 October 1888.

⁵⁵ "Wiederbestattung der sterblichen Reste Schuberts," *Wiener Zeitung*, 24 September 1888, 3.

⁵⁶ Krämer's text was printed in many of the newspaper reports. See, for example, "Die Wiederbestattung Schubert's," *Neue Freie Presse*, 24 September 1888, 2.

⁵⁷ Kundmann and Hansen had previously collaborated on the Schubert memorial in Vienna's Stadtpark that had been unveiled in 1872. For an account of the ceremonial unveiling of this monument see Scott Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, vol. 2 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 13–36.

⁵⁸ Rudolf Hofmann, *Der Wiener Männergesangverein: Chronik der Jahre 1843 bis 1893 aus Anlass der fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeier des Vereines* (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines, 1893), 410.

⁵⁹ "Die Tonkunst begrub hier einen reichen Besitz aber noch viel schönerer Hoffnungen." The epitaph was by Franz Grillparzer.

⁶⁰ "Es war ein Act pflichtschuldiger Dankbarkeit, daß die Stadt ihrem großen Sohn nun dort eine Ruhstätte gibt, wo die Besten im Tode vereint sind, die hier gewirkt und geschaffen." "Franz Schubert," *Die Presse*, 22 September 1888, 9.

⁶¹ "Zur Wiederbestattung Franz Schubert's. (Die Huldigung der Sänger auf dem Schillerplatz.)," *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 25 September 1888. The notion that Schubert's reburial was more homage than funeral also features in other newspaper reports. See, for example "Franz Schubert [*Die Presse*]," 9.

⁶² Perger suggested that a formal repetition of the funeral and burial to be "forced and nonsensical." "Wir haben schon anlässlich der Wiederbestattung Beethoven's die Ansicht ausgesprochen, das seine förmliche Wiederholung der Leichenfeier, des Trauerzuges und der Beerdigung unter allen Umständen etwas Gewaltsames und Widersinniges an sich habe." R. von Perger, "Die Wiederbestattung Franz Schubert's," *Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik*, 29 September 1888, 978.

⁶³ The report suggested it would have been better to have reburied the remains of Beethoven and Schubert at the same time. "Ein so bedeutungsvoller Act darf, um eben seinen Charakter als denkwürdiges Ereigniß zu bewahren, nur Einmal stattfinden und kann derselben Menge binnen drei Monaten nicht zweimal vorgeführt werden, wenn er nicht zum bloßen Schauspiel herabsinken soll." "Die Wiederbestattung Schubert's [*NFP*]," 2.

⁶⁴ "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Freud'

Das Wandern!

Jedoch das nach der Sterbezeit

Lass' Andern!

Die ganze Exhumirungs-G'schicht',

Neine, meine Herrn'n, die g'fällt mir nicht,

Die g'wisse Beindlstiererei

And dann die Reden noch dabei,

Auf das verzicht ich gerne schon

Und kurz, ich will nichts wissen von

Dem Wandern,

Dem Wandern!" "Das Wandern. (Für Seine Bevorstehende Exhumierung Umgedichtet von F. Schubert.)," *Kikeriki*, 9 September 1888, 3.

⁶⁵ "In Wien wurde alles zum festlichen Anlass, was Farbe oder Musik entäußerte, die religiösen Umzüge wie das Fronleichnamsfest, die Militärparaden, die 'Burgmusik'; selbst die Begräbnisse fanden begeisterten Zulauf, und es war der Ehrgeiz jedes rechten Wiener, eine 'schöne Leich' mit prunkvollem Aufzug und vielen Begleitern zu haben; sogar seinen Tod verwandelte ein richtiger Wiener noch in eine Schaufreude für die andern." Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern. Erinnerungen eines Europäers* (Cologne: Anaconda, 2013), 38–39.

⁶⁶ Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897*, 411–27.

⁶⁷ Christopher H. Gibbs, "German Reception: Schubert's 'Journey to Immortality,'" in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 241–53.

⁶⁸ Hanslick wrote these words in a concert review of March 1862. Quoted in Gibbs, "Schubert's Tombeau de Beethoven," 246.

⁶⁹ "Zwei Menschenalter sind seit seinem Tode fast vergangen und noch immer treten noch unbekannte Schöpfungen von ihm zutage." "Franz Schubert [*Die Presse*]," 9.

⁷⁰ "Die Stimme des greisen Priesters war sehr bewegt; eindrucksvoll erklangen die Segenswünsche des Bischofs, welcher vor 61 Jahren als Knabe dem Leichenbängnisse Beethoven's beigewohnt hatte." "Die Wiederbestattung Beethoven's [NFP]," 6.

⁷¹ Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), 244.

⁷² Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality*, 241.

⁷³ Otto Biba, "Johannes Brahms und das Wiener Musikleben in seiner Zeit," in *Johannes Brahms: Quellen-Text-Rezeption-Interpretation. Internationaler Brahms-Kongreß Hamburg 1997*, ed. Friedhelm Krummacher and Michael Struck (Munich: G. Henle, 1999), 57-69; Leon Botstein, "Music and Its Public: Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna, 1870-1914" (Ph.D diss., Harvard University, 1985).

⁷⁴ "nachdem ihm das offizielle Programm keine Gelegenheit zu einer selbständigen gesanglichen Betätigung zu geben vermochte." Anton Weiss, *Fünfzig Jahre Schubertbund: Chronik des Vereines vom 1. bis 50. Vereinsjahre zum goldenen Jubiläum* (Vienna: Verlag des Schubertbundes, 1913), 122.

⁷⁵ "Die ganze Feier war in höchst würdiger Weise verlaufen und verfehlte nicht, auf Alle, die ihr beiwohnten, einen erhebenden Eindruck zu machen." Hofmann, *Der Wiener Männergesangverein: Chronik der Jahre 1843 bis 1893 aus Anlass der fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeier des Vereines*, 453.

⁷⁶ "Es war entschieden der denkwürdigste Tag in der ereignis-reichen Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines..." Adametz, *Franz Schubert in der Geschichte des Wiener Männergesang-Vereines*, 49.

⁷⁷ *Southern Germany and Austria, Including Hungary Dalmatia and Bosnia* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1891), 239.

⁷⁸ "Der Gräberbesuch," *Die Presse*, 2 November 1889.

⁷⁹ The reburials of Streicher and Ander took place on 7 October 1891 and on 24 September 1894 respectively. Streicher was reburied with his wife and son.

⁸⁰ "Beisetzung der Gebeine Gluck's," *Neue Freie Presse*, 30 September 1890, 5.

⁸¹ "So haben wir denn deine sterblichen Ueberreste, du Unsterblicher, hierher geleitet, aus dem einsamen Grabe in eine Königsgruft, an eine Stätte, welche das dankbare Wien dem [sic] Fürsten des Geistes gebaut hat." "Beisetzung der Gebeine Gluck's," 5.

⁸² "Zur Exhumirung und Beisetzung Gluck's," *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 October 1890, 6.

⁸³ "Die Herbeck-Feier auf dem Centralfriedhofe," *Die Presse*, 11 June 1891.

⁸⁴ Good examples of a relatively fluid movement between the concert hall and the operetta stage can be traced in the activities of music critics who were friendly with Johannes Brahms: the critic Richard Heuberger was a composer of both concert music and successful operettas, while Max Kalbeck collaborated with Johann Strauss in the 1894 operetta *Jabuka*. This however is not to suggest that there were not hierarchies of genre and style operative in Viennese musical life. For an exploration of this subject with regard to the career of Johann Strauss II see Dana Gooley, "Hanslick on Johann Strauss Jr.: Genre, Social Class, and Liberalism in Vienna," in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 91–107.

⁸⁵ "Das Ehrenggrab für Suppé," *Extrapost*, 31 May 1897, 4.

⁸⁶ As noted in the report in the *Neue Freie Presse*, the costs for Bruckner's funeral were met by the City of Vienna. "Bruckner's Leichenbegängniß." *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 October 1896, 5. For a brief account Bruckner's funeral see Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–1897: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 35–36.

⁸⁷ George Henschel, *Personal Recollections of Johannes Brahms* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1907), 58.

⁸⁸ Kalbeck's diary entry from 5 April 1897. Quoted in Sandra McColl, "A Model German," *The Musical Times* 138, No. 1849 (1997): 9.

⁸⁹ "Wohl wußte ich, daß das Leid um einen solchen Todten nicht mir, noch sonst einem Einzelnen gehören dürfte, da es vielmehr Alle angehe." Joseph Viktor Widmann, *Johannes Brahms in Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1898), 123.

⁹⁰ "Hinscheiden ihres Ehren- und Directionsmitgliedes Herrn Dr. Johannes Brahms." An example of the death notice is preserved in the collections of the Bestattungsmuseum in Vienna.

⁹¹ "Die Stadt Wien hat nämlich dem Meister sofort nach dem Ableben ein Ehrengrab im Tonkünstlerbosquet im Zentralfriedhof bewilligt." "Johannes Brahms," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 4 April 1897, 5.

⁹² Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1976), 125–26.

⁹³ "Auf dem Friedhofe suchten wir zuerst die Ehrengräber auf, in deren Reihen auch Billroth bestattet werden sollte, und als wir den abgesonderten Hain betraten, der die Denkmäler Mozarts, Beethovens und Schuberts umschließt, meinte Brahms, da

irgendwo in der Nähe müsse es sich ganz gut liegen." Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1914), 341.

⁹⁴ "Vom Meister Johannes. (Aus Brahms' Leben.)" *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 April 1897, 4.

⁹⁵ Siegfried Kross, *Johannes Brahms: Versuch einer kritischen Dokumentar-Biographie*, vol. 2 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1997), 1095.

⁹⁶ Kalbeck actually included a transcription of this document in the final volume of his Brahms biography. A copy of the original can be viewed at Vienna's Stadt- und Landesarchiv. Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 4:228–30.

⁹⁷ By the early decades of the twentieth century cremation had become more normal in Vienna; a crematorium was opened at the Zentralfriedhof in 1922.

⁹⁸ "Johannes Brahms," *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 April 1897, 4.

⁹⁹ "Mit fürstlichem Pompe wurde er zur letzten Ruhe begleitet." "Johannes Brahms' letzte Fahrt," *Neues Wiener Journal*, 7 April 1897, 3.

¹⁰⁰ "Es war ein Leichenbegängniß wie Wien ein solches seit langem nicht gesehen."

"Johannes Brahms' Letzter Weg," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 7 April 1897, 5.

¹⁰¹ Sandra McColl notes that this piece was often used to mark such occasions. Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–1897*, 39.

¹⁰² "Dieser geheiligte Platz, sagte er, dieses grünende Mausoleum deutscher Tonkunst, es wird nun auch die sterblichen Reste unseres erhabenen Zeitgenossen in seinen stillen kühlen Grund aufnehmen." "Würdige geistige Brüder fand er freilich erst heute an dieser Ruhstätte, in dieser Nachbarschaft..." "Brahms' Leichenbegängniß," *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 April 1897, 6.

¹⁰³ Ingrid Fuchs, "Der Versuch musikhistorischer Einordnung Brahms' und Bruckners in den Wiener Nachrufen," in *Bruckner-Symposion. Bruckner-Vorbilder und Traditionen* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1999).

¹⁰⁴ *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 April 1897, 1-2.

¹⁰⁵ McColl, "A Model German", 11-12.

¹⁰⁶ Lueger was elected as mayor on 8 April 1897, his position sanctioned by Emperor Franz Joseph on 16 April. Lueger had been elected as mayor four times previously in the preceding years, but Emperor Franz Joseph had refused to give the necessary consent.

¹⁰⁷ "Nun hat der Tod wieder einen Meister dahin gerufen, Johannes Brahms, einen Tondichter, der in den Bahnen des gewaltigen Beethoven und des genialen Schubert's gewandelt ist. . . . Wie Beethoven war auch Johannes Brahms kein Eingeborener, aber unsere Stadt ist ihm ebenfalls zur zweiten Heimat geworden." *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 10 April 1898, 2. The meeting took place on the 9th of April.

¹⁰⁸ "Mit Johannes Brahms ist der bedeutendste zeitgenössische Componist, der letzte Classiker aus dem Leben geschieden, einer der hervorragendsten Vertreter jener durchgeistigten Kunstform, wie sie uns die alten Meister Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven überliefert haben." Carl Staubach, "Johannes Brahms," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 6 April 1897, 1.

¹⁰⁹ For a detailed exploration of the connection between Brahms and liberalism in Vienna see Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁰ David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹¹¹ Nußbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien*, 128.

¹¹² Stadtrats-Sitzung vom 6. Juni 1899. "Bürgermeister Dr. Lueger referirt über die Widmung eines Ehrengrabes für den k.u.k. Hof-Kapellmeister [!] Johann Strauß und beantragt, dem Verblichenen in Würdigung seiner Verdienste auf dem Gebiete der Musik ein Ehrengrab (Nr. 27) in der linksseitigen Hälfte der Anlage der Gräber für berühmte Persönlichkeiten an der Kapellenstraße am Wiener Central-Friedhofe zu widmen." Quoted in Franz Mailer, *Johann Strauss (Sohn): Leben und Werk in Briefen und Dokumenten*, vol. 9 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2002), 256.

¹¹³ "Der Walzerkönig Johann II," *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11 June 1899, 6.

¹¹⁴ "seit Makart's Begräbniß hat man in Wien nicht eine so lange Wagenreihe einem Sarge zum Friedhofe folgen gesehen."). "Johann Strauß' Leichenbegängniß," *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 June 1899, 5.

¹¹⁵ "Das Arrangement war prächtig und stylvoll. Voran ritt ein Scepterträger, Schwarz in altspanischer Tracht. Ihm folgten zwei Laternenträger in gleichem Costüm ebenfalls zu Pferde. Dann kamen sechs Blumenwagen. Auf dem ersten Blumenwagen lagen die Kränze der Künstler, auf dem zweiten die Kränze mit schwarzen, auf dem dritten die mit weißen Schleifen, auf dem vierten und fünften Kränze, deren Bänder bunte Farben zeigten. Auf dem sechsten lagen die Kränze der Familie und der Stadt Wien. Dann kam der Leichenwagen der "Concordia", den acht schwere, reich beschriftete Rappen zogen. Reitknechte mit schwarzen Gerten, in altspanischen Costüm führten die Pferde am

Zügel. Der gläserne Wagenkasten hat reiche Ornamentik, eine Frauengestalt ruht auf dem Oberbau, eine Palme in der Hand. Zu beiden Seiten des Sarges schritten je vier Wappenträger. Auf dem Wappen ist der Buchstabe "S." zu sehen. Je acht Fackelträger bilden die äußere Begleitung und hinter dem Sarge tragen zwei Hausofficiere auf rothen Sammtkissen die Orden und Ehrenzeichen. Auf einem Kissen trug ein Hausofficier die Lyra und den Tactstock und auf einem vierten Kissen ruhte die Geige mit dem schwarzen Flor. Hinter dem Sarge schritten dann die männlichen Mitglieder der Familie, die Directionsmitglieder der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, die Professoren des Conservatoriums, die Künstler und die Deputationen. Die Witwe Frau Adele Strauß folgte mit den Damen der Familie im Trauerwagen." "Johann Strauß' Begräbniß," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 June 1899, 4-5.

¹¹⁶ "im Namen aller Musikliebenden in Wien, da der Meister so viel dazu beigetragen, daß der Ruf unseres schönen Wien als Musikstadt gefestigt und erweitert wurde." "Johann Strauß' Leichenbegängniß," 5.

¹¹⁷ "Wir haben seine Ruhestätte hier ausgewählt inmitten der großen Heroen der classischen Tonkunst. Wir wollen damit bekunden, daß, wenn von Wien gesprochen wird, auch der Name Strauß genannt werden wird und genannt werden muß." "Johann Strauß' Begräbniß," 5.

¹¹⁸ "In der großen Stadt der Todten ist er ins Grab gebettet worden. Schubert und Johannes Brahms, mit dem ihn eine innige Freundschaft verband, schlummern neben ihm." Quoted in Mailer, *Johann Strauss (Sohn): Leben und Werk in Briefen und Dokumenten*, 9:256.

¹¹⁹ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

¹²⁰ "Strauß emancipirte den Tanz von der Sklaverei der Mode und erhob ihn zu einem freien, selbständigen und unabhängigen Wesen." Max Kalbeck, "Feuilleton. Johann Strauß," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 June 1899, 1.

¹²¹ These events were mentioned briefly in the Viennese papers. See "Johannes Brahms' Beisetzung," *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 13 June 1897, 6; "Wiederbestattung," *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 October 1899, 6; The date of 14 June 1897 given by the Hofmanns for Brahms's final interment appears to be incorrect. Renate and Kurt Hofmann, *Johannes Brahms. Zeittafel zu Leben und Werk* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1983), 232; for Brahms and Strauss the grave monuments were added later – for a detailed study of grave monuments at the Zentralfriedhof see Barbara Haubold, *Die Grabdenkmäler des Wiener Zentralfriedhofs von 1874 bis 1918* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1990).

¹²² Maria Fellingner, *Brahms-Bilder* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 33–34.

¹²³ Dumba died in 1900, but wasn't reburied in Group 32A until 13 August 1903. He had initially been buried with his family in the Greek section of the Zentralfriedhof. See Tzafettas and Konecny, *Nikolaus Dumba (1830-1900): A Dazzling Figure in Imperial Vienna*, 226.

¹²⁴ Sami Emory, "Tombstone Tourism's Last Stop, a Plot of Your Own in Vienna," *The New York Times*, April 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/travel/vienna-cemetery-burial.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share>.

¹²⁵ Following the composer's burial at the end of May 1809, Haydn's head was removed from his grave by Joseph Carl Rosenbaum and Johann Nepomuk Peter. The relic changed hands during the nineteenth century, eventually passing into the collections of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1895; in 1954 the skull was restored to Haydn's body in Eisenstadt. For an account of the earlier portion of this episode, including the the fascinating testimony of Peter himself see Julius Tandler, "Über den Schädel Haydns," in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1909, 260–79.

¹²⁶ Robert S. Budig, *Ehrengräber am Wiener Zentralfriedhof* (Vienna: Compress, 1995).

¹²⁷ Martina Nußbaumer, "Bauen an der 'Musikstadt'. Materialisierungen eines Stadtimages im öffentlichen Raum Wiens," in *Mapping Contemporary History* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 108.

Figure Legends

Figure 1. Group 32A in the Zentralfriedhof showing (from left to right) Beethoven's grave monument, the Mozart memorial, and (in the foreground) the grave monument of the engineer Carl Ritter von Ghega. Photograph from Karl Mayreder and Martin Gerlach, *Wien und Umgebung* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1912).

Figure 2. Layout of the honorary graves in the Zentralfriedhof, *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 22 June 1888. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Figure 3. Schubert's Second Exhumation. Photograph from Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Sein Leben in Bildern*. (Munich: Georg Müller, 1913).

Figure 4. Images of Schubert's skull from the 1888 report published by Vienna's Anthropological Society.

Figure 5. Invitation from the directors of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde to attend the reinterment of Beethoven's remains at Vienna's Zentralfriedhof. Reproduced with permission from the Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies, San José State University.

Figure 6. Scenes from Beethoven's reburial. *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 24 June 1888. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Figure 7. Souvenir illustration by the artist Moritz Ledeli showing scenes from Schubert's reburial.

Figure 8. Woodcut engraving of the musicians' graves in Group 32A ca. 1890. Collection of the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn.

Figure 9. Brahms's Funeral Procession. Photograph from Viktor von Miller zu Aichholz, ed., *Ein Brahms-Bilderbuch* (Vienna: R. Lechner, 1905).

Figure 10. Brahms's Funeral. *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 8 April 1897.

Figure 11. Deathbed photograph of Johann Strauss, *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11 June 1899. ANNO/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.