Queen Mary, University of London (QMUL)

School of Languages, Linguistics and Film (SLLF)
German Department

John Goodyear

Musikstädte as real and imaginary soundscapes:
Urban musical images as literary motifs in twentieth-century German modernism

supervised by Professor Rüdiger Görner
and Dr. Astrid Köhler

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“In der Hoffnung auf eine Zeit, da man auch wieder an Musik denken kann!
Deine Christel
26. Februar 1945.”

Handwritten note on the inside cover of Eberhard Preußner’s
Die bürgerliche Musikkultur (1935) in the music collection at Oldenburg University library
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Abstract
This study examines German literary images of musical life as part of the wider sound identity of the modern German city at the turn of the twentieth century. Focussing on a forty-year period from 1890 to 1930, synonymous with the emergence of the modern German metropolis as an aesthetic object, the project assesses, compares and contrasts how musical life in the *Musikstädte* was perceived and portrayed by writers in an increasingly noisy urban environment. How does urban musical life influence and condition city writings? What are the differences and similarities between the writings on various musical cities? Can an urban textual sound identity be derived from these differences and similarities? The approach employed to answer these questions is a new, cross-disciplinary one to urban sound in literature, moving beyond reading the key sounds of the urban soundscape using urban musicology, sensorial anthropology and cultural poetics towards a literary contextualisation of the urban aural experience.

The literary motifs of the symphony, the gramophone and urban noise are put under the spotlight through the analysis of a wide range of modernist works by authors who have a special relationship with music. At the centre of this analysis are the *Kaffeehausliteratur* authors Hermann Bahr, Alfred Polgar and Peter Altenberg, the then Munich-based author Thomas Mann and the lesser known René Schickele. The analysis of these particular works is framed in the music-geographical context of the *Musikstadt* and literary underpinnings of this topos, ranging from Ingeborg Bachmann to Hans Mayer and, once again, Thomas Mann. In analysing these texts, the methodological approach devised by Strohm, who identifies the blending of a range of urban sounds as a definition of urban space and identity, is applied. His ideas combine historical literary
analysis, musical history and urban sociology. They are rarely used in the analysis of the auditory environment.
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1. Introduction

1.1 Musical Life and the Soundscape

The city is not just a landscape that is seen, but it is also a soundscape that is heard. It is heard through the ears of the urbanite who navigates his way through the acoustic chaos of the city. Depending on the interest in the sound, the listener filters and blocks out or hones in accordingly. In 1909, at a time when the urban acoustic environment was undergoing rapid transformation, Alfred Freiherr von Berger embarked on an acoustic experiment. The future head of the Viennese Imperial Court Theatre set out to hone in on the main sounds, or, soundmarks of the wider urban soundscape of the Austrian capital and make a literary note of them. The results of his experiment, read a century later, make for interesting reading:

So wie man gelegentlich das Trinkwasser, das man täglich genießt, chemisch und bakteriologisch untersuchen läßt, so habe ich kürzlich an einem schönen Abend, als es mir gerade besonders still zu sein schien, die mich umgebende Stille akustisch analysiert und dabei die folgenden Hauptgeräusche als teils gleichzeitig, teils in rascher Aufeinanderfolge sich ereignend festgestellt. Drei Musikkapellen, eine sehr nahe, eine etwas weiter, eine ganz fern; zwei bellende Hunde, einer in tiefer, einer in hoher Stimmlage; einen winselnden Hund; Wagengerassel; Glockengeläute; das Schwirren und Tuten zweier Automobile; das Zwitschern vieler Spatzen; zwei Klaviere; eine singende Dame; ein Mikrophon, das abwechselnd ein Orchesterstück und ein gesungenes englisches Lied vorführte; den Schrei eines Pfau; das entfernte Gebrüll der wilden Tiere in der Schönbrunner Menagerie; die Sirenen aus mindestens drei verschieden entfernten Fabriken; das heulende Wimmern eines elektrischen Motorwagens; das Rädergeraß und Bremsengekreisch eines Stadtbahnzuges; das Pfeifen und Pusten der Rangierlokomotiven der Westbahn; das Metallgeräusch der aneinanderstoßenden Puffer; das Rauschen des Windes in den Bäumen; einen Papagei; das wüste Geschrei der die Gäule eines Lastwagens antreibenden Kutscher; das Dengeln einer Senfe; Trompetensignale aus einer Kaserne; Ausklopfen von Teppichen und Möbeln; das Pfeifen eines Vorübergehenden; das Zischen des Wasserstrahls, mit dem der Nachbargarten begossen wird; eine Drehorgel; die Glockenschläge und das dumpfe Rollen der Dampftramway. Ich füge hinzu, daß mein Haus sich in einer als ruhig geltenden Gegend befindet.¹

Von Berger’s words are not new to soundscape discourse, particularly a discourse that concerns itself with soundscapes of a bygone age. In 2007, the Austrian urban

historian, Peter Payer, cited these same words in his essay *The Age of Noise*. For Payer, Berger’s ‘multitude of auditory impressions’ illustrated ‘the acoustic impact of an increasingly complex urban life’ and an ‘image of modern and pre-modern rhythms of work and life existing side by side’.\(^2\) Whilst Payer focuses on the content of the auditory soundmarks embedded in Berger’s experiment, he overlooks the literary structure and style of Berger’s deliberations. What is noteworthy about Berger’s writing style from a literary perspective is that the modern and pre-modern rhythms of work and life are not just encoded in the written word with alliteration and onomatopoeia, but the deliberate employment of punctuation emphasizes this quick pace and fast rhythm of the urban soundscape. The semi-colon has the effect of the soundscape coming at the urbanite’s ear all at once with no time for the author to conclude an old sentence and start afresh.

In speaking of ‘life’, Payer would appear to be giving an indirect nod to Berger’s depiction of musical life in Vienna at the turn of the century. From the singing lady’s voice, the sound of an English song and the mechanical *Drehorgel* (barrel organ) to the musical instruments of trumpets and pianos as well as the then latest electrical invention of the microphone—musical articulations of every kind (human, mechanical, instrumental and electrical) are interwoven in the wider urban soundscape. Despite the encroachment of the loud mechanical drone of machines and new modes of transport, music and its associated life have not been driven out from the then modern urban soundscape. They are still present, audible and clear. The connection, even interaction of life with music results in the German compound noun *Musikleben*. Though *Musikleben* is very much part of the German modern day discourse, its definition is not as clear-cut. The word itself incorporates an aesthetic

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art form with a biological metaphor and suggests that music is a living, breathing entity. In the respect of conditioned language use, it is closely allied to another entity, that of the city where most musical interactions take place. Biological metaphors have, for hundreds of years, conveniently served as descriptors for the city as a living, breathing entity: the heart is, for instance, its centre; the head is its leader; and the arteries are its wired, interlinked transportation networks ferrying commuters from one urban site to another. In German discourse, too, biological metaphors have long been the norm when it comes to describing the urban space. With an eye to Richard Sennett, the Austrian architect, Günther Feuerstein, elaborates that


The problem encountered by Feuerstein in attempting to underpin the definition of the city as a living organism is one that extends to the on-going search for a definition to the word Musikleben. An ideal starting point for the location of a definition would be the numerous German music encyclopaedic reference books. Yet, the Riemann Musiklexikon, Herder’s Grosse Lexikon der Musik and Friedrich Herzfeld’s

Musiklexikon, Herder’s Grosse Lexikon der Musik and Friedrich Herzfeld’s

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3 The academic discipline of music sociology as part of the German Musikwissenschaften has long since concerned itself with the connection, interaction and relationship between music and life. Alphons Silbermann’s appropriately worded Wovon lebt die Musik (1957), with life and music captured in the title, is still regarded as one of the founding texts of music sociology. Silbermann comes to the conclusion that ‘die Musik lebt von ihren Hörern, von ihrem Publikum’ (p. 192) and the musical experience is activated when there is an interaction between musical performer and musical listener, out of which Wirkekreise, social groupings are formed. Cf.: Alphons Silbermann, Wovon lebt die Musik (Regensburg: Bosse, 1957).

4 This observation is nothing new and was made in the first half of the nineteenth century by the Swiss music publisher and distributor, Hans Georg Nägeli, whose name will reappear later in this chapter. Cf.: Hans Georg Nägeli, Vorlesung über Musik mit Berücksichtigung der Dilettanten (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung, 1826; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1980), pp. 265–83 (p. 272).


*Musiklexikon* simply sidestep the frequently used term in their encyclopaedic reference volumes. The standard Duden dictionary does, however, provide a simplistic definition to the compound noun that only exists in the singular form in German: ‘[Das Musikleben ist] musikalisches Geschehen in einem bestimmten geographischen Bereich’, citing the example: ‘die Münchner Oper ist eines der Zentren europäischen Musiklebens.’ In this specific example, elaborating on the standardised definition, *Musikleben* is very much focussed on a geopolitical unit and the institutions housed within that unit. It is noteworthy that the editors of Duden chose a city, in this respect, which today markets itself to the outside world as a *Musikstadt*, and whose roots as a *Musikstadt*, as the following chapter shall later explore, go back to Ludwig II of Bavaria. The choice of the Munich Opera House, seen in its wider European context, is both significant and meaningful: the editors purposefully chose a renowned institution that is synonymous with musical creation, promotion and performance. The institutional music centre serves as a cultural representation of the city of Munich, both at home and abroad. The term *Musikleben*, in the eyes of Duden, would appear to have stronger urban rather than rural connotations. *Musikleben*, at least in the example cited, may be regarded an articulation of urban identity.

Comparing von Berger’s written account with the Duden definition of a *Musikleben* as ‘musikalisches Geschehen in einem bestimmten geographischen Bereich’, the musical moments in his written account do not just qualify as a description of the turn-of-the-century soundscape, but are also a literarisation of musical life as a part of the wider soundscape in a particular geographical area, that of Vienna. What is apparent about von Berger’s musical moments in the description of

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7 *Duden, Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, ed. by Günther Drosdowski, 2nd edn, 8 vols (Mannheim; Leipzig; Vienna; Zurich: Duden, 1994), v, p. 2323.
the wider soundscape, however, is the absence of the music institutions of Vienna and
the dominance of *alltäglicher* musical scenes and images in the broader urban sound
mix: the pianos, the singer and the instruments. The absence of the institutional does
not necessarily mean to say that it was insignificant in the wider soundscape of
Vienna of the time or played no role whatsoever in von Berger’s own reflections. On
the contrary: given his biographical background, von Berger would have almost
certainly attended concerts and musical performances in turn-of-the-century Vienna.
His experiences with institutional musical life in Vienna may well have informed and
conditioned his fine listening skills when he put pen to paper during his acoustic
experiment. The questions that need to be addressed, in this context and for the wider
dissertation, are threefold: how does the experience of the musical life of the city
inform and condition authors’ writings? What can be deduced about the wider urban
soundscape from authors’ writings about musical life? And, projected on to the
identity of the city: what can such writings say about the acoustic identity of
individual cities? To tackle these questions, ones that form the centrepiece of the
thesis, an approach needs to be identified, a text corpus established and justified, as
well as a literary review undertaken. It is to these areas that the next subchapters of
this introduction now turn.
1.2 Defining Musikleben in the Context of the Soundscape

As opposed to a landscape, the term *soundscape* was theoretically underpinned by the Canadian composer and author R. Murray Schafer in the 1960s. Of particular interest was his publication *Tuning the World*, whose contents and discourse have been used to conduct multidisciplinary studies into acoustic environments everywhere. It was not until 1983, however, that the German-speaking world got its first taster of Schafer’s ideas about the soundscape. In that year, his book *Tuning the World* was translated into German under the somewhat modified title *Klang und Krach: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Hörens*. Two years later, in 1985, the renowned German music journalist, Joachim-Ernst Berendt argued that the future is hearing: ‘Die alten Organisationsformen waren “Seh-Ordnungen”, die neuen werden “Hör-Organismen” sein.’ By the mid-nineties, the German philosopher, Wolfgang Welsch, quoting Berendt, argued that a cultural transformative process was now underway: ‘Ein Verdacht geht um,’ he wrote in his essay *Auf dem Weg zu einer Kultur des Hörens?*, ‘[u]nsere Kultur, die bislang primär vom Sehen bestimmt war, sei im Begriff, zu einer Kultur des Hörens zu werden’.

Since these publications, more time, money and space has been invested in the appreciation, assessment and analysis of the urban soundscape in Germany, Austria and Switzerland: cities have installed sound installations in public places; sound artists have started to tour the city with microphones and digital recorders, playing

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8 To avoid confusion, it should be pointed out at the outset that the vast majority of Murray Schafer’s English language publications do not refer to his full first name, opting instead for the initial R. Most of the bibliographical library references to R. Murray Schafer refer, however, to Raymond rather than to the name that used in the cover of *Klang und Krach*: Richard. Regardless of whether Richard or Raymond Murray Schafer is used, the texts are derived from the same Canadian composer and author.


back their recordings to urban audiences, whether at train stations or in museums;\(^{11}\) the *Haus der Musik* in Vienna, opened in the year 2000, sells itself as an interactive ‘Klangmuseum’, in which the visitor can appreciate a full range of acoustic articulations from the musical performances of the *Wiener Philharmoniker* to the sounds of the *Sonosphere*, the *Hörbahn* and the *Klanggalerie*;\(^{12}\) the Lower Austrian capital, St Pölten, even boasts a *Klangturm* by architect Ernst Hoffmann; and the *Forum Klanglandschaft*, operating between Basel and Vienna, acts as a ‘Vermittler zwischen Menschen aus den verschiedensten Disziplinen, die sich mit Klangumwelten und Hörräumen befassen’\(^{13}\). Staying in the German academic world of soundscape discourse: Hans U. Werner, leading German exponent of the interdisciplinary area of soundscape studies, moved into new territory with his recent aural-centric publication *Soundscape-Dialog*; and, as the initial citation in the introduction showed, Peter Payer has drawn on written earwitness accounts of the urban, industrialised soundscape at the turn of the century. In all of these instances, music has had some bearing on the deliberations of the soundscape. Music is an aesthetic force that is neither divorced nor devolved from the wider soundscape. And yet, music sits somewhat uncomfortably in the academic discourse on the soundscape, not least because Schafer initially sought to carve out a new academic field, one that regarded and respected music as part of the wider ‘makrokosmische musikalische Komposition’ but was not completely subservient to it.\(^{14}\) For this reason, music was, at best, put on an equal footing with the rest of the soundscape with pseudo-musical

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\(^{11}\) One such project is by the Italian sound artist, Valeria Merlini, who is based in Berlin. Her sound installation, entitled *Wait with me: Eine disparate akustische Geschichte* was presented alongside numerous other sound installations at the fourth conference of the *Forum Klanglandschaft* (FKL) held at the Fachhochschule in St. Pölten, Lower Austria in May 2009.


\(^{13}\) <http://www.klanglandschaft.org/content/view/12/38/lang,de/> [accessed 19 May 2009]

terminology being deployed; at worst, music was given a lesser importance in fear of grounding the entire discipline in musicology, music history or music sociology. One of the principle aims of this thesis is to position music, more specifically, musical life as a part of the wider urban soundscape, as part of the ‘makrokosmische musikalische Komposition’. To pursue this aim requires a more rigorous interrogation of the definitional framework which governs the German term *Musikleben*.

Music sociological works have often pointed to Paul Bekker’s *Das deutsche Musikleben* (1916) as being the first attempt to present ‘das Gesamtbild des Musiklebens einer Nation’. From the very outset of his work, written on the battlefields of World War I, Bekker is in no doubt as to the meaning of *Musikleben*, defining it as:


Bekker’s inclination that the groundwork for the formation of a twentieth-century musical life was laid at the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century would appear to be confirmed in the lectures, speeches and publications of the Swiss-born music publisher, distributor and writer, Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836). In his capacity as the president of the *Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft*, Nägeli opened the society’s main meeting in Schaffhausen in 1811 with a speech, addressing the interaction between music and life in the urban space. A direct result of the ‘Etablierung und Verallgemeinerung des Theater- und Concertwesens’ at the turn of

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the eighteenth into the nineteenth century was that music and musicians in ‘tausendfache Berührung [mit dem Publikum kam]’.

What is significant about Nägeli’s speech is the recurring theme of art (by which Nägeli specifically means music) interacting with and manifesting itself in life. Nägeli takes his listeners on a journey of how ‘die Tonkunst […] ins Leben eingriff’, identifying ‘wo die Kunst ins Leben eintritt’ and calling on the members of the Musikgesellschaft to make positive contributions towards ‘ein würdiger Schritt [des Vereins] ins öffentliche Leben’, particularly in the urban world.

In attendance at Nägeli’s speech was a 24-year-old musician by the name of Carl Maria von Weber. Just two weeks after von Weber heard Nägeli’s speech in Schaffhausen, the renowned pianist put forth Ideen zu einer musikalischen Topographie Deutschlands. For the music historian, Eberhard Preußner, the timing of Nägeli’s speech and Weber’s publication on a literary recording of urban-centric musical life are no coincidence: ‘Nägelis Rede [wird] einen wesentlichen Anstoß zu Webers musikalischen Topographie gebildet haben’.

In full, Weber’s proposal for a musical topography reads:

Plan nach Ländern und Städten. – Alphabetische Ordnung. – Am Ende Städteregister.
Statt der Vorrede eine dialogisirte Scene, die den Plan und die Ursache der Entstehung des Werckens entwickelt.

B. Concertselbst. Mitwirken der Direktion und Sänger. Instrumentalisten. Orchester, wie es beschaffen und besetzt. Wer am beliebtesten, was für Musikart, was für Instrumentalisten am seltensten und liebsten gehört. Zeit des Anfangs, Dauer, Arrangement hinsichtlich der Musikstücke, der Zahl derselben u.s.w.

18 Ibid., p. 665.


With a topography (from the Greek, meaning place), Weber assigns musical creation, production and performance to particular geographical units with strictly defined boundaries: cities, whose boundaries demarcate urban space; or, on a broader scale, countries, whose borders separate national spaces from other national spaces. The absence of the rural in Weber’s topography is noticeable and noteworthy: by the start of nineteenth century, at a time of political upheaval and revolution, music is identified as being urban and national.

A direct link between Weber’s topography and the term Musikleben surfaces four years later in what would appear to be one of the first references to a predominantly musical Kunstleben, a forerunner to the term Musikleben. Published in the Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung in 1815, von Weber’s Städtebild entitled Prag roughly follows the content checklist of his topography published four years earlier.

He addresses the music theatre, professional concert life of Prague (naming specific concerts and principle directors of musical establishments), educational establishments (such as the renowned conservatoire), the music media and church music as well as musical talent in the city. Similarly, nine years later, in 1824,

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Nägeli employed the title *Kunstleben* in his tenth and final *Vorlesungen über Musik*. He divided *Kunstleben* up into six categories: *Singvereine, Kränzchenmusik, Concertwesen, Opernwesen, Kirchenmusik, Musikfeste*. In yet another urban-centric lecture by Nägeli, the Swiss music scholar honed in on the city, especially in reference to the first category, the *Singvereine*: ‘Sein Grundgesetz [der des Singvereins] soll sehn: unbeschränkte Öffentlichkeit. Er ist der Stadt, worin er frey lebt, auch die freye Wirksamkeit seines Kunstlebens schuldig.’ Attributing the success of such institutions, like the *Singvereine* to the city with its favourable conditions, elevates the urban space to new aesthetic heights. It is neither the church nor the royal court that should, in future, set the dominant musical tone, but cities and their musical institutions.

Though *Kunstleben* was used by both Hans Georg Nägeli and Carl Maria von Weber, they are, in fact, referring to the music in *Kunst*. In that respect, *Kunstleben* should not necessarily be regarded as a forerunner, as stated earlier, but more as a synonym of *Musikleben* that would eventually take hold as a term in its own right at the end of the nineteenth century. Given the content of Nägeli’s speech, the word *Kunstleben* has a far more deep-rooted meaning than Duden’s own definition of *Musikleben* as merely ‘musikalisches Geschehen in einem bestimmten geographischen Bereich’; and yet, Duden’s own supplementary example to illustrate its definition coincides with the urban flavour of the term, dating back to Nägeli’s and Weber’s deliberations. The historical emergence of the term *Musikleben*, it can be argued through the eyes of Nägeli, did not start out as an inventory of ‘musikalisches Geschehen’ in any one place, but rather as a *Kunstleben* which was understood as a greater interaction between professional musicians and their music.

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with an ever-expanding audience. It encompasses emancipating ideals that move towards a democratisation of music. All of this was being played out on the urban stage.

The socio-political interaction process between music and life is something that is not lost in definitions of Musikleben in the twentieth century. With the music historical context of Musikleben embedded in Bekker’s work drifting further and further into the past, the emergence of the field of music sociology ensures for renewed post-modern debates on the sociological interactions that underpin musical life. The distinguished musicologist, Friedrich Blume, spoke of musical life in 1953 as ‘alles in unserem Menschenleben und in unserer tätigen Wirklichkeit, was irgendwie mit Musik zu tun hat; oder auch umgekehrt: Alle Wirkung und Beziehung, die von der Musik aus in unser Leben hineinstrahlt’.23 Walter Wiora, the German music historian, also identifies a relationship, though problematic, with ‘Werk und Hörer, Musik und Mensch’, going on to reflect upon the widest possible range of themes related to music in his appraisal of musical life of the times.24 The widest possible parameters set by Blume and Wiora for the deliberation of Musikleben are practically interchangeable with parameters set for the deliberation of the soundscape by Schafer. Thinking back to the mega category of ‘makrokosmische musikalische Komposition’: they would appear to incorporate everything and anything in their respective acoustic realms. Irrespective of whether it is the soundscape or Musikleben, their analyses both contemplate and explore the acoustic or musical phenomena and the individual’s relationship and reaction to them. Given the range, complexity and diversity of acoustic stimuli in both the soundscape and in musical life, the urban

space city has, more often than not, been the default area of enquiry. With these commonalities, it is difficult to see why soundscape discourse has been rather reluctant to assess musical life as a part of the wider blend of sounds in the urban acoustic environment.
1.3 The Urban Sound Image

The city is known to its inhabitants as a location where the senses are intoxicated with a bombardment of stimuli: sights, sounds and smells. At the start of the twentieth century, the emergence of the modern German city would have put the urbanite’s sensory dimensions to the absolute test. Indeed, reflecting on the literary reflections of the time, a visual bombardment and an aural *Rauschen* enjoyed increased literary engagement and reflection. Discourse on German urban literary representations of perception, of *Wahrnehmung*, has long established a link between the modern German cities as places of sensory intoxication on the one hand, and the heightened literary engagement which these urban sensorial experiences attracted and aroused on the other. In *Die Stadt in der Literatur* (1983), one of the first definitive scholarly appraisals on the urban motif in literature, Elisabeth Schraut establishes a connection between urban transformations, reflected in statistical population trends and the changing nature of literary reflections on the urban space.

The development, which these numbers reflect, the social and cultural change and the total change of the living conditions of many people, was soon also noticed by the authors. Already in the 18th century, they primarily saw the big city life as a new and specific life form. While cities until then in literature were only stages or background without life, and the description of cities was limited to architectural peculiarities and ‘meridians’ of various kinds, a gradual engagement with the phenomenon city begins now. Gradually, the city – earlier in England and France than in Germany – theme and subject of literature.

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26 Besides a population flow from the eastern parts of the German Kaiserreich towards the west, Thomas Nipperdey presents statistical data in his historical *magnum opus* that illustrates the rapid growth of German cities between 1875 and 1910. Within this thirty-five year timeframe, the number of German cities with a population of over 200,000 went from three in 1875 (Berlin, Hamburg and Breslau) to 22 in 1910, the largest three of which were Berlin (2,071,257), Hamburg (931,035) and Munich (596,467). Cf.: Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993), t: *Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist*, pp. 9–42 (p. 37).

In his chapter *The Metropolis in Literature* a year later, also drawing on examples from England, France and Germany, Peter Keating puts similar concerns in the spotlight. He explores the literary treatment of the new metropolis at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, a period which he recognises as a ‘state of cultural crisis’, out of which the ‘modern movement in literature’ emerged. Keating starts his study by asking whether it was at all possible for the novelist to comprehend the new metropolitan experience.²⁸ In these two publications, both of which are early academic articulations on this modern urban experience, Schraut and Keating time the emergence of the modern German city, and, by association, its primary treatment in the literature after the emergence of Paris and London. But another commonality is also apparent, one which would resonate right through into present-day discourse on German urban literary reflections: the dominance and preference of the visual sense, of visual imagery to interpret the city. The centrality of the eye or, better still, the ocularcentricity is captured in Schraut’s dictum: ‘es sind literarische Zeugnisse, die wir vielleicht mit anderen Augen lesen, seit die Erfahrung der “Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte” unseren Blick geschärft hat’.²⁹ Visual interpretations of the modern German city in literature, isolating and appreciating the visual moments embedded in literary reflections over other sensorial spheres of Western thought, are justifiable: they lie in the dominance of the visual reading, referencing and metaphorising of the urban space by a whole host of German modernist authors and writers. Also in a broader sense, this visual discourse ties neatly into other fields of on-going academic and non-

²⁹ Schraut, p. 6.
academic enquiry that has subjected the city to a purely visual analysis through the eye.\footnote{Translated into German as ‘Civitas: Die Großstadt und die Kultur des Unterschieds’ (1991), the visual dominance with which urbanity is treated in Richard Sennett’s study is best expressed in the original English title: ‘The Conscience of the Eye’ and is indicative of urban sociological discourse that subjects the city to a purely visual analysis. Cf.: Richard Sennett, The Conscience of the Eye: the Design and Social Life of Cities, 1st edn (New York: Knopf, 1990).}

Influential authorities on the city image in modern German literature have often pursued these visual lines of enquiry, linking the impact of urbanity on the author with the impact on this urbanity on the author’s sensorial sphere, particularly on his and, more rarely, her eye. For Sabine Becker, the ‘Literatur der Moderne’ not only developed itself ‘in Auseinandersetzung mit der urbanen Zivilisation’; but the development of literary forms from the 1880s onwards were accompanied with a ‘historisch bedingten Veränderung der Wahrnehmung’. Her entire investigation Urbanität und Moderne centres around the following premise: ‘Die Geschichte der Stile der Moderne verbindet sich mit der Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und des Sehens im urbanen Erfahrungs- und Wahrnehmungsraum’.\footnote{Sabine Becker, Urbanität und Moderne. Studien zur Großstadtwahrnehmung in der deutschen Literatur 1900–1930 (St Ingbert: Werner J. Röhrig, 1993), pp. 9–11.} Similarly, Manfred Smuda’s collection of essays in Die Großstadt als Text privileges visual perceptions of the city, as presented in a range of literary works, over other sensorial reflections. In the backdrop of the urban world of the very early twentieth century, the eye, he asserts, is the ‘Wahrnehmungsorgan, das im Rahmen der neuen Sensibilität einen Vorrang gewinnt’.\footnote{Manfred Smuda, ‘Die Wahrnehmung der Großstadt als ästhetisches Problem des Erzählens’, in Die Großstadt als “Text”, ed. by Manfred Smuda (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1992), pp. 131–82 (p. 134).} In a more recent appraisal of the city in literature, Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann sees, in a similar vein to Becker, the modern city and modernist literature as ‘gleichsam Geschwister’.\footnote{Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann, Kleine Literaturgeschichte der Großstadt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), p. 10.} In the concluding chapter of her Kleine Literaturgeschichte der Großstadt, appropriately entitled Visionen, she focuses her
attention on the complex of the *Bild*, often visually rendered into English as picture or image, and its relationship between the writer and the reader. Corbineau-Hoffmann argues:

Die aus vielfältigen Perspektiven entworfenen Ansichten, Bilder und Visionen der Großstadt in der Literatur fangen die Dimensionen des Gegenstandes ein, ohne damit den Leser und sein Sensorium zu überfordern.\(^{34}\)

From Baudelaire’s *tableaux* to Altenberg’s *Ansichten* and Benjamin’s *Denkbild*, Corbineau-Hoffmann’s tendency towards the employment of visual metaphor is informed by the language that these and other authors used to describe, reflect and narrate the urban space as well as the associated sensory experiences of that space. ‘Language’, to quote Sharpe and Wallock’s *Visions of the Modern City*, ‘inevitably conditions our responses to the city. Our perceptions are inseparable from the words we use to describe them and from the activities of reading, naming and metaphorising that make all our formations possible’.\(^{35}\) Indeed, the title of their work and the inclusion of the visual landscape at the very outset of their work go to show the centrality of the visual in both writing and reading the city, resonating with the examples above.

Not all literary images, though, are visual in nature. Thomas Mann’s novella *Gladius Dei* presents itself as a case in point. When Mann speaks of ‘Junge Leute [pfeifen] […] das Nothung-Motiv’, he codifies an acoustic phenomenon, that of whistling, into the written word. Far from being visually-grounded, it has explicit acoustic connotations, just like the *Nothung-Motiv*, which, as the later analysis of this text shall show, is a clear reference to Richard Wagner. This stand-alone example from Thomas Mann’s *Gladius Dei* serves to show that there is much more to literary

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\(^{34}\) Ibid., p. 220.

city texts than meets the eye. Authors, such as Thomas Mann with a strong sense of musical appreciation and awareness, embed musical markers in their text, ones that can be read and interpreted. For the musically enlightened reader of the present, reading texts of the past, such musical markers or musical images may have the power to activate the musical imagination – an imagination that would have most likely been formed by the reader’s own urban musical life. For the music historian, the embedding of musical markers can provide useful information into some of the musical articulations of the wider soundscape heard and experienced during an author’s life. This is especially true in texts where the author’s writing is unquestionably informed by urban musical life of his time. For German literary scholars, an appraisal of urban musical images in literature as a part of the wider literary soundscape shall add something new to the interpretation of the senses in literature, which has all too often emphasized the visual over other senses, including the aural. But how and what images are going to be assessed? What is the meaning and significance of such urban musical images in literature? What does the take-up of certain images say about the author and the wider soundscape of his time? It is now to the approach and text corpus to which attention shall now turn.
1.4 Reinhard Strohm’s Approach

Given the centrality of soundscape discourse in this thesis, the first port of call for the construction of an approach for the analysis of soundscapes in literature is R. Murray Schafer. In *Klang und Krach*, the German translation of *Tuning the World*, Schafer addresses the role of literature in the opening pages of his book. At the centre of his short deliberations on the role of literature in future soundscape discourse, he speaks of reliable and trustworthy literary ‘Ohrenzeuge’ to reconstruct soundscapes of the past:

> Es ist ein besonderes Talent von Romanschreibern wie Tolstoi, Thomas Hardy und Thomas Mann, dass sie die Lautspachen ihrer Orte und Zeiten einzufangen vermochten, und solche Beschreibungen sind die besten verfügbaren Führer bei der Rekonstruktion vergangener Lautspähen.\(^{36}\)

Other than being identifiable *Hörmomente* in literary texts, Schafer offers very little in the way of literary tools and techniques to analyze and appraise acoustic moments in texts. Whether and how texts should be analyzed for their value to contribute to past soundscapes and whether different genres of texts—other than novels and poetry—can be drawn upon to tell the story of the soundscape are questions that remain unanswered. Though Schafer’s defined terminology, including the *Ohrenzeuge* (earwitness), *Lautobjekt* (soundmark) and *Signallaut* (sound signals), all of which are useful for literary appraisals of musical images, it cannot adequately make up for the lack of approach, especially when it comes to the interrogation of urban musical images in literature.

Not without its own contentions and criticisms from the academic world, Reinhard Strohm published his work *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (1985), combining musical history, literary analysis and aspects of urban sociology.\(^{37}\)

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entitles his first chapter of *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* with the words *Townscape – Soundscape*. These titles condition Strohm’s study, one containing a geographical topos (Bruges) and set time (late medieval period) and sound material (music). Strohm speaks of Bruges of the fifteenth century as having ‘its own musical life, whose patterns were more complex, indeed, than those of the great cathedrals, abbeys and royal courts’. The possessive of ‘its own’ in relation to Bruges’s musical life suggests a unique musical identity, one that is considerably more complex than the institutions that promoted music at the time. As the chapter *Townscape – Soundscape* continues, Strohm starts to suggest a kind of diverse musical topography across the urban space, changing in rhythm, pitch and frequency according to the topoi in which the listener found himself. Arriving at this conclusion after contemplating the urban musical life in the broader context of the wider acoustic environment, Strohm approaches urban musical life through its images, or, to use the German: its *Bilder*.

Late medieval Bruges is known to us through the stillness of pictures. Motion and sound are contained within them, but in a frozen form: reduced to an infinitely small fraction of time. Given time, the pictures would start to move and the music would be heard.

Strohm works with the traditional notion of art as frozen music in a ‘Grenzbereich zwischen Musik und bildender Kunst’, as Peter Frank would describe visualisations of music in art in the same year as Strohm’s publication: 1985, the European Year of Music. Frank, whose essay *Visuelle Partituren* was published in the catalogue to accompany the international exhibition *Vom Klang der Bilder* at the *Staatsgalerie* in Stuttgart, speaks of ‘eine mehr oder wenige direkte Beziehung [zwischen akustischen und optischen Eindrücken]’ in visual articulations of music. Strohm’s argument is that if ‘the silent mirrors of music’ are given time, musicological and music historical

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39 Ibid., p. 1.
analysis, then the musical secrets of the past could be unfrozen in and for the present.  

What is significant about Strohm’s approach is his ability to look beyond visuality to imagine what can be or could have been heard; and the music that was made. He sees and hears the people of Bruges, for instance, playing their instruments. At the top of clock towers, he locates the playing of music trumpets which set the pace and rhythm of urban life. In the visual spectacular of processions, he recognises its aural supremacy above its visual value, with the procession singing chants and hymns. This is clearly a matter of language conditioning. As cited earlier, language conditions responses to the city and Strohm’s response is rooted in the noted aural sounds in visually-read texts. Through the conditioning and aural interpretation of language, Strohm is in the business, it could be said, of interpreting urban musical images to define the musical identity of a city, which distinguishes it from acoustic economies of other cities. Though urban musical images of Bruges take centre stage in Strohm’s analysis, they are seen, especially in the first chapter, as being part of a more complex fifteenth-century acoustic environment, which brings together a whole range of sounds, songs, noises and music:

The soundscape of the town was, of course, characterised by the human voice: the cries of coachmen, shopkeepers and traders, buskers, heralds and servants of noble passengers, and of the beggars and lepers – and most of these also had bells or other noise-making instruments. Women and children were amply represented in this concert. The focal point of all the noises as well as of all outdoors was the market square.

A marvellous way in which music helped order time and space within urban life were the great processions. The sacred chants, sung by the numerous participants, and the festive sounds of the accompanying city trumpeters, were carried through the streets, thus linking music with movement and evoking the spiritual significance of the townscape.

In making the analogy between the market place and the concert, Strohm does not just establish a relationship between the music of the city and the sounds in the city; he

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41 Strohm uses the expression ‘silent mirrors of music’ to define the great Flemish paintings to which he refers in his study. Cf.: Strohm (1985), p. 9.
42 Reinhard Strohm, p. 4.
actually blends the two contrasting acoustic articulations together, just as they would have most probably featured in the urban soundscape of late medieval Bruges. The sounds of these human voices of tradesmen would have intermingled with the voices of women and children, which would have, in turn, overlapped with bell-ringing, horn and trumpet playing and clocks striking. A Bruges-specific urban sonic identity (or sonic identities) would further manifest itself (or themselves) in the many great processions across the city, in which music, according to Strohm, ‘helped order time and space within urban life’. \(^{43}\) In short: Strohm plays on literary metaphors of music to define the urban soundscape; he characterises the townspace as an overlapping blend of acoustic phenomena; and he gives prominence to urban musical images in the wider soundscape—these very observations are central planks to the thesis that now follows.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., p. 4.
1.5 Introducing Urban Aurality

Building on Strohm’s analysis of urban musical images in the context of the wider urban soundscape, this thesis shall introduce and develop the notion of urban aurality as an alternative way to read the sonic dimensions of German city writings. From the Latin *auris*, meaning ear, aurality is defined in the Oxford English dictionary as: ‘of or relating to the ear or the sense of hearing’.

Interestingly, the number of English language citations for aurality on the internet is far greater than its German counterpart: *Auralität*. In German, the Latin *auris* means of or relating to the *Ohr* or the sense of *hören*, a word that can, incidentally, be used as both a noun and a verb. But whilst the English language makes a clear distinction between hearing as the act of the perception of sound landing on the ear and listening as the conscious act of absorbing sound, the German language is not as clear-cut in this respect. This does not mean to say that there are no respective translations for *to hear* and *to listen*, but the verb *hören* and its respective separable forms does much to ensure that the dividing lines between hearing and listening, between active and passive are somewhat blurred.

Whilst Tim Carter criticised Reinhard Strohm’s approach of not distinguishing between music and noise, or between hearing and listening in his *Townscape – Soundscape* chapter, Carter fails to consider Strohm’s background, conditioned by the German language, whereby the difference between hearing and listening is not as clear-cut as in the English language with the words listening and hearing.

The semantic blend in the German equivalent of the word *Auralität*, which could be regarded as blending hearing and listening closer together, is the definition around which this thesis shall orientate itself. In looking at aurality (in the German language sense of the word), the thesis must deal with the audio material which lands...

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on the ear: sound in all of its forms. It has its own constraints, as Frances Dyson pointed out in his definition of aurality:

Sound cannot be held for close examination, nor can it be separated from the aural continuum and given a singular identity. In a constant state of becoming, sound comes into and goes out of existence in a manner that confounds ontological representation. Similarly, being both heard outside and felt within, sound blurs the distinction between the interior and the exterior of the body, annihilating the distance between the subject and object, self and other. This immersive quality, together with the physiology of the ear, destabilizes the subjectivity of the subject; unlike the eye, the ear cannot be closed. Unlike the gaze that is always in front of the subject and projected onto the world, listening involves an awareness of the unseen and possibly unwelcome spaces on the periphery of one’s being.46

For sound(scape)s to be appraised at all, then, strict spatial and time coordinates need to be given to stand a decent chance of yielding insights that will be significant and meaningful. For that reason, the notion of urban aurality introduces a narrowing down of the area heard to the urban space. For this study that will mean the modern German city space of the twentieth century. Though the twentieth century is marked by a general cranking-up of city volume and an even deeper blurring of the sound of the city, it did not necessarily stop literary figures from translating actual soundscapes into literary texts, irrespective of the authors’ chosen text genre. In perhaps a more romantic twist, it neither stopped authors from employing urban musical images and constructs to depict significant parts of the urban soundscape. Though the term urban aurality suggests everything and anything related to sound which lands on the ear, this study shall confine itself to selected urban musical images in literature as a part of the wider soundscape. It intends to show, however, that despite being confined to one specific aspect of the soundscape, application of musico-literary tools and techniques by authors actually had the effect of establishing a micro-urban aurality within their texts. In doing so, it could be argued, the city’s sound is reflected in the language deployed by the city author. Identifying the differences and similarities in each of the portrayed urban musical images between each of the city texts has the potential of

revealing separate urban musical identities, as embedded in the text structure, content and language.
1.6 Comparative Study

Perhaps hearing the criticism of the likes of Fiona Kisby about the ‘music in …’ model, which focuses on music and musical life of a single urban community whose ‘physical boundaries of the town conveniently define the scope of enquiry’, Strohm would later embark on more ambitious comparative studies of musical life. More than fifteen years after the publication of *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (1985), Strohm delivered a comparative study which would counteract criticisms of a conventional approach with the ‘music in …’ model. His study, entitled *Music and Urban Culture in Austria: Comparing Profiles* (2001), moves away from the analysis of one single acoustic urban community of a particular time towards small-scale comparative profiling and interpretation of differences and similarities between musical life in three late medieval Austrian cities: Vienna, Innsbruck and Bolzano.

This study shall imitate the practical logistical framework of Strohm’s fine-tuned comparative approach by identifying three urban musical spaces in the German-speaking hemisphere for analysis. The study shall seek to compare, contrast and identify patterns and typologies, differences and similarities of urban musical life between three cities over the twentieth century. Just like Strohm, the study shall focus on a broader time frame, synonymous with both an historical epoch and particular aesthetic movements. Though this study shall move beyond the analysis of one singular auditory environment and considers three, it recalls Tim Carter’s useful observations into past research studies on music in the urban world:

> Limiting one’s enquiry to a given time and place set useful boundaries upon an exercise designed to demonstrate scholarly skills as much as to make a significant and original contribution to knowledge. It also provided convenient ways of escaping ‘great men’ and

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notions of progress based upon them, and of avoiding the need to devote years of doctoral research to composers of increasingly lesser statue.\footnote{Tim Carter, p. 10.}

The enquiry limits itself to a given time and to the boundaries of three cities, within which musical life takes place and somehow gives these metropolises a kind of special musical identity. Not only in the introduction of the notion of urban aurality, but also in the comparative nature of the study between three cities over the twentieth century – here is where this study shall make its significant and original contribution to knowledge. The next chapter of this thesis shall set the geographical framework within which this study shall be conducted. Given that this is a doctoral thesis exploring German literary reflections of music and musical life in three cities over the modernist twentieth century, it makes logical sense to pinpoint three German cities which are aesthetic centres, synonymous with literary creation and production as well as music of modernity.

In Geschichte der literarischen Moderne (2004), Helmuth Kiesel wrote:


But Berlin and Vienna, together with Munich, are not just understood as Kunststädte, they were and still are Musikstädte. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the term Musikstadt, itself charged with géographie musicale meaning and symbolism, lacks a definition in standard German reference works, though the term is, quite ironically, used widely in the present day.\footnote{The music historian, journalist and academic, Barbara Barthelmes, uses the French term géographie musicale in relation to the Musikstadt Paris, whose sociographical music space is experienced subjectively by the visitor walking through the city. In surveying the musical life of the French capital, Barthelmes, who spent time in Paris in the early 1990s, crosses the city from its ‘Zentren’ to the ‘Peripheren’ via its ‘Übergänge’, presenting her readers with a ‘möglích[n] Kartographie des Musiklebens’, comprising institutional images of music: operas, theatres and concert halls; and non-institutional images, including street musicians of all nationalities playing in the métro de Paris. In}

49 Tim Carter, p. 10.
51 The music historian, journalist and academic, Barbara Barthelmes, uses the French term géographie musicale in relation to the Musikstadt Paris, whose sociographical music space is experienced subjectively by the visitor walking through the city. In surveying the musical life of the French capital, Barthelmes, who spent time in Paris in the early 1990s, crosses the city from its ‘Zentren’ to the ‘Peripheren’ via its ‘Übergänge’, presenting her readers with a ‘möglích[n] Kartographie des Musiklebens’, comprising institutional images of music: operas, theatres and concert halls; and non-institutional images, including street musicians of all nationalities playing in the métro de Paris. In
reflections of the *Musikstadt* that offer insights into the music topographical term. Through a mixture of musical history, urban sociology and literary analysis, insights will emerge into how individual authors arrived at their assessments for labelling Munich, Vienna and Berlin as *Musikstädte*.

Careful attention has been paid to the selection of the authors and their respective essay(s) for the next chapter: Thomas Mann’s *Musik in München* (1917), Ingeborg Bachmann’s *Musikstäde* (1956) and a range of essays from Hans Mayer towards the latter end of the twentieth century. In all three instances, the author-centric choice has been made because of biographical and literary commonalities between the three: they all have a strong bond with music and the city which somehow reverberates in their own writings. They were all known to have participated actively in urban musical life, whether attending concerts, personally knowing musical personalities of their time; and they recalled these musical experiences in later publications and interviews. Where similarities between these authors and their aforesaid works exist, so too do differences. Though these essays all deal with the *Musikstadt* and hail from the same literary genre (the essay), their date of conception, literary subgenre and style embed numerous differences which ensure that they do not overlap perfectly. Thomas Mann’s essay is, for instance, a critical cultural appraisal of the local aesthetic conditions in the *Musikstadt München* at that time and can be regarded as an essayistic defence of his favourite conductor, Bruno Walter, with the piece being destined for a publication in Berlin. Ingeborg Bachmann’s essay, on the other hand, is an essayistic prose fragment that forms a

speaking of these different kinds of musical topographies, underpinned with the terms *géographie musicale* and *Kartographie des Musiklebens*, she follows a similar path that Peter Payer would pursue just over a decade later in his analysis of the turn-of-the-century acoustic topographies of Vienna. And yet, a commonality with Rüdiger Görner’s *sonography* is also apparent: she speaks, in concluding her short study, not of multiple cartographies of musical life, but of a singular whole, reminiscent of a sonography of musical life of the metropolis on the banks of the Seine River. Cf.: Barbara Barthelmes, ‘Géographie musicale: Wege durch die Musikstadt Paris’, *Musica* 48 (1994), 206–10.
cycle of short fragments about music. Also critical towards culture and combining musical history with her own musical experiences and thoughts, Bachmann’s impressions are those of her time. The essayistic texts selected from Hans Mayer, however, present themselves as a ‘Problemfall’ in that they were conceived under different circumstances to the essays of Mann and Bachmann. Mayer’s impressions are not ones of immediacy; instead, they are autobiographical cultural snapshots of a bygone age that would be conditioned and informed by a diverse musical history preceding the time when he eventually put pen to paper at the end of the century. Whilst the three authors all use memory to codify their musical experiences into the written word, the time lapse between the immediate and the heavily protracted is no doubt going to have some sort of impact on the nature, even the accuracy of the written deliberations. However, as musical historical and urban sociological research into Mayer’s autobiographical reflections shall later reveal, the insights embedded in his essay coincide with the historical discourse of the time. This comes despite the protracted time span of almost eight decades from the experienced musical scene to its written description.\footnote{Though it falls outside the parameters of this thesis and is firmly rooted in the academic disciplines of cognitive science and psychology, significant scientific research has been undertaken on the so-called ‘musical memory’ which has discovered that music-related memory is more resistant to neural degeneration than, for instance, linguistic memory. Cf.: Bob Snyder, \textit{Music and Memory: An Introduction} (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 2000); Oliver Sachs, \textit{Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).}

Though the time lag is greater, the precision with which Mayer recalls musical life, as confirmed and reconfirmed by music literature of the time, has led to their incorporation in the subchapter on defining Berlin as a \textit{Musikstadt}. Out of all of the \textit{Musikstädte} under the literary spotlight, Berlin stands out as being the youngest and a more modern manifestation of music in the city, whilst Vienna and Munich have long and more well-established and documented musical life.
When it came to defining musical life and traditions in medieval Bruges, Strohm’s approach was not only to analyse the music repertory and its position in the wider soundscape. Breaking away from Schafer’s discourse that elevates the sound above the sound maker, Strohm pays careful attention to the chief exponents of urban musical life as it is they who are so definitive in setting the musical tone of the wider soundscape: composers, choir boys, city trumpeters, pipers and other instrumentalists. By association, the acoustic identity of the soundscape of medieval Bruges is partially comprised of the music that is made, and those who made it, as well as the conditions in which music was made. Through writer-centric explications of historical documents and texts, Strohm places the musical exponents inside the urban soundscape of the fifteenth century and undertakes to paint a picture of the cultural conditions that were prevalent at the time. The urban acoustic identity, if Strohm is to be taken at face value, consists of both the music generated within the wider soundscape and also the music makers who are dominant players in the wider soundscape. Strohm speaks of the harsh conditions, but also of musical group formations—to cite Silbermann—of ‘Kulturwirkekreise’. Strohm clearly moves on to the terrain of Musikleben; yet this is conditioned by the soundscape deliberations earlier in his book. In defining Musikstädte in the next chapter, then, the attempt shall be made to follow Strohm’s lead by (a) identifying music and musical association within the wider soundscape; (b) the chief exponents who influence the musical tone and rhythm of the city; and (c) some of the cultural aspects that conditioned music making. In doing so, an acoustic identity should emerge, one that moves beyond sheer music, but towards the protagonists who produced it.

Once the definitional géographie musicale framework of this thesis has been established, it shall set the musical geographical or topographical context within which the subsequent chapters shall operate. Using Strohm’s approach, combining music history, urban sociology and literary analysis, it will determine the Musikstadt as a literary location which has inspired selected writers to reflect on their musical life experiences in their works. The definitional framework and setting of the Musikstadt as a literary location also provides the thesis with a structure and shape. The city boundaries, as identified by Kisby and Carter as providing useful boundaries for similar studies, also serve as ideal parameters to frame and focus each of the subchapters within individual Musikstädte. With this structure in mind, the subsequent chapter shall focus on the musical image of the symphony in literature and assess how the symphony was deployed in and for various urban contexts. Although the symphony is synonymous with romantic and more rural notions of beauty and harmony—with many of them coming to the fore in literature as both visual and aural metaphors—it starts to assume more urban connotations in the twentieth century as a word of choice to underpin a less rhythmic and more dissonant blend of sounds that land on the ear. But the symphony, as will be shown, is much more than a motif in literature; it is a structural form that inspires and conditions the actual shaping of literary works. This represents a separate, yet significant literary phenomenon in its own right: the form of the symphony, most often experienced in the musical life of the urban space, informs the structural form of literary works, even entire novels as is the case with Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg. As the novel is full of musical images at the rural Davos retreat, it cannot be denied that Thomas Mann’s experienced urban musical life played some sort of role in the compilation of this book, written in the Musikstadt of Munich between 1913 and 1924. Urban musical life is not at the heart
of the novel, but it is highly questionable whether the book could have been conceived without these experiences from city music life. The subchapter on Munich as a symphony should be read in the context of the scarcity of direct literary references to the city as symphony compared with more concrete examples from Vienna and Berlin. But as the second chapter will show, stark differences even exist between Vienna and Berlin. Whilst Viennese authors seem to deploy the symphony for the purposes multi-sensory expression, one that is very much grounded in the romantic notions of the symphony, Berlin’s modern soundscape and authors’ perceptions of it are directly connected to the symphony itself. The dual connection can be made between music history and urban sociology, out of which the symphony as a literary motif in city texts is most likely to have come about: the emergence of Berlin as a Musikhauptstadt and as a modern cultural centre, allied with a dramatic increase in the city’s noise intensity, ensured that the distinctions between music and noise became blurred. As shall be shown with the example of René Schickele’s Symphonie für Jazz, the symphony as both something musical and something cacophonous became a modern manifestation of the modern metropolis synonymous with Berlin.

From the symphony, a strict musical construct, the next chapter shall move to another musical image in literature that was one of the forerunners to the today’s multitude of audio recording devices: the gramophone. The chapter commences with groundbreaking music historical research into the first ever public performance of the gramophone in the German-speaking world. Once the urban music historical context is presented, the chapter quickly turns to the gramophone as a literary motif and shows how the gramophone and its records, given their portability, exported urban musical life (in recorded form, at least) from the urban Musikstädtte to the deepest countryside. It looks at instances of the gramophone in the Viennese
Kaffeehausbücherliteratur of Polgar, Bahr and Altenberg, together with Mann’s Der Zauberberg. Though Mann’s Der Zauberberg is deeply rooted in the rural world, the depictions of the gramophone and the recordings highlighted in the text reinstate the urban musical world: the gramophone as a quasi urban device exported to the rural environment; and the recordings that went with the device were of orchestras and conductors from urban musical centres. A commonality with all of these literary references to the gramophone is their connection between the device and death or the voice of the distant past. As the chapter shall demonstrate, this phenomenon stretches right back through the nineteenth century into the eighteenth century when the playback of sound from new mechanischen Musikinstrumenten, or mechanical musical instruments was an integral element of the wider urban soundscape. By the eighteenth century, inventions such as Jacques de Vaucanson’s The Flute Player and The Tambourine Player automatons gave philosophers and literary figures food for intellectual thought.54 Literary responses to these early mechanischen Musikinstrumenten, just like the gramophone later, reflected a kind of grappling of the perceived dichotomy between representations of music, the living and the dead. This is perhaps best captured in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Die Automate (1814) when the protagonist, Ludwig, exclaims with such discord: ‘diese wahren Standbilder eines lebendigen Todes oder eines toten Lebens[!]’55

Just as Vaucanson’s The Flute Player and The Tambourine Player as well as other mechanical musical instruments, such as the Drehorgel and the music box were items of fascination for their audiences, they also had their critics, as Hoffmann demonstrates above. The sound generated by these instruments was not just construed

as music (or a near imitation), but regarded by some as noise. As a counter literary image to music, the next chapter shall address literary reflections of a new urban noise in the twentieth century in *Musikstädten*. Analysing the literary noise discourse, particularly at the onset of the twentieth century, the cities of Berlin, Vienna and Munich could just have easily been called *Lärmstädte* with their concentration of noise. Interestingly, the discourse on the *Musikstadt*, irrespective of whether it is literary, music historical or urban sociological, rarely delves into its anti-image. The chapter shall start by considering the function of the concert hall as a place to escape the urban din and reconcile this function with the call for quiet, even silence in the city in the twentieth century. Special attention will be paid in this chapter to the manner in which musical discourse feeds into and off city noise discourse. It shall assess the literary value of Theodor Lessing’s *Anti-Lärmverein*, the first nationwide anti-noise movement in Germany, and shall look at how the dissonance of noise was communicated through predominantly urban musical images. This assessment shall be supported by music and urban historical works from Max Graf and Alfred Freiherr von Berger. The study shall return, full circle, back to where it started in this introductory chapter: Alfred Freiherr von Berger’s description of the urban soundscape of the Austrian capital as a place of sound, music and noise. Von Berger’s acoustic experiment also forms the ideal bridge from the main chapters of the study into the final conclusion. It shall deliberate on the analysis of urban and non-urban musical images within the *Musikstadt* and try to answer the questions: how does the experience of the musical life of the city inform and condition authors’ writings? What can be deduced about the wider urban soundscape from authors’ writings about musical life? And, projected on to the identity of the city: what can the various literary motifs say about the acoustic identity of individual cities? In identifying answers to
these questions through Strohm’s approach of analysing urban musical images as part of the wider soundscape, the notion of urban aurality shall be introduced to underpin and describe authors’ perceptions from the German-speaking hemisphere. Urban aurality, it shall be argued, is a literary blending of acoustic phenomena to express the new twentieth-century soundscape of the Musikstädte in German literature. It was a rich mix of all sorts of sounds, some old, some new, with the natural tunes of the little nature slowly been drowned out to make way for the city, masses and machines.\footnote{The Polish translation of ‘city, masses and machines’ is the alliterative ‘M’ phrase: ‘Miasto, Masa, Maszyna’ and coined by the Polish poet and art critic, Tadeusz Peiper of the Krakow avant-garde of the 1920s. Both inside and outside the German-speaking world, the urban space was receiving intense treatment in the aesthetic realms, suggesting that if a new kind of urban aurality did exist in German literature, then it might well be extended to other European literatures in the twentieth century.}
2. Definitional Framework

2.1 Working towards the Musikstadt as Literary Location

Turn to a standard German language reference work, irrespective of whether it is the latest Duden dictionary or the more recent edition of the Brockhaus encyclopaedia, and the reader will find the term Musikstadt conspicuously absent. The lack of an entry for this specific topos is highly surprising, given that the term Musikstadt is deeply etched on the German cultural mind, as evident in countless modern-day newspaper Feuilletons in the German-speaking hemisphere. The lack of definition in standard reference works does not, in any way, overlap with its frequent usage of the term in the German media. The definitional Musikstadt problem is one that was neatly rendered by Hans Weigel in his essay Musik ist heilige Kunst (1971) and reveals why, perhaps, the publishers of major German standard works have not really taken it upon themselves to define the term:

Was eine Musikstadt eigentlich ist und wodurch sie sich von anderen Städten unterscheidet, weiß man nicht ganz genau. […] Ist eine Musikstadt eine Stadt, in der besonders gut oder besonders viel musiziert wird oder beides, eine Stadt, in der besonders gut oder besonders viel komponiert wird oder beides, oder alles das zusammen?1

Despite the uncertainty attached to the term, as expressed by Weigel, German literary figures with a strong relationship with music have long since labelled particular cities with this géographie musicale term.2 Writing in his essay Musik in München, Thomas Mann identified the Bavarian capital, home to orchestras and leading conductors, as a Musikstadt, inadequately translated as a musical city or a city of music into English. But Mann did not stop there. He applied the term to all German cities, exclaiming: ‘[München] ist ja auch Musikstadt – welche deutsche Stadt wäre

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Hans Mayer, an acquaintance of Thomas Mann and whose works Mayer studied, pointed not to Munich but to Berlin of the Golden Twenties as ‘nahezu unbestritten [die] Musikhauptstadt der europäischen Kultur’.

The German music critic offers a more enhanced version of the topos Musikstadt and broadens it to a Musikhauptstadt, a musical capital city. In 1956, the Austrian poet and author, Ingeborg Bachmann, published Die wunderliche Musik with the ninth essayistic fragment entitled Musikstädte. Writing some three decades after Mann, only some cities, according to Bachmann, could boast the coveted title of Musikstadt: ‘Einige unserer Städte werden vor anderen ausgezeichnet und Musikstädte genannt.’ Though Bachmann neither goes as far as Mann in labelling all German cities as Musikstädte; nor does she single out any particular city like Mayer, the content of the fragment clearly suggests former imperial Vienna as the Musikstadt as one of the cities under the literary spotlight.

From Mann’s description of Munich as a Musikstadt, Mayer’s underpinning of Berlin as a Musikhauptstadt to Bachmann’s usage of Vienna as a model for her Musikstädte – the appearance of this géographie musicale topos from a trio of German-speaking literary figures owes itself to the ‘besonderen Verhältnis zur Musik’ of Mann, Mayer and Bachmann, and to the desire to translate urban musical experiences into essayistic reflections. These examples, however, should not lead to

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5 Bachmann’s Die wunderliche Musik appeared in two publications in 1956: firstly as a complete essay with all fourteen fragments in Jahresring under the title Musik; and secondly, as two parts in the September and November 1956 editions of Melos. The citations that follow from Bachmann’s Musikstädte fragment are from the latter. Here: Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, in Melos, 11 (November 1956), 316.

6 In reply to a query about the painter whom the German author felt the closest aesthetic allegiance, Thomas Mann’s reply, published on Christmas Day in 1913 in the Berliner Tageblatt, read: ‘Ich muß mir das Armutszeugnis, daß ich zur modernen, ja, zur Malerei überhaupt wenig Verhältnis habe. Ich bin ein “Ohrenmensch”, bin durch Musik und Sprache gebildet, und meine Vorstellung von
the assumption that the translation of urban musical experiences into the literary genre of the essay is a common phenomenon. Ludwig Rohner argues in his magnum opus *Der Deutsche Essay* (1966):

Obwohl die deutsche Musik Weltgeltung erlangt hat wie keine andere – der deutsche Anteil an der Weltliteratur steht dahinter zurück –, hat die deutsche Essayistik nicht eine im gleichen Verhältnis stehende Beziehung zur Musik. […] Nicht nur die klassische auch die spätere deutsche Essayistik beschäftigt sich vergleichsweise selten mit der Musik.

Despite this limited treatment of music as a literary motif in the genre of *Deutsche Essayistik*, Rohner identifies several literary figures who buck this particular trend, among them Thomas Mann, Hans Mayer and Ingeborg Bachmann. In the case of the latter, Rohner even cites Bachmann’s *Die wunderliche Musik*, in which the *Musikstädté* fragment appears, as one of the few yet significant exceptions to his own thesis. Whilst Rohner provides a detailed and comprehensive listing of such exceptions, research approaches to their analysis of the *Musikstadt* are few and far between. Insightful, however, is the assertion by Rohner that the essay as a literary form experienced an increased uptake at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, widening the scope of the essay to include ‘Reiseeindrücke, Aperçus, künstlerischer Komposition besonders ist musikalischer Herkunft. Genauer: es war – ich muß wohl sagen: leider – das Werk Richard Wagners, das mir, zusammen mit Nietzsche’s leidenschaftlich-skeptischer Kritik dieses Werkes, alle meine Grundbegriffe von Kunst und Künstlertum in entscheidenden Jahren einprägte.’ Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, XI, 740.


Rohner quotes an article from Die Zeit newspaper, written by the literary critic, Marcel Reich-Ranicki, in which he defines the essay as:

[etwas], was beispielsweise zwischen Reportage und Bericht schwankt, mit kulturgeschichtlichen und –kritischen Bemerkungen durchsetzt ist, autobiographische Bekenntnisse, allerlei Reflexionen, Anekdoten und prägnante Formeln enthält, kurzum: kein einheitliches Prosastück [...].

Reich-Ranicki’s definition would seem to correspond rather neatly with the characteristics of those essays by Mann, Meyer and Bachmann, in which the Musikstadt is discussed and reflected upon. Given that this literary genre embeds cultural historical insights with authors’ personal reflections and anecdotes, these primary literary sources are the first to which this study shall turn its attention. In analysing Thomas Mann’s essay Musik in München (1917), Hans Mayer’s wider Berlin considerations in Die Zwanziger Jahre, the title of the first chapter of his Gelebte Musik (1999) and Ingeborg Bachmann’s Musikstädte in Die wunderliche Musik (1957), emphasis is placed on how the individual authors define, both in terms of content and form, their respective Musikstädte in the twentieth century: Mann’s Munich, Mayer’s Berlin and Bachmann’s Vienna.

The following literary analysis of these essays shall contextualise them through the lens of Reinhard Strohm, assessing music historical and urban sociological moments embedded in their respective works. This also includes the analysis of some selected cultural conditions and phenomena embedded in these texts, which make up the fabric of a Musikstadt. The chapter shall draw on music historical literature and other city literary reflections, from then and now, to develop an understanding and to underpin a definition of the Musikstadt. Defining the Musikstadt ultimately provides the platform on which this thesis builds and is then able to move

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8 Ibid., p. 101.
9 Ibid., p. 101.
forward to analyse the musical motifs in literature as part of the urban musical life within these cities. The individual examination of each of the *Musikstädte* as perceived in these essays, or in the case of Hans Mayer, a collection of essays, shall culminate in a comparison and contrast between each of the essayistic reflections. Commonalities and similarities identified in this comparison shall start to reveal a definition of the *Musikstadt*, as perceived by these three authors.
2.2. Munich as a Musikstadt through Thomas Mann’s essay 
Musik in München (1917)

Thomas Mann would neither be the first nor the last to declare Munich as a 
*Musikstadt*. Indeed, his essay in 1917 would appear to stand at the mid-way point on 
the city’s chronological trajectory as an urban musical space. It stretches from the 
present day right back to 1864 with the first traceable reference to Munich as a 
*Musikstadt*. In that year, King Ludwig II of Bavaria expressed a desire to propel 
Munich to a ‘*Musikstadt*’.\(^\text{10}\) Fast forwarding to the present day: the previous chief 
conductor of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, Christian Thielemann, remarked 
that he loved ‘die Musikstadt München’.\(^\text{11}\) Today, perceptions of the Bavarian capital 
as a musical city are exploited by the tourist industry and political figures in the 
promotion of *München als Standort*. The official website of Munich’s Christian 
Social Union (CSU), the Bavarian sister party of Angela Merkel’s CDU, includes 
‘Musikstadt München’ with its ‘außergewöhnlich reich[en] und anspruchvoll[en] 
Musikleben’ in its wider urban cultural environment.\(^\text{12}\) In an official 2003 regional 
government report from Munich’s *Stadtrat*, regarding town planning and 
development, the report’s writers defined the Bavarian capital as a ‘Musikstadt von 
Weltrang’, represented by:

\[
\text{[…] die hochrenommierten städtischen Musikinstitutionen wie die Münchner Philharmoniker,}
\text{das Rundfunksymphonieorchester, die Bayerische Staatsoper, aber auch private Klangkörper}
\text{und freie Ensembles sowie weltberühmte Künstlerpersönlichkeiten, die in dieser Stadt wirken}
\text{oder immer wieder zu Gast sind. Ebenso ist die Stadt ein renommiert Produktionstandort.}
\text{Zahlreiche Schallplattenfirmen unterschiedlicher Größenordnung und programmatischer}
\text{Ausrichtung sind hier ansässig. Dadurch arbeiten zahlreiche hochrangige}
\text{Künstlerpersönlichkeiten regelmäßig in der Stadt.}\(^\text{13}\)
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\(^\text{10}\) ‘Vermischte Nachrichten’, *Süddeutscher Anzeiger*, 31 December 1864 [page number unknown].
\(^\text{11}\) ‘Hiergeblieben? Thielemann überlegt es sich noch’, *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 
\(^\text{12}\) Website of the CSU-*Stadtraktion München*: <http://www.was-zaehlt-ist-
muenchen.de/standpunkte/kulturelles-erbe.html> [accessed 18 November 2009]
\(^\text{13}\) <http://www.ris-muenchen.de/R11/R11/DOK/SITZUNGSVORLAGE/687802.pdf> [accessed 18 
November 2009]
Though standard reference works lack a concrete definition of a *Musikstadt*, this description of Munich’s musical offerings provides the ideal starting point in the search for a precise definition of a *Musikstadt*, and the identification of underlying causes why certain cities, such as Munich, are in a position to procure this cultural badge of identity. The authors of this government report would appear to identify Munich, the musical city, as (a) home to and mecca for leading composers and musicians; (b) as a centre of musical production and creation; (c) as a seat of both renowned musical institutions and non-institutional manifestations of music; and (d) as a geopolitical powerhouse that subsidizes and supports musical talent.

This definition is not all that far removed from the one offered by Erwin Schwarz-Reiflingen in his specialist music dictionary *Musik – ABC* (1949). In the entry *München als Musikstadt* (though no separate definition is provided for *Musikstadt* in its own right), Schwarz-Reiflingen goes on a music journey through history, starting in the sixteenth century with the figure of Orlando di Lassos as the head of the *Hofkapelle* in Munich through to the formation of the *Musikalische Akademie* in 1811 and completes his journey by listing the leading composers, conductors and opera directors of the twentieth century, not forgetting the musical events for which they have been synonymous as well as the numerous institutions that are housed in the so-called musical city. Here, *München als Musikstadt* would appear to be the key to unlocking the musical history of a city, a narration of past and present musical figures as well as prominent institutions that make up part of the city’s wider cultural identity.

The analogy of a musical journey through the urban musical ages was taken up by *Musikstädte der Welt*, a collection of volumes published by Silke Leopold, three of

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which include Berlin, Vienna and Munich. In the latter, München, the music critic, Joachim Kaiser provides an introductory background essay which leads into Christoph Henzel’s more substantial music historical deliberations on Munich. Kaiser’s essay, however, is much more than a music historical take on Munich’s musical characteristics. It would fit nicely into the essayistic properties, as understood by Reich-Ranicki: a written composition that is positioned between Reportage and Bericht; one that contains reflections which are both historical and critical towards culture, in this case, towards music; and one that blends autobiographical reflections with the anecdotal. Kaiser’s essay is headed up with a question, which his critical deliberations seek to answer. It is a question that goes to the heart of this particular subchapter and has a bearing on the wider search for a definition to the géographie musicale term Musikstadt: ‘Was heißt eigentlich “Musikstadt München”?’ In attempting to underpin Munich’s status as a Musikstadt, Kaiser embeds a music historical approach towards the question, as applied by Erwin Schwarz-Reiflingen in his historical listing of urban musical institutions and figures, but Kaiser cleverly interweaves critical literary and music reflections, urban music sociology and even, at times, metaphysics. In pursuing this multi-faceted approach, Kaiser opens his essay with words from Ingeborg Bachmann: ‘In München kann man die besten Konzerte hören.’ Though mentioned but not referenced, Kaiser is, of course, referring to an interview by Kuno Raeber with Ingeborg Bachmann in January 1963, in which these words appear; and he is quick to view the term Musikstadt through the words of a prominent literary figure, one who had spent significant time in the city on the River

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Isar. The *Musikstadt*, then, as ‘der Ort, wo man die besten Konzerte hören kann’ is a plausible thesis given its *géographie musicale* nature, but one that is immediately dismissed by Kaiser for its subjectivity. He sees a mismatch in the fact that the best concerts and concert performers can be b(r)ought-in on the capitalistic music market; yet the ‘Ehrenname Musikstadt’ is something that can not really be purchased. With justification for the dismissal of this thesis, Kaiser moves away from the commercial and capitalistic elements to underpin the *Musikstadt*. He moves towards more urban musical and sociological factors.

The formation of music sociological *Wirkekreise* is foregrounded by Kaiser in his attempt to find a definition to the *Musikstadt München*.17 Contrasting and comparing his own experience as a music critic for leading newspapers in Frankfurt and Munich, i.e. for print media that set the tone of intellectual debate, Kaiser singles out music in Frankfurt as ‘Sache der Spezialisten, der Musikfreunde’, as something marginal, even to a certain extent, elitist. In Munich, however, music was something that belonged to the fabric of urban society where ‘alle redeten [über Musik] mit’.18 As opposed to Frankfurt, then, the music sociological *Wirkekreise* in Munich were considerably wider, all the more inclusive and non-marginal, according to Kaiser. But this wider music sociological interaction was not just evident in the concert hall. For Kaiser, it was all the more manifest in the public’s wide appetite for musical discourse, one that was fed by the literary genres of *Rezensionen* and *Feuilletons*:

> Musik und Musikkritik finden in München ein breites, zugleich enthusiastisches und skeptisches Interesse. […] Groß, fast rührend ist die Bereitwilligkeit des lesenden Publikums, auch langatmigste Rezensionen über Interpretationen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen.19

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19 Ibid., p. 7.
With this observation, Kaiser does much to remove the term *Musikstadt* from its mere literal sense of rich musical offerings in a particular geographical space; instead, he gives the term a wider aesthetic flavour than its literal meaning initially suggests. Far from just incorporating music, Kaiser is clearly arguing that the aesthetic realms of literature (*Rezensionen* and *Feuilletons* with their musical focus) have significantly contributed to the manifestation and the solidifying of the term *Musikstadt* on Munich’s cultural mind as a label of urban identity.

Joachim Kaiser’s broader understanding of *Musikstadt München* as something that also incorporates literary reflections of music in the city represents just one viewpoint from one music critic of what constitutes a *Musikstadt*. The significance of written music criticism in the narration of the musical history of Munich is felt in Franzpeter Messmer’s extensive essay entitled *Musikstadt München: Konstante und Veränderungen* (1988). Despite not directly recognising the contributions that literary reflections may have had in the manifestation of the *Musikstadt* topos on the urban conscience, the wealth of critical essayistic reflections on city musical life, particularly from Munich-based newspapers and musical journals cited by Messmer would further support Kaiser’s claim that literary reflections of music played an important role in the development of Munich’s status as a *Musikstadt*. Messmer cites extensively *Korrespondentenberichte* published in the *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten*. Notable music critics of this type of *Bericht* include the names Hermann Teibler, Paula Reber and Oskar Merz, the latter of whom, perhaps also the most renowned, died in 1908 and received this sending-off from the *Neue Musikzeitung*:

Oskar Merz hat als Opernreferent nahezu ein Vierteljahrhundert hindurch den ‘Münchner Neusten Nachrichten’ treue, stets der Sache der Kunst völlig hingebende Dienste getan. Es gibt kein undankbares Amt als das eines Musikkritikers. […] Das Amt des Musikkritikers ist gewiss schwierig und undankbar, umso [sic] schwieriger, je größer die Parteigegensätze sind, die das musikalische für Leben und Schaffen einer Stadt beherrschen.20

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20 *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, 5 November 1908, p. 64.
This obituary from well over a century ago reaffirms the link, one established by Joachim Kaiser in the essay cited above. The link is that of the music critic being directly related to the construct of the *Musikstadt München*. The boundaries of the urban space localise the contrasting musical cliques; and these divergent musical camps define, according to the author of the obituary, the identity construct of the city. In this respect, music critics, such as Oskar Merz, synonymous with the city of Munich, would appear to be instrumental in cementing the musical image of a city through the stroke of the pen.

Messmer’s essay, a music historical analysis of Munich during the de-facto reign of Prince Regent Luitpold of Bavaria, does not just rely on music critics’ contributions to the published media. In exploring aspects of urban musical life that do not just include the dominance of Wagner, the establishment of the the *Kaim-Orchester* (1893)\(^{21}\) and the construction of the *Prinzregententheater* (1901), Messmer sought to intertwine institutional musical life of the city with, what he perceived, a ‘gesellschaftlich höher angesiedelt[en] musikalisch[en] Grundschicht’.\(^{22}\) In doing so, Messmer cites Thomas Mann’s novella *Gladius Dei* (1902), a story, set in Munich, of a pious young man named Hieronymus, who is intent on destroying a painting of a Madonna that he finds rather blasphemous. Mann’s short story contains numerous musical and soundscape images of Munich, particularly in the first section, which Messmer quotes substantially. In full, Mann’s words read:

> Viele Fenster stehen geöffnet, und aus vielen klingt Musik auf die Straßen hinaus, Übungen auf dem Klavier, der Geige oder dem Violoncell, redliche und wohlgemeinte dilettantische Bemühungen. Im ‘Odeon’ aber wird, wie man vernimmt, an mehreren Flügel ernstlich studiert.

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\(^{21}\) The *Kaim-Orchester* was the forerunner to today’s *Münchner Philharmoniker*.

Junge Leute, die das Nothing-Motiv pfefen und abends die Hintergründe des modernen Schauspielhauses füllen, wandern, literarische Zeitschriften in den Seitentaschen ihrer Jak-kets, in der Universität und der Staatsbibliothek aus und ein.\(^23\)

Given the scope of Messmer’s study, strictly confined to music history, Mann’s words, understandably, receive no literary contextual reflection by Messmer. But in quoting Thomas Mann, who resided in Munich during the timeframe on which Messmer deliberates, the music expert attaches a certain degree of significance to literary accounts of *imaginary* musical life in painting a picture of an urban musical identity. For Thomas Nipperdey, literature is, like all art, ‘ein Spiegel und Indikator für die Seelenlage, das Weltverhältnis, das Selbstverständnis der Menschen, der Zeit’.\(^24\) Looking at the citation of Thomas Mann through Nipperdey’s own understanding of literature, Messmer sees, through the words of the self-proclaimed *Ohrenmensch* with his affinities to music, just that: a mirror and indicator of the urban musical world which captures and reflects its identity, its spirit and its age. Indeed, Messmer’s brief commentary of Mann’s words makes for interesting reading in this respect: Mann describes ‘wie die Musik der Dilettanten in der Prinzregentenzeit gleichsam atmosphärisch zu München gehörte’.\(^25\) Messmer uses an urban fictional literary text, more aligned to Munich’s visuality as opposed to its aurality, to interpret Munich’s musicality. Fictional representations of literary and of semi-real, semi-fictitious soundscapes are taken as a chief indicator of the *Musikstadt*. This is a highly significant interpretation of the *Musikstadt* and breaks away from factual essayistic sources towards treating non-fictional novellas, albeit heavily influenced by urban life, as a guide to musical life of the city. Through Mann’s *Gladius Dei*, Messmer sees


\(^{25}\) Franzpeter Messmer, p. 288.
the *Musikstadt* much more than a cultural badge of urban identity. Referring solely to leading orchestras, conductors, virtuosos, soloists and the musical events with which they are associated, the *Musikstadt* embraces metaphysical notions of the atmospheric. To cite an oft-quoted cliché from the German language: it is as if ‘Musik liegt in der Luft’, an analogy that finds even greater currency, as shall be demonstrated later, with the *Musikstadt Wien*.

To follow up Messmer’s selection of a text, it is worth taking a moment to reflect on Mann’s prose text *Gladius Dei* before flowing into his essay *Musik in München*. These texts hail from two totally different text genres: *Gladius Dei* is a fictional novella. *Musik in München* is an essay with historical facts, cultural interpretations and criticisms. Both, however, contain musical images in frozen form. The question is the extent to which fictional depictions of musical images coincide, even feed off real depictions of musical images; the extent to which urban musical images in *Gladius Dei* coincide with *Musik in München*, the latter of which would surely yield more factual-based insights into the *Musikstadt München*. When deciphering these urban musical images in literary form, the approach of Strohm is recalled. For the text *Gladius Dei*, the following questions shall be contextualised in the literary sense and asked through the lens of music history and urban sociology. How is music depicted in the text? With what literary techniques and tools does Mann translate music articulations centred in the city? To what extent are the unreal urban literary musical images real?

‘München leuchtete’ – with these two words, Thomas Mann commences and concludes the first section of his four-section novella *Gladius Dei*, neatly framing the deliberations on Munich and bringing them back full circle to where they started. Within this frame of the first section, Mann describes and depicts twentieth-century
Munich as a city of art, home to architectural masterpieces and monuments, palaces and gardens, sculptures and paintings, many of which were commissioned by Renaissance-fascinated Ludwig I of Bavaria (1825–1848). By employing the imperfect verb ‘leuchten’, by referring to seeing and to the visual organ of the eye throughout his text, and by citing exact visual landmarks of the city of Munich as they exactly appeared at the turn of the twentieth century, Mann identifies Munich as a real source of visual attraction, inspiration and fascination. His readers would have been familiar, for instance, with the Universität, Staatsbibliothek, Akademie der bildenden Künste and the Siegestor. Munich readers would have been familiar, too, with the street names which initially orientate the reader through certain blocks of the cityscape, including the Ludwigstraße and Türkenstraße. The topical references to a whole host of art events going on in the city at the turn of the century as well as numerous academic art publications available on the market in 1901 would not only speak to the early twentieth-century art enthusiast, but also reaffirm the image of Munich as a city where – to quote from the last paragraph of the first section – ‘die Kunst blüht, die Kunst ist an der Herrschaft, die Kunst streckt ihr rosenumwundenes Scepter über die Stadt hin und lächelt […]. München leuchtete.’

Munich is presented, therefore, as the city of art or a Kunststadt, a topos prescribed to Munich by Helmuth Kiesel cited in the introductory chapter.

In dedicating Gladius Dei ‘[to] M. S. in remembrance of our days in Florence’, Mann does not just allude to the fact that he met Mary Smith in Florence in 1901, but the Florentine connection reverberates in his text, so much so that some critics have argued that a juxtaposing takes shape over the course of the work between

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27 Ibid., p. 222.
Munich and Florence. Mann sees Munich through the lens of Florence, ranging from the weather reminiscent of the Italian city of art to the favourable comparisons between Munich’s Renaissance-style buildings of the twentieth century to their Italian inspirational models from the fifteenth. Of course, this analogy is all the more manifest in the actions and thoughts of the chief protagonist, Hieronymus, who calls on M. Blüthenzweig, the owner of an art shop in Munich, to destroy a piece of artwork that he believes to be blasphemous. The connection between Hieronymus and Girolamo Savonarola, a fifteenth-century monk known for his extreme and radical opinions towards art, has long since been recognised by literary critics of Mann’s works. Indeed, Mann’s comparison of Hieronymus’s profile as being one that ‘glich dieses Gesicht genau einem alten Bildnis von Möncheshand, aufbewahrt zu Florenz in einer engen und harten Klosterzelle, aus welcher einstmals ein furchtbarer und niederschmetternder Protest gegen das Leben und seinen Triumph erging [...]’ reaffirms the Florentine link and, with a little art history research, underscores that Savonarola is the figure on which Hieronymus is based.

The visual dominance in Mann’s Gladius Dei invites predominantly visual literary readings of the text – readings that take into account the modern city as a place of vision, visual stimuli and intoxication; ones that analyse the scenes that are played out in the art shop in the latter sections of Mann’s four-section novella; and ones that follow up the visual culture and economies in fifteenth-century Renaissance Florence and modern twentieth-century Munich, both of which are despised by Savonarola and Hieronymus respectively. However, Savonarola was not just

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concerned with the banishing of visual artworks which he deemed to be highly inappropriate and improper in God’s world. A publication, entitled Bonfire Songs (1998) by Patrick Paul Macey, explores Savonarola’s musical legacy and the paradoxical stance both for and against music. Historical records also show that Savonarola, the de-facto ruler of Florence in 1497, not only ordered a mass burning of paintings, of visual art in that year, but musical instruments and scores were also targeted. This aspect, in the wider context of Mann’s Gladius Dei, has generally gone overlooked. This is all the more surprising, given that musical images play a role, though secondary to visual imagery, in Mann’s novella. He speaks, for instance, in the first section, of not just ‘Porträts von Musikern’, but also of the ‘Konzertprospekten’ available at the bookshops of the city. It is to these neglected images of music in Mann’s text, particularly those in the first section, that attention now turns.

If Mann’s text leads to the assumption that Munich is to be regarded as a Kunststadt, as relayed by Hans Rudolf Vaget, then music has to be regarded as an inseparable entity of this geographical topos. The most evident images of music of the city are delivered by Mann in the first section, a substantial part of which was cited above. Windows of houses and apartments are unashamedly left open by amateur music players and out of which piano, violin or cello playing can be heard at street-level. In his novella, Mann employs musical images in literature to depict part of the wider imaginary soundscape. Remembering that the novella is regarded as a written,

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33 One rare exception to this rule is Hermann Fähnrich’s short chapter on Gladius Dei in Thomas Manns episches Musizieren im Sinne Richard Wagners (1986), at the heart of which is an analysis of the Mann’s Nothung motif which Fähnrich links to Richard Wagner’s drama Siegfried, the third of the four-part Ring Cycle. Cf.: Hermann Fähnrich, Thomas Manns episches Musizieren im Sinne Richard Wagners, ed. by Maria Hülle-Keeding (Frankfurt a.M.: Herchen, 1986), pp. 142–48.
fictional prose narration, the soundscape, too, should also be regarded as imaginary and unreal. But music and urban historical research on Thomas Mann in relation to this soundscape suggests something excitingly different. Far from being imaginary, these musical sounds were heard by Mann’s contemporaries. Their testimony reveals something quite novel about the understanding of the soundscape: it was one (full of music) that Mann made and they heard. Their testimony also reveals significant information about the very nature of the real Munich soundscape, one to which Mann contributed himself musically. Visiting Mann at his home on the Feilitzschstraße in Munich, his place of abode when he wrote *Gladius Dei*, various cultural figures substantiate the fact that Mann was not just a keen piano player but he also revelled in playing the violin. The Hungarian-born travel writer, essayist and novelist, Arthur Holitscher (1869–1941), used to visit Mann regularly when the German writer resided in the Munich borough of Schwabing, the very area that Mann recreates in *Gladius Dei*. In *Die Münchner Jahre* chapter of his autobiography *Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen* (1924), Holitscher recalled:

> Thomas Mann begleitete mich zur Treppe. Wir schüttelten uns die Hände, und ich ging auf die Straße hinunter. Ich kam öfters zu ihm und wir musizierten. Er hatte sich eine kleine Wohnung in einem halbfertigen Hause draußen in Schwabing eingerichtet. Ein Pianino stand in dem Arbeitszimmer [...]. Mann geigte vorzüglich und ich begleitete ihn, so gut ich konnte.35

In his study *Thomas Mann und die Musik* (2006), Volker Mertens traces the German author’s acquaintance with the brothers Paul and Carl Ehrenberg, the first of whom was a painter and talented violinist and the second, a pianist and composer. Between 1900 and 1904, Carl Ehrenberg was engaged as répétiteur at the Munich *Hofoper*; and together with Mann’s mother, Julia, they formed, according to Mertens, a ‘musikalisch[en] Gesichtskreis’:

Oft kam er zum Plaudern oder um mich zu einem kleinen Bummel abzuholen zu mir auf meine ‘Bude’, wo er mich vor lauter Tabakqualm bisweilen nicht gleich sehen konnte, sonst aber trafen wir uns bei seiner Mutter. Dort begann der Abend mit Musik, dann lasen wir, d.h. ‘Tommy’ las aus Tolstoi, Knut Hamsun oder aus eigenen Werken vor, hierauf gab’s [sic] wieder Musik und so fort bis spät in die Nacht, und wenn unsere Ausdauer auch nicht zu bewundern war, so doch die Langmut der übrigen Hausbewohner, welche diese Musikorgien geduldig sich gefallen ließen. Es wurden Klaviertrios und Geigensonaten von Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Grieg, Brahms und R. Strauss gespielt.\textsuperscript{36}

Irrespective of whether it was at the home of Julia Mann on the Herzogstraße in the west of Schwabing or at Thomas Mann’s own apartment on the Feilitzschstraße in Schwabing itself, these biographical references from Holitscher and Ehrenberg about Mann’s domestic music-making overlap with the musical images of practising piano, violin and violoncello playing in \textit{Gladius Dei}. The \textit{imaginary} literary soundscape in \textit{Gladius Dei} would appear to be very much part of the \textit{real} musical sound world of Thomas Mann. The \textit{imaginary} is informed, given the evidence above, by the \textit{real}; and, in this respect, \textit{Gladius Dei’s imaginary} acoustic moments can be seen as providing \textit{real} useful acoustic information on the then soundscape.

Combining imaginary soundscape of \textit{Gladius Dei} with Mann’s \textit{real} music world as testified by Ehrenberg, the \textit{real} music from real open windows, ‘die, auf die Straßen hinaus[klingt]’, such as the ‘Übungen auf dem Klavier, der Geige oder dem Violoncell’ may be identified. With the exception of the Norwegian composer, Grieg, the musical renditions hail from composers of the German-speaking world. Beethoven’s Piano Trio no. 5 and 6, opus 70, written for piano, violin and cello (1809), Schubert’s Piano Trio no. 2 in E flat major for piano, violin and violoncello and violin sonatas (1827) and Brahms’s Violin Sonata no. 3 (1898) and Richard Strauss’s Violin Sonata in E flat major, opus 18 (1887) may well have constituted some of the more \textit{real} musical articulations of the modern Munich soundscape.

Within the individual paragraph, cited above, in which Mann describes the musical soundscape of the urban space, Mann cleverly groups together the amateurish playing from houses and apartments with a continual comma usage, binding, even blending them together into one whole. However, with a full stop and a new sentence, he brackets off such amateurish playing from the more professional playing and serious study of music scores at the Odeon. The word Odeon appears three times in the text, once as a building, ‘Im Odeon’, and twice as a square, ‘Odeonsplatz’, both of which coordinate the reader in the heart of Schwabing. Though the visible landmark of Odeonsplatz lends itself to a visual reading, its musical significance, and particularly the significance of the Odeon in musical history, should not be underestimated. In December 1826, just one year after he ascended to the throne, Ludwig I of Bavaria called for ‘ein Gebäude zu einem Concertsaal – Odeon genannt – aufzuführen, dessen Benützung und Verwaltung […] der kgl. Hoftheater-Intendanz zuteil ist’. By the time Mann came round to writing Gladius Dei, the Odeon building would have been one of the musical centres of Munich, synonymous with Munich’s premiere performance of Bach’s Matthäus-Passion in 1842, the Akademie-Konzert of the then Wagner admirer, Hans von Bülow in 1864 and the concerts of the Musikalische Akademie conducted by Richard Strauss between 1894 to 1896. The building and the square, after which the concert hall was named, possess, one could argue, just as much aural as visual power. Mann’s mentioning of the building, in which music was produced and appreciated by the urban public, would have had a multi-sensorial effect on contemporary readers, especially on those who knew the city well: a visual recall of the structure designed by Leo von Klenze, but simultaneously...

an acoustic recall of musical performances, operas and concerts that music enthusiasts may have attended.

For 117 years, up until its complete destruction by the Allied bombing of Munich on 25 April 1944, the Odeon had provided the city with a ‘klingend[en] Leben’, an artistic manifestation of which René Reinicke presents in his painting *Konzert im Münchner Odeon.* At the centre of this painting stands an elegantly-dressed female singer, holding a musical score, to the right of whom: the conductor Hermann Levi. Described by Ernst Bücken in his *Musikstadt München* (1923) as one of the ‘Münchener Dirigenten’, his contributions, especially in the Wagner repertoire, are often seen as elevating Munich to a ‘Wagnerstadt’ in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Thomas Mann does not establish a connection between Wagner and the Odeon, but immediately after his first reference of the Odeon in the wider topographical description of Munich, he blends a Wagnerian musical motif with a common human-induced sound into one. ‘Junge Leute [pfeifen] […] das Nothung-Motiv.’ The Nothung motif derives, as many literary and music critics have already identified, from Wagner’s third drama *Siegfried* in the Ring Cycle and is the name of Siegfried’s re-forged sword, used to kill Fafnir. Mann’s repeated, at times, subtle references to the sword in *Gladius Dei* may be seen in this Wagnerian context, whose culmination comes in the fourth and final section of the novella. Heavily grounded in the visual, Mann writes about Hieronymus:

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40 Ibid., p. 43.
Although the fate of Hieronymus is summed up by Mann in visual imagery, ranging from what the protagonist can see to the terms *Schwert* (sword) and *Licht* (light), his emotions, feelings and related lust for the sword would appear, in part, to have been acoustically pre-programmed in the whistling of a Wagnerian theme tune by youngsters – a potentially *real* soundscape, though more difficult to confirm.

The Nothung motif has often, and understandably so, been interpreted in the context of the role Wagner’s compositions had on Mann’s literary creation. And yet, as testimony from those close to Mann and literary contextual readings of *Gladius Dei* confirm, it leads to the question of whether the *real* soundscape of Munich was marked by youngsters whistling Wagnerian rhythms whilst walking around the art-rich city; and, if so, what does this mean for the wider urban soundscape?

A cultural history of whistling is a soundscape volume still yet to be written. It would be traced back to early human instincts to create sound signals to warn and alert of impending danger, to attract and express agreement, but equally to disagree and object. Mann’s words, too, can be seen through the dichotomy of whistling as an expression of both the positive and the negative, of approval and disapproval. First, to the approval: the youngsters depicted in the text are clearly in awe of Wagner’s music. They whistle whilst they walk. The tune has been engrained on their mind, perhaps after repeated renditions of the third scene of the first movement of Siegfried *Nothung! Nothung! Neidliches Schwert!* The so-called *Ohrwurm* effect, one where a portion of a song compulsively repeats itself in the individual’s mind and ear, can be

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43 Ibid., p. 242.
seen as coming into play. A modern-day manifestation of this *Ohrwurm* is perhaps best felt and heard after a classical music concert, when the individual, navigating through the corridors and foyers to the exit of the concert hall, will often be greeted by other individuals’ humming or whistling of impressionable musical fragments performed during the concert. If any post-performance acoustic response needs to be singled out (other than clapping, of course), for music sociological reasons, to measure satisfaction of a particular piece of music, then the extent of whistling and the music it is aiming to recreate would lend itself for more detailed analysis to assess the impact of the music on the particular individual.

Of course, whistling during the actual performance to express disagreement and disenchantment with the music, musician or the musician’s interpretation of the conductor and the orchestra can be understood as a counterexample to the phenomenon of whistling to express agreement. Although Mann’s comments about the whistling youth in *Gladius Dei* seem to fall more on the side of the positive than on the negative reception of Wagner’s music, whistling would suggest musical saturation and a strong sense of a Wagnerian camp which is active in the *imaginary* soundscape. The whistling by not just one but numerous young urbanites in the *imaginary* soundscape of *Gladius Dei* gives the suggestion that Wagner’s music made a favourable impressionable on the young and the youth were favourable to it in the text. Undoubtedly, the whistling has the effect of paying homage to Richard Wagner, whose works, by 1890, according to Franzpeter Messmer, ‘fast ausnahmslos alle Bereiche der Ausübung und des Hörens sogenannter ernster Musik [bestimmten]’.\(^45\) Ernst Bücken’s assessment in the 1920s that Munich was considered as a *Wagnerstadt* by the final decade of the nineteenth century chimes well with Messmer’s later

\(^{45}\) Messmer, p. 285.
assessment; but the imaginary whistling described by Mann would fit in here, too: it is an embedded sound marker in the text, one that expresses approval in Wagner’s music or at least part of his Ring Cycle; and one that surely reverberates with Munich as the Wagnerstadt. Seen in a musico-literary context, then, the imaginary soundscape of the youth whistling the tune of a Wagnerian musical motif does much to underline and underpin Munich’s position as a Wagner-, and even of a Musikstadt in an acoustic sense.

Given Wagner’s polemical personality and the divided opinions that greeted his modern music, the pro-Wagner whistling could be interpreted as an anti-sentiment towards musicians who stood in the opposite musical camp to the maestro at the time or whose music did not find a positive reception in Munich. Whilst the youth exert the Wagnerian rhythms and tunes on the imaginary city soundscape as they crisscrossed the city on foot in Gladius Dei, the rhythms and tunes of other musical notables do not feature anywhere in Mann’s literary acoustic soundscape. One musician, against whom this Wagnerian whistling could be targeted, in defiance, is, naturally, Johannes Brahms. Before developing this argument, it must be stressed that Mann’s own stance on the music of Brahms, be it his participation in playing Brahms’s musical works at the home of his mother or be it the odd record of Brahms in his later gramophone collection, would appear to range from neutral and passive to lukewarm. Nonetheless, Mann’s musical affinities lie in the works of Richard Wagner. Mann’s own stance on Brahms would seem, on the surface at least, not to possess the sort of radical anti-Brahms sentiments that were clearly evident in Munich after his first symphony was performed in Munich for the first time in 1876. Two years later, in 1878, with Brahms in Vienna refusing to accept Levi’s invitation to Munich to conduct his first
symphony at the Odeon concert hall for a second time, Levi fed back the reaction to Clara Schumann and Franz von Holstein:


Taken from Max Kalbeck’s biography on Johannes Brahms, the uncomfortable position in which Levi found himself conducting during the performance and the negative repercussions of putting on a Brahms symphony concert underscore the animosity that the Munich audience displayed towards Brahms. The acoustic reaction of audience in 1878 to hiss after both the second and third movements, expressing their dissatisfaction, could not contrast any more greatly than the imaginary, but potentially real phenomenon of the Wagnerian Ohrwurm in pro-Wagner Munich.

For Wagner to gain acceptance in Munich – an acceptance that Mann grants in his novella Gladius Dei with the youth whistling Wagner – the city had to undergo a miraculous musical transformation from ‘ein[em] gefährlich[en] Wespennest’ for Wagnerian works up to the 1880s to become a so-called ‘Wagnerstadt’ by the end of the nineteenth century. If the imaginary whistling was, indeed, part of the real urban soundscape when Mann wrote Gladius Dei, then the real contributions of the German-Jewish conductor, Hermann Levi, who was one of three conductors that succeeded Hans von Bülow as Wagner’s preferred conductor in Bayreuth, should be

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47 Bücken, p. 40.
48 Ibid., p. 43.
mentioned. Though born in Gießen in 1839, studying in Mannheim and Leipzig, becoming music director in Saarbrücken, then moving back to Mannheim before taking up chief conducting positions in Rotterdam and Karlsruhe in the 1860s, it was not until 1872 that Levi took up the post of Generalmusikdirektor und Hofkapellmeister am Königlichen Hof und Nationaltheater in Munich. He remained here until health issues precipitated a retreat from the music scene in 1896, four years before his death. For Ernst Bücken, writing in his music historical account München als Musikstadt, Levi was a ‘Münchener Dirigent’. 49 If Levi, however, was not born in Munich and only spent the latter part of his life in the Bavarian capital, the question must be asked: how can this turn of phase be interpreted? What does it mean to be a Munich conductor? One potential interpretation would be the non-native conductor of the city receiving honorary city status through his positive musical contributions at the helm of a city orchestra. Another interpretation is that of the role of the conductor as a cultural representative of the city whose orchestra he heads. This interpretation is particularly significant in an age when orchestras are said to be ‘on tour’. A third and final interpretation, related to the previous two, is the conductor as the embodiment of the urban space and urban life. Working on this assumption: if the conductor is in a position to assume urban qualities, then the city space has the urban and music sociological potential to define, influence, even condition the music that he produces. If this is, indeed, the case, then declarations, such as ‘die Stadt gehört ihm’ 50 in reference to Hans von Bülow and his non-native Berlin and ‘Wiener Musikkritiker’ 51, referring to Eduard Hanslick and his non-native Vienna, raise questions of urban music identity: what is a berlinerisch mode of conducting and how does it differ to a

49 Bücken, p. 44.
wienerisch? How is wienerisch music-making any different from münchnerisch? The latter is a subject matter raised by Thomas Mann in his essay *Musik in München* and is a wider consideration to which these deliberations shall return in a moment’s time.

Together with the musical images of Munich depicted in *Gladius Dei*, Mann does find some room to elaborate on the non-musical images of the bustling Bavarian metropolis. In using the metaphor for light ‘München leuchtete’, Mann could very well be referring to the rolling out of electric light bulls and lamps which lit up the city. Such lights would, of course, have attracted people to the city, creating a hype of activity, movement, urban hustle and bustle, particularly on and around its public places and squares:

Und auf Plätzen und Zeilen rollt, walzt und summt das unüberstürzte und amüsante Treiben der schönen und gemächlichen Stadt. Reisende aller Nationen kutschieren in den kleinen, langsamen Droschken umher, indem sie rechts und links in wahlloser Neugier an den Wänden der Häuser hinauschauen, und steigen die Freitreppen der Museen hinan.

The movement of people, the hustle, is not driven by the new modes of transportation; instead, more traditional modes of transport are highlighted in Mann’s novella: pedestrians converge on the public squares of the city by foot; the international tourists take in the landmarks of Munich on small (slower in tempo) horse-drawn carriages; and visitors climb the staircase leading up to the museums of the *Kunststadt*. This *Treiben*, as Mann put it, can be seen in the visual context, through the visual metaphor of ‘leuchtete’. Mann’s descriptions of visually grounded street-level occurrences would, thereby, feed and flow into literary representations of Munich as a city of art, as a place of visual intoxication of people and visual objects.

But to just tell the visual story, captured in these lines, would negate the imaginary acoustic value of these particular sentences. Mann clearly embeds repetition in the first sentence, not just in the use of ‘und’ to connect and join ideas, but in terms of the

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description of the *Treiben* in Munich Schwabing: the ‘rollt, wallt und summt’ reflect both a rhythm with the double letters; and a rhyme with the assonant ending ‘t’ describes a phenomenon that also begins with T: *Treiben*. Mann’s selection of the verb ‘summen’, an acoustic marker meaning ‘to hum’ or ‘to buzz’, at the end of the list, may be regarded as an acoustic crescendo that characterises and defines the described *Treiben* on and around Munich’s squares. Contributing and adding extra flavour, both visually and acoustically, to this quintessential urban phenomenon of *Treiben* are the visitors to Munich from all nations. Presumably, these visitors from every corner of the globe both look and sound differently from the inhabitants of Munich; and would offer a contrast in terms of visual dress (‘Tracht der Albaner Berge’ are mentioned a paragraph later), but also in terms of heard language and speech (English speech is reported upon in the fourth and final section). Another soundmark apparent in this short excerpt is the sound of the horse-drawn carriage, the *Droschken*, navigating foreign tourists through the streets of Munich. The horses’ hooves hitting the pavement, at a slow trot speed, would have added a somewhat rural dimension to the urban soundscape.

What has this particular contextualisation of *Gladius Dei* revealed? The general nature of a novella as a fictional short story means that the content is not real: it is imaginary. Working on this presumption of the non-real and the imaginary when it comes to the genre of the novella, the soundscape, too, then, is an imaginary one. Franzpeter Messmer would, however, disagree. In his essay *Musikstadt München: Konstante und Veränderungen*, he uses the *imaginary* in Mann’s literature (at least perceived through the text genre of the novella) to pass judgement on the *real* musical texture of the soundscape. Here, in Messmer’s case, the *imaginary* informs the *real* when it comes to the musical dimensions of the soundscape in turn-of-the-century
Munich. Is the opposite true for Thomas Mann? Is his own narration in *Gladius Dei* on *imaginary* urban musical images informed and conditioned on *real* life music in the soundscape? Messmer would seem to think that it is: he employs Mann to support his argument of Munich as both a *Kunststadt* and even a *Musikstadt*. Given the closeness of the music historical analysis in the literary contextualization of Mann’s reflections, then this line of thought would appear to be justified.

Given the visual dominance of the images, the art works and paintings as well as the metaphoric language in Mann’s novella, it is wholly understandable why the visual has been privileged over the aural, musical and sonic in the analysis of literary representations of Munich as the *Kunststadt*. To neglect the aural, however, is to neglect the musical images that Mann interweaves into his wider deliberations on Munich as the city of art. Such musical images are neither foregrounded nor immediately obvious, especially a century later when the sounds have been lost to history. Literature, as it was put in the first chapter, can represent a *Lebenswelt*; and the first section of Mann’s *Gladius Dei* can be seen as an urban literary representation of visual life in the *Kunststadt* of Munich. Literary critics, among them Ernst Fedor Hoffmann, were quick to point out the similarities, even the mirror image of the urban visual world that Mann presents and also the one in which Mann lives at the start of the twentieth century.\(^\text{53}\) In this respect, literary criticism on this particular piece has been clear in advocating that urban visual life influenced and conditioned this particular piece of work by Thomas Mann. But the same could be said about urban musical life: it, too, clearly swayed Mann and his description of the more musical moments of the text. A literary contextualisation, especially drawing on biographical references to Thomas Mann and musical history, prove that the depicted

\(^{\text{53}}\text{Cf.: Ernst Fedor Hoffmann, ‘Thomas Mann’s “Gladius Dei”’, *PMLA*, 83, 5 (1968), pp. 1353–1361 (p. 1353).}\)
aural moments, especially in the first part of the text with its attempt to paint a picture of Munich as a city of art, coincide with the author’s own musical experiences and preferences. Inspired and conditioned by the dominance of Wagner in Munich and the Bavarian capital as the Wagnerstadt, Mann deliberates not just on the musical moments, but more widely, on the soundscape, one that blends Mann’s own amateur instrumental musings with professional studying of musical scores; one that positions this music in the home, on the street and in the concert hall respectively; one that brings together whistling youngsters of the Wagner camp walking the streets, the sounds of horses hooves hitting the road and the voices of different nationalities drawn to the city’s sights and attractions. The diversity of the soundscape, blending human and animal-induced sounds, lends itself to the broader understanding of the soundscape. The urban musical images, however, give it more flavour and texture. The question is, however, whether connections can be established between the imaginary-real content of Gladius Dei and the real representations of musical images in Musik in München (1917).

For the music sociologist, Alphons Silbermann, the role of the conductor stands ‘im Zentrum des öffentlichen und musikalischen Interesse’.

The musical figure of the conductor plays a definitive role in the musical life of a city: he sets the repertoire; he has considerable aesthetic control over the orchestra; and, in the production of musical works on and for urban audiences, he makes a significant contribution to the musical dimensions of the wider soundscape. Recalling the approach of Strohm in the first chapter, the soundscape was defined in broader terms than just musical articulations in this soundscape; instead, it delved into the real cultural conditions that were prevalent at the time. The urban acoustic identity, as

mentioned in the first chapter, consists of both the music generated within the wider soundscape and also the music makers who are dominant players in the wider soundscape. Thomas Mann’s *Musik in München* provides little in the way of the manner in which the musical images directly impacted the wider soundscape of the city; instead, his essay focuses on the treatment of a specific conductor by a city. It is a critical reflective essay of Munich’s *Musikleben* as felt and experienced through Mann’s close friend, the conductor Bruno Walter.

On the death of the Wagner conductor and then Bavarian *Generalmusikdirektor und künstlerische Leiter der Münchner Hofoper*, Felix Mottl, on 2 July 1911, it was up to the *Hoftheaterintendanz* to choose a successor. After releasing himself from his contractual obligations at the Viennese *Hofoper*, which took well over a year, Bruno Walter took up the prestigious post in 1913, holding it for a decade. The post was, as he stated in his autobiography *Thema und Variationen* (1947), ‘die Lebensaufgabe, auf die ich gewartet, für die ich mich geschaffen fühlte’, saying he ‘würde nun München und von München aus die musikalische Welt erobern’.\(^{55}\) However, ultra-traditional Wagnerians had other ideas. With a potent mix of anti-Semitism and a desire to drive Walter out of the city, media criticism of Walter and his music making were scathing from the outset of his appointment. They continued throughout his time in Munich. In a letter to his friend, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, dated September 1916, Walter complained about the ‘maßlose Agitation gegen mich, die von der hierin völlig einigen [Münchner] Presse betrieben’.\(^{56}\) Chief agitator against Walter was the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*.

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In late December of that same year, in 1916, Thomas Mann, came to Walter’s aid and wrote an essay in his support, which was actually published in three parts in January 1917. That Mann’s essay was targeted at an urban audience is undisputable: not just the title *Musik in München* provided an urban conditioning for the deliberations that followed; but the reference to ‘Groß-Berlin’ at the outset and ‘oben im Norden’ at the end of the three-part article tell the real story of where the article was published and for whom it was primarily intended: Berlin and for a Berlin audience. Recalling the earlier link of the music critic and text being directly related to the construct of the *Musikstadt München*, Mann’s essay is not just a construct; but given its content, it is also a reflection of musical life within it. Mann’s essay can be regarded as an appraisal of the true artistic conditions in Munich, seen through the fate of Bruno Walter up to 1916, combining musical history, embedding urban sociological considerations and cleverly applying some of his own literary constructs on to Bruno Walter. It must be remembered that Mann’s reflections are, in the first instance, on one of the music makers who influences the *Musikleben* conditions inside the *Musikstadt*. In analysing these conditions, he seeks to position Walter, the conductor, within the urban space in which the maestro operates and produces his musical work. He presents Walter as a ‘Leistungsethiker’ and, in doing so, forms the first cross-over between *Musik in München* and *Gladius Dei*, a link that would be made complete with Mann’s Princeton lecture *On Myself* in May 1940. In this lecture, he would provide a definition of a *Leistungsethiker* and speak of Savonarola, the fifteenth-century figure who is juxtaposed on to the protagonist Hieronymus in *Gladius Dei*, as an ethicist of accomplishment:

I created for myself a modern hero, a hero of the fragile type, which I had already sympathetically fashioned in earlier works, a brother of Thomas Buddenbrook and Girolamo Savonarola, a hero of weakness then, who works on the edge of exhaustion, and wins from himself the very most – in short: a hero of the mould which I myself have christened a ‘Leistungsethiker’. Externally […] Gustav von Aschenbach bears the features of Gustav
Mahler, who had just then returned as a desperately sick man from an American concert tour; and the princely course of his death in Paris and Vienna, which one experienced step by step from the daily bulletins in the newspapers, caused me to give my hero the passionately severe features of this artist figure who was familiar to me.  

In this lecture, Mann does not just establish a link between his Leistungsethiker, an ‘am Rande der Erschöpfung arbeitende’ hero with the dying days of Gustav Mahler, prescribing the central protagonist of Mann’s novella Der Tod in Venedig (1912) with Mahler-like qualities. Elaboration of the connection between the Leistungsethiker as literary hero and Mahler as musical hero reverberates with Mann’s Musik in München. The Leistungsethiker of Gustav von Aschenbach in Der Tod in Venedig is applied to Mann’s own real-life musical hero: Bruno Walter. Moving out of the purely literary realms, the Leistungsethiker is implanted, even projected on to the modern-day urban musical figure. The insight that Mann thought of both Mahler and Walter as Leistungsethiker has music historical significance: Mahler and Walter were not only both active in musical life of Vienna at the turn of the century, during, what Walter calls, the ‘Wiener Mahlerepoche’; but Walter was also a great admirer of Mahler both as conductor and composer, working under him in Vienna and premiering his ninth symphony in Vienna in 1912, a year after the conductor’s death. Mahler, too, groomed Walter to be his successor, and by the time Walter reached Munich in 1913, he was regarded as a ‘Zögling Mahlers’. Given this music historical context, of which Mann would have been very much aware, the German author, it may be argued, saw in Walter personal traits and qualities which were synonymous with Mahler, the modern conductor.

58 Thomas Mann, GW (1960), XII: Reden und Aufsätze 4, p. 145.
59 Bruno Walter, Thema und Variationen, p. 189.
But what traits and qualities were synonymous with these modern conductors of the likes of Mahler and Walter? In elaborating on the *Leistungsethiker* as conductor in *Musik in München*, Mann would, once again, draw on his own literary images from *Der Tod in Venedig* and also play on modern urban sociological discourse of *Nervosität* to underpin the image of a modern conductor in the urban setting:

Modern ist er, dieser Typ, – das heißt: kein Hün, nicht gerade so ungeheuer urwüchsig von Hause aus, eher zart, wenn auch vom Schwächling weit entfernt, eher nervös, ein Nervenmensch, und zwar ein Mensch der äußerst gespannten Nerven: trainiert, zu einer dauernden Höchstleistung trainiert, die eigentlich, persönlich genommen, eine Überleistung vorstellt, – übertrainiert also, das heißt: gefährdet, das heißt nicht gerade: überbürdet, aber äußerst genau in dem Maße bebürdet, dass die Bürde bei einiger Willensverzückung eben noch getragen werden kann, das heißt also: genau an einem scharfen Rande existierend, am Rande der Erschöpfung.61

As opposed to somehow having weak nerves (a neurophysiological definition of the term *Nervenmensch* at the start of the twentieth century), the *Nervenmensch* which Mann has in mind is one whose nerves push the musician to the absolute zenith of aesthetic production. Unlike a typical *Nervenmensch*, the nerves of Mann’s modern maestro withstand tremendous pressure and burdens, elevating him to the upper ranks of the musical world. A manifestation of the ability to cope with such pressure can be found in the tempo of the musical life that the conductor, in this case, Bruno Walter, leads his life. It is a life that Walter himself described in his ‘tönende Autobiographie’ as ‘gefüllt mit Musik’.62 Mann himself writes:


62 Walter, p. 7.
As opposed to noting the somewhat rhythmic soundscape, as Mann does in his brief description of the musical realms of artistic Munich in *Gladius Dei*, the emphasis here is more on tempo. Combining the musical events which had a fixed place in the cultural calendar of the city with the leading positions responsible with their execution (Dirigent, Direktor, Leiter), Mann runs through Walter’s busy schedule, which culminates in the maestro jumping on a night train and travelling to any of a number of other musical cities to deliver yet more performances. In *Magie des Taktstocks* (1953), one of the most extensive volumes on the history of the conductor, Friedrich Herzfeld claimed about the late nineteenth century that ‘die Lokomotive das Leben des neuen Dirigententums bestimmt’. The tempo that Thomas Mann builds into this essayistic description of the modern conductor in his sentences, together with the reference to the *Schlafwagen* on the night train from Munich to other urban centres, pointedly resonates with Herzfeld’s music historical assessment. Indeed, the speed and tempo of a locomotive train provides the ideal literary analogy for the increased speed and tempo of the life of the modern conductor, forever on the move between urban centres, as evident in Mann’s one rolling sentence. It is probably a more appropriate analogy than the tempo of Munich itself. Though the likes of Georg Simmel identified the tempo of the urban space as contributing to the ‘Steigerung des Nervenlebens’ at the turn of the century, time after time, Munich was described as the city with a slower, somewhat adagio tempo compared to its faster Berlin counterpart: Peter Scher and Hermann Sinsheimer proclaimed in *Was nicht im Baedeker steht* (1921): ‘Wir brauchen so etwas in Deutschland […] München [ist] die Stadt zum Aufatmen – ein Protest gegen die Atemlosigkeit der Zeitgenossen’; and Hans

Bötticher spoke in 1921 of Munich’s tempo as ‘ermüdet’.\textsuperscript{66} Such descriptions of Munich’s comparably slow tempo would not coincide with the high-speed tempo, built into Mann’s own sentence, of the musical life that Bruno Walter would depicted as having. The train as opposed to the urban space, therefore, provides a neater and more appropriate analogy to the life of the modern conductor.

Mann’s elaboration of Walter’s travel between Munich and Frankfurt, Darmstadt and Vienna also touches on a music sociological phenomenon, linked to the expansion of road and rail travel at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. If a conductor were in a position to conduct one night in one urban centre and in another urban centre on the following night, the question begs to be asked: would not the novelty of a conductor associated with one particular ensemble eventually fade? Herzfeld’s argument that the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century ushered in a ‘Vereinheitlichung des europäischen Musiklebens’ was based on the observation that ‘die lokalen Unterschiede schwinden immer mehr, und gerade die Dirigenten werden ein gemeinsamer Besitz’, adding that ‘[die] zeitsparenden Verkehrsmittel bewirken vor allem, daß die überragenden Dirigenten neben ihrer nationalen Gebundenheit Europäer werden’.\textsuperscript{67} The standardisation of musical life, particularly in urban centres, raises specific questions of the nature of urban musical identities at the end of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. These very questions were ones to which Mann turned his attention in \textit{Musik in München}, using the musical figure of Bruno Walter to characterise, define and underpin musical life in the Bavarian city.

For Bruno Walter, Munich was a \textit{Kunststadt}. Soon after arriving in Munich as anointed \textit{Generalmusikdirektor}, he took in the sights of the carnival, noting in his

\textsuperscript{67} Friedrich Herzfeld, \textit{Magie des Taktstock}, pp. 58–9.
autobiography *Thema und Variationen*: ‘Die heitere “Kunststadt” München zeigte sich mir in Übermut und phantastischen, von seiner Malerkolonie einfallreich belebten Festen im Karneval von 1913 und 1914.’\(^{68}\) Coincidentally, Mann would define Munich in similar terms in *Musik in München*: ‘Es ist die Stadt der bildenden und schmückenden Künste; die Lebensform des “Kunstmalers” ist hier die allerlegitimste.’\(^{69}\) In defining the city as such, another crossover between Mann’s *Musik in München* and his novella *Gladius Dei* become all the more apparent: Mann’s literary depiction of Munich as a city of visual art in *Gladius Dei* is one that is played out again in the topographical underpinning of the Bavarian capital as a city of art in *Musik in München*. Both Walter and Mann also believe that a strong musical dimension to the city exists; though, on reflection, music does not seem to possess the status that visual art possesses in the city. However, this statement should not be seen as relegating music out of the cultural hierarchy of Munich: it held and still holds tremendous cultural influence over the city. In his autobiography, Walter asserts the ‘Anziehungskraft’ of music, particularly the contributions of Ernst von Possart in instigating the *Mozart- und Wagnerfestspiele* and driving through the construction of the *Prinzregententheater*. Despite this musical history, Walter could not bring himself to claim Munich as a *Musikstadt*, reserving the right for the sole city of Prague in his autobiography, though it should be mentioned in this particular context that Vienna was often described as ‘das musikalische Wien’ and was the city which had the greatest musical impact on the young Walter. Thomas Mann, however, was far more lenient with the term, applying it not just to Munich, but to every German city: ‘Aber [München]’, he writes, ‘ist auch Musikstadt – welche deutsche Stadt wäre das

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nicht!\footnote{70} Unlike the frequent, en passant usage of the topos *Musikstadt*, Mann disseminates the term, looks at it more critically and poses intelligent questions that should be at the heart of uncovering a musical identity specific to a particular city. The topos *Musikstadt* clearly blends the terms *Musik* (music) and *Stadt* (town or city) into one. Blending would suggest that a city receives this title because of or owing to its music. Its special status is activated by or through music. Working along these lines, one potential definition of a *Musikstadt*, in German, may be *eine Stadt, die musiziert*; and this is precisely the train of thought that Mann follows in his essay, forming the basis for the pro-Walter deliberations which followed thereafter. Focussed on Munich, he asks: ‘Wie musiziert München?’, going on to discuss conductors as ‘wenig münchnerisch’ or ‘nicht münchnerisch’; and to question whether the aesthetic work of Bruno Walter is ‘münchnerisch’ or ‘unmünchnerisch’\footnote{71}. Irrespective of how Mann answers these questions in his essay and how he comes to the aid of his favourite conductor, one thing is clear: Mann works on the presumption that Munich has a certain way of going about making music, mirrored in the topos *Musikstadt München*, or, as Mann would have most likely to have argued, *die Stadt, die münchnerisch musiziert*.

Notwithstanding the lack of research into aspects of urban musical identity in Mann’s essay, in-depth academic discourse into *Musik in München* has, too, received a relatively low uptake compared with the plethora of reflections on, for instance, the relationship between Richard Wagner and the works of Thomas Mann. This lack of attention is, however, grounded in the fact that the third and final part of Mann’s article *Musik in München*, published on 24 January 1917 in *Der Tag*, was only republished in the 1994 *Thomas Mann Handbuch*. The third and final part of the

\footnote{70} Ibid., p. 343.  
\footnote{71} Ibid., pp. 343–44.
article proves decisively, not just in the message that Mann wished to communicate to his Berlin audience, but also in terms of the degree to which Mann identifies Walter as münchnerisch in the context of Munich as a Musikstadt with its own unique traits and characteristics. Mann’s concluding words in the third part of article live up to the definition that he provided in the first part of his article. In answering the question ‘wie musiziert München?’, he would somewhat ironically go full circle back to the world of art and reassert the deep-rooted traits attributed to Munich people’s love of art: ‘Nun, kunstfroh und auch kunstfromm, gemütlich, großzügig und womöglich natürlich mit Genie.’ Mottl, the Wagner conductor and Walter’s predecessor, would appear to have had these traits: ‘Mottl – ein großer Kapellmeister; München wird ihn nie vergessen. Was er ernstlich ergriff, das gedieh zum Schönsten und Besten’. However, Mann expresses doubt over Mottl’s contributions to the Hofoper, especially given his ‘Abwesenheiten und Virtuosenfahrten’. Although not without his shortcomings for the city of Munich, Mann would appear to identify Mottl as münchnerisch, whilst the conductor Hermann Zumpe neither embodied the balance of characteristics required to become truly münchnerisch, nor did his endless rehearsals go down too well with the orchestra. Reflecting back on the contributions of maestros Mottl and Zumpe, the latter of whom has fallen into music historical obscurity, Mann writes:

Es ist also in der Musikstadt München zuzeiten mit einem seufzenden Nebengeräusch gearbeitet und zu anderen Zeiten ein wenig genialisch gebummelt worden. Derzeit wird gearbeitet hier schlechthin und ohne Nebengeräusch, das heißt in einer so künstlerischen Bedeutung dieses Wortes, daß das Orchester nicht seufzt, – und wie wenig das Publikum zu seufzen Grund hat, welcher Art die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit sind, dafür nannte ich eingangs meines Berichtes ein Beispiel, – eines statt anderer.\textsuperscript{72}

In a literary tour de force, Mann compares and contrasts musical life of the past with the musical life of the present; and in doing so, he cunningly distances Bruno Walter,

\textsuperscript{72} Thomas Mann, \textit{GW} (1960), XI, pp. 339–50 (p. 343).
whose contributions are at the centre of attention, away from Hermann Zumpe using an acoustic signal of discontent: the ‘seufzend[es] Nebengeräusch’, a background sound that can be given both space and time coordinates with a little musical historical analysis. Given that Zumpe was the chief conductor of the Keim-Orchester (the modern day Münchner Philharmoniker) from 1895 until 1897 and returned to Munich in 1901 to take the helm of the Prinzregentheater, the soundmark can be perceived as an anti-musical expression of dissatisfaction with long rehearsals by the conductor during his tenure in Munich at the turn of the century. It is of interest that Mann actually embeds, in his historical overview of the Musikstadt, both an anti-musical image of the orchestra and, by association, a musical figure who was, for Mann, far from being münchnerisch. Though it is, at this point in the text, already known to the reader that the ‘seufzend[es] Nebengeräusch’ is a hallmark of Zumpe’s helm, the stand-alone nature of the sound (without Zumpe’s name attached to it, but in the context of the topographical description of the musical city) reveals the following: background acoustic phenomena have the potential to embody the history of a musical figure in the Musikstadt.

The sound of the ‘seufzend[en] Nebengeräusch[s]’ as an anti-musical expression of dissatisfaction does not just recall Zumpe; but the application and manipulation of these acoustic phenomena to represent their absence from the orchestra of Bruno Walter are techniques used by Mann to contrast, in stark sonic terms, the two conductors. Mann uses the Nebengeräusch as a parody between the artistic demands placed on Walter and those of Zumpe. In emphasising the ‘nicht’ in terms of Walter’s artistic efforts, the contrast between Zumpe and Walter is complete. Another contrast is at play here too, though: that of the dissonant sound of music critics, which could be favourably compared to ‘seufzen’, and with which Walter had
to contend. Walter’s efforts, according to Mann, do not justify a ‘seufzen’ of dissatisfaction of the public, especially given the absence of the ‘seufzen’ among the orchestra. Mann goes back to his earlier deliberations of a sell-out concert at the Hofoper in Munich, which after extensive music historical research, can be dated to 26 October 1916, in which the soprano singer Delia Reinhardt (a woman Walter is said to have loved) and the tenor Karl Erb played the title roles in Carl Maria von Weber’s opera *Euryanthe*. The performance was. Mann claimed, a big success. Triumph and wonder were the words that he uses to describe Walter’s contribution in breathing life into a musical work that all too often stood in the shadows of Weber’s *Freischütz*. The audience’s overwhelming positive reception of Walter’s interpretation of *Euryanthe* would not match up with the ‘seufzen’ to express dissatisfaction. In the same month as this Weber performance, Bruno Walter published an essay, entitled *Kunst und Öffentlichkeit*, in the October edition of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, in which he subtly confronted a type of ‘seufzen’, not necessarily of the audience, but of his loud critics, many of whom were characterising

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74 In his music historical elaboration, Mann refers to the distain with which Weber regarded the overtly positive public perception of his opera *Freischütz* compared with the less favourable regard given to Weber’s *Euryanthe*. Purportedly uttered or written by Weber, Thomas Mann quotes the words: ‘verdammt Freischütz’. In the most recent commentary of Mann’s essays, in the *Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe* (2002), the entry for ‘verdammt Freischütz’ reads: ‘Carl Maria von Weber über seine Oper *Der Freischütz* [Uraufführung 1823], die als erste in jeder Hinsicht ’deutsche’ Oper gilt. Quelle nicht ermittelt.’ The source, it can be revealed after music historical research, stems from a letter written by Weber to Hinrich Lichtenstein (full name: Martin Hinrich Carl Lichtenstein (1780–1857)), medical doctor, travel writer and the first director of the Berlin Zoological Gardens, with whom the composer exchanged letters on a regular basis. In a letter to Lichtenstein from Dresden, dated 28 April 1822, shortly before the fiftieth performance of the composer’s work in just under eighteen months, Weber complains: ‘Der verdammt Freischütz wird seiner Schwester Euryante schweres Spiel machen, und manchmal bekomme ich fliegende Hizze [sic: Hitze] wenn ich daran denke, daß der Beyfall eigentlich nicht mehr steigen kann.’ Given that the German composer Ernst Rudorff published *Brieve Carl Maria von Webers an Heinrich Lichtenstein* in 1900; and given Mann’s own interest in Weber, as evident in the admission that he had seen Weber’s *Euryanthe* no less than six times, it is probable that Mann’s source may have been this volume printed at the turn of the century. Cf.: Letter from Weber to Lichtenstein from 28 April 1822, in *Brieve Carl Maria von Webers an Heinrich Lichtenstein*, ed. by Ernst Rudorff (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1900), pp. 109–11 (p. 111).
both Walter and his works as unmünchnerisch. This interpretation is something that Mann puts under the spotlight, both in search of what is, indeed, ‘münchnerisch’ and what is not; and also in trying to position the musical figure of Walter in the urban musical identity of the city. In assessing Walter’s success at the Hofoper, in identifying the apparent satisfaction of the orchestra with its maestro, but also with the music critics’ ‘unmünchnerisch’ label on his mind, Thomas Mann leads into an appraisal of Bruno Walter’s artistic work:


Mann positions Walter in a vague ‘in-between’, nestled between the artistic and the work involved in creating the artistic, the first of which is unquestionably münchnerisch, and the second less so, almost unmünchnerisch. The dynamic, modern elements, to which Walter’s work adheres, do not correspond to those that are typically seen as münchnerisch. Mann pronounces on elements that are quintessentially non-münchnerisch, ones that are true to Walter as a conductor and true to Walter’s own musical work. These elements, clearly described by Mann as ‘unmünchnerisch’, bear all the hallmarks of the Leistungsethiker, a title which Mann took from his novella Der Tod in Venedig and projected on to the personality of Bruno Walter. Walter’s status as Leistungsethiker and Nervenmensch as well as the personal characteristics embodied by the conductor or the life tempo of the maestro mean that Walter clearly possesses traits, both aesthetic and personal, that are not all

that conducive to Munich life. It would be easy to assess, in this respect, Walter as ‘unmünchnerisch’, but Mann, as shall be demonstrated later and for understandable reasons, dismissed criticism of the characterisation of Walter as ‘unmünchnerisch’.

Of Anton Bruckner’s Vienna, the Austrian music critic, Max Graf claimed: ‘Die Großstadt [Wien], in der er lebte, war ihm fremd.’77 The same could be said and was said about Bruno Walter’s Munich: ‘[Der] seelische Typus […] [ist] hier noch bis zum gewissen Grade stadtfremd geblieben’, Mann claimed.78 In these two instances, harsh musical criticism and public perceptions stemming from them precipitated in an alienation of the musician from the wider musical life as well as an alienation of the music public from the musician. The figure of Wagner interplays, albeit in differing ways, in this alienation, together with modern urban life. Graf’s extraordinary panorama of urban musical life of Vienna documents how the most renowned and feared music critic of the time, Eduard Hanslick, fought against ‘alle Musik, in der rein Wagnerischer Klang war’, dismissing the music of Bruckner as the music of a ‘Betrunkener’, ‘ein durch Wagnermusik konfus gemachter Komponist’.79 Graf identifies a mismatch, too, between the tempo and technology of the modern urban world and the religiously-grounded realms, inside of which Bruckner’s life and works operated:

Ja, er war wie verloren in der großen, glänzenden Stadt, die ihn so wenig verstanden hat. Was konnte ihm das rauschende, sinnliche, elegante Leben einer modernen Großstadt bedeuten, ihm, der in der oberösterreichischen Landschaft aufgewachsen war, zwischen Feld und Wald, Gebirgen und Flüssen, in den großen Barockdomen auf den Hügeln, in deren schönstem er die Orgel spielte und die Priester am Alter uralte Gebete intonierten?80

Just like Bruckner, Bruno Walter, too, was alienated, if Mann is to be believed, from Munich’s urban aesthetic world. Whilst Bruckner was lost in the modern drive of this

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78 Ibid., p. 345.
79 Ibid., p. 18.
80 Ibid., p. 17.
urban world with its tempo, rhythm and lifestyle, Walter’s alienation was more to do with living a life as a conductor that reflected, even lived up to these very modern traits, synonymous with the modern Viennese city, but ones that were characteristically unmünchnerisch. Public opinion also had something to do with this alienation; and the Wagner connection in both Bruckner and Walter’s case, provides yet a further link between the Viennese fate of Bruckner and the Munich fate of Walter. For Bruckner, Hanslick’s damning criticisms with their Wagnerian overtones did much to undermine Bruckner’s music in Vienna. It was also Wagnerian-linked criticism that Bruno Walter was forced to confront in Munich. The motives for the Wagner-based criticism, however, find themselves on completely different trajectories: though both musicians, Bruckner and Walter, clearly possessed an affinity for Wagner’s music, Bruckner’s criticism came from quarters that had already sewn anti-Wagnerian sentiment in the city of Vienna; whereas Walter had to contend with pro-Wagnerians attending to the German composer’s legacy in the Wagnerstadt München. It was this very legacy that Walter addressed in his essay Kunst und Öffentlichkeit, arguing that the Bayreuth Festspiel concept was not suited to the modern city and warned of a ‘gedankenlosen Ausmerzung aller außerdeutschen Produktion’. Wagner’s true and real legacy was, according to Bruno Walter, something ‘zu erwerben, um es zu besitzen’, a clear swipe at the Wagnerians of Munich cultivating a Wagnerian Festspiel legacy in a city which perceived and projected itself to be modern. Herein lies another crossover with Mann’s work Gladius Dei and his essayistic reflections Musik in München: the centrality of Wagner for the music life of Munich does not just manifest itself in imaginary literary representations of enthusiastic pro-Wagner youngsters’ whistling the Nothung motif; it reveals itself in Mann’s defence of Walter against tirade of criticism from the
Wagnerian camp, seeking to undermine Walter with ‘unmünchnerisch’ accusations and also in Mann’s recognition of aesthetic and national democratic reverberations between Wagner’s times and Walter’s essay.

Walter’s *Kunst und Öffentlichkeit* highlighted, for Mann, the reconciliatory nature of music more so than other forces, including literature and politics, in the ‘Ringen um Begriff und Idee der Demokratie, einer wahren und echten nationalen Demokratie’. These questions were both contemporary to Wagner’s day and the then present day, one that should be seen in the context of an ongoing war in Europe as well as a revolution in Russia. Contrary to being ‘unmünchnerisch’ and ‘undeutsch’, Mann saw in Walter someone whose destiny was to manage and mediate national cultural treasures. Mann cites a substantial part of Walter’s essay as evidence that is anything but ‘unmünchnerisch’ and ‘undeutsch’. This citation is not just significant for deducing Walter’s own artistic aspiration. The manner in which he goes about expressing such aspirations for the future mission of music is heavily intertwined with urban sociological discourse and analogies with the urban soundscape that are hard not to overhear:

> Und hat nicht jeder Mensch sein Stück Einsamkeit. Nur daß es ihm vom Lärm der Welt übertäubt ist? An dieses Stück Einsamkeit in jedem Menschen wendet sich die Kunst, um alle die Einsamkeiten zu einer herrlichen Gemeinsamkeit zusammenzuschließen. Im Lärm und Toben des Lebens, in dem wir immer mehr die Intensität durch Extensität, das Starke durch das Massenhafte, das Deutsche durch den Amerikanismus sich ersetzen sehen, ist die Gemeinsamkeit zur Öffentlichkeit entartet. Besinnen wir uns jeder wieder auf seine Einsamkeit, seien wir wieder ruhevoller und stiller, damit wir unsere inneren Stimmen wieder besser hören; dann wird es vielleicht keine eigentliche Kunstöffentlichkeit geben, aber etwas Schöneres würde erblühen: eine Kunst-Gemeinsamkeit, ein im Reiche der Kunst geschlossener und vielleicht noch darüber hinaus segensreich wirksamer Seelenbund zwischen Künstlern und Volk. 81

Walter would appear to tap into turn-of-the-century urban sociological discourse as advocated by the likes of Georg Simmel. ‘Lärm und Toben des Lebens’, ‘Intensität durch Extensität’, ‘Starke durch das Massenhafte’ are all references that bear

hallmarks with urban life with its increased stimuli and related degenerate effects on the individual. What can be interpreted as urban noise of the modern metropolis in this text is regarded by Walter as one of the principle forces that has driven a wedge between the individual and his *Einsamkeit*. He calls for a reinstatement of *Einsamkeit*, a mental state that contrasts starkly to the noise mentioned earlier, in the hope that the individual attunes himself to a quieter and more contemplative existence. Hearing and listening are central to these deliberations: the forced listening of the individual to the modern urban soundscape but also the escape from such an environment to a world where the individual listens, and not to his outer world but rather to his more inner natural instincts. Music speaks to these inner natural instincts; and so long as these natural instincts are heard, according to Walter, they have the potential to create a *Kunst-Gemeinschaft* that transcends the barriers between the audience and the other, bringing artists and the general populous together in a *Seelenbund*.

For Thomas Mann, coming to the aid of his musical mentor, these reflections by Walter were met with applause; and far from being ‘undeutsch’, they responded to anti-Walter criticism, particularly from the Wagnerian camp: ‘Blut her, Blut hin: das ist eine Art von Individualismus und Demokratismus, der mir deutsch scheint; und niemand wird mir einreden, daß die künstlerische Verwirklichung und Bestätigung solchen Denkens und Träumens undeutsch sein könne.’ Mann concludes his essay with an appraisal of his most admired conductor, a musician with ‘ein[er] merkwürdigen Mischung moderner und antimoderner Elemente’ who is a ‘Synthese des modernen Leistungsethikers und des deutschen Idealisten’. Though Mann dismissed the resistance against Walter’s *Wirken*, which had included accusations of ‘unmünchnerisch’ as illegitimate, he expresses a desire for both Munich and Walter to co-exist in ‘beruhigter Freundschaft’:
Bringing the entire reflections back full circle to the original question of what exactly is ‘münchnerisch’ and ‘unmünchnerisch’, Mann hits upon an answer. It is an answer to a question which seeks to characterise the urban aesthetic world and see it through the fate and the treatment of one conductor: Bruno Walter. But it is also a response to accusations by anti-Walter Wagnerians who clearly exploited the patriotic label of ‘münchnerisch’ to their own ends. In responding to such accusations, however, Mann provides insights, through his essay, into an urban musical world of a city which he defines as not just a Kunststadt, but also a Musikstadt. The cited conclusion above is the culmination of these perceptions, ones that start to reveal, from Thomas Mann’s perspective at least, characteristics of a musical identity specific to Munich. They are literary perceptions of modern musical life and from the chief exponents of this life: the conductor and composer, the music critic and the music enthusiast. These figures comprise the musical life of the city; but as Mann’s essay Musik in München together with its identified overlaps with Gladius Dei reveal, the figures that comprise the musical life of the urban space might not necessarily be the embodiment of the musical identity of that city. Thomas Mann’s deliberations on Bruno Walter are a case in point.

Munich has proud musical traditions, but its visual arts take precedence over its musical output in German modernism. Mann’s cultural musings, whether in the form of his novella Gladius Dei or his cultural critical essay Musik in München, would seem to confirm this thesis. In attempting to uncover the musical identity of the
city, Mann makes some simple, yet significant pronouncements to the aesthetic nature of the city. To understand Munich as a musical city, Mann deliberates on the Kunststadt Munich as if its traits, which were embodied by their admirers, conditioned and informed the musical city and its own followers. Indeed, as Mann’s own definition of the Musikstadt München testifies, it is grounded up in the visual arts world. Considering these words were from a man who proclaimed himself an ‘Ohrenmensch’ and did not have a strong affinity with visual as opposed to the aural arts, the drawing on Munich’s visual arts world to underpin what Munich’s musical identity entails is all the more significant. Gladius Dei, particularly the first section, is, it may be argued, a fairly true-to-life depiction of the hierarchy of the arts in Munich at the turn of the century. Music plays a role in city life in Munich, but it comes second to art. Munich is a Musikstadt, but it comes second to Munich as a Kunststadt, Mann would argue. Seen through Mann’s lens, the qualities and characteristics of the Musikstadt of Munich are derived from its artistic flair and buoyancy.

Taken together with musical history and urban sociology, a literary contextualisation of the case study of Bruno Walter in Thomas Mann’s literary reflections on him provide unique insights into the nature of the musical moments that were part of the urban soundscape and the cultural conditions that directly impacted this soundscape. It would appear to be a less noisy environment than other modern urban centres. Walter’s life tempo was a clear mismatch with a city whose tempo was considerably slower than the speed at which the conductor executed his musical affairs. Walter’s work, his Schaffen, eliminated the seufzen from the orchestra; yet it would appear to be a hallmark of the sound synonymous with the anti-Semitic Wagnerians who sought to undermine the conductor’s efforts in a city that they
wished to ferment the legacy of Richard Wagner. The figure of Wagner, irrespective of whether it was Mann’s early admiration for him, Walter’s musical engagement with him or the Wagnerians obsession with him is central to musical life of this city, of this Wagnerstadt. Mann’s imaginary literary analogy to this dominance is that of the *Ohrwurm* embedding itself in the ears of young people, who whistle to the tune of Nothung motif from Wagner’s third drama in the Ring Cycle, Siegfried. A music historical analogy, worth citing and contextualising in full to conclude these reflections on Munich as a musical city, is Bruno Walter’s recalling of Wagner performances in his autobiography *Thema und Variationen*. On putting pen to paper well over three decades after relocating from Vienna to Munich, Walter reminisced on a blend of sounds and musical articulations that would still be present in his ear some thirty years on.

Highly reminiscent of some of the insights offered by Reinhard Strohm in his analysis of the broader soundscape of late medieval Bruges, Walter blends the quiet of the

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street-level soundscape around the theatre, separated off from the city centre to the west by both the River Isar and open parkland, with the musical fanfares during the *Festspieltage*. The musical fanfares recalled by Walter to usher in the audience and to start the performance also recalls Strohm’s observation of part of the auditory environment of medieval Bruges:

The horns and trumpets of the city waits and minstrels were the next strongest instruments; the musicians played on the belfry, on the city gates or from other dominating positions. Their signals and fanfares related to events of common civic interest, such as the arrival of prominent guests or, indeed, hostile armies; the beginning and end of public proclamations, processions, jousting tournaments in the market square, public meetings and executions. The similarities between the fanfares presented by Walter in his own auditory recall of urban musical life in Munich in the twentieth century and Strohm’s music historical analysis of the horn and trumpet fanfares of the fifteen century urban musical life are unmistakable: an auditory cue to announce an event embedded in the cultural calendar; a sonic signal for the benefit of the audience to prepare the audience for the day’s proceedings; an aural marker to usher in the prominent guest, for whom or by whom the event has been arranged. There is, therefore, almost something archaic about this brass fanfare within a building described as a ‘Kunsttempel’ by Ernst von Possart, who opened this Wagner-inspired theatre in 1901. Not only does it tie into Wagnerian perceptions and fascination of the *uralt*, also in the acoustic sense of the word; but Walter’s succinct description of this particular sound marker, something that was repeated at each Wagnerian *Festspieltag* in Munich, and something that had a deep music and even urban sociological effect on its listeners, give the fanfare both space and time coordinates that positions it firmly in urban musical life of Munich of the early twentieth century. This sound is (was) real. This

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86 This fanfare can be seen as the forerunner to the acoustic cues, irrespective or whether they are bells or gongs fed through concert halls’ tannoy systems, to instruct the audience to take their seats prior to
insound (as opposed to insight), probably instigated by Ernst von Possart at the Prinzregententheater, and, becoming ceremonial in nature by the time Walter assumed the post of Generalmusikdirektor, provides yet another piece of acoustic evidence that is suggestive of Wagner’s music setting the musical rhythm of the urban space at that time.

the start of a concert or opera performance. A recording of such a concert hall cue, taken from announcements at the Barbican in London, is one of the sounds blended into an audio postcard of London, compiled by Peter Cusack and produced by the London Musicians’ Collective. The compilation of the CD consists of some forty sounds, synonymous with London and identified by several hundred Londoners as their favourite urban sound.
2.3 Vienna as a Musikstadt through Ingeborg Bachmann’s essay Musikstädte (1956)

One of the earliest ever citations to the Musikstadt is, perhaps unsurprisingly, in reference to Vienna. In an ‘Habilitationsgesuch’ letter addressed to the ‘Professorenkollegium der philosophischen Facultät’ at the University of Vienna, dated 27 April 1856, the music historian, critic and anti-Wagnerian Eduard Hanslick attempted to justify the creation of a professorship post for music at Vienna’s most prestigious seat of learning. Speaking of the ‘speciellen Verhältnisse Wiens’, he would go on to add that

Wien ist unbestritten die erste Musikstadt Deutschlands u. war es, solange es eine Geschichte deutscher Musik giebt. Die größter Tondichter: Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, lebten und wirkten in Wien, vieler bedeutender Tonsetzer 2.te Ranges nicht zu gedenken. Dieses Wirken musste ebenso wohl einen vorzüglichen musikalischen Boden hier vorgefunden als auch wieder auf die Befruchtung derselben kräftigen Einfluß geübt haben. – Dieser unvergänglichen historischen Bedeutung Wiens, welche an sich hinreichen würde die Vertretung der Musikwissenschaft an der Hochschule zur Ehrensache zu machen, steht eine nicht minder bedeutungsvolle Gegenwart zur Seite.87

Exactly one century after Hanslick submitted his letter to the University of Vienna, seeking a professorship in music, the Austrian author Ingeborg Bachmann published her music essay entitled Die wunderliche Musik in 1956, whose short ninth fragment is entitled Musikstädte. Bachmann’s succinct pronunciations on this specific topos, published as one of fourteen short fragments in the ‘Prosastück’,88 leave her readers guessing as to the true identities of these unnamed Musikstädte. The ‘on-the-surface’ anonymity of these cities can be best captured, in German, by slightly modifying the title of Bachmann’s first, yet unpublished work: (Musik)-Städte ohne Namen89 or to borrow part of the title of Ursula Krechel’s Bachmann-inspired prose:

87 Ibid., p. 143.
89 At the end of her academic studies, Bachmann finished writing her first novel Stadt ohne Namen. She was, however, not prepared to make the changes requested by the Viennese publishing house Herold-Verlag. The whereabouts of the manuscript remains a mystery. The title, however, is rather
there appears to be an *Ortlosigkeit* to Bachmann’s described *Musikstädte* with the Austrian poet and author offering no specific names of cities to underpin her musings on musical cities.  

Such an *Ortlosigkeit* of these *Musikstädte* has not completely deterred Bachmann specialists from putting this topos under the literary spotlight, though this particular fragment’s specific treatment in secondary literature is not only repeatedly overshadowed by the other thirteen miniature fragments, it is also heavily descriptive. Dirk Göttsche, for instance, describes the particular fragment *en passant* as a ‘humorvolle Charakterisierung der Musikstädte’. Exiting the realms of description and nearing a definition, however, Katja Schmidt-Wistoff classifies the *Musikstädte* as Bachmann’s focus on ‘Orte, die man mit Musik verbindet’; Sigrid Weigel speaks of ‘Foren eines konventionalisierten Musikbetriebs’; and Christine Ivanovic identifies the *Musikstädte* fragment as a ‘Verortung der Musik im konkreten Sinne’.

Albeit fleeting and brief, one exception to this rule that Bachmann’s *Musikstädte* has been a mere object of description does nevertheless exist. In her study entitled *dadim dadam* on musical figures in Ingeborg Bachmann’s literary works, Corina Caduff engages with the urban street-level imagery deployed metaphorically in Bachmann’s eighth fragment *Partituren* to characterise the notation of a musical score and compares it with the musical metaphors in the Austrian fitting in the context of her *Musikstädte* fragment in *Die wunderliche Musik*: it conveys a sense of anonymity which is also apparent in *Musikstädte*.

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93 Sigrid Weigel, p. 168.

author’s *Musikstädte* fragment. If the notation of a musical score is reminiscent of the urban space, as Caduff argues convincingly with numerous examples from Bachmann’s *Partituren* fragment, then the opposite can be proposed with regards to the *Musikstädte* fragment: the image of a musical city, as expressed in the play on words in *Musikstädte*, has an inherently musical structure and form, similar to that on a printed musical score.⁹⁵ In other words: Bachmann’s two fragments *Partituren* and *Musikstädte* complement each other or, better still, seem to play off each other in the language that Bachmann chooses to deploy. Illustrated by Christine Ivanovic, who draws on the insights of Corina Caduff, it is as if:

> [die Verortung der Musik] [blendet] beide Formen wechselseitig ineinander: die Partitur wird wie ein Städtepanorama gelesen, die Musikstädte erscheinen wie Partituren.⁹⁶

This fusion leads Ivanovic to argue that Bachmann’s fourteen fragments conform to a ‘komplementäres Kompositionsschema’,⁹⁷ yet Caduff would counter-argue: the *Musikstädte* fragment appears to be ‘deplatziert’ or out of place, and does not sit comfortably between *Schwere und Leichte Musik* and *Ein Blatt für Mozart* in the overriding thematic structure of *Die wunderliche Musik* (‘Musikbetrieb, reproduzierende Künstler, Werk, Komponist, Musik’).⁹⁸ Caduff’s remarks help to explain why the *Musikstädte* fragment has generally been given less attention than the other fragments: it appears to be, at best, misplaced, or, at worst, a misfit in the wider context of Bachmann’s ‘Prosastück’. No matter whether Bachmann’s *Die wunderliche Musik* is likened to an overture⁹⁹ or, in the case of Dirk Göttsche and Zsuzsa Soproni, to an evening at the concert,¹⁰⁰ the *Musikstädte* fragment is

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⁹⁵ Cf., Corina Caduff, pp. 99–100.
⁹⁶ Christine Ivanovic, p. 289.
⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 289.
⁹⁸ Corina Caduff, p. 99.
⁹⁹ Cf., Katja Schmidt-Wistoff, p. 61.
¹⁰⁰ Cf., Dirk Göttsche, Musikästhetische Essays, 188; and Zsuzsa Soproni, Musik und Dichtung im Spiegel einer Freundschaft. Ingeborg Bachmann und Hans Werner Henze, in “Ihr Worte”. Ein
considerably more problematic, given its wider géographie musicale nature, to place under the analogies that have been devised by Bachmann specialists.

Approaching Bachmann’s music aesthetic essay from the angle of musicology rather than literary studies, Hans-Jürgen Feurich encounters the same categorisation problem: in devising a ‘hermeneutisches Zirkelgebilde’, illustrating the musical interaction between the subject and object, Musikstädte is one of two fragments that Feurich fails to incorporate into his circular interactive model. Accepting the potential flaws in his model, Feurich identifies the Musikstädte as one of two ‘hineinwirkenden Rahmenfaktoren’. His description of Bachmann’s Musikstädte as ‘typische Charakteristika von Städten, in denen sich das Musikleben zentriert’ chime, both in content and briefness, with the oeuvre of constrained descriptive deliberations offered in the realms of secondary literature on Ingeborg Bachmann’s Musikstädte fragment.

These generalised, fleeting observations regarding Bachmann’s Musikstädte as places synonymous with music or as forums for the conventionalised music industry do much to undermine the specificity of the Musikstadt. Given that Bachmann opens her fragment with the words ‘einige unserer Städte werden vor anderen ausgezeichnet und Musikstädte genannt’, she elevates the musical city above other non-musical cities as if they were prized assets. With the unspecific nature of the reflections offered by secondary literature sources on Bachmann’s Musikstädte not really coinciding with the true specific nature of the fragment itself, it is worth putting Bachmann’s fragment under the literary contextual spotlight, bringing in music

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102 Ibid., p. 285.

103 Ibid., p. 285.

104 Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
history and urban sociology. Though Bachmann does not mention the name of any particular Musikstadt in this fragment, the music historical and urban sociological parallels with the city in the text are undeniable. They can be seen in the context of Musikstädte discourse in the century prior to Bachmann’s publication. They can also be seen in the context of the strong bond between the city of Vienna and Bachmann’s own literary works, as evident in Bachmann’s own words on the writing about the city: ‘dann habe ich beim Schreiben bemerkt, daß ich ja immer wieder über Wien schreibe […]’\textsuperscript{105} Furthermore, the timing of the publication, not even a century after Hanslick’s employment of the term, but, in the Mozart year of 1956, would have seen the Musikstädte, particularly those associated with the composer, i.e. Salzburg and Vienna, buzzing with musical celebrations to commemorate his two-hundredth birthday.

After elevating the Musikstädte above other cities as if they were prized assets, Bachmann sets to underpin the similarities between these cities, the language of which resonates with the music historical discourse of Vienna as a Musikstadt. In undertaking this endeavour, she deploys literary techniques which combine visual images of the city with common musical score notation, out of which neologisms are formed to characterise the musical city. Christine Ivanovic’s words ring true here: ‘die Musikstädte erscheinen wie Partituren’\textsuperscript{106} Bachmann invites her readers to imagine cities ‘in denen die viele dort erklungene und verklungene Musik Architektur geworden ist’, going on to add:

\begin{quote}
Es sind Städte mit Dur- und Mollstraßen, Dreiviertel- und Viertelverkehr, Grünpausen, chromatischen Treppen, Parks voll Divertimenti und einem Himmel darüber, der eine unvergängliche Farbensymphonie ist.\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{106} Christine Ivanovic, p. 289.
\textsuperscript{107} Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
What Bachmann presents here can be regarded as a literary rendition to music historical reflections of Vienna by the Austrian music critic, Max Graf. The similarities and parallels between Bachmann’s neologisms and Graf’s underpinnings of a Viennese life consumed by music are both striking and stark. In his sonography of Vienna Legende einer Musikstadt (1949), extracts of which fed into his later publication Jede Stunde war erfüllt (1957), Max Graf reminisced on the Viennese streets which were full of music and where, in 1890, ‘die Musikgeschichte der neueren Zeit ging auf der Wiener Straße spazieren’. He reminisced, too, on the three-quarter time, traditionally known as waltz time in music, which reflected the ‘Rhythmus des Wiener Lebens […]; seine Melodien strömen dahin, glänzend, schwungvoll, anmutig, lebensfroh wie das Leben in den Gassen’. The analogy of the city as symphony, tapping into the atmospheric and the metaphysical, also gets a mention: ‘Wie eine Symphonie’, Graf argues, ‘hatte es [die Entwicklung Wiens zu einer großen Hauptstadt der Musik] rauschend aufgeklungen, Crescendo auf Crescendo’. Graf plays on the phrase, cited earlier, Musik in der Luft to portray Vienna as having atmosphere that was and is conducive to music making. Music was for the city:

[…] eine lebendige Kraft, die zum Denken und Fühlen, zu jeder Art des Lebens, wie überhaupt zur Atmosphäre der Stadt gehörte. Und wären alle Gebäude in Wien zerstört, immer noch wäre die Erde geblieben, über die so viele große Musiker geschritten, und die Luft, in der sie geatmet haben, und Erde und Luft klingen würden.

This atmospheric element, specific to Vienna and its identity as a musical city, was nothing new by the time Graf published his works. The Austrian composer, Hugo Kauder, whose musical works have yet to receive widespread musical

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109 Ibid., p. 81.
111 Ibid., p. 40.
appreciation, was a keen contributor to the post-World War I journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch*. In its *Sonderheft* from September 1921, entitled *Musikstadt Wien*, one of the first extensive post-War elaborations on this urban musical topos, Kauder spoke of a ‘musikalische Atmosphäre’,¹¹² one that would appear in an earlier article, in which he declares Vienna’s musical atmosphere rather than its musical culture as the predominant factor in Vienna’s elevation to musical city status.¹¹³ These examples serve to demonstrate the extent to which Bachmann’s introductory description of the *Musikstädte* mirror the language that had been used in the past to reminisce on Vienna, particularly as a musical city.

A potential Viennese connection with Bachmann’s *Musikstädte* does not stop there. In the next paragraph, one that commences ‘In den Musikstädten’, a formulation that is repeated by Bachmann throughout the fragment, the Austrian author gives some topological clues as to the whereabouts of the *Musikstädte*:

> In den Musikstädten wurden in vergangenen Zeiten kleinen Gräfinnen Sonaten gewidmet und von Bischofen Messen in Auftrag gegeben. Heute noch spielen in den Cottages alle Damen Klavier; das Volk liebt die Oper und erfindet sich selbst die Lieder, die es, vor allem andern, zum Leben braucht.¹¹⁴

Contrasting the past with the present, the fact that Vienna may stand in the foreground of Bachmann’s deliberations comes through in the observation that ‘kleinen Gräfinnen [wurden] Sonaten gewidmet’. By 1956, Austria’s monarchical structure, to which countesses would have counted themselves, was a thing of the past. The ‘vergangenen Zeiten’, to which Bachmann refers, could be a nod to Vienna’s monarchical past where composers used to dedicate pieces of music to the countesses of the city. Whilst the name of any composer is absorbed with Bachmann’s passive sentence, musical history reveals that Mozart, Brahms and Beethoven dedicated

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¹¹⁴ Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
sonatas to countesses, or Gräfinnen. Mozart wrote, among others, Piano Sonata no. 6 in Vienna and dedicated it to Countess Rumbeke. Brahms composed a piano sonata which he dedicated to Countess Ina von Hohenthal in 1853. Beethoven wrote at least six different piano sonatas for four different countesses between 1795 and 1809, all of which are catalogued as either been written or published in Vienna. The most famous of these Beethoven Sonatas is the Moonlight Sonata, dedicated by the composer to his inamorata, Countess Giulietta Guicciardi, in 1802.\footnote{Interestingly, Beethoven’s music features predominantly in Bachmann’s own music record collection, including recordings from the 1950s of Beethoven sonatas, going some way to prove that Bachmann enjoyed listening to the music of this composer. It was not until recently that Bachmann’s record collection finally received the due academic scholarship that it deserved. Cf.: Karen Achberger, \textquoteleft{}… dieser Klang, der dir Heimweh macht\textquoteright{}, in \textit{Über die Zeit schreiben. Literatur und kulturwissenschaftliche Essays zum Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns}, ed. by Monika Albrecht and Dirk Götsche (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), pp. 173–88.}

Bachmann’s clever use of time would lead to the assumption that Musikstädte have undergone some sort of urban music historical transformation. The deployment of the word ‘noch’ would seem to suggest that the playing of the piano by all the women in the city, the love of the opera together with the invention of Volkslieder as a life necessity are urban historical constants. In the past, however, the church and the aristocratic stratum of society and, by association, the monarchy played a more central and dominant role in musical life, one that would, with the course of time, fall into the historical past. It is as if music making of the church and dominance of the aristocracy in making music give way to the domestic music soundscape of the city’s female population playing their pianos at home; and also gave way to the institution of the opera and to the Volkslieder. If the topos of the Musikstadt is regarded as a topos that is merely centred on the most dominant institutions of urban musical life, then this literary analysis of Bachmann’s comment goes some way in counteracting this presumption. It would coincide with the musical atmosphere, as Max Graf put it, going on, much later, to use a similar play on time constructions as Bachmann:
In der Musik war Wien eine aristokratische Stadt, stolz auf ihre Vergangenheit und reich an Tradition. Warum und wodurch also war Wien die große Musikstadt? Weil hier mehr als anderswo Musik ein Teil ihres Lebens und des Lebens ihrer Einwohner war und ist. Die Stadt hatte und hat eine musikalische Seele.¹¹⁶

Following up this transformation of urban musical life, which culminates in Bachmann’s identifying the centrality of music in the life of the city’s inhabitants, she presents yet another conventional, non-institutional domestic image of music. In doing so, Bachmann reaffirms that the Musikstadt topos is much wider and musically deeper than many music historical renderings of institutional life have claimed:

In diesen Städten stehen die Fenster nicht in der Erwartung offen, daß ein Blatt hereinfliegt, sondern daß von einem Notenpult eines hinausfliegt und daß die Koloratur, die ein Dienstmädchen als Tagwerk bewältigt, einen Fremden bezaubert stehen bleiben macht.¹¹⁷

Bachmann employs the term Blatt to denote both a leaf from a tree and also a printed musical score, both of which are visual objects in the first instance. But the latter, the Notenblatt, is manipulated in its acoustic sense to represent enchanting musical notes emanating from anonymous city apartment windows. The impression is gained that the natural phenomenon of falling leaves does not attract as much attention or grip the passer-by’s imagination as music does. The aural, then, trumps the visual. This is one of the few sentences written by Bachmann that is almost impossible to place geographically; she leaves no real topographical clues as to the potential identity of the city. However, urban music sociological phenomena are ever-present and are grounded in the reactions of the Dienstmädchen and the Fremde, one from a low social class and the other unknown. Both of them, however, are mesmerised by the rhythmic vocal music, by the coloratura, which is been sung. The similarity in reactions between the Dienstmädchen and the Fremde, presented in this sentence, underpins music in urban sociological terms as something that has the power to connect and combine unknown with known individuals.

¹¹⁶ Max Graf, Legende einer Musikstadt, p. 293.
¹¹⁷ Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
By the time Bachmann wrote *Musikstädte* in 1956, the Habsburg Empire with all of its musical traditions and heritage had been consigned to the history books. Its military, too, was significantly downgraded. Every regiment of the Austria army, it has to be remembered, had its own *Kapelle*, its own orchestra. Bachmann’s next thought on this topos, ‘in diesen Musikstädten liebt man das Militär wegen der Platzmusik’, also coincides with Graf’s own extensive contemplations on military music in the Austrian capital. It is difficult to overlap Bachmann’s considerations, written in Italy in 1956, with Graf’s considerations about the soundscape of Vienna with its Habsburg-conditioned musical moments at the end of the twentieth century. However, the love of the Viennese for – to quote Bachmann – ‘das Militär wegen der Platzmusik’ echoes, yet again, with Graf’s deliberations:


Schlag 12 Uhr wurde in der alten Burg unter dem Fenster des Kaisers die Wache abgelöst. Zu dieser Zeit schien in der Stadt das Leben stillzustehen, denn das Volk wollte die Musik der Militärkapelle auf ihren Marsch zur Burg hören, sehen und die Kapelle, kurz ‘die Bande’ genannt, begleiten. Hunderte Wiener, Kinder und Erwachsene, drängten sich in dem inneren Burghof, wenn das Konzert begann und die Soldaten in die verschiedenen Höfe der Burg zu ihren Posten zogen. Oft konnte man den alten Kaiser am Fenster seines Arbeitszimmers sehen, wie er zur Menge hinunterschaute, während seine Militärkapelle für seine Untertanen spielte.\(^{118}\)

Love of military music, expressed by Bachmann as one of the numerous *Musikstädte* characteristics, could not be more evident than in Graf’s recollection of the military band. Graf recalls both the sights and the sounds of the marching regiment, whose musical output undoubtedly contributed to the wider soundscapes of the Viennese urban space before the end of the Habsburg era. From the drum beats to the

\(^{118}\) Max Graf, *Legende einer Musikstadt*, p. 70.
tambourine, the clarinet and the wind instruments – the musical extravaganza provided a visual and aural spectacular, which clearly drew in the crowds, irrespective of age. It would have been, in short, a source of fascination for the eyes and the ears. Thanks to the meticulous nature of Graf’s reflections, these particular soundmarks of the city during the reign of Kaiser Franz Joseph can be pinpointed on a historical timeframe, but they also reveal an urban sociological feature of the soundscape: the effect of military music on the behaviour of the city crowd. It has the effect of influencing, even conditioning the rhythm, pace and tempo of the onlookers: ‘Im Takt der großen Trommel […] marschierten die Wiener im gleichen Schritt mit ihren Musikkapellen’. Of course, this insight is highly reminiscent of Reinhard Strohm’s music historical elaborations of Bruges with its great processions ‘in which music helped order time and space within urban life’. In direct contrast to Strohm’s insight that ‘the rhythmic pace of the procession must have influenced the musical rhythm’, the exact opposite for the urban sound world of Vienna is concluded by Graf: the musical rhythm of the military band, of the procession influenced the rhythmic pace of the city.

The musical image that follows in Bachmann’s Musikstädte is a direct antithesis of the military precision of the musical band: ‘die Bettler um der Gitarrenmusik willen, mit der sie auf ihre Not aufmerksam machen’. The contrasts could not be greater between the military band and the homeless person, one is institutional and powerful, the other is institution-less and impoverished. But the inclusion of the guitar music of the homeless to draw attention to his plight says something more significant about Bachmann’s understanding of the musical nature in the Musikstädte: it is not just confined to the solo piano playing of privileged ladies,

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119 Ibid., p. 70.
120 Reinhard Strohm, p. 6.
121 Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
opera houses, *Volksmusik* or the military brass band; it encompasses, too, the random guitar playing of those living on the very edge of urban society. Rüdiger Görner’s words about the sonography of a city as a blend of urban experienced sounds ring true here. He claims that the city experience would be incomplete without this sonar world, ranging from street-level noise, improvised music of the street musician to the ‘trostlosen falsch geblasenen Flötenton eines Bettlers’.\(^{122}\) Applying these words to Ingeborg Bachmann’s *Musikstädtle*, surprisingly not quoted in Görner’s essay, the experience of the musical city, defined by Bachmann, would not be complete without this broader range of musical articulations, irrespective of whether the tunes are harmonious or dissonant.

The ambivalent musical images reflected in the military band and the homeless guitarist are echoed immediately after the presentation of these contrasting *Musikstadt* moments in the form of capital, of money, the small change versus the larger investments. With the aid of an idiomatic expression with its ever-present acoustic qualities, Bachmann seeks to consolidate her previous contrast in financial and commercial terms: ‘Im Kleinen wie im Großen wird immerzu klingende Münze für die Musik ausgeworfen.’\(^{123}\) Though ‘ausgeworfen’ has a tinge of reluctance attached to it, the rhetorical device seems to be used not to undermine the financing of music, often said to be *Musikpflege*, but rather to tap into the analogy of coins been thrown into a musician’s instrument case or separate music box to express satisfaction for his musical playing. Understandably, the ‘im Großen’ of financial investment of music has featured more prominently than the ‘im Kleinen’ in music historical discourse. Graf spoke about Leopold I’s musical expenditure in funding the *Hofkapelle*, one of the most renowned and well-regarded musical ensembles of the

\(^{123}\) Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädtle’, 315.
early eighteenth century. In seeking to unearth how the term Musikstadt Wien manifested itself as an urban cultural identity marker and was financed by the Viennese, Martina Nußbaumer’s cultural historical work alluded to Gulden and Kronen, monies raised by the Denkmalfond from private and public donors to finance statues of deceased musical figures who contributed to the musical life of the city.  

As reflected in the contrasting differences between military music and the music of the homeless beggar, between small and large cash amounts, Bachmann identifies yet another polar opposite that constitutes and defines the Musikstadt:

Die Einwohner der Musikstädte werden von zwei Parteien vertreten: von der Claque und der Anticlaque; und die Tauben und Schwerhörigen, die sich weder der rechten noch der linken Musik anschließen wollen, stellen die Anarchisten.  

Claque, a French term, meaning ‘für Geld oder Freikarten erkaufte Beifallskundgebungen’ establishes a link between the commercial aspect in the previous paragraph; but Bachmann’s employment of its antonym, the Anticlaque, presumably representing those whose services are bought-in to undermine the performance with hissing, whistling and jeers (Zischen, Pfeifen und Johlen) yet further underline the ‘Doppelbödigkeit eines Musikleben’ in the urban space known as a Musikstadt. The urban and music sociological aspects, embedded in this particular sentence, are all too evident and are reflected in the formation of the social unit of the group. Bachmann uses the term ‘parties’ here, whose musical interests (or lack of enthusiasm for them) are represented in the concert hall by the acoustic output of the crowd. In making these assumptions, Bachmann understands the music

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125 Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
sociological grouping in the concert hall as representations of the entire city’s inhabitants, of the city body, divided into one of two (or three, counting the rebels) groups. It is almost as if the performance hall is a representation of the wider city space in whose four walls the gathered audience is the representation of the urban populous.

Considering the usage of ‘zwei Parteien’, suggestive of opposing musical camps, claque for clapping or Klatschen could be seen for its wider acoustic symbolism. To clap is to show support, appreciation and enthusiasm. Anticlaque or Zischen, Pfeifen und Johlen are its exact opposite, expressing distain, a lack of appreciation and enthusiasm. Such deep-rooted adherences or animosities and the formation of strictly divided musical camps were all too evident in Vienna, as Max Graf explains, at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. To slightly modify the word claque to the less acoustic clique, such cliques were polarising – so much so that Graf resorted to words such as ‘verbarrikadieren’, ‘verschanztes Lager’ and ‘in einem Exil [leben]’. The two opposing and polemic camps, to which Graf was referring, were the so-called ‘Traditionalisten’ versus the ‘Neudeutschen’. The traditionalists of Viennese society were represented by Johannes Brahms, ‘eine Art Bürgermeister des Musiklebens der Stadt’ and ‘das Oberhaupt einer einflußreichen konservativen Clique im Wiener Musikleben’¹²⁹ and backed up by music critics, such as Eduard Hanslick and Max Kalbeck. On the other hand, the Neudeutschen were an interesting mix of modern composers, including Richard Wagner and Hugo Wolf, the latter of whom was forced to live in a sort of exile ‘außerhalb des Stadtgebiets von Wien’¹³⁰ because his songs, his Lieder contained traces of the ‘verbotenen Wagner-

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 185.
Giftes’. A literary equivalent of claque and anticlaque images, to which Bachmann alludes, can be regarded as the music critics’ positive or negative appraisals of performances, ones that would mirror the applause or the lack of it. For Max Graf, the music criticism of the Feuilletons, particularly of the Neue Freie Presse, among the most widely read newspapers in Europe at the turn of the century, were the ‘Schmuck der Wiener Zeitungen’, whose characteristics were ‘geschmackvoll, kultiviert, einschmeichelnd, belehrend in graziöser Form’. In crossing over the sensorial divide and deploying analogies of taste, presumably playing on the term Musikgeschmack, Graf compared the music of the day, not all of which is recorded in music history, as coming ‘frisch aus den Töpfen der Alt-Wiener Musikküche’. He projected this metaphor on to the music critic’s work as such:

Die Musikkritiker nahmen ihre langen Schöpflöffel, tauchten sie in die dampfenden Töpfe ein, kosteten die Mahlzeit und fanden sie gut oder schlecht.

The ‘gut’ or ‘schlecht’, the contrasting opposites of musical opinion and musical taste, returns these deliberations back to Bachmann’s own contrast, as expressed in the claque and anticlaque of the audience. Although the connection between Bachmann and Graf in this respect is not as strong as the other established links, the notion of musical perceptions of the audience would seem to be a broader part of the definition that underpins a Musikstadt. It is an aspect, often overlooked in musical historical appraisals of the Musikstadt, but one that is, for Vienna at least, an intricate part of its urban identity as a musical city. This insight, in its most extreme form, is perhaps best demonstrated by the words of Johannes Brahms in conversation with the medic and music enthusiast, Theodor Billroth. Discussing the music critiques of Eduard Hanslick, Brahms is reported to have said to Billroth: ‘Wien verdient jetzt diesen

131 Ibid., p. 185.
133 Max Graf, Legende einer Musikstadt, p. 236.
134 Ibid., p. 235.
Namen [Wien als Musikstadt] nur, weil Hanslick über die Aufführungen und Concertgeber schreibt‘. 135

The final two paragraphs of Bachmann’s *Musikstädt[e] round off with contrasts and comparisons which are two of the central literary techniques that Bachmann deploys to characterise musical cities over non-musical cities:

Die Musikstädte haben eine Saison wie Kurorte – die Musikwochen. In dieser Zeit wird für die vielen Tausenden, die dran gesunden wollen und die nicht in einer Musikstadt leben können, Musik ausgeschenkt.

Wer ständig in einer Musikstadt wohnt, freut sich auf das Ende der Saison, weil dann alle unmusikalischen Menschen wieder fortfahren und die Zeit der Fingerübungen kommt. 136

Though Bachmann’s *Musikstädt[e] fragment is one that has received little academic treatment, as evident in the fleeting observations of literary analyses and its complete absence in modern day music historical discourse on the *Musikstadt* topos, this paragraph has been the focus of the limited attention in the context of the wider *Die wunderliche Musik*. Two interpretations stand out, the second of which is worth pursuing, especially as it offers an interesting counterexample to Vienna as a musical city. The first interpretation, part of which has already been cited, speaks of the entire fragment as being Maiworm’s recognition of the ‘Doppelbödigkeit eines Musiklebens’ in the musical city. However, this interpretation is in specific reference to this paragraph. Maiworm observes that it is a ‘Doppelbödigkeit eines Musiklebens, das in Musikwochen überstrapaziert, kommerzialisiert und der Mode unterworfen wird’. 137 The second interpretation originates from Michael Benedikt’s essay *Alfred Schütz besinnt sich auf Mozart*, in which Benedikt connects Bachmann’s ‘sardonische Studie’ of the *Musikstädt[e] with Hugo von Hofmannsthals ‘Kulturgehabe’, even arguing that Bachmann’s reflections on the *Musikstadt* bear strong resemblances with

136 Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädt[e]’, 315.
137 Heinrich Maiworm, 278–83 (p. 283).
Hofmannsthal’s article *Die Mozart-Zentenarfeier in Salzburg* (1891). Without wishing to go into the music phenomenological concerns that shape Schütz’s essay, his connection is one that is worth contextualising through the lens of music history and urban sociology: such an appraisal provides an Austrian counterexample to Vienna as the *Musikstadt*; it shows that Hofmannsthal’s presentation of urban musical life in Salzburg bears some strong similarities with the contextualised *Musikstadt Wien* above. These similarities are particularly felt in Hofmannsthal’s wider incorporation of not just musical sounds but a broader range of acoustic articulations in painting the acoustic environment for his readers.

The biographical, literary and music historical parallels between Bachmann’s *Musikstädte* and Hofmannsthal’s *Die Mozart-Zentenarfeier in Salzburg*, published under his pseudonym Loris in the August edition of the *Allgemeinen Kunst-Chronik* in 1891, are all too clear: their urban Austrian background, their interest in and fascination with music, their use of the essay as an artistic form, the timing of the publication of their essays in the so-called *Mozartjahre* of 1891 to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of his death and 1956 to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth. In relation to this music historical coincidence, both essays can be seen as being inspired, even conditioned by memorable urban musical experiences. For Ingeborg Bachmann, it is said to have been inspired, in part, by the urban musical experience of Visonti’s staging of Verdi’s *La Traviata* with Maria Callas in the female protagonist’s role at the Milan Scala opera house; and for Hofmannsthal, it was inspired by his attendance at the official celebrations in Salzburg to mark the Mozart centenary between 15 July and 17 July 1891. Details of

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the event’s first day were given to the readers of the Leipzig-based

*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik:*


This bulletin from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* provides considerably more musical historical information than Hofmannsthal’s essay as to the planned line-up of musical events, concert performances and programmes as well as ticketing. The only piece of information that adds to the musical historical profile of these festivities to commemorate the hundredth year of Mozart’s birth, not included in the newspaper bulletin from the time, is Hofmannsthal’s *en passant* mentioning that the Austrian music critic, Robert Hirschfeld, gave the *Festrede* at the event on 15 July. Further music historical research reveals that Hirschfeld’s speech was preceded by ‘ein dreifaches Hoch auf den Kaiser als Schirmer und Schützer der Kunst und Wissenschaft’ directly after the opening welcome speech by the *Bürgermeister*, Dr. Franz von Hueber. The response of the assembled audience, the paper reported, was ‘stürmisch’.¹⁴⁰ Interestingly, the ‘Dreifache’ conditions Hofmannsthal’s entire essay on the aspects of the event other than the stated musical ones themselves. Given that the young Hofmannsthal attended Hirschfeld’s speech and would have, most certainly, experienced the all-too-familiar three cheers of approval for Kaiser Franz Joseph, it is not totally excluded from the realms of possibility that ‘dreifaches’ acoustic sign of approval fed into the shaping and framing of his essay. ‘Dreifachen Sinn hatte das Fest’ commences the essay which reveals to the reader that


he should not expect a report on the event but elaborations as to its characteristic representations. Next, Hofmannsthal speaks of ‘drei mystischen Stufen’ and ‘drei Weihen der Erkenntnis unter den Hörenden’, which not only repeats and emphasises the drei, but also divides the attendees of the event into, initially, three categories, into three modes by which the event is perceived. Though not enough evidence exists to suggest that this use of drei, this use of three, was inspired by the ‘dreifaches Hoch’, if it were found to be the case, then the acoustic cue during this musical event in Salzburg in 1891, would have not only have influenced, but conditioned Hofmannsthal’s deployment of the literary triplet to shape and frame his essay.

The question whether the experienced acoustic environment of Salzburg’s Mozart celebration influenced or conditioned Hofmannsthal’s writings would eventually go answered during the course of his essay. It is not, however, the official planned musical events by the organising committee, such as the Festkonzerte that receive the writer’s undivided attention; it is, instead, the street-level procession, the Fackelzug, which, as the Neue Freie Presse reported, ‘formirte sich trotz strömenden Regens um 9 Uhr Abends und zog unter klingendem Spiele programmgemäß durch die Stadt’. This newspaper report clearly coincides with Hofmannsthal’s own literary translation of the event which he quite clearly experienced:

Und nachts auf dem gelbschäumenden Wasser der unstete Widerschein bengalischer Lichter, tanzender Fackeln, gespenstische Schatten an den fahloren Mauern hinzuckend, dazwischen zerrissene Akkorde, Glockenläuten, verwehte Chöre; Leben, wimmelndes Gedräng auf den Plätzen und Treppen, die engen Straßen mit wehenden Farben erfüllt, die finsteren Tore grün unwunden; farbige Lichter an den phantastischen Gruppen barocker Helden und Göttinnen, jeder Schimmer Sensation, jede Straßenecke Bild; akustische Mauern, nachtönende Gewölbe, die ganze Stadt mit leise vibrierender, unaufhörlicher Musik erfüllt, ein enges Theater mit der drückenden, aufregenden Menschenfülle, die wir Großstädter nicht mehr kennen, jetzt glitzernde Sternennacht, in einer Stunde Gewittersturm, heulend und prasselnd … das war dieses Fest für die Jünger des zweiten Grades, ein großes, reiches und seltenes Fest.

The *Neue Freie Presse* newspaper article also refers to ‘elektrischem und bengalischem Lichte’ and a ‘dichtgedrängte Menge’ in the streets, especially as up to 1,900 people took part in the procession. Considering the small Baroque streets of Mozart’s Salzburg, the congested nature of the streets, as embedded in Hofmannsthal’s lines, would have been intense. The highlight of the procession, it should be added, was to march by Mozart’s *Wohnhaus*, his *Geburtshaus* and then to lay wreaths in front of the Mozart *Denkmal*, a focal point erected almost fifty years prior in 1842. It is noteworthy that Hofmannsthal does not make any reference to the later stages of the procession, of the *Fackelzug*, almost as if the senses of the ‘Jünger des zweiten Grades’ had been distracted away from the planned events.

The image of Salzburg during the *Musikwoche* presented by Hofmannsthal is not one that just consists of visual landmarks and phenomena that stimulate visual senses; it is one where both landmarks and soundmarks combine and bombard the sensorial realms of the individual with a plethora of sights and sounds, leaving him in a state of sensorial ecstasy. The city, surprisingly, is not experienced through the music of Mozart, the highlight and attraction of the event; instead, it is experienced through the sociological interaction with the anonymous other, the urban crowd; it is experienced through the colours, the lights (presumably newly electrified ones) and shadows of the city; it is experienced through its weather conditions; and it is experienced, too, through an array of sounds, ranging from the soundmark of the ringing bell, the sound fallout from the crowd and a whole host of other musical articulations. Audio-visual imagery deployed by Hofmannsthal, blending architectural features with acoustic phenomena, such as ‘akustische Mauer’ and ‘nachtönende Gewölbe’, recalls the words of Ingeborg Bachmann in defining the *Musikstädte* as cities ‘in denen die viele dort erklungene und verklungene Musik Architektur
geworden ist’. Hofmannsthal’s follow-on comment of the whole city as being full of music not only ties in with Bachmann’s idea of a Musikstadt, but reinforces a link in the terms of contents and audio-visual context between the two texts. Salzburg, then, a city known to both Bachmann and Hofmannsthal, would lend itself to Bachmann’s topos of a Musikstadt. Given that the then teenager’s reflections were written during a kind of Saison, a Musikwoche—something that Bachmann identified as the essence of the Musikstadt—the Hofmannsthal-Bachmann link is strengthened even further.

Bachmann’s Musikstadt is, as highlighted above, full of contrasts; and these contrasts come through in her careful selection of opposites to underpin the identity of these type of cities: Stadt versus Musikstadt; musical past versus the musical present; the institutional versus the non-institutional; small versus big investments in music; the claque versus the anticlaque; the visitor to the Musikstadt versus the resident of the musical city. Some of these contrasts are present in the essay of the then seventeen-year-old Hofmannsthal, not just in terms of word usage, but also in terms of structure, syntax and style. Up to the point in Hofmannsthal’s essay where he depicts the urban experienced world through the sensorial intoxication of the visual and aural stimuli, two contrasting groups had been foregrounded: the ‘Fest für die jungen des zweiten Grades’, whose the urban visual and sound world, cited above, was underpinned as a ‘große Meiningerei’, a modified term associated with the south Thuringia theatre town of Meiningen and revolutionary use of on-stage light technology. The second group, mentioned at the outset of Hofmannsthal’s essay,

144 Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
145 Norman Orzechowski’s thesis Kleists Dramen in den Bühnendekorationen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts refers to Jansen’s definition of Meiningerei as ‘eine sinnlose und äusserliche Nachahmung des Princips [der Meininger Theaterkunst]’. The Meiningen theatre, as Orzechowski elaborates, was revolutionary when it came to the deployment of electrical lighting of the theatre stage to enliven particular effects or visual phenomenon. Orzechowski spoke of an ‘Experimentierfreude der
stood in contrast to the experiences of those who were in the midst of a ‘große[n] Meiningerei’. The festival was, for this particular group, an ‘Akt kulturgeschichtlicher Höflichkeit’:


The urban space, or more specifically, the Tyrolean city playing host to the festival has a sociological Anziehungskraft, a pulling-in effect, attracting local, national and international visitors to Salzburg. Rather than a music sociological interaction, Mozart’s Zentenarfeier is presented, critically and descriptively, as an event where the attendees from different social backgrounds, classes and milieus interact with one another. However, the event, at least this widespread conservative element of it, gives out the impression of attendance as a fashion statement, one that is neatly rendered in the locals feeling a sense of prestige about their city and putting on their Sunday best: ‘band seine weißeste Krawatte um’. The insight of the event as a fashion statement ties into Maiworm’s interpretation of Bachmann’s Musikstädte, particularly the paragraph relating to the Saison, which criticised the ‘Doppelbödigkeit eines Musiklebens, das in Musikwochen überstrapaziert, kommerzialisiert und der Mode unterworfen wird’. Hofmannsthals’s essay also reflects the double-sided nature of

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Meininger’ with light that led to ‘überraschenden Effekten’. However, this new deployment of light was not without its pitfalls, especially for the aural sense as the devices that emitted this light on to the stage were unquestionably loud. Orzechowski quotes an article from the Vossische Zeitung from 3 May 1876, which is worth citing for its acoustic significance: ‘die Regie [könnte] in manchen Einzelheiten mäßiger verfahren. [...] [I]n der Gebirgsscene des zweiten Akts verursacht der Apparat, der das Unwetter sichtbarlichst veranschaulicht, einen Lärm, der uns zwingt, unsere ganze Gehörkraft aufzubieten, um nebenher auch die Hauptsache, den Kleist’schen Text, zu vernehmen.’ Cf.: Norman Orzechowski, Kleists Dramen in den Bühnendekorationen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 1989), pp. 272–73.

musical life. But comparing both experiences of the group whose experiences of the festival are an ‘Akt kulturgeschichtlicher Höflichkeit’ together with the other group’s, not as prominent in nature, but whose sensorial ecstasy are at the heart of the ‘große Meiningerei’, then a musical life with a difference becomes apparent. It is not one of concerts, official musical performances or staged operas; it is not one where the conductor, the soloist, the pianist feature; instead, it is grounded in urban sociological phenomena, either of the sociological interaction kind or of the sensorial type. The festival in Salzburg in 1891 is presented in different contrasting lights by Hofmannsthal and from different perspectives. Parallels between Bachmann’s essay and Hofmannsthal’s essay are evident. These parallels go a step further than the traditional music historical discourse into the Musikstadt as merely a home to top quality orchestras and conductors. The city is presented as a place of music, not where music is just played and performed, heard and experienced, but where music contributes to the very fabric of society, to its past and its present, to its cultural and civic history. In short, music in the city contributes to its very identity and existence as a city; and this very identity distinguishes itself from other cities’ identities. Music and musical life as part of the wider soundscape can be regarded as a pan-phenomenon in the city, one that excites the aural sensorial spheres of the literary figures of Bachmann and Hofmannsthal. They put pen to paper and thematise geographical locations for the musical value which these places offer.

Vienna as Musikstadt and Salzburg as Musikstadt as literary locations shall now give way to Berlin as Musikstadt; and it is to the musico-literary works of Hans Mayer that attention shall now turn.
2.4 Berlin as a Musikstadt through the works of Hans Mayer

In his memoirs Gelebte Musik, suggestive of a life that had been lived through music, Hans Mayer spoke of Berlin of the 1920s as the ‘Musikhauptstadt der europäischen Kultur’. Berlin, presented here in the timeframe of post-War Germany, in an era known as the Golden Twenties, is not just a plain musical city, but the music capital city per se, according to Mayer. Comparing the previous music and literary contextualisations of both Vienna and Munich, the term Musikhauptstadt would suggest a Steigerung over Vienna and Munich as mere Musikstädte. It would appear to trump the Musikstädte of both Vienna and Munich, whose contextualised histories, up to now, have focussed on a pre-World War I history. The catapulting of Berlin to a Musikhauptstadt would not be without a trajectory. Its origins are, as a music historical analysis shall reveal, also to be found before the outbreak of World War I.

That the topos of Musikstadt Berlin was present at the start of the twentieth century is evident in the writings of Walter Paetow. Quoting directly from an unknown Berlin travel guide, published in 1909, the German music critic writes:

Unbeschritten ist der Rang, den Berlin im musikalischen Leben Deutschlands einnimmt. 'Berlin ist die Musikstadt par excellence', heißt es in einem Berlin-Führer von 1909, 'in keiner anderen Großstadt steht das Musikeben in solcher Blüte wie in der Hauptstadt des Deutschen Reiches, und wenn auch in dem letzten Jahrzehnt überall eine außerordentliche Ausbreitung der musikalischen Interessen stattgefunden hat und dabei Berlin nicht immer in Einzelheiten an der Spitze marschiert ist, so ist doch der Reichtum dessen, was es bietet, von überragender Größe.'

At around about the same time, the German music historian, Adolf Weissmann would have been putting the finishing touches to his magnum opus Berlin als Musikstadt (1911), an extensive summary of which appears in a Sonderheft of the music journal Die Musik. The question that is at the heart of his deliberations is one of emergence:

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‘Wie kommt es aber, dass Berlin trotz alledem zum Range einer Musikstadt par excellence aufgestiegen ist?’

The element of doubt expressed in his question is nothing confined to the thoughts of Adolf Weissmann. It would appear to be a hallmark of the music historical discourse into *Musikstadt Berlin*. The German-Jewish musicologist, Hugo Leichentritt reflected on Berlin’s historical development as a *Musikstadt* in 1921: ‘Nennt man die großen Musikzentren Europas aus früheren Jahrhunderten, so wird Berlin kaum unter ihnen sein.’ In the same year and in the same journal, Joachim Beck, the music commentator on, among others, the works of Franz Schreker, spoke of Berlin’s ‘Unmusikalität’ as being a distinctive (or non-distinctive) characteristic of the city’s ‘musikalische Physiognomie’. In justification, he argues music historically: ‘Wenn wir zur Dreigliederung: Masse, Musikpublikum und Künstler schreiten, werden wir im einzelnen sehen, wie gering gerade der Berlinische Anteil an der Reputation unserer Reichshauptstadt ist.’

Despite this non-musical nature of the city, not possessing a kind of fertile musical *Berliner Boden*, similar to that of Vienna’s, these three music historians, Weissmann, Leichentritt and Beck, would still subscribe to the thesis that Berlin is a *Musikstadt*. Why? What were, in the eyes of these music historians and critics, the attributes of the rise of Berlin, not just to the ranks of the *Musikstädte*, but to an international *Musikhauptstadt* by the 1920s? This rise is all the more impressive as all three commentators seem, after lengthy music historical deliberations, to pin down Berlin’s significance as an international centre for music at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. The central question, therefore, should not just ask about the rise,

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but also about the speed at which it took hold. Why was it that Berlin rose to an international music centre in such a short space of time compared to the likes of Vienna and Paris, both of which had cultivated music over the centuries? Before moving into Mayer’s literary reflections of musical life, particularly his reflections of Berlin, this question shall take centre stage. To answer it, the early twentieth century music historical deliberations of Weissmann and the rather unknown figure of Beck, written within a decade of each other, shall be scrutinised in the knowledge that they were all referring to—what would appear to be—a then contemporary urban music topological phenomenon. These insights into Musikstadt Berlin, then, can be regarded not just as a reflection of an ongoing process, but also as some of the earliest reflections that paved the way for the establishment of this topos as a cultural identity marker for Berlin and for future publications, all too familiar on the music book market, assessing Berlin as a quintessential post-World War II musical city.  

From the appointed Stadtpfeifer of Berlin and its sister town Kölln, the organists of the various churches dotted around the city to the flute playing of Friedrich II—it is not as if Berlin was completely devoid of musical legends and traditions prior to the twentieth, even the nineteenth centuries and earlier. But these historical givens would not appear to have had much bearing on the labelling of Berlin as a Musikstadt in the popular music media at the turn of the century. The words quoted by Walter Paetow about the Berlin as a Musikstadt par excellence are a

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point in case: neither do they refer to the history of the Stadtpfeifer whose tunes would have graced the city; nor do they refer to the flute-playing of Friedrich II; instead, the modern musical conditions gives Berlin its new title – a comparably late arrival in the ranks of the Musikstädte compared to its rivals of Munich, Vienna and Leipzig in the German speaking world. Indeed, if the multitude of examples from Ruth Glatzer’s chapter Musikstadt par excellence in Das Wilhelminische Berlin is anything to go by, then Berlin as a Musikstadt would appear to be a modernist topos for a modern city whose musical profile widened, just as its political, cultural and social significance expanded to fit the rapidly burgeoning Weltstadt. For music historians, however, such a labelling would have posed a challenge at the time, one that can be summed up in the following question: if Berlin were, by 1890, a Musikstadt, just like Vienna and Munich, then did a particular course or sequence of events in urban and musical history facilitate its arrival to Musikstadt status? In answering such a question, music historians at the time would not just address questions of both musical history and urban identity. Their approaches to the Musikstadt would also reveal how experts at the time perceived this term in a modernist setting, but looking back through time. Weissmann’s summary of his magnum opus in the twice-monthly music publication Die Musik, entitled Die Musik der Weltstadt, preconditions a modernist footing on which the Musikstadt was clearly placed.

154 Given that the earliest traceable reference to Vienna as a Musikstadt dates back to Hanslick’s ‘Habilitationsgesuch’ letter from 1856 and a reference alluding to Munich as a musical city exists from 1864, Berlin’s arrival in the 1890s would appear comparably late. However, an even earlier reference to a Musikstadt in the German-speaking hemisphere, other than the ones at the central of this study, exists in reference to the city of Leipzig. In a letter to W. H. Rieffel, dated 20 January 1840, Robert Schumann declared ‘Leipzig [als] eine gute Musikstadt.’ Cf.: Letter from Robert Schumann to W. H. Rieffel dated 20 January 1840, in Die Davidsbündler, ed. by F. Gustav Jansen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1853), p. 172.
Berlin as a Weltstadt, as a world city, a metropolis, started to grip the urban sociological sphere by the end of the nineteenth century. Weissmann pairs an urban sociological term with music that belongs to that city, the city of Berlin. But the question is one of meaning. What is meant firstly by a Weltstadt? Modern day urban sociologists seem to come to relatively similar conclusions; and the definition of Anthony Sutcliffe is worth reflecting upon here:

The high-order functions which this privileged status implies are also high-earning functions, so these cities can sustain very large populations. However, great size carries the additional benefit of external economies of scale in processing, so an important manufacturing function tends to develop alongside the higher-order, tertiary activities which provide the main dynamic of the city. The amalgam of functions allows each city to exercise a considerable influence over its vicinity, stretching from its immediate hinterland to the country in which it is located, and sometimes even over adjoining national territories. It consequently tends to function as more than just a ‘central place’, serving the inhabitants of smaller settlements. As a market, a centre of information, and often a locus of political power, it tends to dominate activities taking place within its sphere of influence.  

For both Sutcliffe and, in a later chapter headed Berlin 1890–1940, for Horst Matzerath, Berlin would seem to be the representation of the quintessential Weltstadt by 1890. Given its upward population growth, economic trends and industrial expansion, Berlin ‘rises above its European rivals’ by 1890, ‘in terms of rapid growth and vibrant atmosphere’, sharing ‘something of the dynamism of New York’. The comparison between Germany’s Berlin and America’s New York, with its economic and cultural dynamism, resonates with Weissmann’s own music historical narrative, or rather, with the modern music trends which would have characterised Berlin by 1911. After a brief panorama of the music trends of Berlin in the run-up to the twentieth century, with the city’s reception of Wagner and Mahler, Strauss and Debussy, Weissmann writes:

Diese wenig tröstliche, aber möglichst wahre Skizze der Entwicklung moderner Musik, die ein Menschenalter umfaßt, mußte ich entwerfen, um zu zeigen, warum nun die Weltstadt Berlin das Musikzentrum der Welt wird. Nur der allgemeine Niedergang des musikalischen


Americanism and musical life in the ‘amerikanisierten Stadt’, as Weissmann would later describe Berlin, would echo a decade later in Joachim Beck’s essay Die musikalische Physiognomie, in which he makes numerous urban sociological comments, similar to those of Sutcliffe and Matzerath, about the Reichshauptstadt as an international centre of commerce and trade. With this internationalism, according to Beck, came a ‘geistigen Amerikanismus’ which fundamentally changed the ‘Stadtphysiognomie […]’, auch die künstlerische’. Just as with Weissmann’s deliberations, Beck saw this urban sociological phenomenon of Americanism, transposed on to music, as a double-edged sword: on the one hand, it was regrettable that this feature had taken hold, given its ‘entseelten’ nature and the ‘Arbeitshäufung und Überorganisation’ that was characteristic of it; on the other hand, however, this Americanism was the spirit of an age, a Zeitgeist, forming ‘eine Mitte zwischen dem Weltmarkt New York und der Musikstadt Wien’. Beck added: ‘[wir] konnten zum Wertmesser namentlich alles Reproduktiven werden und die Bedürfnisse der

öffentlichen Musik regeln. It would be a matter of just a few years before this so-called Americanism would widen its sphere of influence out of the commercial and into the aesthetic realms of urban life: American jazz and blues tunes and rhythms would, just four years after Beck published his article, embed themselves into the cultural life of the city and, in turn, into musical compositions. On 25 May 1924, the Sam-Wooding-Jazz band from the United States performed in the Berliner Admirals-Palast, being the first of its kind to perform in the Weimar Republic. Jazz musicians, such as Duke Ellington toured the country; and, by 1927, the first ever jazz opera, Jonny spielt auf, composed by Ernst Krenek, was performed in Berlin on 27 November to wide acclaim in the Städtische Oper. A year later, in 1928, Bertolt Brecht’s opera Die Dreigroschenoper with music by the Berlin composer Kurt Weill commenced its long stage career in the capital. Embedding jazz, tango and blues rhythms, Weill’s music, and more significantly, the success attached to it, offers yet another example of Berlin’s ‘amerikanisierter’ status, not just in the urban sociological sense, but also in the aesthetic sense.

Weissmann, together with Beck, seem to sing from the same hymn sheet in identifying how Berlin elevated itself to become a Musikstadt par excellence at the turn of the nineteenth century. As opposed to Vienna and, to a lesser extent, Munich, the topos of Musikstadt Berlin is not one that binds long traditions with legends and prestige. It is neither the birthplace nor the home to a long list of renowned composers with its own city school of music thought (e.g. Viennese Schools). References to a Berliner Musik or Berliner Musiker are scarce to say the least. If anything, Berlin projects an image of a non-musical city up to, say, the mid-nineteenth century; and its elevation to musical city status would have, if Weissmann and Beck are to be

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believed, just as much to do with its Americanisation, its emergence as a *Weltstadt* on an American footing\(^\text{160}\) rather than more specific singular music developments in the city. Indeed, such developments—take for instance the new concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of Hans von Bülow—were measured for their ‘internationalen Ruhm’, even ‘Weltruhm’, wholly coinciding with its *Weltstadt* status, as opposed to a reflection of a specific * berlinerisch* sound that spoke to the citizens of Berlin and was, somehow, a symbol of the city. The fact that the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Bülow’s successor, Arthur Nikisch, recorded the first ever major recording of a symphony, Beethoven’s Fifth, in 1914 conditioned the (future) international success of the orchestra. The gramophone and its related successors as play-back devices did much to alter audience listening trends and behaviour. It also allowed the listener, however, to experience the music of the orchestra, not just outside the concert hall, but with the import and export of musical products, in living rooms across the globe. The orchestra reaffirmed, in that respect, itself as one of the first international, if not, global orchestras.

This Americanisation of Berlin was not an overnight process and would seem, if the timing of Weissmann’s and Beck’s publications are anything to go by, to have spanned well over a decade. A later description of an ‘amerikanisierende[n] Berlin’ by Weissmann would suggest a transformation into something that was typically

\(^{160}\) In his history of the world with its pessimistic title of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, published straight after the First World War, Oswald Spengler provided a look-back at the emergence of the *Weltstadt* over the course of time. Whilst he speaks of Habsburg Madrid and the papal centre of Rome as ‘führende Großstädte’, these cities would be trumped by both Paris and London from the eighteenth century onwards. Spengler does not mention Berlin in the context of a *Weltstadt*, but he does allude to New York: ‘Der Aufstieg von New York zur Weltstadt durch den Sezessionskrieg 1861–65 ist vielleicht das folgenschwerste Ereignis des vorigen Jahrhunderts.’ Given that the *Weltstadt* Berlin is presented as an ‘amerikanisierte Stadt’ by Weissmann and Beck, presumably in the context of New York, then this history of New York is very much part of the history of the musical life of Berlin. In the widest sense, the American Civil War and its consequences for the city of New York, it could be argued through the lens of Spengler, reverberated around the world and impacted on, for instance, the musical life of a city. Cf.: Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, 16th edn (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 2003), p. 673.
American in nature. As expressed by both Weissmann and Beck, there appears to have been a creeping sense of music becoming more and more subject to commercial and industrial forces. Contrary to being an aesthetic object, music was fast becoming a product, something that possessed a production value, and that could be bought and sold on the open market. Metaphors of business, trade and commerce as well as industrial production to describe wider musical life seem to be a common feature of discourse of written music discourse at the time. These metaphors substantiate the ideas of Weissmann and Beck that Berlin’s elevation as a musical city was on the back of American-style production and output. The rather non-commercial Wilhelm Furtwängler spoke, in the 1920s, of an ‘Übersättigung’ in Berlin and a ‘Musikbörse’ operating in the German capital.¹⁶¹ Siegmund Pisling spoke of Berlin’s emergence as the ‘größte Musikmarkt der Welt’ in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century.¹⁶² Words such as ‘Überproduktion’ and ‘musikalischen Wettbewerb’ were not all that uncommon,¹⁶³ blending with the narrative of Weissmann and Beck of then modern urban music conditions. In this urban commercial climate of profit and loss, production and overproduction, markets and trade exchanges, the musician would have been up against stiff competition. Weissmann explains:

Denn es ist eine Tatsache, die wahrhaft traurig stimmen kann: dieser Kampf ums Dasein drängt nur zu oft die wirtschaftlich Schwächeren, auch wenn sie bedeutende Talente sind, in den Hintergrund, während andere minder Begabte dank der Clique in die Höhe getrieben werden.¹⁶⁴

A mixture between favourable reviews and a kind of urban musical Social Darwinism dictates the fate of the musician, either that of success or failure. The purposeful use

¹⁶⁴ Weissmann, ‘Die Musik der Weltstadt’, p. 49.
of Darwin, not once but twice in his essay, reveals an overarching link between Adolf Weissmann’s music history writings of Berlin and the language from the newly emerging field of urban sociology, a social science that was undertaken to underpin modernists’ urban experience. With turn-of-the-century Berlin as a focal point, with the analysis of commercial forces acting in the city and with the Darwinism references, a strong relationship between the music history discourse of Weissmann and the urban sociological discourse of one Georg Simmel emerges. No biographical evidence links the two figures together, though the parallels between them are strong and striking: both German-Jewish intellectuals; both active in Berlin at the turn of the century; Weissmann as a music critic and Simmel as a professor of philosophy; both with a profound interest in music; both writing works on or inspired by the city of Berlin. Whilst Weissmann published his Die Musik der Weltstadt in 1911, Simmel’s work Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben was a 1903 essay, written at a time when Simmel was in Berlin. It would be far too much of an exaggeration to claim that Simmel’s essay somehow inspired, even conditioned Weissmann’s considerations on modern day urban musical life: the biographical links are not strong enough. Commonalities in their texts, however, do reveal overlaps between Berlin city life at the turn of the century, as seen through the lens of urban sociology in the case of Simmel, and as seen through the lens of musical modernism in the case of Weissmann: Simmel’s individual’s Darwinist-like struggle to exert himself in the urban society is mirrored by the musician’s struggle to exert himself in the urban musical society in which he finds himself. The centrality of capitalistic commerce and money flows in the city, as expressed by Simmel, is also evident in Weissmann’s Die Musik der Weltstadt; and the antithesis of rural ‘langsameren, gewohnteren, gleichmäßiger fließenden Rhythmus ihres sinnlich-geistigen Lebensbildes’ but the
urban ‘Tempo und den Mannigfaltigkeiten des wirtschaftlichen, beruflichen, gesellschaftlichen Lebens’ would manifest themselves in Weissmann’s deliberations on the proliferation of concert life with a heightened number of concerts and the ‘Abwärtsbewegung’, of, for instance, the Königliche Bühne, which had took on a ‘ein noch schnelleres Tempo’. Modern musical life with its heightened tempo and rhythm, its commerce and money, its Darwinist feel of a basic primitive instinct of survival is closely aligned then, for Berlin at least, with the urban sociological underpinnings at the time. For Berlin, perhaps its best manifestation was the ‘amerikanisch-industriehafte’ concert life.

If the inhabitants in Berlin were dismissed, by the likes of Joachim Beck, as lacking an ‘absolute akustische Musikalität’ or ‘motorischen, dynamischen, rhythmischen, klanglichen architektonischen Elemente’, then the city as a whole can be seen as making up for these deficiencies in the vibrant concert life that accompanied the modern age. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pillar of the argument that Berlin is, indeed, a Musikstadt is centred not on an imaginary fertile Musikboden, like Vienna, but around the upsurge in concerts and musical performances at the end of the nineteenth century. Looking back on her life in Berlin in early twentieth century, one of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s favourite opera singers, Frieda Hempel reminisces on the concert saturation of the time:

If the musical analogy to the city of Vienna is, according to Max Graf, a violin, then the nearest musical analogy to Berlin, given Hempel’s words, would be the concert orchestra, not one individual instrument but a collection of instruments under the baton of one conductor. The most famous of them all, making a featured appearance in Hempel’s autobiography, was the orchestra whose home was on the Bernburger Straße until its destruction by Allied aerial bombing towards the end of the war: the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. If any one institution, its associated history and traditions have elevated Berlin to a *Musikstadt*, then the Berlin Philharmonic, giving its first performance under the name of *Philharmonisches Orchester* on 17 October 1882, would take first place on the podium.

Cultural histories of the orchestra have long since recognised their importance and significance in the wider identity of the city and the projection of this identity outside of their city boundaries. In his publication *Die grossen Orchester: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (1969), Siegfried Borris perhaps put it the most succinctly in that ‘kaum eine zweite Institution [ist] ein so glanzvolles Statussymbol für kulturellen Wohlstand und nationale oder regionale Repräsentation wie das Symphonie-Orchester’. The institution of the orchestra as a representation of the urban space is not just conditioned by musicology, music history, sociology and geopolitics, as Borris made abundantly clear in his cultural history study; it is also conditioned by language. For language—to quote Sharpe and Wallock—‘inevitably conditions our responses to the city. Our perceptions are inseparable from the words we use to describe them and from the activities of reading, naming and metaphorising that make all our formations possible.’

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all too familiar in descriptions of the symphony orchestra, also depicted as such in metaphorical speak. Consider, for instance, the English word *head* to denote the upper portion of the body where, among other organs, the ear is located. Its elevated position above the torso lends itself to elevated positions of responsibility, irrespective of whether it is the *head* of an orchestra, a *Dirigent*, or the head of state in a capital city, a *Staatsoberhaupt*. In German, the word *life*, *Leben*, is both combined with city and music to denote an existential state. The terms *Stadtleben*, *Musikleben* or *Konzertleben* are three examples, one from the urban world and two from the musical world; and they have the word *life* in common. The body, the *Körper*, too, has its own place in the dictionary of urban-body metaphors: in German, a *Körperschaft* is a legal term signifying a registered group of people with a particular concern or interest, the majority of which are, understandably, registered and are active in cities. An orchestra, too, is a kind of *Körperschaft*, but its more frequent synonym, also a body metaphor, is *Klangkörper*, literally meaning: a sound(ing) body. To join the two elements together, the city and this *Klangkörper*, such as in the term *Berliner Klangkörper* would, semantically speaking, give sound to a body in a particular urban space. In short: it is a symbol of a living, breathing, sounding city. This provides a slightly different interpretation to passivity which the term encounters – a passivity that dictates an orchestra *from* a particular place. Yet this particular turn of phrase

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168 In the German translation of Richard Sennett’s urban historical and sensory study *Flesh and Stone*, in which he analyses, with a critical eye, representations of the city as body – from Ancient Greece to modern day New York – and highlighting the associated metaphors and metonyms, the field of music goes completely neglected. This comes despite informing his readers at the outset that his book is a ‘Geschichte der Stadt’ as experienced through the bodily experiences of humans: ‘wie Frauen und Männer sich bewegten, wie sie sahen und hörten, die Gerüche, die in ihre Nase drangen, was sie aßen, was sie trugen, wann sie badeten, wie sie sich liebten.’ The musical and aural oversight in his study is related, it can be argued, to the visual dominance that exists in urban sociology, one that more recent attempts at reading the city has tried to counteract with the analysis of historical soundscape and sound spaces. Cf.: Richard Sennett, *Fleisch und Stein. Der Körper und die Stadt in der westlichen Zivilisation*, trans. by Linda Meissner (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1995).
could also be interpreted as a musical body that is characteristic of a particular place. In that way, the city orchestra does not just represent, as Borris argued, a symbol of cultural wealth as well as a nation and a region; but it is a representation of the city in its own right. It is an expression of urban life, urban living and urban sound. This similarity embedded in language, evident in the metaphors of the body, can be best captured in the German language with the interchangeable expression: \textit{Stadt als Musikkörper als Stadt}.

Despite not considering these aspects of language conditioning, Borris does give substantial treatment to individual orchestras in his \textit{Orchester-Porträts}. Of all of the renowned international orchestras under Borris’s spotlight, the Berlin Philharmonic receives the most sustained attention over other orchestras in Europe, Asia, North America and the Middle East. The famous conductors in and of Berlin have ‘einen festen Platz im Musikleben der Metropolen’. And yet, the modern age led to, what Borris called, a ‘Kosmopolitentum der Orchesterleiter’ and a loss of a strong, individual ‘Orchester-Identität’ among these individual \textit{Klangkörper}.\footnote{Borris, pp. 179–80.} As wider music historical discourse of the time would show, the early years of the Berlin Philharmonic coincidentally coincide with the emergence of modernism. Such discourse trumpets the achievements of its first two permanent chief conductors, who, in their own way, stamped a particular musical identity on to the orchestra. The names of these conductors have, during the course of this chapter, been mentioned: Hans von Bülow, who led the orchestra from 1887 to his death in 1894; and Arthur Nikisch, who was at the helm of the orchestra from 1895 until his death in 1922. Bülow, often cited as the first modern conductor, would call the Berlin
Philharmonic ‘my orchestra par excellence’.\textsuperscript{170} In its twentieth-fifth anniversary, in 1902, \textit{Die Musik} published a \textit{Chronik des Berliner Philharmonischen Orchesters}, by which time the orchestra was been presented as ‘der wichtigste Faktor im Musikleben der Reichshauptstadt’ and a ‘Notwendigkeit des Berliner Musiklebens’.\textsuperscript{171} The extent to which Bülow stamped his authority and his personality on the orchestra was clear in the wording. Eight years after his death, talk was not of \textit{Bülows Orchester}, but the \textit{Bülow-Orchester} as if Bülow was not just the embodiment of the orchestra, but also the city in which it was housed: Berlin.\textsuperscript{172} This interpretation squares fully with Adolf Weissmann’s words about Hans von Bülow’s Berlin in \textit{Die Musik der Weltstadt}: ‘Berlin gehörte ihm.’\textsuperscript{173} The dominance of the modern conductor, not just over the orchestra which he leads, but also within the city, is indisputable: it is expressed here with the German verb ‘gehören’ in terms of belonging and ownership. But embodied in the ‘ihm’, as apparent in Weissmann’s text, is also the repertoire which he cultivates. It is one that seemed to have spoken to the urban audience of Berlin and was given rave reviews by music critics.\textsuperscript{174} This repertoire, consisting primarily of Beethoven and Brahms, and further consolidated by his successor Arthur Nikisch, leads neatly into Hans Mayer’s own interpretation of desired music from the German music audience straight after the First World War:


\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{173} Adolf Weissmann, ‘Die Musik der Weltstadt’, 4–75 (p. 15).
\textsuperscript{174} Though it is not possible, in the framework of this thesis, to go into specific detail of the positive reception of Bülow’s music in Berlin, Peter Muck provides a wide range of reviews of Bülow’s performances from numerous printed media sources in his three-volume history of the Berlin Philharmonic, published to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the first \textit{Philharmonischen Konzerte} in 1882. Cf.: Peter Muck, \textit{Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester, Darstellung in Dokumente}, 3 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), i: 1882–1922, pp. 95–184.
Brahms, Bürgerliche Fortschrittler wollten den Anton Bruckner als viertes großes B dazu haben.\textsuperscript{175}

It is another ‘B’, Berlin, that links the German conductor and composers above and the concert life desired, for which not just Berlin but all of Germany aspired after the First World War. What is apparent here is not only the national nature of Mayer’s deliberations, but the strong allusion to Berlin. It is almost as if Berlin, the Musikstadt, with its bygone conductor and classical composers, set the bürgerliche music scene long after Bülow’s death. Musical traditions in Berlin, therefore, would set the tone in other German cities for years to come. Given the biography of Hans Bülow and the early history of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, as captured in music historical discourse, it is no wonder that Norman Lebrecht spoke of Berlin as being ‘known culturally for the glory of its orchestra’ with the Philharmonic becoming the ‘city’s calling-card and trade representative’ as well as ‘the symbol of its society and an example to all cities that wanted to advance in the world’s estimation’.\textsuperscript{176}

It is, at this point, that Hans Mayer and his body of works are recalled, especially his set of short essays entitled Ein Denkmal für Johannes Brahms (1983) and Gelebte Musik (1999). However, an analysis of his collection essays should not come before an answer to the previously posed question regarding Berlin’s fast ascent as an international music centre. Such insights have the potential to bridge the early modern music scene in Berlin at the turn of the century with Hans Mayer’s own declaration that Berlin had transformed into a ‘Musikhauptstadt der europäischen Kultur’ by the Twenties. To return to and repeat the question again: why was it that Berlin rose to an international music centre in such a short space of time compared to the likes of Vienna and Paris, both of which had cultivated music over the centuries?

The answer partly lies in Berlin’s growth as a Weltstadt, rivalling that of its other

modern European urban contemporaries: London and Paris. But Berlin did not present itself as a Londonised or Parisianised version of itself; instead, it was very much regarded as an Americanised European city, synonymous with all of its commercial might and trade output. Linking into the New World must have projected a trendy image, one that was a source of fascination, inspiration and attraction to the outside world. Berlin was the expression of modernity; and one of its primary cultural symbols of the time, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, did not necessarily offer its conservative, fee-paying bürgerlich audience much in the way of modern music with its repertoire of Beethoven, Bach and Brahms; but the manner and tempo in which this music was conducted with its first primary chief conductor, Hans von Bülow; the high number of concerts offered to the urban public, verging on the point of over-saturation; and the eagerness to experiment and even employ new acoustic technologies to record and play-back orchestral music bear some of the hallmarks of modern urban trends that were all too familiar in other aspects of city life at the time.

The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra is not the only Klangkörper in the city that played a role in elevating the city to the ranks of Musikhauptstadt by the 1920s. Its role, though, is extensive and undeniable: the establishment and rise of this orchestra coincides with the emergence of the topos Musikstadt. But calling Berlin a Musikstadt, especially in reference to this time, would do an injustice to Munich and Vienna, whose music historical traditions were stronger and deeper than the ones that existed in Berlin up to the mid-nineteenth century, i.e. when the topos Musikstadt would appear to have been introduced. In other words: the topoi Musikstadt Wien and Musikstadt München do not coincide with Musikstadt Berlin, the latter of which would appear to be a token to a city whose very name was the embodiment of modernity and all things modern in the early twentieth century. How and to what
extent do these insights fit into Hans Mayer’s own autobiographical deliberations of musical life in Berlin? With this question in mind, together with his observation that Berlin was, by the Twenties, the ‘Musikhauptstadt der europäischen Kultur’, focus now shifts to the works of the German-Jewish literary scholar and musicologist, Hans Mayer.

From the contents of his autobiographical essay *Im Dickicht der Stadt Berlin* (1982) to the cultural topographical essay *Berlin: Ort des Neuen* (1989), Hans Mayer proved that he was no stranger to Berlin. His essay *Im Dickicht der Stadt Berlin* provides the most detailed biographical insights about his time in the *Reichshauptstadt*. The essay itself should be seen in the context of an earlier speech that Mayer gave in September 1977 at the invitation of the *Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor* (RIAS) with a similar-sounding title: *Im Dickicht der Zwanziger Jahre. Erinnerungen und Deutungen*. The timing of his 1977 speech is significant: it marked the fiftieth anniversary of the academic year which he spent in Berlin as a student.¹⁷⁷ In his later essay *Im Dickicht der Stadt Berlin*, he goes into more specific detail in elaborating on the two semesters that he spent in Berlin, studying at the *Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität* (today: *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*) from October 1926 until the summer of 1927, returning to Cologne to continue his studies in the autumn of that year. Other than his two semesters in the mid-twenties, he also noted in *Im Dickicht der Stadt Berlin* that he visited Berlin again in 1930. Following up his deep-rooted fascination and interest in Marxism and the workers movement, Mayer took a trip to Wedding, a district of Berlin with a strong left-wing political base, known at the time as *Roter Wedding*. In the same breath, he recalls the *Großstadtroman Alexanderplatz* (1929) by Alfred Döblin, but

states that he would not get to know the areas depicted in the novel, including *Schlesischen* and the *Stettiner Bahnhof*, until after the end of the Second World War. Although Mayer spent most of his life living in cities other than Berlin, both his 1977 speech and the 1982 essay demonstrate a solid understanding of the political, social and cultural life in Berlin in the Golden Twenties. Whilst literary and political life receive due attention in both the aforementioned speech and the essay, Mayer is not all that forthcoming with musical life, only mentioning them on the fringes. He informs his audience, somewhat fleetingly, that he attended concerts at the ‘Philharmonie in der Bernberger Straße unweit des Potsdamer Platzes’ and spoke of the difficulties encountered by the likes of the conductor Otto Klemperer whilst active at the *Kroll Oper* in Berlin. Perhaps one exception to the rule about the fleeting nature of his musical deliberations comes in his 1977 speech when he identifies other urban centres as producing modern musicians and having more success with staging new pieces of music:


The picture is a mixed one: non-Berlin composers from the Second Viennese School dominated the modern music scene in Berlin; minor successes of the *Krolloper*, naysayers who attempted to counteract a staunch conservative music media and lukewarm receptions to musical modernism. This description would not seem to coincide with Mayer’s later assessment, made in 1999, that Berlin was, by the 1920s, the ‘Musikhauptstadt der europäischen Kultur’. How, then, did Berlin manage, with

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the capital city of music in Europe by the 1920s? Mayer’s own answer to the question is found in the appropriately entitled compilation of short essay fragments *Gelebte Musik*, published two years before his death in 1999.

In *Gelebte Musik*, Hans Mayer deploys the literary genre of the essay to reflect and depict musical life over three separate timeframes, as evident in the division of his book into three chapters: *Die Zwanziger Jahre*, the first chapter of the book, contains a compilation of short autobiographical fragments on musical life in urban centres of the Twenties. The second and third chapter, however, takes a slightly different composition: *Musik im Exil* and *Musik nach der Zerstörung* combine both autobiographical fragments with music theoretical and philosophical excursive essays, the latter of which is placed in the wider volume to coincide with the timeline along which the book runs – from the end of the First World War in 1918 to post-Second World War musical culture. To underpin a musical identity of Berlin through the essayistic literary reflections of Hans Mayer, particularly in reference to German modernism, his first chapter *Die Zwanziger Jahre* is significant: they do not just represent autobiographical reflections of musical life in Berlin, but Mayer demonstrates an extraordinary ability to compare and contrast musical life of cities, with which he was all too familiar: from his native Cologne and nearby Düsseldorf to the Berlin of the Twenties. Pairing a sharp literary style reminiscent of the language of a *feuilleton* with personal reflections, Mayer also sees the broader historical context, irrespective of whether it is political, economic, social or cultural, in which the *Gelebte Musik* is played out. In this regard, his two excursive essays *Bemerkungen zu einer kritischen Musiktheorie* (1938) in *Musik im Exil* and *Kulturkrise und Neue Musik* (1948) in *Musik nach der Zerstörung* make for interesting reading: inspected
through a critical music philosophical lens, the music of the past informs the music of the present. In reading and interpreting music philosophically, Mayer relies heavily on musical history to put music into context. It is precisely this history that makes Mayer’s fragments, particularly his autobiographical ones, all the more remarkable. He regards, on many occasions, his own Gelebte Musik as the culmination of historical moments, geographical circumstance, political shifts and the contributions of past musical giants that all converge on a particular space at a particular time: his urban space and his life. Interconnections are important for Mayer: he sees the relevance and the context of the music that he experiences; and these interconnections are a common thread throughout his text: Otto Klemperer’s purposeful omission about the ending of Mendelssohn’s Scottish Symphony coincided with the composer’s own self-doubt about its finale at a concert in Berlin; performances of Strauss’s Ariadne auf Naxos were held in the same hall as Carl Maria von Weber’s premiere of Der Freischütz in Berlin whilst the Staatsoper was undergoing repairs; and the future success of the cello player Gregor Piatigorsky in the United States was traced back to his time at the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra as a solo cellist – these shining examples, just three in a wider range, with Mayer speaking from the viewpoint of the Twenties, show how the past would condition a musical presence, one which Mayer experienced; and one on which he would recall and reminisce at the end of a turbulent twentieth century.

Mayer goes into specific detail about his two semesters in Berlin and the extensive musical offerings in the city space in the short fragment Die Russen, whose subtitle lists some of the talented musicians of Russian origin or with Russian roots who contributed to German musical life: Fjodor Schaljapin, Sergei Rachmaninow, Wladimir Horowitz and Nathan Milstein. Linking musical with political history,
Mayer sees the Russian influence in Berlin and on its musical culture, all too evident on his arrival in the city in 1926, as a result of the October Revolution which forced a mass exodus out of Russia. This was most definitely the case with Wladimir Horowitz, whose arrival in Berlin in 1926 to partake in a concert at the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra coincided with Mayer’s arrival to study for two semesters in the city. Not too enthused by his studies at the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität on Unter den Linden, a Universität des Kaisereiches living in time warp, Mayer would waste no time in getting acquainted with the city’s concert life. The musical offer was wider and extensive:


Als eifriger Zeitungsleser hatte ich festgestellt, daß das nächste Philharmonische Konzert den Solisten Wladimir Horowitz präsentieren würde. Das Vorkonzert, wie gewohnt, am Sonntagmorgen; das Hauptkonzert am Montagabend. Ich saß am Sonntagmorgen in der Philharmonie.180

The regular Berliner Musik article in the Zeitschrift für Musik, an article whose publication was unthinkable when Schumann established this specialist newspaper for a musical audience in 1834, confirmed that ‘eine Reihe von Solistenkonzerten’ opened the new concert season in September 1926.181 But it would be the Programme der Konzerte which would reveal the illusive date of the Furtwängler-Horowitz performance, placing Hans Mayer in the Philharmonie in Berlin on 24 and 25 October 1926.182 Mayer’s description of this concert, comprising of Bruckner’s Ninth Symphony, Liszt’s Concerto for Piano and Orchestra no. 2 in A major and Tchaikovsky’s Romeo and Juliet, as being a ‘langes Konzert’, somewhat

180 Hans Mayer, Gelebte Musik, p. 71.
oversaturated with music, but, in the case of Bruckner’s Symphony as being ‘prägend bis ins hohe Alter hinein’ captures the spirit of an urban age.\textsuperscript{183} Concert life, as repeated by Mayer on numerous occasions throughout the first part of \textit{Gelebte Musik}, specifically in reference to Berlin, was at the point of oversaturation. The length and depth of this concert on 26 and 27 October reflect the length and depth of the range of concerts which newspaper readers would have encountered at the weekend. Berlin comes across as an oversaturated melting pot where concerts of every kind dominated not just musical life but also media discourse. It is noteworthy, in the respect of musical media discourse, that the \textit{Zeitschrift für Musik} dominated full-spread articles to \textit{Berliner Musik} by 1926, written by the music critic Adolf Diesterweg. In itself, this fact is quite unremarkable, but seen in comparison to the \textit{Musikstadt} Leipzig, where the newspaper was founded and on which it started out with elaborate detailing of musical life in the Saxon city, a distinct shift is noticeable: music news from Leipzig was often relegated to the latter pages of newspaper under ‘Konzert und Oper’, whilst musical life in Berlin would take up more and more room. It is no wonder, therefore, that voices of discontent about the stagnation of musical life in Leipzig started to be heard about the once great \textit{Musikstadt} of the \textit{Davidsbündler} and home to \textit{Gewandhaus} with its rich musical history and traditions. In a 1928 article for the quarterly \textit{Melos} music magazine for modern music, entitled \textit{Musikstadt Leipzig}, Fritz Balthasar complained:

\begin{quote}
Wer etwa glaubt, daß in Leipzig noch etwas vom Geist der ‘Davidsbündler’ zu spüren ist, der irrt sich. Schon lange ist es her, daß Entscheidungen, die eine einzige Hingabe an die Sache erfordern, von den prominenten Instituten dieser ‘Musikstadt’ durchgefochten wurden. [...] Gewiß, Furtwängler hat wichtige moderne Werke gebracht, aber sie wurden geschluckt als sein Spleen, um ihn nicht zu verärgern. Sie bleiben isoliert in der Programmbildung, und Berliner oder internationale Vorproben aufgefaßt.\textsuperscript{184}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{183} Hans Mayer, \textit{Gelebte Musik}, p. 72.
Compare the praise heaped on *Berliner Musik* by Adolf Diesterweg in his extensive articles with the subdued comments of W. Weismann about the start of the ‘Konzertsaison’ in Leipzig as being ‘ruhig’; compare the column space devoted to Berlin and the presupposed *Musikstadt* Leipzig in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; and compare the words of Mayer and Balthasar, of oversaturation in Berlin to stagnation, even crisis in Leipzig, then a cultural transfer of musical talents would appear to have occurred: from Leipzig to Berlin. Though Berlin is not necessarily to blame for musical shortcomings in Leipzig, it is a coincidence that the rise of Berlin not as a *Musikstadt* but as a *Musikhauptstadt* would appear to run near parallel to the perceived decline of musical influence in Leipzig. For Berlin to transform itself into a *Musikstadt*, even *Musikhauptstadt*, it is almost as if it sapped music potential from Leipzig, flowing northwards to feed and satisfy a city’s aesthetic hunger.

If Berlin had a hunger for music, then the city’s wealth of offerings was certainly appetite enough for Hans Mayer. Though his essay fragments in the chapter entitled *Die Zwanziger Jahre* are arranged, near enough, chronologically, the content of each fragment often takes him on a music historical journey, either back to a then bygone age or forward to a then future. His musical experiences in Berlin often overlap with those of his time in his native city of Cologne: concerts at the renowned *Kölner Gürzenich* and his fascination for the fiery conductor Otto Klemperer, who served a stint in Cologne before conducting at the *Kroll-Oper* in Berlin. Grouping together the numerous retrospections of concerts which Mayer attended between October 1926 and August 1927, a more complete picture of the events and institutions that made up musical life in Berlin at the time become all the more apparent. They show the extent to which this musical life was oversaturated with events as well as the

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impact of this life on Mayer’s later life. In addition to the Furtwängler-Horowitz concert, which had such a positive impact on Mayer in October 1926, he attended a specially arranged *Beethoven-Abend*, just a week earlier on 21 October 1926, conducted by Otto Klemperer with musical piano solo by Walter Gieseking. A year later, on 1 October 1926, Berlin would learn of Klemperer’s appointment as the ‘Neue Direktor der Staatsoper am Platz der Republik’.186 Although falling outside of Mayer’s two semesters in Berlin, he would still come to take in the much-anticipated *Stravinsky-Abend* with Klemperer premiering *Oedipus Rex* a year later on 25 February 1928.187 He would also see Jürgen Fehling’s modern interpretation of the *Fliegende Holländer* at the *Kroll Oper* on 15 January 1929.188 As a student in Berlin from October 1926 to autumn 1927 and a ‘recht konservative Musikfreund’, Mayer preferred to frequent concerts conducted by Erich Kleiber at the *Schauspielhaus am Gendarmenmarkt* and to attend evenings with Bruno Walter and Maria Ivogün at the *Haus zu Charlottenburg* (renamed shortly after to the *Städtische Oper*). During his two semesters in Berlin, he saw Ivogün’s as Norina in Donizettis *Don Pasquale* as well as her characterisation of Frau Fluth in the *Lustigen Weiber von Windsor,*189 the music to which, together with Weber’s opera *Euryanthe*, was conducted by Bruno Walter. Not only would Hans Mayer see the conductors Furtwängler, Klemperer, Kleiber and Walter in action, he would see Richard Strauss conduct his own composition *Ariadne auf Naxos* at the *Gendarmenmarkt* in early 1927. At the end of his time in Berlin, taking in dozens of concert performances,

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188 For reviews of the Klemperer’s new interpretation of Wagner’s *Fliegender Holländer*: Ibid., pp. 252–59.
Mayer would enjoy one of his final concerts in the summer semester of 1927: Alban Berg’s *Wozzeck* at the *Staatsoper* under Erich Kleiber. The impact of this concert on Mayer, just like other Berlin-based concerts before it, was immense: ‘Auch diese Aufführung,’ Mayer confirmed, ‘hat mir einen Weg gewiesen für mein weiteres geistiges Dasein.’\(^{190}\) It is no wonder that the rich concentration of music and leading conductors in one place at any one time led Mayer to conclude, based on his own several months’ experience, that the metropolis on the River Spree was a ‘Musikhauptstadt’. Of this very same era, Alfred Kerr declared that a new ‘Perikleisches Zeitalter’ had set in. One of the conductors under the spotlight in Mayer’s considerations, Bruno Walter, sympathised with Kerr’s words and speaking of the contributions of Furtwängler at the *Philharmonie*, Klemperer at the *Kroll Oper*, Kleiber at the *Staatoper*, not to mention Walter’s our activities at the *Städtischen Oper*, as rounding off ‘das imponierende Bild jener Epoche’\(^{191}\). Using the analogy of the *Bild* and projecting it on to then modern photography: a fitting pictorial representation of all of these chief exponents of urban musical life in Berlin was taken in the city in 1929. Together with Arturo Toscanini, who had just conducted a guest performance of the Milan Scala in Berlin, the conductors Walter, Kleiber, Klemperer and Furtwängler appeared on this photo. It was taken on the occasion of banquet dinner at the Italian ambassador’s residence.\(^{192}\) The photo is not just a picture of five of the twentieth century’s leading conductors; it captures the musical spirit of an age, most appropriately taken at the same time and in the same place as they were

\(^{190}\) Mayer, *Gelebte Musik*, p. 95.


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musically active: the Berlin of the Golden Twenties.¹⁹³ For Walter, it was as if ‘alle hohen künstlerischen Kräfte noch einmal aufstrahlten und dem letzten festlichen Symposion der Geister seinen vielfarbigen hohen Glanz gaben, bevor die Nacht der Barbarei hereinbrach.’¹⁹⁴

Remaining on the theme of Bild, on the theme of image: what sort of image does Mayer portray of musical life in his essayistic fragments that reminisce on a bygone age; and, more importantly, how is this expressed in his writing? The music historical contextualisation of the Mayer’s essays from Die Zwanziger Jahre not only place the twenty-year-old in the city of Berlin between October 1926 and the autumn of 1927, but the wealth, depth and extent of his essayistic declarations prove that he was more enthused by the cultural offer of the Weltstadt Berlin than its academic one. Coinciding with journalistic discourse at the time, the oversaturation of musical life in Berlin is evident, not so much in Mayer’s sentence structure, its rhythm or its tempo, but more in the very appearance of conductors, batons, composers, compositions, soloists, instruments, violinists and violins, cellists and cellos, pianists and pianos, concert halls and opera houses, philharmonic halls and theatres, musical scandals and triumphs, music critics and criticism. The dominance of these real musical images over the course of twelve essay fragments which make up the chapter Die Zwanziger Jahre reflects the life of the twenty-year-old Hans Mayer, one that was consumed by music, just as the city of Berlin was consumed by this aesthetic form in the Twenties. The framing and structuring of his first chapter – into essays whose

¹⁹³ An interesting cultural historical appreciation of the contributions of these German conductors to urban life in Berlin before the terror of the Nazi regime took hold was broadcast to BBC Radio Four listeners on 7 September 2009. In Five and the Fascists, Robert Giddings explored the clash between modern musical creativity and the undercurrent of fascist sentiment. Using the photo as a source of inspiration, as a visual music historical document and as a focal point of deliberations around these five musical giants, Giddings’s radio programme can be regarded as an eightieth anniversary of not just the photo itself, but also of the broader musical culture which is synonymous both with these conductors and, more widely, with the Golden Twenties. Cf.: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00mdyyf> [accessed on 15 September 2009]
¹⁹⁴ Bruno Walter, Thema und Variationen, p. 349.
titles do not refer to the self but to the other – goes to show that the Erinnerungen are recollections of interactions of a bygone age. At the centre of these interactions are prominent, yet sometimes forgotten musical people and places. As for the topographical locality of Mayer’s essay, the emphasis, as the geographically-themed titles would suggest, is firmly fixed on Staat und Stadt.\textsuperscript{195} Though the Niederrheinisches Musikfest has an almost rural ring to it, inviting thoughts of riparian musical entertainment, Mayer reminds his readers that the festival is rotated around the urban centres of Cologne, Aachen and Düsseldorf, all of which are situated on the Lower Rhine. The example of the Niederrheinisches Musikfest, described by Mayer as belonging to the ‘Kulturgeschichte der aufstrebenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft zwischen 1830 und 1848’, offers counterexamples to Berlin as earlier renowned urban centres of music. The names of composers associated with the festival reads like a Who’s Who of nineteenth-century German music culture: for Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, Joseph Joachim and Johannes Brahms, Franz Liszt and Hans von Bülow, the Niederrheinisches Musikfest remained a bulwark for them and their works throughout the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{196} Integrating these historical dimensions of the Niederrheinisches Musikfest into the Zwanziger Jahre chapter allows for historical comparisons and contrasts: the concentration of musicians at the Niederrheinisches Musikfest of the nineteenth century compares favourably to a similar concentration in Berlin in the Twenties; and the urban centricity of the Niederrheinisches Musikfest compares positively with the urban-centric deliberations

\textsuperscript{195} In Das Deutsche Musikleben (1916), the first theoretical underpinning of a national German musical life, the music critic Paul Bekker identified the forces, ‘die auf die Gestaltung des jetzigen Musiklebens und damit auf die musikalischen Formen selbst einwirken, die sozialen Gestaltungskräften, wie sich dem Musiker der Gegenwart als Vertretung der Gesellschaft bieten. Unter ihnen fehlen zwei: Staat und Städte.’ Parallels between Bekker’s interpretation of a national musical life as centring around the nation state and the city reverberate with Mayer’s own narrative, drawing on both the Staat and the Städte. Cf.: Paul Bekker, Das Deutsche Musikleben (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1916), p. 52.

\textsuperscript{196} Mayer, Gelebte Musik, p. 45.
of Mayer’s Berlin, looking back to the Weimar Republic. The scarcity of music historical references to Berlin’s music culture of the nineteenth century in Mayer’s Gelebte Musik gives a sense not only of Berlin’s lag in all musical matters in the nineteenth century, but also its meteoric rise from a city of comparable musical insignificance to a Musikmetropole, a Musikstadt par excellence, even a Musikhauptstadt.

But to return to the question: how does Mayer express the Musikstadt Berlin in writing? Though all three, Mann, Bachmann and Mayer, use the literary genre of the essay to reflect on urban musical life, Mayer’s fragments distinguish themselves from Mann’s and Bachmann’s in terms of form, style and syntax. Whilst Mann’s approach to writing the Musikstadt is far more programmatic with an embedded musical agenda and Bachmann’s approach is much more literary, playing with metaphors and metonyms, alliterative sentences and rhythm, Mayer pursues neither of these approaches. The aim of his writing is different: it is more autobiographical, reflective, a recall of the past. This is all the more evident in the language tools and techniques that he deploys to achieve his aim. His written sentences assume a syntax and word order that is less than academic. Sentences and part-sentences, just containing names of people and places, additional supplementary add-ons at the end of sentences and uncommon conjunction usage are the kind of language techniques that Mayer deploys. The word order, the sentence structures and the syntax all give the impression of a transcription of a conversation, of the human voice than the traditional, more structured language of a musical life, as presented, for instance, by Richard Wagner in Mein Leben, Eduard Hanslick in Aus meinem Leben or Bruno Walter in Thema und Variationen. Mayer’s autobiographical essay fragments, then, could be deemed conversational autobiographical essay fragments: a transcription of
the spoken voice into the written word. Commas are used just as much to separate words from or away from each other, as they would offer Mayer, the narrator, a breath, a moment of pause to reminisce on the previously said and stated. These techniques are not confined to one fragment, but are dominant throughout. Given that he elevates Berlin to a *Musikhauptstadt*, but does not prescribe such a title to the likes of Cologne, Aachen or Düsseldorf, it is also surprising that he does not make use of the superlative to distinguish Berlin, elevating the city above the other musical centres. The uniformity of the employment of these techniques in *Die Zwanziger Jahre* would, it is safe to add, not reveal a separate musical identity embedded within Mayer’s own language. Notwithstanding the differing topographical references, music historical anecdotes and time shifts further towards *Musik im Exil*, a separate musical identity derived from the syntax, sentence structure or word selection is difficult to come by. But this says something wider about Mayer’s *Gelebte Musik* and about music in general: ‘das Wort “Musik”,’ as Kurt Blaukopf pointed out, ‘wird im Deutschen selten in der Mehrzahl verwendet’.\(^{197}\) Though Mayer experienced hundreds of conductors and composers, concerts and opera performances, musicians and soloist, he reflects on them under the singular collective heading of *Musik*. Subconsciously, the singular and the collective inform and condition the language which he uses throughout his autobiographical fragment, irrespective of whether he is talking about Kleiber or Klemperer, about Strauss or Stravinsky and about Cologne or Berlin. As for the latter, the synonymous nature of the form of language would not yield a differing musical identity; but the substance and content of the fragments, especially with regards to the musical moments and individual musical images,

provide considerably more information about the makeup of Berlin as the music city and, more importantly, how it arrived at this particular topos.

Taking Hans Mayer’s autobiographical fragments and the music historical discourse, both specialist and journalistic, the emergence of Berlin as a *Musikstadt* neither resembles Vienna’s metaphysical *Musikboden*; nor did it set out with political aspirations, like Ludwig II of Bavaria, to transform a city into a *Musikstadt*. Berlin’s elevation to *Musikstadt* status is a statement and expression of twentieth-century modernity. Its aesthetic heights are found in the concentration of the aesthetic talent found in the trendy city in the Weimar Republic of the Golden Twenties. These are the stories of three very different cities with three very different stories of how they became *Musikstädte*, told through three different essayistic reflections of those cities. To conclude this chapter, the differences and similarities between these narratives on the three *Musikstädte* shall come under closer scrutiny. The aim is to establish the *Musikstadt* as a literary location through its difference and similarities, within which the later literary contextualisation of the core text corpus shall take place.
2.5 Underpinning the Musikstadt as a literary location

The chapter commenced with words by Hans Weigel: uncertainty surrounds what is and what is not a *Musikstadt*. His explanation would explain why standard reference works are not all that forthcoming in providing entries for this particular topographical term, this ‘Ehrenname’, as Joachim Kaiser calls it. Nevertheless, the analyses of Mann’s *Musikstadt* of Munich, Bachmann’s *Musikstädtte*, from which Vienna may be deduced, and Meyer’s look-back at Berlin as a *Musikhauptstadt* demonstrate that the term is very much etched on the German cultural mind. First traceable references to the term are from the mid-nineteenth century: Leipzig was deemed a *Musikstadt* by Schumann in 1840. Hanslick declared Vienna a *Musikstadt* in 1856. Leopold II desired Munich to become a *Musikstadt* in 1864. References to Berlin as a *Musikstadt* in the mid-nineteenth century are not all that forthcoming; and it was not until the turn of the century that allusions to Berlin as a *Musikstadt par excellence* and, by the 1920s, a *Musikhauptstadt*, were part of the city’s own discourse.

When and why does a city go from being a normal city to a *Musikstadt*? The question has received very little treatment, especially in the realms of music history and urban sociology. On the other hand, urban sociology has devoted more time and energy to another question that is not all that far removed: when and why does a *Stadt* go from being a normal *Stadt* to a *Großstadt*, or in reference to modern Berlin, to a *Weltstadt*? Answers to these latter questions, be they from urban historians or urban sociologists, would be found in demographic and economic structures, political and financial influence, industrial and market output, physical or social trends and changes. Cultural dominance, as Fiona Kisby argued consulting the *Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History*, would barely receive any lip service in this wider
debate and music would hardly feature at all. Just reflecting on the first traceable dates of Musikstädtè from 1840 to 1864, the spaces known as Leipzig, Munich and Vienna had long since been noted as Städte, so an obvious conclusion, therefore, is that a Stadt needs to exist in the first instance before it can elevate itself to a Musikstadt. In the case of Schumann’s Leipzig as a Musikstadt and Hanslick’s Vienna as a Musikstadt, it is interesting to note that a musician and a music critic prescribed the term to the cities in which they felt at home, and ones with a proven track record of musical production and interpretation. The music and the musicians of the city, however, would not be confined to their own city limits, but would be internationally recognised and recognisable, either through the phenomenon of the travelling musician or via the print media. In that way, the term served, at least in the German-speaking world, as a badge of identity to distinguish cities from each other. Comparing the testimony of those who deployed the term early on, such as Schumann and Hanslick, a Musikstadt would have conjured up images of a city whose life is dominated by music. A Musikstadt is home to and mecca for leading composers, musicians and renowned orchestras; it is a centre of musical production and creation; it is also a geopolitical powerhouse that subsidizes and supports musical talent. In short: substantial sectors of the city’s economy are engaged in music; it dictates the agenda, even dominating the life of the urban space.

Talk of a city life dominated by music leads to the following thesis: a Musikstadt has a vibrant Musikleben, a rich and diverse musical life. Use of the terms Musikstadt and Musikleben in the same breath is, of course, nothing new and was mentioned in the introductory chapter. The terms Musikstadt and Musikleben are often used interchangeably: Mann and Mayer deploy the term at various stages in their

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texts. But what is meant by a musical life, a *Musikleben*? An early music historical underpinning of a German *Musikleben* came from Paul Bekker. He identified, as cited above, *Staat* and *Stadt* as the central sociological structures which exert their influence on early twentieth century music. A literary equivalent of Bekker’s music historical appraisal of musical life, as cited in the introductory chapter, can be found in Ingeborg Bachmann’s *Musikstädte* fragment. The parallels are unquestionable: Bekker talks about ‘bis dahin’ and Bachmann ‘in vergangenen Zeiten’; Bekker about the church and the aristocracy as musical powerhouses and Bachmann about the commissioning of music by Bishopdoms and dedication of music to countesses; Bekker’s use of the word *Volk* in reference to its kind of music is similar to Bachmann’s employment of *Volk* about the songs which it likes to invent to accompany them through life.

Contrasting the music historical *then* and *now* is also a common feature of Mann’s *Musik in München* and Mayer’s *Die Zwanziger Jahre*, irrespective of whether it is past and present conductors in Munich or past and present composers who were the essence of the *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* in Cologne, Aachen or Düsseldorf. Indeed, for the latter fragment, *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* and the last mentioned city, Düsseldorf, Mayer specifically deploys the term *Musikleben* to refer to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy’s contributions in this city and, later, in Leipzig, where he wanted to ensure ‘ganz neue Formen des Musiklebens’. These new forms of musical life, as Mayer would have sensed, may include Mendelssohn’s appointment as a conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig in 1835 and the creation of the Leipzig Conservatory in 1843. Embedded right in the middle of this eight year time frame is, of course, Schumann’s indication that Leipzig was a *Musikstadt*. At the

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199 Mayer, *Gelebte Musik*, p. 45.
time of Schumann’s declaration, he had been the publisher and editor of the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, a press organ whose home was also in Leipzig. On 3 April 1834, the first ever edition of the Zeitschrift für Musik was available for purchase. Edited and published by Robert Schumann in Leipzig, the first article, written by the German composer himself, defined the scope of the magazine, one that remains largely unchanged to the present day. From the inclusion of ‘theoretische und historische Aufsätze’, ‘Belletristische’ and ‘Kritiken’ to ‘Miscellen’, ‘Correspondenzartikel’ and ‘Chronik’ – the ambitious remit of the magazine reflects the ambitions of the likes of Schumann to bring music to a wider audience. Already, in this first article, Schumann expressed his intention to include literary reflections of music from, among others, Goethe, Hoffmann and Novalis. This inclusion on the part of Schumann indicates that the German composer recognized the significance between music and literature in the portrayal of a musical life to the public. As for a musical life, Schumann deploys the term immediately after mentioning that the Zeitschrift für Musik shall contain musico-literary reflections. Though it is, by no means, the first such usage of Musikleben, it is an early usage of the term for multiple urban contexts. Schumann spoke of publishing correspondence articles that depict the ‘eigentliche Musikleben’ in various urban centres, including Berlin, Munich and Vienna in the German-speaking hemisphere.

For Paul Bekker, the chief proponents of Romanticism captured the ‘schöpferischen Wert der Kritik als eines Elements der Form’; and it was the figure of Robert Schumann with his initiative of the Zeitschrift für Musik who managed to combine the ‘erforderlich[en] Maß kritischer Wertbemessung und fachlicher Zuverlässigkeit’ to engender a new type of ‘literarische Musikdarstellung’. This

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200 Paul Bekker, Das Deutsche Musikleben, p. 248.
phenomenon identified by Bekker is, of course, under the broader title of a *Musikleben*; it coincides with the timeframe that Bekker stated regarding the point at which a *Musikleben* took hold, i.e. the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century. Coincidentally, at that time, Schumann spoke of Leipzig as a *Musikstadt*; and Mendelssohn was appointed as conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra, with the Leipzig Conservatory following shortly after. Deduced from Bekker’s literary appraisal and seen through the music historical context of Schumann’s Leipzig, one of the first cities to be deemed a *Musikstadt* comes to the foreground, interlinking musical prominence, literature reflections and the urban space together. The ‘literarische Musikdarstellung’ of the *Zeitschrift für Musik* would not just be one aesthetic form (literature) depicting another aesthetic form (music). Given the urban-centric nature of the magazine, one published in Leipzig and reporting on the ‘eigentliche[n] Musikleben’ of cities and not the countryside, the literary entries of predominantly urban musical life would have had the effect of consolidating the image of particular cities as places of music. Taking Bekker’s definition as an orientation point, musical literature or literature with a musical motif actually forms part of the wider structure of musical life. Noteworthy is the fact that the literary form of the *Musikkritik* has consistently featured in definitions of *Musikleben*, regardless of whether it was the definition of *Musikleben* by Andreas Eckhardt, Friedrich Blume or Walter Wiora. The recognition of musicologists and music sociologists that literary genres of the music essay and the music critic are not merely a product of musical life, but actually form part of this life, has not found much resonance in the literary world. Literary images of urban musical life in their music historical and urban sociological context have gone widely unexplored. Mann’s *Musik in München*, Bachmann’s *Musikstädte* and Mayer’s *Die Zwanziger Jahre* are three textual
examples in which such a life is depicted, one that is set not just set in the respective urban settings of Munich, Vienna and Berlin, but one that is preconditioned, as the music historical and urban sociological contextualisations have demonstrated, by cities renowned for their music.

A commonality between Mann’s *Musik in München*, Bachman’s *Musikstädte* and Mayer’s *Die Zwanziger Jahre* is the authors’ ability to portray conventional, institutional images of musical life. This is done through their respective texts and through their employment of various literary tools and techniques. Mann comes to the aid of his friend, a conductor. Bachmann tours the city and privileges the opera, the traditional music festival, the bürgerlichen pianist and the concert-goer. Mayer talks about Wunderkinder, composers and conductors, pianists and cellists, orchestras and operas. It is almost as if they produce, in line with the era of Schumann and the earliest emergence of the *Musikstadt*, a romanticised version of this topos. Music in the *Musikstadt* is not attached, it would seem, to the technological realities of urban musical life of their times or the times, in the case of Mayer, on which he was seeking to reminisce. The radio and the gramophone hardly get a say, though they were having a deep and profound impact on urban musical life at the time of their publications. The cities’ cacophonies of noise are completely disregarded, giving the strong impression that the *Musikstädte* as a topos is not in the least bit subjected to the increasingly loud urban soundscape. Contextualise, however, the essayistic fragments and appraise them in the music historical and urban sociological contexts in which they were written, it becomes explicitly clear that the said *Musikstädte* are far from being excluded from an increase in the city’s volume.

It must be recalled that the essayistic literary reflections of Mann, Bachmann and Mayer were *real* and true to the soundscape despite hailing from different essay
subgenres. A literary contextualisation of these essayistic texts, predominantly through Strohm’s method of music historical analysis, underlines their past realness. The insights yielded from each essay show that the *Musikstadt* of Munich, Berlin and Vienna may be understood not through one standardised definition of the *Musikstadt*, but through a multitude of definitions specific to local conditions and local musical histories. Cities, it has to be remembered, are entities ‘that change over time’. The same applies for the *Musikstadt* in the dual sense: first in terms of the changing music styles and genres; and secondly, in respect to the transformatory nature of the city itself. These are *real* changes which go on to inspire *real* literary deliberations on and about these cities. Such literary reflections sum up urban musical time and place.

This is part of the story of the emergence of the *Musikstadt* as a musical topographical term and literary figures’ significant contributions to its understanding. The *Musikstadt* locates authors in an atmosphere of music, irrespective of its more underlying, local definition. Mann, Bachmann and Mayer are special in the sense that their interest, awareness and appreciation for music flowed into their essayistic works. Music, musical life and musical conditions informed their wider body of works when it came to writing on, about and in the real *Musikstadt*. In informing and conditioning writings, the literary contextualisation of Thomas Mann’s *Gladius Dei* goes to show that musical memory can also feed into the *imaginary* literary soundscape. The *real* has the ability to inform the *imaginary*; and it is to this imaginary-real domain that this thesis shall focus its attention in the coming chapter. The aim is to establish the extent to which the *real* urban acoustic world of music informed and conditioned both the *imaginary*; and how it may have been exploited by authors to underpin sonic

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aspects of the wider soundscape. Within the context of the musical cities presented above, the next chapter shall explore the musical image of the symphony as a literary motif. It shall aim to examine how this predominantly musical construct was exploited to underpin multi-sensory phenomena in and out of the city.
3. The City Symphony as a Literary Motif

3.1. Connecting the Symphony and the City in German Modernist Literature

Developed into a set musical form by Josef Haydn and, to use the words of Theodor Adorno, reaching new music sociological heights as ‘Volksreden an die Menschheit’¹ with Beethoven, the symphony belongs to one of the central genres of the classical music repertoire. In 1809, E. T. A. Hoffmann described the symphony as ‘die Oper der Instrumente’,² equating the genre with the already well-established opera – a comparison, which, as E. Platten argued, institutionalised the symphony as a musical form and secured its existence.³ Two centuries on from Hoffmann’s remarks, the symphony as a musical construct still dominates the musical life of the city. Inscribed on the minds of the urban dweller, the symphonies of the Wiener Klassik are a permanent fixture of concert programmes; some cities’ Klangkörper pay homage to the symphony in their titles, such as the Swiss Sinfonieorchester Basel and the numerous Radio-Sinfonieorchester across Germany; and some cities, such as Birmingham in the United Kingdom and Boston in the United States, boast urban architectural centrepieces in the form of Symphony Halls.

Alongside the countless written interpretations and reinterpretations of musical symphonies – from Beethoven to Brahms, from Bruckner to Mahler – the symphony has also been present as a literary motif as long as the symphony has been a musical form. To

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² Quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, Die Idee der absoluten Musik (Kassel; Munich: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1978), p. 17.
express the ‘poetisch von der Musik himmlischer Sphären’, the German poet and composer, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791), wrote in his poem Märchen (1774): ‘Es schwammen süße Symphonie / Durch den entzückten Himmel hin [...]’. The figure of Schubart is interesting not just for his early poetic reference to the symphony, but also in the context of the Musikstadt and its earliest renderings. His Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst (1806) contains musical historical topographies of what can only be described as Musikstädte of the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries – from Hamburg to Cologne and Frankfurt to Augsburg. In the same ‘poetisch von der Musik himmlischer Sphären’ context as Schubart’s reference, Johann Elias Schlegel poetised on the symphony, too: ‘ihren (der Engel) symphonien … / horcht lauschend jeder Weltkreis zu’.

Fast forwarding to more contemporary authors, Ingeborg Bachmann deployed the word symphony, a Farbensymphonie, to align the Musikstadt with its true musical substance. The symphony acts as musical descriptor to characterise the unique musical dimensions of the city. Bachmann’s literary equation of the city as a symphony forms the starting point of this chapter, one that shall examine the symphony as a literary motif in its surprisingly wide range of examples from the text corpus. Whilst the symphony has enjoyed extensive treatment in the field of musical analysis, it is somewhat surprising that

the same can not be said for the *Symphonie* as a motif in German literature.\(^8\) Drawing on music history and urban sociology, the first part of this chapter shall identify *Symphonie* moments in modernist literary texts, contextualise them, and show that one of the most commonly known musical genres assumed numerous meanings in German modernism. Within urban-based texts, it will be shown, the *Symphonie* reports on the true symphonic, that of Beethoven. The *Symphonie* also undergoes a sensual blurring and feeds visuality and not just aurality as well as both the real and the imaginary. The *Symphonie*, too, is regarded in a romantic sense of natural tunes, but this employment of the *Symphonie* stands in direct contrast with another counter deployment: symphony as city noise.

The meaning of the *Symphonie*, as underpinned by the original *Duden Wörterbuch*, goes much further than offering a mere musical definition. Two further definitions, ones that broaden the *Symphonie* out of its dominant musical sphere and into the wider soundscape, can be found under a separate section entitled ‘in uneigentlichem und übertragenem gebrauch’. These definitions both recognise the word *Symphonie*, supported with numerous references from the world of literature, as either ‘poetisch von naturstimmen’ or ‘harmonie, richtiger Zusammenklang auf das gebiet des nicht hörbaren, soviel wie “übereinstimmung, einklang”’.\(^9\) The examples cited in a reprint of the first original *Duden*, ranging from Winkelmann to Wieland, give the symphony a romantic

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\(^8\) One example which slightly bucks this general trend can be found in the catalogue *Vom Klang der Bilder*, which was published as a comprehensive guide for the *Ausstellung zum Europäischen Jahr der Musik in der Staatsgalerie Stuttgart* in 1985. One particular analysis in this guide focussed on the fugue and symphony as a metaphor in the artworks of Moritz von Schwind, who painted the *Symphonie* in 1852; and in the artworks of Philip Otto Runge, who described his *Tageszeiten*-Folge of paintings from 1803 as being ‘ganz bearbeitet wie eine Symphonie’. However, this analysis does not address the *Symphonie* as a literary motif, though it does draw, in the case of Philip Otto Runge, on the literary genre of the letter. Admittedly, the focus of these written deliberations is on the *artistic* as opposed to the *literary*. Cf.: *Vom Klang der Bilder. Die Musik in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Karin v. Maur (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), pp. 5–6.

and rural feel, deeply in tune with the natural environment and the blending together of consonant sounds. Coinciding with the broadened definition offered by Duden, soundscape discourse (though offering little in the way of approaches to the symphony as a literary motif) does depend on the wider nature of the symphony as a Zusammenklang to underpin the soundscape, which is perceived as the whole acoustic environment. A key protagonist of soundscape discourse, the Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer, makes some interesting references to the symphony, which, in the context of this chapter, should be noted. Schafer identifies the world as a ‘makrokosmische musikalische Komposition’; the orchestra as a ‘Schalluniversium’; and the music makers as ‘jeder und alles was tönt’.  

10 Following on from these deliberations, the symphony assumes a romantic form in Schafer’s publication Tuning the World (1977): the symphony is brought in direct correlation with the songs of birds that give particular places a particular sound identity. In the rare instances of the word Symphonie appearing in Klang und Krach, the German translation of Tuning the World, Schafer takes the stance that each region of the earth has its own ‘Vogelsymphonie, die einen einheimischen Grundton liefert, der so charakteristisch ist, wie die Sprache der Menschen’.  

11 Schafer projects the symphony, traditionally associated with a musical construct, on to naturally-sounding tones and tunes of birds, which are specific to a particular area or region. Just as spoken language differs from one country to another, so does the acoustic environment of different places, according to Schafer. Projected on to Bachmann’s Musikstadt, this would mean: each city would have its own ‘Farbensymphonie’, unique to that particular place and time.

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11 Ibid., p. 45.
As demonstrated in the opening quote of this thesis, the city as a symphony of sounds experienced outside the concert hall was very much part of German cultural discourse of the early twentieth century. In the June 1909 headline article of the journal *Kunstwart*, entitled *Die Lärmfrage*, the unnamed author quotes the travel reflections of Fritz Müller’s trip to New York. Standing on New York’s harbour, Müller described the hundreds of *real* sounds hitting his ear, which were nothing less than a ‘Symphonie der bewegten [Klang-]materie’.\(^{12}\) Seventy years before Schafer’s acoustic ecology, the unnamed author spoke of a ‘Kultur der Geräusche’, in which ‘entbehrliche Geräusche ja auch nicht in die Ausdruckssymphonie der Zivilisation [gehören]’.\(^{13}\) Such uses of the term *Symphonie* outside its traditional musical construct shatter romantic notions of the symphony and prescribe it with a new meaning: a circular, continual mass of urban sound. The usage of the term is nothing new. In 1902, the Viennese journalist Max Winter, on a visit to the suburbs of Vienna, described the ‘Ferkelgequitsche, Gänsegeschnatter und Hühnergegacker’ as a ‘Symphonie’.\(^{14}\) In his early twentieth-century visits to Paris, Max Graf speaks of a ‘wahre Symphonie von Frauenkörpern’ as being triggered by American jazz music, ‘die dröhnt und pfaucht, lärmmt und quietscht, rasselt und gellt’. But the symphony is not confined to the *Revue*; it spills out into the foyer and onto the street. Interestingly, the symphony here is not just an expression of the musical genre as articulated through the ladies’ dancing movements; instead, a clear connection is established between these physical dance rhythmic movements and the acoustics of the new, modern city:


\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 262.

Graf’s symphony, then, is preconditioned by a type of music that is synonymous with the modern age of new urban rhythms and sounds. The movements of the ladies, dancing to jazz tunes, can not just be perceived as a physical reaction to the jazz orchestra, but are, indeed, a reflection of an acoustic *Zeitgeist*. Given that Graf links the symphony with the bodies, dancing to the city tune through the medium of jazz, the body could be interpreted as not just that of an individual woman, but as an expression of the city and its sound. Deploying the oft-cited and much used metaphor of the city as body, Graf’s ‘eine wahre Symphonie von ausgewählten Frauenkörpern’ may be translated into the city as a symphony, whereby these dancing ladies are the embodiment of the city’s own symphonic tunes and tones.

The jazz symphony of the city is not the only time that Max Graf deploys the symphony in his music historical narrative to describe the city’s acoustic atmosphere. During the underpinning of the topographical term *Musikstadt* in the second chapter of this study, Graf’s analogy between Vienna, the legend of a musical city, and the symphony was cited: ‘wie eine Symphonie’, Graf argued, ‘hatte es rauschend

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aufgeklungen, Crescendo auf Crescendo’.\textsuperscript{16} The ‘es’ in the sentence refers to the historical trajectory of Vienna as a musical city from the Baroque era ‘bis zur Moderne der elektrischen Straßenbeleuchtung und des Autos’\textsuperscript{17}. Other articulations of the modern era that appear in Graf’s \textit{Legende einer Musikstadt} include the ‘modernen Häuser und lärmenden Verkehr’ as well as the radio which allowed music to flow into houses like water and electric lighting. In equating the symphony with the development of the city, and being more specific in using the crescendo to denote an ever-increasing build-up of musical tension and volume, the analogy is one of both a city building musical stature, and also one that could be regarded as getting noisier over the course of time. This is especially appropriate in the context of Graf’s identification of the new sounds of the modern era.

It is not just the Paris and Vienna of Max Graf that are compared and contrasted to the symphony. Remaining in the field of music historical narration, but readjusting the time parameters back to the year of his birth, the conductor, Bruno Walter, spoke of the shouts of the Berlin street-level soundscape, into which he was born in 1876: the ‘Lumpen, Knochen, Papier, alte Stiefel […] , [die] mir noch als ein Motiv der unmelodischen Symphonie der Berliner Straße im Ohr klingt’\textsuperscript{18}. Similar to Walter Benjamin in his essayistic fragments \textit{Die Mummerehlen} and \textit{Zwei Blechkapellen} in \textit{Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert},\textsuperscript{19} Bruno Walter makes a literary note of sounds heard, perceived and remembered from his own childhood in Berlin. Contrary to Benjamin, however, who does not use the term symphony in his \textit{Berliner Kindheit},

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 16.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 13.
Walter’s usage can be seen in three respects: firstly, the shouts of peddlers on the street are just part of a wider street-level soundscape, blending an array of sounds, many of which are deliberated upon at the very outset of Walter’s autobiography. What Walter writes is – to arrive at the second point – an aural flashback of bygone sounds, but one that have been engrained on to his memory. Thirdly, the portrayal of the loud Berlin soundscape towards the end of the nineteenth century with musical terminology, turned into the negative to express the dissonant and unmelodic, gives the impressions of Walter’s own pre-destiny to reverse the dissonant and unmelodic into the consonant and melodic. Given Walter’s reputation as an interpreter of symphonies of Gustav Mahler, it is almost as if his life’s work was an attempt to counter the ‘unmelodischen Symphonie der Berliner Straße’.

Irrespective of the type of academic or non-academic discourse from which they are taken, be it journalistic discourse or music historical writings, essayistic prose or autobiographies, one thing links Bachmann’s Farbensymphonie of the Musikstädte, Müller’s Symphonie of New York, Max Winter’s Symphonie of the outer districts of Vienna, Max Graf’s symphonies of both Paris and Vienna as well as Bruno Walter’s unmelodic symphony of Berlin: the musical construct of the symphony doubles up as a literary descriptor of the wider urban soundscape, sometimes musical, sometimes not. With the exception of Bachmann’s more romantic Farbensymphonie, another commonality binds them together: the modernist nature of the symphony, acting ‘im Einklang’ with the ever-transforming urban acoustic environment and its blend of

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20 In a clever use of words, highlighting the aural where possible, the German earplug company Ohropax have combined memory and the German word for ear, Ohr, to label such flashbacks involving the purely aural sense: SOUNDMEMOHRY. Cf.: <http://www.ohropax.de/131-0-sound-memohry.html> [accessed on 15 August 2007]
different acoustic articulations: the shouts of voices from the street, the mechanical sounds, the sounds of nature not yet droned out of the urban soundscape, the new technological screech and the new audio equipment of radios, phonographs and gramophones. Though the term Symphonie (sometimes written: Sinfonie) is reminiscent of more romantic German notions of Wohlklang, Harmonie and Ensemble, equivalent words to this application of the symphony as a new urban acoustic blend sprang up between 1890 and 1930: the Austro-Hungarian writer Felix Salten, for instance, spoke of a ‘Großstadtwirbel’ and the music critic, Richard Batka, called the new city sound not a symphony but a ‘Tohuwabohuhu’. What is significant about Batka’s ‘Tohuwabohuhu’, an onomatopoeic rending of the main city street intersection, where it ‘poltert, kollert, knarrt, läutet, pfeift, schreit, tollt es oft durcheinander’, is that it was firstly coined by a musician. It would secondly be the impetus for Batka to call on the Dürer-Bund to establish a Verein against the noises of everyday life. Thirdly, all of these considerations were placed under the rubric of Musik in the Munich-based publication, in which they appeared: Kunstwart. It is with these insights from reliable earwitnesses with musical credentials that this chapter now moves forward to analyse the city as symphony, a motif that is clearly present in German modernist literature at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. Given the categorisation of ‘Tohuwabohuhu’ under the rubric of music and given the employment of symphony to depict the modern urban soundscape, a blurring between the musical and non-musical, between the rhythmic and non-rhythmic,

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between the dissonant and consonant would appear to have been underway in literature. In what follows, the symphony as a musical image in the depiction of the city and urban life shall be examined through literary articulations from the various Musikstädtte of Vienna, Munich and Berlin to establish how the symphony was deployed by different authors to characterise the modern urban soundscape.
3.1.1. Vienna as a Symphony: A Literary Motif

As the second chapter established, Vienna can trace the first deployment of the term as a *Musikstadt* further back than both Munich and Berlin. But Vienna of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not just known for its musical traditions. It is, as Max Graf pointed out in *Jede Stunde war erfüllt* (1957), also famous as a literary centre, one which is home to renowned authors and poets. If the edifices of the *Musikstadt Wien* are the physical concrete representations of a prominent urban musical culture in the city, be they the Hofoper or the concert hall, then the equivalent in the literary world, of turn-of-the-century *Literaturstadt Wien*, would be the numerous coffee houses that are dotted around the city. They provided a gathering place for authors and writers, poets and publishers as well as other cultural figures from outside of literature (including music) to meet over coffee to discuss aesthetic matters. One such café was located on *Michaeler Platz* in Vienna, opposite the Hofburg and Burgtheater. According to the Austrian author and journalist, Stefan Großmann, this particular café was a ‘geistiges Zentrum der Stadt’.24 Its name was Café Griensteidl. In 1896, fifty years after it first opened its door, it was knocked down as part of a wider construction project to revamp the *Michaeler Platz*. The closure of Café Griensteidl prompted the Austrian satirist, Karl Kraus, to write a satirical obituary, entitled *Die demolierte Literatur*, to mourn its loss. Max Graf, a regular visitor to the Griensteidl, felt a sense of homelessness until a replacement for the café was finally located:

Wir, alle, die im Mokka- und Zigarettendunst dieses Kaffeehauses gefaulenzt oder gearbeitet, Pläne gemacht oder üble Nachrede gehalten hatten, fühlten uns unserer Heimstätte beraubt und irrten durch die Straßen Wiens wie Menschen, die nach einer Unterkunft suchen.25

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Taking Graf’s third chapter, entitled _Große Menschen, denen ich begegnete_, with its seventeen short essayistic fragments, three Viennese authors were, by 1896, searching for a new literary home: Alfred Polgar, Peter Altenberg and Hermann Bahr. All three figures were based in Vienna at the turn of the century; all three literary figures were acquainted with each other through their frequent encounters at the Café Griensteidl; and all three were, by 1896, gaining reputations in the city and beyond for their literary sharpness and wit: Polgar wrote music critics for the _Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung_; Peter Altenberg was a theatre critic, but also published _Wie ich es sehe_ in April 1896, a set of literary essays of everyday themes with a visually-grounded title but rich in acoustic moments; and the well-travelled Hermann Bahr was already known as a torchbearer for a new literary modernism.

Be it Bahr’s poetry or the wider collection of cultural journalistic discourse, to which Altenberg and Polgar most certainly contributed, Max Graf offers a literary interpretation that provides yet a further common denominator which interlinks the literary endeavours of Altenberg, Bahr and Polgar: the city as language. For Viennese journalistic discourse, indirectly referring to Altenberg and Polgar, Max Graf concluded:

> Man hört aus diesen Aufsätzen [u.a. Feuilletons] noch heute die Sprache Wiens, starke und anmutige, kraftvolle und farbige Worte des Geistes, der sich um das alte Wien schlingt wie die Ringstraße mit ihren Palästen und Gärten.\(^\text{26}\)

In exactly the same vein, Graf singled out Bahr and other Austrian literary figures in Vienna at the turn of the century as ‘die jungen Dichter, die der schönen Stadt eine neue Sprache gegeben’. In a nod specifically to Hermann Bahr as a leading exponent of Naturalism, Graf would continue:

\(^{26}\) Max Graf, _Jede Stunde war erfüllt_, p. 185.
In ganz Europa hatte die Literatur sich verwandelt, der Naturalismus war überall der Erwecker neuer großer Dichter gewesen. Aber nicht nur in der Literatur auch [...] in der Musik regte sich kräftiges neues Leben. 

Joining Graf’s musings on the language of the city together, the Austrian music critic would appear to be making a presumption that is simple yet remarkable: cities have a language, not just a spoken language but a written one, codified in print. The era of modernity in the aesthetic world ushered in a new type of urban language, a type of language that is specific to Vienna, according to Graf.

A variation on the city as language captured by urban writers is provided by another Viennese Kaffeehaus author and acquaintance of Altenberg, Bahr and Polgar. His name is Anton Kuh. Referring, however, to the newspaper print media, but nonetheless significant in the discussion on the city as language, Kuh offers a response to Wien ohne Zeitung, the title of one of his many fragments: ‘Das heißt: Wien ohne Wien. Denn die Zeitung ist Wien, Wien eine Zeitung. Die Stadt lebt erst dann, wenn sie sich gedruckt liest.’ Whilst the music historical contextualisation of Vienna as a Musikstadt showed the power of music in determining the rhythm and tempo of urban life, a similar determining of the rhythm and tempo of the Austrian capital is underpinned by the appearance of newspapers during the course of the day:


Kuh’s ability to link the visual with the aural knows no bounds. In describing the visual relief of the Viennese citizens in getting their newspaper, Kuh says: ‘das Auge [hat] Ruhe’. However, the loud, predominantly urban developments on which the newspapers

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27 Ibid., p. 174.
report ensures that ‘das Ohr [wird] nervös’. It is not until the first imaginary ‘zeitungslosen Tag’ that Kuh sees, ‘wieviel Lärm die Drückerschwärze macht’. He adds: ‘Die brausenden Stimme in den Ohren erinnert wieder an die Geschichte vom versiegten Niagarafall.’ At least for the ear, the press chatter, as embedded in the newspapers’ black print, caused a noise for Kuh, which may be seen as a reflection of the increasingly noisy urban environment, to which he and his contemporaries in Vienna were subjected. Equating the language of the Viennese press with the deafening Niagara Falls combines visuality with aurality, something that is, as shall be demonstrated, a common feature of occurrences of the symphony as a literary motif in literature.

In *Die Glücklichsten* (1908), Peter Altenberg criss-crosses the natural world from the protected swans at the Gmünder See in Upper Austria to the stallion Ali Baba in Kladrup in Bohemia and the English-bred Otterhounds to assess the contented within the animal kingdom and to contrast their fate with those who are not so fortunate. In his fragment, he mentions a fisherman, the only named human to appear in *Die Glücklichsten*. The fisherman, who, as legend has it, used to fish on the Danube in Nußdorf on the outskirts of Vienna, was called Ludwig van Beethoven.

Ein anderer Glücklichster ist noch Beethoven. Taub für die Niederträchtigkeiten seiner Nebenmenschen, ließ er die ‘Symphonie der Welt’ in sich ungestört ertönen. Stundenlang fischte er leidenschaftlich in Nußdorf an der Donau, war glücklich, wenn ein ungenießbarer Fisch endlich nach Stunden anbiß. Alle hielten ihn für einen verrückten Dichter, grüßten ihn aber ehrfurchtsvoll. Niemand störte ihn, er klagte sich aus in Adagios, tobte sich aus in vierten Sätzen, lächelte wehmütig über sich selbst und die Erde in Scherzos. Er fühlte sich als Geber und Spender, als Vermehrer und Entwickler, trotzdem er selbst davon nichts wußte, direkt, und an die Donau fischen ging. It is not Viennese urban life directly experienced in Peter Altenberg’s present which the author is relaying; instead, it is urban legend of a bygone age on which Altenberg is

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29 Ibid., p. 27.
reflecting: the deafness of Beethoven and the conception of a symphony, or, as Peter Altenberg would say about Beethoven in his fragment Geräusche (1908): ‘die Musik der Welt’.\textsuperscript{31} Seen in the wider context of the natural sounding environment, the unnamed individual and groups acting within the fragment, Beethoven’s aural sense is completely shut off from these acoustic economies. His exclusion from the soundscape, be it human or natural, however, allows him to compose away without disturbance. Musical history shows that Beethoven lived in Nußdorf in the summer of 1817, just months before accepting the offer by the Philharmonic Orchestra in London to compose two symphonies which were supposed to be performed in London. The envisaged London performances did not take place and Beethoven’s death a decade later meant that the second of the two symphonies, though planned, was hardly started. However, the one symphony that Beethoven completed and the symphony to which, in all likelihood, Altenberg refers as the ‘Symphonie der Welt’, would go on to become his Ninth Symphony. The symphony as a literary motif is not just a music historical reference; the symphonic construct of four movements conditions Altenberg’s four-part sentence and, in addition, reflects Beethoven’s own manner and mannerisms on the Danube, where he was fishing. Altenberg frames Beethoven’s complaints in adagios, a musical form that is apparent in the third movement of the Ninth Symphony and with the entry of the choir with the words ‘alle Menschen werden Brüder, wo dein sanfter Flügel wellt’. Beethoven’s outburst on the riverbank, ‘in vierten Sätzen’, reminds the reader of the fourth movement of the Ninth Symphony, which features a choral outpouring, the only time in a Beethoven symphony when the human voice is heard. In a last musical twist, Beethoven sees the lighter side of life; he laughs at the world in scherzos, the musical form in which the

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., pp. 126–28 (p. 127).
second movement of the Ninth Symphony is written. What does the employment of the symphony as a literary motif indicate? On the edge of the Musikstadt Wien, Altenberg sees the natural surroundings of Nußdorf as being the semi-urban, romantic backdrop in which musical forces accumulated in Beethoven would lead to the composition of a symphony. Altenberg’s quasi metaphorical employment of the terminology of the symphony, ranging from the scherzo to the adagio, suggests that symphonic constructs have the potential to condition, even express musicians’ behaviour and emotions.

Just as Beethoven, one of the author’s preferred composers,\textsuperscript{32} is a recurring musical figure in Altenberg’s works, so too is the symphony. Both Beethoven and the symphony would be reunited again in a volume of essays entitled Fechsun\textsuperscript{32} (1915). In the short fragment Selbstdkritik, d.h. also Selbstlob, a short manifesto of Altenberg’s approach to literature and his job as a poet, he sees the symphony in a dual sense: a musical sense and in an existential sense towards life:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

Beethoven and the symphony would appear alongside each other again in an informative piece published in his Nachlaß. Through his writings, Altenberg would claim once again that his readers, particularly of childhood age, are offered a counter-world to the monotone lives they lead—a world grounded in middle class comforts and insistence on Beethoven’s symphonies:

\begin{quote}
Ich vernehme es also durch persönliche Briefe, daß ich Söhnen und Töchtern, im zartesten Alter helfe, ja eine geistig-seelische Stütze bin im allzu bequemen und deshalb langweiligen Labyrinthe
\end{quote}


ihres allerdings eintönigen Daseins! Beethoven-Symphonien sind in ihnen (Frühlings melancholisches Drängen) und sind zugleich für immer dar [sic] trotz allem in ihnen lebendig begraben. Sie lesen viele gute angeblich wertvolle wichtige notwendige (?!?) Bücher, aber alles gleitet ab an ihren wie Öl an Wasser, mit ihrem Leben hat es nämlich nichts zu schaffen! Da schreibe ich meine 'eine-Seite Impressionen', und die zarten unverstandenen Söhne und Töchter aus reichen Häusern finden dadurch den Weg aus ihren Lebenslabyrinthen! Nicht zu mir, zu sich. Infolgedessen trage ich meine Lebensbürde leichter, da ich helfe.34

The symphony assumes a completely different role in these examples to the one present in *Die Glücklichsten*. Beethoven still appears alongside the symphony, but the literary endeavours of Altenburg are designed, in his eyes, to evoke a different sort of symphony, contrary to the works of Beethoven: a living, sounding life symphony that would counteract the normality of traditional musical life. In language reminiscent of Friedrich Nietzsche, who spoke of a ‘tönend[en] Dasein’35 and with the exploitation of Batholomäus Carneri’s term ‘Seelensymphonie’ from his guide to turn-of-the-century modern living *Der Moderne Mensch* (1891),36 Altenberg taps into philosophical and metaphysical considerations. These considerations are also informed by urban, existential discourse of the time, speaking of the symphony as something that can be approached in reading his work. In this particular instance, the symphony is a literary motif; and through the reading of Altenberg’s literature, he argues, a new *Seelensymphonie* can be reached; it can be understood as a new way of listening to (urban) life.

So far, Altenberg’s symphony as a literary motif has been seen as a purely Beethovenian musical image and as a metaphysical-philosophical one. The third image of

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36 In *Der Moderne Mensch* (1891), the parliamentarian and philosopher, Bartholomäus Carneri (1821–1909) used the term in a similar context to Peter Altenberg in reference to women. Carneri wrote: ‘Der Mann will ein Weib, das Weib will einen Mann, und angehören wollen sie sich so innig als möglich. Das ist der Grundton dieser das ganze Menschenleben durchfluthenden Seelensymphonie, deren harmonischen Abschluß die Frage bildet, welche hier uns beschäftigt: soweit ist es von jedem Grundton zu dem Accord, den wir meinen.’ Cf.: B. Carneri, *Der moderne Mensch. Versuche über Lebensführung*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Emil Strauß, 1901), p. 93.
the symphony is a multi-sensorial blend that incorporates visual and olfactory stimuli with the acoustic marker of the symphony. In his round-season depiction Semmering, a mountainous retreat in Lower Austria and popular with Viennese cultural elites at the time, Altenberg speaks of a ‘Symphonien von Farben’ during the summer; a ‘Duft-Symphonien’ after the cutting of mountainous grass in July; and the ‘braune Symphonie’ of the autumn. All three instances of the symphony, derived from three completely different fragments, provide three different counterexamples of the urban-based symphony. Whether it is the smell of cut grass or the spectacular colour mix of the landscape, Altenberg deploys the symphony to express the poetic and harmonious of the landscape and smellscape. It would appear as if he returns to the Duden definition of the symphony as not just a musical construct, but also ‘poetisch von naturstimmen’ or ‘harmonie, richtiger Zusammenklang auf das gebiet des nicht hörbaren, soviel wie “übereinstimmung, einklang”.’ With the example of ‘Duft-Symphonien’ in the fragment Ereignis, however, Altenberg retains strong musical overtones to ensure that not only a blending of the sensorial stimuli is communicated to his readers, but a blurring of the human senses also takes place:

Am 24. Juli haben sie die Bergwiesen gemäht — — —
hingeschnitten die diskreten Farben eines alten Perserteppichs — — —
die Duft-Symphonien abgebrochen unserer ‘musikalischen Nasen’! Wie ein Kapellmeister ‘abklopft’.37

Punctuated by telegram-like dashes, Peter Altenberg’s words can be seen in the context of contemporary psychology and the interdisciplinary study of synesthesia, defined as ‘a crossing of sensory signals in which the stimulation of one sense evokes another’.38 That the nose is presented as being in a position to hear before the meadows were cut, as

expressed in the turn of phrase ‘musikalische Nasen’; and that the symphony of smell drew the attention of those doing the smelling, Altenberg’s words would, most certainly, qualify for a synesthetic analysis in contemporary psychology, one which can not be embarked upon owing the parameters of this study. However, his words equally have literary significance, especially for their oxymoronic value, not necessarily suggesting an irony, but for the blurring of the senses and sensorial perception. Although the multiple smell symphonies still lie within range of Duden’s own definition of a symphony as something that is ‘im Einklang’ and would not necessarily exclude smells, Altenberg’s supplementary information of ‘musikalischen Nasen’ recalibrates the symphony back into the musical realms in which it most often lies. The insertion of the image of the Kapellmeister merely acts to reaffirm the musical connotations embedded in these clauses and to contrast the ‘abgebrochen’ with the ‘abklopfen’.

How does Altenberg’s employment of the symphony as a literary motif coincide with that of his Kaffeehaus friend and acquaintance, Alfred Polgar? Does Polgar employ the symphony as a literary musical image to the extent of Altenberg, i.e. to convey the symphony in its traditional musical historical sense or does he, like Altenberg, go beyond the traditional towards a mixture of usages: the cross-sensorial, the metaphysical and the philosophical? The first of many overlaps between Peter Altenberg and Alfred Polgar manifests itself in the figure of Ludwig van Beethoven, the symphonic composer. Evident in his fragments Wo bleibt die moderne Eroica? and Beethovens-Maske, Polgar shows a fascination and interest for Beethoven, particularly in the role that the composer still plays in musical life in the city. Wo bleibt die moderne Eroica? is a response to a feuilleton by the chief conductor of the Wiener Philharmonischen Konzerte,
Felix Weingartner, who inquired after the next Beethoven. Published just a month before the end of the First World War, in October 1918, Polgar saw the four-year ‘Schlachthausgestank’ as an absurd transformation of the Beethovenian ‘mystische tertium medium’:


This element of desperation, of Verzweiflung, with its sound effects, was played out in Polgar’s fragment Bahnhof just months earlier. Just like the fragment Wo bleibt die moderne Eroica?, Polgar offers a then-and-now contrast, one that refers to the soundscape of the present and breaks away from the one in the past. Once again, he places the cause for this dramatic shift in the barbarity of the First World War, which had its human toll, but has also taken a toll on the urban soundscape of wartime Vienna:


Noch hat er seinen romantischen Gestank; und die Sonne schneidet mit Messerschärfe den tief kriechenden Rauch; die Räder winnern grässlich schrill; und die Glöckchen bimmeln hart und kurz ihre geheimnisvollen Chiffrensprüche; aber all das klingt jetzt – wer weiß warum – wie eine Symphonie der Verzweiflung, Symphonia desperata.\(^4^0\)

Though not mentioned by name, the connection with Beethoven through the ‘Symphonia appassionata’ is undisputable. Beethoven’s Piano Sonata no. 23 in F minor, composed in Vienna and given the title Appassionata after his death, marked a high point in the


composer’s piano compositions.\textsuperscript{41} A keen fan of Beethoven’s works, Polgar plays on the 
\textit{Appassionata} as a high point of Beethoven’s work to portray a high point in the acoustic 
vibrancy of a principle urban meeting place before the war: the railway station. The 
symphony as a literary motif acts in two ways: it is a nod to the romanticism of 
Beethoven as expressed in his piano sonata; it is also an attempt to compare a soundscape 
confined to the past to its perceived crass manifestations during the war, as expressed in 
the contrasting \textit{appassionata} and \textit{desperata}. Just like Bachmann years later in her 
\textit{Musikstädte}, Polgar likens the city of pre-war Vienna to a symphony, yet this symphony 
of Polgar’s is a blending of natural tones and tunes, mechanical and mechanised sounds 
as well as the traditional soundmark of ringing bells – a far cry from Beethoven’s 
\textit{Appassionata}. Polgar’s urban symphony is modernistic in tone and texture, once again, 
communicated through a quick succession of sounds embedded in one sentence, which 
culminate in this symphony \textit{Appassionata}. The soundscape constructed by Polgar is \textit{real}. 
As opposed to embedding \textit{real} musical images in the soundscape, just as 
Alfred Freiherr von Berger did in his acoustic experiment cited at the start of this study, 
Polgar employs a musical image to liken the wider soundscape with the musical image 
being a connection with Beethoven’s \textit{Appassionata}. The musical image serves as an 
analogy which compares, even contrasts the real soundscape to a well-known musical 
construct.

Mere mention of the modern mechanised city soundscape as a symphony with its 
whistles, bells, locomotives, and simultaneously drawing on Beethoven at the same time, 
bears all the hallmarks of the Italian futurist movement. Appearance of Marinetti’s

\textsuperscript{41} Cf.: Siegfried Mauser, \textit{Beethovens Klaviersonaten: Ein musikalischer Werkführer} (Munich: Beck, 2001), 
p. 105.
Fondazione e Manifesto del Futurismo (1909), Pratella’s Manifesto dei musicisti futuristi and La musica futurista (1911) as well as Russolo’s setting the urban soundscape to music with his noise instruments intonarumori echo Polgar’s literary depiction of the Viennese soundscape as a symphony. Polgar’s pre-1914 description of the urban soundscape around the train station in Vienna coincides with the following theoretical underpinning of futurist music by Marinetti, written in 1913, just four years after he published his Futurist Manifesto in Le Figaro newspaper:

> Beethoven und Wagner haben unsere Nerven und unsere Herzen viele Jahre lang erschüttert. Jetzt haben wir sie satt und verspüren einen weit größeren Genuss, wenn wir im Geist die Geräusche der Straßenbahn, des Explosionsmotors, der Wagen und der lärmenden Menge kombinieren, als zum Beispiel nochmaligen Anhören der Eroica oder der Pastorale.\(^\text{42}\)

A year later, in 1914, Marinetti’s statements would find concrete musical form in Russolo’s first intonarumori concert in Milan on 21 April 1914. Although Polgar’s reflections were published in 1918, four years after Russolo’s first concert, the Austrian author’s depiction of the post-war Viennese soundscape does date back to a time in which the symphony was taking on futuristic meanings. As Rainer Schwedler showed in his doctoral thesis entitled Das Werk Alfred Polgars, it is known that Polgar engaged, rather critically, with the futurist movement in later years, especially with the proximate relationship between the futurist art movement and Mussolini.\(^\text{43}\) Indeed, such impulses can already be felt in Polgar’s Bahnhof fragment, in which the romanticised urban soundscape of the past has reduced itself to a desperate symphony of the then present, of returning troops from the front line of World War I. Polgar’s literary depiction of the pre-war city soundscape as a romanticised symphony in comparison with its debased

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soundscape during wartime resembles futurist influences which were beginning to resonate on the aesthetic world at the time.

Another direct connection between Altenberg, Polgar and the figure of Beethoven manifests itself in Polgar’s fragment *Der abgeschiedene Freund* (1907), published a year before Altenberg’s *Die Glücklichsten*, in which Polgar also refers to ‘die Symphonie der Welt’. Altenberg’s reference, as shown above, was a nod to Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, conceived in the semi-urban setting of Nußdorf. Polgar’s setting is slightly different and relates more to a fact of life: death. Devoid of a precise geographical urban location, the fragment centres around the response and reaction to the death of a man named Donald. Before introducing Donald’s death, the reactions of his family and friends, Polgar generalises on death as a fact of life, deploying musical analogies and musical imagery:

Wenn man lange genug lebt, gewöhnt man sich ans Sterben. Ja, dieser Ton des Ins-Schloß-Fallens der nie mehr zu öffnenden Türe fügt sich sogar harmonisch in die Symphonie der Welt. Er ist wie mit dem Schlagwerk im Orchester. Man darf der Pauke nur nicht zu nahe sitzen.44

Life is regarded as a symphony by Polgar: it is the sound of the closing door that signals death, the end of life. The sound of the slamming door is likened to the deafening drums of the orchestra, the closer to which the listener is sat, then the higher the likelihood that the end is nigh.

Other literary references to the symphony, similar to those of Altenberg’s, such as Polgar’s ‘Symphonie in Rot’ to depict the red azaleas, from the rhododendron family of flowers, that grace the *Rothschild-Gärten* in the west of Vienna demonstrate that Polgar not only uses the term for musical effect, but also for visual and olfactory impact. In this

respect and in the examples listed above, Polgar’s literary references to the symphony bear some striking similarities with Altenberg’s: the allusions to Beethoven, the cross-sensory emphasis and the *lebensphilosophisch* take on music and life. Polgar, however, offers a direct example of the city’s soundscape as a symphony, long before Walter Ruttmann, as shall be discussed later, would set Berlin to a symphony in his 1927 film *Berlin – Die Sinfonie einer Großstadt*. To see whether these connections between Altenberg and Polgar stand up against another author, a then notable contemporary by the name of Hermann Bahr, who also frequented the Café Griensteidl, shall now be brought into the discussion.

Hermann Bahr’s place in literary history was secured with two publications, both of which comprised a collection of essays under the titles of *Zur Kritik der Moderne* (1890) and *Die Überwindung des Naturalismus* (1891). Not merely essays, they were a calling for a new direction in literature that would break away from the literary Naturalism of the past, as the title of his latter essay suggests, and move towards a new type of literary discourse: literary modernism. Characteristic of this modernism, long since manifest in France, was, according to Bahr, the engagement with the soul and the investigation through the medium of literature of (a) both the ‘sensations’ to which the human sensorial spheres were most certainly attributed; and (b) the ‘impressions’ and views on the world, in which the writer is writing. But it is the interaction between the two, a terrain ignored by Naturalism, that a new literary modernism would establish itself, according to Bahr. For Eduard Michael Kafka, the publisher and editor of the magazine *Moderne Dichtung*, Bahr’s new approach to literature was interpreted as:
Die Sensationen der Nerven, die Augenblicksereignisse im Gangliensystem, die eiligen Wechsel der Stimmungen, das chaotische Gedränge der Associationen, welche die Gedanken und Gefühle gebären, diese gilt’s zu fassen und zu fixieren und den anderen zu suggerieren.\textsuperscript{45}

This chaotic mix of associations with feelings and thoughts not only comes through in modernist literature and the literature of the \textit{Kaffeehaus}, but is also evident in the employment of the musical term of the symphony to describe other (not necessarily aural) sensory phenomenon. Just like Polgar and Altenberg, both of whom listened attentively to Bahr at the Café Griensteidl in Vienna, the proclaimer of the end of Naturalism also would make cross-sensorial use of the symphony, particularly the cross-over between the visual and the aural in a set of essays in same decade as his \textit{Zur Kritik der Moderne} (1890) and \textit{Die Überwindung des Naturalismus} (1891).

The year that links Bahr’s several literary references to the symphony is the year of the first exhibition of the Viennese Secession movement of artists: 1898. In \textit{Erste Kunstausstellung der Vereinigung Bildender Künstler Österreichs}, published in March and April 1898, Bahr reports on a new type of visual extravaganza that was showcased by the city. Guided by Bahr through each of the exhibition rooms, the essay is a mixture of programmatic statements, personal sensorial reflections and perceptive observations of what was seen, heard and smelt in this new type of modern exhibition. Arrival at the fourth part of his essay is the arrival into a room of everyday objects from silverware to cigarette cases and bells. Recalling the \textit{Art nouveau} exhibition in Paris in 1891, the exhibited object would just be one piece of the wider art jigsaw: the assembly of the objects within the art space and the wider space itself should, for Bahr and his new modernist outlook on art, be the aesthetic feature.

\textsuperscript{45} Eduard Michael Kafka, ‘Der neueste Bahr’, \textit{Moderne Rundschau} 2, 3 (1891), 220–22.

Hermann Bahr has often been regarded as a prophet, as someone who looked into and correctly predicted the future. Interestingly, his assertion that the architect, someone who is engaged in architecture, and the conductor, someone engaged in music, has links with the then past and the future. Replace \textit{Architekt} and \textit{Dirigent} with their acts and the words of Schelling and Schopenhauer are recalled: \textit{Architektur ist erstarrte Musik} or \textit{Architektur ist gefrorene Musik} respectively. Fast forward to the future and the contemporary discourse on sound design within public spaces, then modern soundscape discourse reveals the architect to be a mover and shaper of sound within the constructs that he creates. His words are distinguished, though, from his past and future by the symphony, regarded here as the end or final aesthetic result, the highest possible form of art, or, to play on the French: \textit{le pièce de résistance}. Bahr starts out with a simile by likening everyday visual objects with musical instruments of an orchestra, but then, in no uncertain terms, declares the architect as the conductor who creates a symphonic composition. The whole urban space of the museum exhibition hall is transformed into a kind of symphony. But the musical instruments are imaginary and the symphony is unlikely to be one that sounds, so the question begs to be asked: other than for literary effect, why does Bahr resort to the motif of the symphony to express something that is, by nature, a visual phenomenon: the viewing of artefacts at a museum exhibition?

Bahr’s usage of the symphony as a literary motif is very much informed by his readings of impressionist giants who not only dominated the art world at the time but also
employed the symphony in a visual context to elaborate on its effect on the viewer. In the same collection of essays, published about the Erste Kunstausstellung der Vereinigung Bildender Künstler Österreichs between March and April 1898, he recalls the words of the American-born, British-based artist of James Whistler (1834–1903) when reviewing the works of another American painter, John Alexander (1856–1915). Bahr mentions Whistler’s ‘Symphonie in Blau und Rosa’ (1870), an oil portrait of four female figures near the sea. No musical images are, however, apparent in Whistler’s portrait. It is, however, as Bahr mentions: the viewing, gazing public was now wishing for something more in their experience of the painting: ‘die Musik der Farben anzu hören’.47 From The Symphony Grey and Green (1866), The White Symphony: Three Girls (1868) to the Symphony in Gray: Early Morning Thames (1871), Whistler used the symphony to condition a more audio-visual response to his works. Given the definition of the word, as communicated in Duden as ‘im Einklang’ and referring to ‘nicht hörbar[en]’ realms of sensory perception; and given the prior romantic notions of the symphony in the context of the beauty of visual nature, the word symphony lends itself to such purposes. Indeed, the contrast of the impressionist artist being likened to a composer putting together a symphony, yet a further musical analogy, appeared in a set of essays about the third exhibition organized by the Vereinigung Bildender Künstler Österreichs, published in early 1899: “Er [der impressionistische Maler] spielt mit den sieben Farben des Prismas, wie der Componist bei der Orchestrierung einer Symphonie die sieben Noten der Tonleiter.” As for the onlooker, who is admiring the painting, Bahr would add shortly after:

47 Ibid., p. 35.
“[…]. Wer eine Symphonie hören will, setzt sich nicht unter die Instrumente, sondern an einen Punkt, wo alle Töne sich mischen können. Um sich an einem prismatisch zerlegten Gemälde freuen zu können, muss man sich die Mühe nehmen, den Punkt ausfindig zu machen, an dem die Mischung der verschiedenen Farbenelemente im Auge des Beschauers die vom Maler gewollten Töne ergibt.”48

The speech marks incorporated into the quote demonstrate that these were not the direct words of Hermann Bahr, though his sympathetic appraisal does go a long way in substantiating his support for such aesthetic views. They were the words of the French impressionist artist Paul Signac, whose article D’Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionisme in the PAN magazine in the first half of 1898 reinforced the likening between the visual artist and the musical composer, one that Bahr would utilize, as quoted earlier, for the museum exhibitor (again: the artist) and the musical figure of the conductor.

In the same year as the first Secession exhibition in Vienna in 1898, as Signac’s article in PAN and Hermann Bahr’s appraisal of both the exhibition and article, an architect by the name of Otto Wagner republished his manifesto Moderne Architektur. The Austrian designer of Karlsplatz Stadtbahn station, a monument to modern architecture which opened as Akademiestraße in 1899, went much further than claims he made in the first edition of Moderne Architektur and recognized that aesthetic modernism had not only made a mark on the art world, but was in the process of confirming itself as the artist movement of the time. He challenged the idea of past architecture in a modern setting, questioning the place and position of the modern individual within the old, but still ever-present architecture of the past. Other than their chronological link, how do these deliberations of Otto Wagner fit into the wider picture of Bahr’s deployment of the

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symphony as a musical motif? The answer is twofold: it lies, firstly, in an essay by Bahr about the Austrian architect, Otto Wagner (1899); and, secondly, it lies in Bahr’s enthusiasm to draw on modernists of the time to support and strengthen his own modernist views. Otto Wagner’s writings were no exception; and Bahr quoted him at length in his essay. Just like Signac and Whistler in the art world, Otto Wagner would also draw on the symphony as a picture, contrasting it with the atmospheric and architectural image of the city:

Ein mit lebhaften Farben bemalter griechischer Tempel, der Hain mit bunten Statuen geziert, ein schöner, kurzgeschützter Grieche mit brauner Haut, der heilige, farbige stimmende Ölbaum, der tiefblaue Himmel, die erhitze, zitternde Atmosphäre, die scharf abgegrenzten Schatten, das ist doch ein Bild, eine Symphonie. – Eine gothische Kirche, kindlich frommer Kerzenschein durch bunte Fenster schimmernd, die zur Kirche wallende Menge in ihren mattbunten geschlitzten Wämsern und Kitteln, Weihrauch das Geläute der Glocken, Orgelton, ein oft gar trüber Himmel – wieder ein Bild.49

The symphony is not only a visually-grounded image of an Ancient Greek environment, but it is also a play, as Wagner and Bahr would suggest later, on Vienna’s neo-Greek style parliament building. The contrasting picture that follows this symphonic image is the Gothic church, presumably Stephansdom in the heart of the city of Vienna. Though the symphony is not repeated for this closer-to-the-modern-age image, the more acoustic moments embedded in the sentence, such as the sounds of the crowd, the campanological soundmarks and the tunes of the organ, suggest a more acoustically-grounded image. This image enforces the symphony in the previous sentence. Otto Wagner, the architect, presents, it could be said, a musical image of the city through his deployment of the symphony; yet, it is a symphony of the sounding past in the modernist present, which Wagner addresses in his central deliberations about the modern architectural form.

The fact that Bahr relies on the symphony as a motif in art and architecture in his writings, and then uses the motif for his own purposes, shows that his ideas about the symphony were, in part, informed by the modern artistic manifestos of the time. This was irrespective of whether they were written by Otto Wagner or Paul Signac. As Bahr’s reference to Whistler showed, the use of the symphony to express and portray cross-sensorial intoxication was a feature of impressionism, evident in the titles of Whistler’s numerous works. Deeming a visual piece of art, a visual moment or visible atmosphere as a symphony or as something symphonic is an attempt by the artist to trigger an acoustic response to the visual. Given the semantic history of the word symphony, defined as both the ‘nicht hörbaren’ and the ‘hörbaren’ and dating back to the Romantic era of literature, the symphony, meaning ‘im Einklang’, lends itself to and was conducive for this sensory crossover, one that was the hallmark of the Bahr’s break with aesthetic Naturalism. As Max Graf reported, Hermann Bahr influenced the authors of *Jung-Wien*, to which Polgar and Altenberg loosely belonged. Polgar’s and Altenberg’s employment of the symphony as a literary motif, specifically in its cross-sensorial sense, can be seen as not stemming from Bahr: he would appear to have been an intermediary between them and the thinking of impressionism. The literary historical context of the symphony as a sensorial blurring in literature, based around turn-of-the-century Vienna, is geographically much wider than the fragments of these *Kaffeehausliteraten* care to suggest: it has its roots in the impressionism of Paris and Brussels.
3.1.2. Contra-Urban Setting to Munich as a Symphony: A Literary Motif

Thomas Mann, conceding in a 1913 article that he had a limited understanding of art and painting, said of himself: ‘Ich bin “ein Ohrenmensch”, bin durch Musik und Sprache gebildet.’\(^{50}\) Given such a declaration, together with references to the ‘Ohrenmensch’ in his 1924 speech *Vorspruch zu einer musikalischen Nietzsche-Feier*, his 1926 speech *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, his work *Doktor Faustus*, as well as an indirect reference in a 1947 letter to Emil Preetorius, it is not surprising that Walter Windisch-Laube, among others, have categorized Mann as an ‘Ohrenmensch’, commenting that ‘Thomas Mann selbst fühlte sich den Ohrenmenschen zugehörig.’\(^{51}\) In the wealth of secondary literature that currently exists on the German author, Mann as *Ohrenmensch* has been understood as an expression of a ‘suppressed musician’\(^{52}\) by Ella M. Martine and as his ‘(Un-)Verhältnis zur bildenden Kunst’\(^{53}\) by Hanno-Walter Kruft. In another take on Mann as the ‘Ohrenmensch’ as opposed to an ‘Augenmensch’, Peter Pütz presents a number of possible motives to justify Mann’s self-identification as an ‘Ohrenmensch’: his devotion to the thinking and writings of the early Friedrich Nietzsche and his north German Protestant upbringing, emphasizing on the aural rather than the visual arts.\(^{54}\) One of two exceptions to this rule comes with an article that appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* in January 1926, in which Mann reviewed a

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painting that he saw in the Caspari Gallery in Munich, just days before he published his article. Hans Walter-Kruft argued that this article is ‘eine Rarität ist in Anbetracht seiner spärlichen Äußerungen über Werke der bildenden Kunst’.\(^{55}\) Despite arousing Mann’s visual senses and his subsequent written review, the embedded musical nature of the content of his article and the subject matter of the painting do much to reassert Mann’s musical self. The title of Mann’s short article, a rarity in his own visual artistic deliberations, was *Symphonie*, a review of a portrait by the Austrian-born Expressionist painter Max Oppenheimer (1885–1954) entitled *Das Konzert*. Not to be confused with his earlier Cubist-like work with the same title from 1912,\(^{56}\) the picture depicts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of the Austrian violinist Arnold Rosé.\(^{57}\) For Mann, Oppenheimer’s painting symbolised a uniting of ‘Musik und Geist […] unter stürmischer Entfaltung von mehrerlei Gold, Hellbraun, Orange, Mattblau und Engelweiß zu einer Vision von hochgetriebener Realität und Inbrunst’.\(^{58}\) In describing the painting and the audio-visual impact that it had on Mann shortly after he viewed it in the Caspari Gallery in Munich, Mann wrote:

> Es heißt ‘Das Konzert’ und zeigt ein modernes Orchester in voller Tätigkeit, wohl siebzig Mann stark, geführt von einem Dirigenten, dessen brillen- und lippenscharfe Physiognomie in ihrer Willensekstase und religiösen Intelligenz an diejenige Gustav Mahlers erinnert. Sein vor byzantinischem Golde stehendes Profil, sein emporgeworfener Arm befehligen ein brausendes Tutti, das man hört, wahrhaftig! es drängt mich, von der unglaublichen akustischen Wirkung des Bildes zu zeugen, der suggestiven Macht, mit der es das geistige Ohr des Beschauers halluzinatorisch mit der gesättigten, üppig kolorierten Klangmasse heutiger Instrumentalmusik erfüllt.\(^{59}\)


\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 877.
Oppenheimer’s painting of urban musical life in the form of a performing urban-based orchestra from the Musikstadt of Vienna triggers an aural as well as a visual reaction on Mann, the self-proclaimed Ohrenmensch. As evident in these literary reflections which would have been conceived in the urban backdrop of Munich, Thomas Mann appears to hear musical moments in both the arrangement of musicians and instruments as well as the warm, rich colour texture contained in the visual painting. Though it is the conductor Arnold Rosé and not Gustav Mahler whom Oppenheimer wished to depict in his expressionist painting, Mann may have recalled his first encounter with Gustav Mahler conducting the premiere of his Eighth Symphony, famously known as the Sinfonie der Tausend, in the Neue Musik-Festhalle in Munich on 12 September 1910, just eight months short of the composer’s death. Regardless of whether this is the case or not, the commonality between Oppenheimer’s painting and Mann’s musings is fundamentally grounded in the urban sensorial experience, whose result is a visualisation of the symphony either in Bild or Wort.

As the second chapter on the Musikstadt demonstrated, Thomas Mann’s participation in urban musical life in Munich was deep and intense. From defending his musical mentor, Bruno Walter, to his attendances at opera and symphony concerts, Thomas Mann lived and breathed music to such an extent that it flowed into and informed the structure, the content and the style of many of his literary works. Picking up on the motif of the symphony in literature, the self-proclaimed Ohrenmensch wrote in a letter to Bedřich Fučík, the Czech literary critic, editor and translator, dated 15 April 1932: ‘Ich habe mein Talent immer als seine Art versetztes Musikertum
betrachtet und empfinde die Kunstform des Romans als eine Art von Symphonie […]'.

The symphony as a literary structure (and not just a literary motif) is an aspect to which Thomas Mann would return repeatedly in that particular decade. The German author would, for instance, draw on the same analogy of literature as symphony, as a symphonic construct in a lecture to students at Princeton University. In speaking about the literary Gattung of the Roman to the student body at this New Jersey institution of higher education, Mann theorised that ‘der Roman mir immer eine Symphonie, ein Werk der Kontrapunktik, ein Themengewerbe [ist], worin die Ideen der Rolle musikalischer Motive spielen’. A year later and similar sentiments would be expressed in his autobiographical reflections On Myself (1940), in which he elaborated on an approach to his novel Der Zauberberg. Of course, the setting of Der Zauberberg is not in Munich, but in the rural retreat of Davos in Switzerland. It is, therefore, difficult to establish a connection between the city symphony as a literary motif and the symphony of words which Mann claimed was the essence of Der Zauberberg. Nevertheless, the urban musical overtures that would have accompanied him between the year of the book’s conception, 1912, and the year of publication, 1923, a time span of eleven years, would be significant in the construction of a type of literary symphony, partly created and composed in the urban setting of Munich, but whose real literary setting is counter-urban; instead, it is rural. It is known that Mann started on the novel in 1913, a year after his wife, Katia, first went to a sanatorium in Davos in 1912 to recover from a lung condition. Her letters to Mann and

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60 Thomas Mann, Briefe 1889-1936, ed. by Erika Mann (Berlin; Weimar: Aufbau, 1965), p. 351.
his subsequent visit to Davos led him, in 1913, to start work on Der Zauberberg. At the same time, Mann’s soon-to-be musical mentor and inspirer as well as Wagner interpreter, Bruno Walter, arrived in Munich to take up his post as Royal Bavarian Music Director in 1913. In what can be regarded as rather short deliberations on Thomas Mann in Bruno Walter’s autobiography Thema und Variationen, the conductor devotes a few paragraphs to Mann’s literature. Naming just a handful of Thomas Mann’s works, Walter talks of the ‘große Formen’ of, for instance, Der Zauberberg, written at a time in Mann’s writing that was right at the midway stage of what the conductor describes as ‘den Weg von den “Buddenbrooks” zum “Joseph-Mythos”’, adding:


The ‘große Form’ of which Walter speaks is quite conceivably the ‘symphony’ to which Mann attributes Der Zauberberg in his autobiographical reflections from 1940. Given the chronological position of the Bildungsroman Der Zauberberg (1924), lodged in between his bestseller Buddenbrooks (1901) and four-part Joseph und seine Brüder, with the last book published in 1943, the novel set in Davos can be seen as a literary symphony ‘zeitlichen Geschehens’ and a book that paves the way towards an eternal individual. For Walter, touching here on deep musico-philosophical notions of literature as music, Mann’s written word nears music and its everlasting qualities and characteristics. It is to Mann’s Der Zauberberg (1924), a novel that the author himself declared a literary symphony, that this subchapter now turns. The choice of Der Zauberberg may come as a surprise to readers of this study: the precise content of the novel itself does not concern

Munich; it concerns Davos, a rural retreat in the Swiss canton of Graubünden; the main protagonist, Hans Castrop, hails from Hamburg not Munich; and the Bavarian capital on the River Isar is only mentioned once in the entire novel. Munich, therefore, does not and can not act as a city symphony in the sense that it is a metaphor for the rich soundscape or blend of sounds. Though Mann compares his work to a symphony, the word only appears once in his entire novel. But the metaphorical deployment of the word makes for interesting reading; and parallels with Altenberg’s ‘Duft-Symphonie’ in the fragments *Semmering* and *Ereignis* are evident. Nestled between a dialogue between Hans Castrop and sanatorium resident, Joachim Ziemßen, the patient whom Castrop has come to visit, the rural space finds the following description during a conversation between the two, returning to Davos on foot:


Yet Mann’s own assessment of *Der Zauberberg* as a symphony can not be based on this solitary reference, metaphorical at that, to the smellscape of the rural space. In what follows, Mann’s *Der Zauberberg* shall be reflected upon in the context of the urban musical life that would appear to define, influence and inform his work. Not just in the magnitude of his written composition, but also in the structure and in the variety of embedded musical images, it will be argued, lies his justification for the literary work as a symphony. Comparing the timing of his writing and the acoustic-musical moments in *Der Zauberberg* with the urban music historical context, evidence mounts that the symphony per se does not act as a recurring literary motif, but the symphony acts as a

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literary frame and product. The role of Munich, in this respect, is one whose urban musical life informs and conditions one of Mann’s best known literary texts. Seen in its music historical and urban sociological context, this role becomes all the more apparent.

A sound world, incorporating the sound of voice, acoustic soundmarks and musical articulations, is constructed at the very outset of Der Zauberberg. The first acoustic image is that of the climb of the train to the top of the mountain and the impression, gained by Castrop, of leaving the Singvögel behind with the deciduous trees. On arrival into Davos-Dorf, the train station announcement is heard by Castrop, followed shortly after by the Hamburg dialect of his cousin, Joachim Ziemßen, whom Hans Castrop is visiting. Ziemßen’s physiognomic features are described and his ‘abstehende Ohren’ are given due attention for the somewhat pedantic and mundane ‘Kummer und Lebensschmerz’ that they had caused Ziemßen in the past. However, it would be the ears and not the eyes that Ziemßen uses to assess his own ever-improving physical condition: ‘Links oben, wo früher Rasseln zu hören war, klingt es jetzt nur noch rauh, […], aber unten ist es noch sehr rauh, und dann sind auch im zweiten Interkostalraum Geräusche.’ Ziemßen’s own medical diagnosis, as something that is heard and not something that he senses or feels, is a stethoscopic hearing-in of Ziemßen’s condition. Not only is Ziemßen’s tuberculosis heard ‘im Berghof’, it is later contrasted to the musical image of the band, a ‘Rasselbande’. A fitting metaphorical analogy of patients’ bodies sounding, though not deployed by Mann for this specific purpose is that of a Klangkörper, literally meaning a body of sound, but often referred to as an orchestra acting in unison. Standing in direct contrast to more traditional musical images, the sound

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65 Ibid., p. 15.
66 Ibid., p. 17.
67 Ibid., p. 577.
of patients’ internal breathing ailments is part of the musical soundscape of Davos. This soundscape stands in direct contrast to the typically secluded soundscape that one might imagine for a Swiss spa resort. Indeed, tuberculosis with its fixed and dominant place in the urban disease panorama of the Kaiserreich would have meant that the vast majority of patients, hailing from urban areas, were seeking refuge from the Menschenmasse that fuelled this early twentieth-century killer disease. In other words: the Rasselbande can be regarded as the urban acoustic fallout of a respiratory disease that is being played out in a non-urban, rural setting.

Later in the book, the stethoscopic hearing-in of Ziemßen’s condition forms a scene, whereby both Ziemßen and his visiting cousin Castrop undergo a medical examination. During this examination, Hofrat Behrens listens into the patients’ bodies and feeds back his analysis to Dr. Krokowski, who enters the findings into the patients’ notes. With words such as ‘Kurz’, ‘verkürzt’, ‘Vesikulär’, ‘rauh’, ‘sehr rauh’ and ‘Geräusch’, Behrens’s acoustic assessment of Ziemßen links in with the information supplied on arrival by the patient to Castrop. As Ziemßen forms a part of what he describes later as a Rasselbande, Behrens’s instruction, listening-in and commentary have all the hallmarks of a conductor conducting, in this case, a one-man band in its rehearsal phases. The Klopfen, just like the tapping of the baton on the conductor’s stand, signals the musical instruments (here: the internal organs) to attention. The ear (here: the stethoscope) listens into the internal organs. Just like the brief commentary offered by a conductor in front of his playing orchestra during its rehearsal, the equivalent in this setting is the doctor’s verbalisations of what he hears.

The first concrete musical image appears in the second half of the first chapter of Mann’s *Der Zauberberg*, entitled *Nr. 34*, the room which Castrop has been allocated at the international sanatorium *Berghof*. Though the electrical sounding world is often linked with the modern city, it has also reached the tiny resort of Davos: the telephone is seen at reception and an electrical lift is used to reach the room. On arriving, ‘[die] Balkontür stand offen; man gewahrte die Lichter des Tals und vernahm eine entfernte Tanzmusik.’ This would neither be the first nor the last time that *Tanzmusik* is mentioned. Just like the prelude of Ziemßen’s own clinical assessment on Castrop’s arrival, then to be followed up by the real thing in the sixth chapter, the perceived *Tanzmusik* from Castrop’s room is a prelude, it could be said, to the *Totentanz* with all of its musical connotations and significance in the fifth chapter of *Der Zauberberg*. This chapter opens by announcing the death, shortly after Christmas, of the Austrian aristocrat, who is given the name Herrenreiter, a figure who is perceived by Castrop soon after he hears the *Tanzmusik* from afar after stepping into his room in the first chapter:

*Es war ein Husten, offenbar – eines Mannes Husten; aber ein Husten, der keinem anderen ähnelte, den Hans Castrop jemals gehört hatte, ja, mit dem verglichen jeder andere ihm bekannte Husten eine prächtige und gesunde Lebensäußerung gewesen war, – ein Husten ganz ohne Lust und Liebe, der nicht in richtigen Stößen geschah, sondern nur wie ein schauerlich kraftloses Wühlen im Brei organischer Auflösung klang.*

It was the cough, as Ziemßen explained, of Herrenreiter. Linking the *Tanzmusik*, mentioned just moments earlier, with the Herrenreiter’s cough, it would appear as if the *Totentanz*, accompanied by the *Tanzmusik* perceived by Castrop at the start of the novel, is slowly closing in on Herrenreiter; his fate is almost sealed.

These examples of a prelude, framed in a particular context, followed later by a more in-depth focus on a particular motif bear some striking similarities to the framed

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70 Ibid., p. 24.
construction of a multi-part symphonic piece. But perhaps more significantly, these two examples alone, derived from the very early stages of *Der Zauberberg*, demonstrate how Mann is keen to deploy both music and musical analogies in his works. The likening of acoustic phenomenon to musical images to construct a sound world for his readers is reminiscent of a Cagean-like ‘makromusikalische Komposition’ or a symphony of sound that not only integrates music and musical images, but also plays on them. Yet another example of this parallel musical framing in the opening and other chapters occurs in the sixth chapter *Schnee*. Here, Castrop loses track of time whilst on a ski hike in the mountains and seeks shelter in a mountain shack, where he has a dream, one that stands in direct contrast to the ‘Urschweigen’ that he, only that day, had experienced with not a sound landing on his ear:


A flashback takes place here: the sound of birds, heard in Castrop’s dream, is a motif that does not take centre stage in the novel; but it does feature once at the outset when the protagonist leaves the world of singing birds behind as the train climbs above the deciduous trees. His dream, therefore, takes him back to this world, whose nature is not only synonymous with music, but which is also synonymous with Castrop’s own experienced urban musical life. The world famous Italian tenor singer, with whom

71 Ibid., p. 677.
Castrop associates and likens the ever-deepening beauty of the natural world where the air was like an audio-visual symphony, was Enrico Caruso. This insight is, of course, nothing new. In his comprehensive volume, entitled *Thomas Mann und Musik* (2006), including a CD with two tracks of Caruso’s singing *O soave fancilla* from Puccini’s *La Bohème* and *O terra addio* from Verdi’s *Aida*, Volker Mertens was fairly certain that Mann had heard Caruso in Munich between 1910 and 1913, guest performing during the autumn season. Indeed, music historical research places Enrico Caruso in Munich on 8 October 1910, where the Italian performed in *Carmen*, one of a handful of concerts that Caruso performed at the Munich Opera House in the pre-war years. Though this is not a novel insight, it is a further reminder of the role that Thomas Mann’s urban musical experience informed and interacted with the protagonists that he portrayed in his writings. In this specific case, where Mann positions Castrop in the urban musical concert world, it is not necessarily the fictional urban musical world of Hamburg, Castrop’s home city; it is, instead, the real urban musical world of Munich, Thomas Mann’s home city. Mentioned in all but name, Castrop is transported into a symphonic natural world of bird song, whereby the birds are invisible, but the song is ever present. The blending of the ‘Vogellaut’ and the colour mix of the rainbow are likened to music. The sound of harps, mixed together with flutes and violins, could quite easily be Claude Debussy’s *Prélude à l’après midi d’un faune*, one of Thomas Mann’s most favourite pieces of music and one that he is known to have had in his gramophone collection. The central role of the gramophone in *Der Zauberberg* is another literary motif with strong connections with Mann’s own biography to which the next chapter shall turn its attention in more detail.
‘Der Roman war mir immer eine Symphonie’, asserted Thomas Mann in 1939 in *Einführung in den Zauberberg*, adding that it was ‘ein Werk der Kontrapunktik, ein Themengewerbe, worin die Ideen die Rolle musikalischer Motive spielen’¹. Though the symphony was only mentioned once in the entire *Bildungsroman*, the musical allusions and moments were often presented as a mixture of sights and sounds. They manifest themselves as a kind of symphony in the novel itself. It is usually accepted that the novel has a symphonic-like construct with musical themes. But the examples from *Der Zauberberg*, cited above, show that Mann’s own urban musical life played a significant role in informing and shaping scenes, protagonists and settings in his writings. The novel itself centres around urbanites escaping the city for rest and relaxing in a mountain retreat; and yet, urban musical life, irrespective of attended concerts in Munich or, as shall be shown later, gramophone playing at Mann’s home, has a bearing on the narrative course. *Der Zauberberg* is very much positioned in an anti-urban setting, one that is far removed from the urban settings of Castrop’s Hamburg or Mann’s own Munich. These cities appear on the sidelines, but the urban musical life experienced in Mann’s own city is played out in Castrop’s character. Not just in the respect of counterpoint and musical themes is Mann’s novel *Der Zauberberg* a symphony, it could be said; its aural, acoustic and musical moments, often mixed with the visual, constitute themselves as a romantic-like symphony, defined by Duden both ‘Harmonie, richtiger Zusammenklang auf das Gebiet des nicht hörbaren’ and also ‘im synästhetischer Vermischung der Grenzen zwischen einzelnen Sinnesgebieten’. The Duden entry for this latter definition cites Wieland’s poem *Der Frühling*, which reads:

> Also rufst du, Natur ihm entgegen, so oft ihn im Frühling,

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Oder wann es auch sey, die Symphonie umtönen,
Die entweder sein Aug’ in deinen Farben entzücken,
Oder im Wohlklang harmonischer Lüfte die Sinne bezaubern.
Aber er höret dich nicht! So hört nicht des eilenden Wanderers
Gröberes Ohr von jungen Sylphiden die silberne Stimme,
Wenn sie bei Cynthiens Licht zu ihren Tänzen ertönet:
Aber sie schöpft mit lauschendem Ohr der einfache Dichter
In die Laube von Geißblatt verhüllt; er höret die Wirbel
Von den zauberischen Lippen jedweden horchenden Wipfel,
Wo jetzt die Nachtigall schweigt, und jeden Hügel umtönen.\(^73\)

Although Thomas Mann does not deploy the mythological images of sylphs as invisible beings in the air or of Artemis with her connections to nature, the crossovers between Mann’s symphony-like depiction of the dream world of Castrop and Wieland’s depiction of the symphony are fairly evident: the motif of magic and mystic derived from the atmospheric conditions; the nature of the air with its harmonious visual and aural stimuli; and the surround sounds of the environment. One stark difference separates, however, Wieland and Mann: that of the equation between the symphonic-like environment and urban musical life, irrespective of whether this life is experienced by Mann or is a characterisation of Mann’s own Musikleben through Castrop. In between Romanticism and Modernism in literature, then, a widening of the symphony becomes apparent: it retains its orthodox romantic notions of nature; but, together with a more diverse and accessible urban concert life, it is informed by and embeds modern urban musical images. With Mann, the romantic notions of the symphony (or the symphony-like descriptions) as a literary motif are retained, but are given a more urban musical flavour, bringing the symphony as a literary motif into the twentieth century. Its translation and transformation is one of retention but also renewal to cater for the modernist era.

3.1.3. Berlin as a Symphony: A Literary Motif

Unlike the scarcity of direct literary references to Munich as a symphony in the text corpus, suggesting a less musical inclination than, for instance, Vienna, the city of Berlin and the symphony were famously blended together in Walter Ruttmann’s experimental documentary film Berlin – Sinfonie einer Großstadt (1927). Seventy-five years later, in 2002, Thomas Schadt’s Berlin: Sinfonie einer Großstadt was released in cinemas. In both silent films with just musical background accompaniments, cleverly built-in compositions to match the visual sequences, the symphony is the embodiment of both sight and sound, the intoxication of both the visual and the aural senses over the course of a twenty-four hour period. The film show Berlin as a place of rhythm and tempo, whereby 1920s Berlin would appear to have a heightened rhythm and tempo over its twenty-first century counterpart. From ‘musikalisch[em] Film’ and ‘Film-Symphonie’ through to ‘filmische Symphonie’, a ‘Stadtfilm’ and ‘poetic film

essay,” experts and critics alike have attempted to label and categorise Ruttmann’s composition. Despite this array of definitions and adherences to numerous sub-genres of film, the interpretations of these film specialists regarding the content and form are relatively uniform: the film captures the *Rhythmus* and *Tempo* of urban life of turn-of-the-century Berlin, conveniently tying into the programmatic reflections of Ruttmann and Meisel, as well as published film critiques at the time. Although Ruttmann’s film is often accredited as being one of the first examples in this aesthetic art form to adapt and play on the symphonic form, numerous literary references to the city as a symphony, including the deployment of the symphonic form in literary texts, the play on the word *Symphonie* to depict the rhythm and tempo of the urban soundscape, demonstrate that the potential for Ruttmann’s project was omnipresent in German cultural life in the run-up to the presentation of the film to urban cinematic audiences.

Just two years after Ruttmann’s film, in 1929, René Schickele published his book *Symphonie für Jazz*. Set in Berlin, the city where he studied literary history at the turn of the century, Schickele’s short story not only feeds into the channel of discourse of Berlin and other modern urban centres as a symphony at the time, but the musical genre of jazz inspires, informs and influences the content and the structure of the short novel. Of all of the examples in the text corpus, none goes as far as Schickele’s *Symphonie für Jazz* in integrating the musical tunes (in this case: jazz), either through onomatopoeia, sentence structure rhythm or neologisms. Just like reviews of Ruttmann’s film suggested that the

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film accurately and pointedly captured the rhythm and tempo of Berlin life of the 1920s, Schickele received similar appraisals for his own work: the *Symphonie für Jazz* captured a *Zeitgeist*, which reflected urban musical life of a city, whose modern age had arrived. Critiqued by the writer and journalist Emil Belzner in *Die Neue Rundschau*, Schickele’s novel was nothing less than a symphony which captured ‘ein Zeichen der Zeit in viel tieferem Sinne, als der Titel andeutet’. 80 Schickele’s novel, neglected and overlooked, is the story with the literary motif of the symphony at the core of its content, with the symphony as a construct, and with the symphony in its various urban settings, ranging from Paris to Berlin. Attention now turns to the urban musical moments in this neglected novel to establish answers to questions, such as how the symphony is portrayed in the text. What are the novel’s *berlinerisch* characteristics? In what way, in specific relation to literature, does his novel capture the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of a time?

Firstly exclaiming that the book is dedicated to Lannatsch, the pet name for his wife, Anna, the book flows into a four-line opening stanza, a quatrain:

Bäbä, tu. Bäbä, tut. Tut! Bäbä,
Ein Hurra – Bäbätu.
Auf das Känguru!
Miau.81

The reader is immediately confronted with onomatopoeic language; and it is not until shortly later that the reader discovers the true nature of ‘Bäbä, tu. Bäbä, tut. Tut! Bäbä’: it represents the saxophone sounds played by the main protagonist in the novel, the renowned fictional Dutch-born jazz musician John van Maray. The name and the instrument chosen by Schickele are both significant when considering van Maray’s declaration to his wife: ‘Los geht’s! Ich schreibe eine Symphonie für Jazz, Streicherkorps

Though undeniably of Dutch origin, the ‘van’ in John’s name is also shared by the greatest symphonic composer of the nineteenth century: Ludwig van Beethoven. Whereas Beethoven captured the musical Zeitgeist of the nineteenth century with his symphonies, John van Maray comes across as a twentieth century equivalent with his jazz successes right across Europe, as expressed in the ‘Ein Hurra’ that follows the phonetic approximation of John’s saxophone. The saxophone itself is, as Schickele will later build into his novel, emblematic of the symphony itself: not only is the saxophone a principle instrument of any jazz band, John’s disposal of the saxophone at the end of the novel also signals the end of his endeavours to write a symphony, which was, at that point in the novel, near to completion.

The rhyme that is built into this opening stanza is echoed shortly later in the repetitive ‘raduwalu, raduwulu’, the phonetic rending of a ‘rauhen, kurzpulsigen Lärm eines Motors’. The noise of this motor continues unabated as the varying sounds of the weather are given due literary attention. The described sounds give a somewhat rustic nature to a soundscape that combines the sound of weather phenomena of the natural environment, the musical tones of John’s saxophone and the sound of the motor. Interestingly, only the musical tones and the sound of the motor are given phonetic approximations, whilst the sounds of the rain and wind hitting the trees and the leaves merely rely on the written word. By using onomatopoeia for the tunes of the saxophone and the modern ‘Brandung’ in this unnamed environment, a link between the jazz sounds of John’s saxophone and the modern motorised sounds is established. Their phonetic similarity in language reveals, it could be said, an acoustic similarity: jazz reflects the era of the motor and the motorised society, one that is removed from the less noisy and less

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82 Ibid., p. 30.
chaotic rural setting. The linguistic technique deployed by Schickele to pair what would appear to be a jazz concert with the motorised world. Taken together, these are reminiscent of Max Graf’s own city symphony considerations, cited earlier in this chapter. Graf recalls the Revue in Paris with its jazz tones pouring out on to the modern street, but they were actually a representation of urban street life with its rich blend of sights and sounds. This blend would continue, but then give way to different times, places and musical scenes before returning to a deviated form of the onomatopoeic sound of the cat, the *miau*, thereby coming full circle back to the four-line starting stanza:

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Brrr – um! plotzt die Brandung. Brum! Krach der Kräche. Donnernder Applaus. Ein
Zischen, Sausen:
Brr – rr – rr – rum!
Tagessommer.
NachtSommer.
Wüste Zeit.
Fliegender Holländer auf einem Alkoholschiff.
Der geschminkte Mann im Pyjama am Flügel spielt Bach.
Vor ihm das Mädchen tanzt den Kreuzestod.
Kasse! Kasse! Schwarze Kasse!
Mi! au.\(^{83}\)
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Though this listing would seem eclectic and bear little relation to the depiction to the wider picture that Schickele is painting for his readers, further reading of his text will show that each of these images appear in the text. Without the readers necessarily knowing it, he offers them a kind of contents page of some of the times, places and scenes on which they are about to embark when reading his short novel. If uncertainty to the musical identity of ‘Bäbä tu’ exists at the outset, the images of the Wagner’s *Fliegender Holländer* and the playing of Bach are unmistakable. Though jazz has a foothold in the various urban settings of the text, the references to Wagner and Bach, not to mention Schumann and Hugo Wolf, go some way in proving that the power of jazz has

\(^{83}\) Ibid., p. 5.
not totally banished more traditional musical figures and their works from the wider musical world, irrespective of whether it is at sea, in the rural countryside or in the city.

After the listing the content, Schickele returns back to the soundscape that is unquestionably urban in its repetitive nature and texture:


In einer Pause, vom blauen Himmel gefallen, hört man eine Mönchsgrasmücke. Taktaktaktak–fiieh–je! lockt das Tierchen, bevor es singt.84

Paired with the rhythmic onomatopoeia, i.e. the phonetic approximation of the saxophone, Schickele deploys similar literary techniques in the form of alliteration to convey similar acoustic rhythms: from the ‘k’ in Elektrische, followed up with the acoustic verb of krächzen, together with Kehlkopfstimme and Kurve to the ‘g’ in gesprungene and Glocke, not to mention the ‘s’ in Straße and schimpfen. This rhythm, loud and noisy, culminates in another triplet, that of the Schreie with its three-time occurrence. The Schreie, too, take three forms: that of a blending, which could be either acoustic or of the crowd, the Menschenmenge; that of the metallic screams; and the Darwinist as if the machines are engaged in an acoustic battle for their own existence. It is interesting how Schickele moves from an allusion to Darwin, whose original theories referred to animal species, on to a pause in the soundscape in which part of the natural world can be heard: the sound of Sylvia atricapilla, otherwise known as the Blackcap warbler. It is not until this pause sets in, however, that the sounds of the warbler can be heard in the loud acoustic environment. Whilst the machines are in an acoustic battle for survival, it can be said, they have already triumphed over the song of birds, the vast

84 Ibid., p. 5.
majority of which are confined to breaks in the loud, metallic and mechanic urban soundscape. Whilst most major European urban centres could be identified with this soundscape, it is, in all probability, Berlin that is being described here: the city with the greatest concentration of people, traffic and commerce in 1920s Germany. It is also the city where John van Maray lives with his wife, in a house opposite the music Generaldirektor Deutermann, known as the ‘Berliner Musikbebenwarte’; and where John acted as a ‘Kapellmeister an einer Berliner Oper’ for a year in between musical tours around Europe.

These deliberations would later lead into the question: ‘Wer hat es denn heute noch gut?’ With a degree of caution, ‘der Musikant’ is given as an answer, suggesting that the existing acoustic conditions, most probably in the city, are favourable for the musician. It is, at this point, that the main protagonist and his wife are introduced to the reader with ‘Hip–hip–hurra! für John van Maray und seine Frau Johanna’ before returning back to the literary leitmotif of the saxophone tunes: ‘Bäbä, tu. Bäbä, tut! Mi! au.’ These interjections will go on to punctuate the novel, keeping the saxophone and, by later association, the symphony in the reader’s mind. Indeed, the opening paragraphs of Schickele’s novel, before entering into a ‘Vorgeschichte’ of John van Maray and his wife, Johanna, provide a type of prelude to the symphony, on which van Maray is about to embark: the four-line stanza, the urban soundscape as the acoustic material of inspiration, the rhythm and repetitive nature of musical leitmotifs are four commonalities between the musical symphony and the literary text in Schickele’s *Symphonie für Jazz.*

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85 Ibid., p. 27.
86 Ibid., p. 13.
For any music followers at the time, both the title and opening four lines of jazz, may have easily recalled the rhythms and tunes of the first jazz opera, Ernst Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf*. First performed at the *Städtische Oper* in Berlin on 21 November 1927, some nine months after its Leipzig premiere, Krenek’s opera is not only the story of a jazz musician, Jonny, but is also—to use Belzner’s own words for Schickele’s novel—‘ein Zeichen der Zeit in viel tieferem Sinne’. The parallels between Ernst Krenek’s opera and Schickele’s novel would appear more than just accidental: whilst Ernst Krenek’s main protagonist is called Jonny, Schickele names his John van Maray. Both Krenek and Schickele’s pieces are set in multiple locations, including urban Paris. The main protagonists, Jonny and John, have similar missions: to spread jazz. In Krenek’s opera, the mission is completed when Jonny climbs on top of a train station clock, the keeper of city time and rhythm, with this clock miraculously transforming into an image of the world. On top of this clock-turned-world, he plays, in a triumphant manner, jazz music, to which Europe, the old world, dances. For John van Maray, Schickele’s main protagonist, on the other hand, jazz is somewhat *lebensphilosophisch*, an expression of life, one which he wishes to set to a symphony, hence the title: *Symphonie für Jazz*. Contrasted with Jonny in Krenek’s opera, however, van Maray sets out to compose a symphony, half-composing it before abruptly halting his musical endeavours after the revelation that the women with whom he had been having one of a number of extra marital affairs is, in fact, his daughter. In the concluding pages of the book, he disposes his saxophone, late at night, in a lake, symbolising the total abandonment of the symphony and is reconciled with Johanna, his wife.

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Within the handful of secondary literature devoted to René Schickele, the question of the author’s motivation to write a *Symphonie für Jazz* has been raised and deliberated upon. Jean-Jacques Schumacher’s French language essay ‘… mein persönlichstes Buch …’ convincingly showed, through an autobiographical analysis, that the nature of Schickele’s book reflected the character of the literary personality: his family background, his attitudes towards modern life and his aesthetic stances.\(^{88}\) Julie Meyer-Boghardt finds commonalities between the figure of Angelica in Schickele’s novel and his own illegitimate daughter, Renate Mai. Citing Schickele’s own words about his inspiration for the novel, Eric Robinson sees the work as ‘a swift process of osmosis which stemmed from a moment of reflection in the solitude of the Black Forest’, accepting later, just like the critic Emil Belzner, that the novel has been understood ‘a commentary on the general atmosphere of the 1920s rather than as a key to the author’s personal life’.\(^{89}\) Yet these interpretations have consistently overlooked the role and significance of the symphony as a literary motif, which stands at the heart of his novel.

Whereas Schickele published his *Symphonie für Jazz* at the end of the decade in Berlin, the outset of that decade, known as the Golden Twenties, was marked in the literary world by a publication entitled *Menschheitsdämmerung, Symphonie jüngster Dichtung* (1920). Arranged by the Berlin dramaturge Kurt Pinthus and published in Berlin, this now renowned anthology of Expressionist poetry contained the works of twenty-three poets, one of whom was none other than René Schickele. It goes without saying that Schickele would have received a copy of this volume and would have been well

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acquainted with Pinthus’s reasoning behind its compilation. A year before publication, in 1919, Pinthus wrote:

Dieses Buch will auf andere Weise zur Sammlung kommen: Man horche in die Dichtung unserer Zeit …, man horche quer durch, man blicke rund herum, … nicht vertikal, nicht nacheinander, sondern horizontal; man scheide nicht das Aufeinanderfolgende auseinander, sondern man höre zusammen, zugleich, simultan. Man höre den Zusammenklang dichtender Stimmen: man höre symphonisch. Es ertönt die Musik unserer Zeit, das dröhnde Unisono der Herzen und Gehirne.


As with the four-part traditional classical Symphonie, Pinthus arranged the collection of poems into a four-part literary symphony: the first movement entitled Sturz und Schrei; the second movement Erweckung des Herzens; the third movement Aufruf und Empörung; and the final movement Liebe Den Menschen. Surprisingly, the city as a symphony as a literary motif does not expressively appear in any of the poems in this anthology; yet the associations in these urban-dominant poems to and with the symphony are commonplace and numerous. What is remarkable about Pinthus’s opening introduction is the assertion that poetry on the written page is something that both sounds, just like music, and can be heard by its readers symphonically. The literary symphony, as constructed and composed by Pinthus in his Expressionist anthology, is a reflection and expression of the acoustic Zeitgeist of the modern age. Irrespective of whether it is symphonisch or unisono (the Italian for symphony or ‘im Einklang’), Pinthus suggests a literary hearing that absorbs a blend of poetic voices, many of whose central themes revolve around the city and city life. If Pinthus’s collection is understood as a symphony of poetic voices that are the literarisation of the acoustically loud modern age, then Schickele, given his connection to this project of the early 1920s, extends the symphony

as a poetic motif into the literary genre of the novel in his subsequent work *Symphonie für Jazz*, whereby ‘Jazzliedverse und Lautmalerei ihm als Leitmotive [dienen]’.\(^91\)

Just like Beethoven’s Tenth and Schubert’s *Unvollendete*, John van Maray’s *Symphonie für Jazz* goes unfinished; and the disposal of the saxophone, thrown into a lake at night, is the unexpected symbolic action that brings the book to its ultimate climax. Just like the autobiographical readings of this text by Schickele experts, the significance and meaning of the unfinished symphony has been subjected to scrutiny in secondary discourse on the author. Eric Robinson emphasises the coincidental moment when John decides to ‘scupper his symphony and turn his thoughts once again “an den Wandel der Zeit”’.\(^92\) Cordula Seger highlighted the conflict of the symphony, cast back by van Maray, with the dominant role that jazz had played in both the novel and the ‘Sprachmaterial’ that Schickele had deployed throughout the book. She argues with regards to van Maray’s halting of the writing of the symphony:

\[\text{So entwirft Schickele einen Konflikt zwischen dem Jazz als Ausdruck der Unrast, des schnellen Lebensrhythmus’ wie des gelebten Begehrens und dem Wunsch, Ruhe zu finden, wahre Gefühle zu zeigen sowie Individualität festzuhalten.}\(^93\)

Schickele presents John van Maray as a composer who had amassed fame and fortune through his jazz playing and interpretations. But urban excesses, particularly of alcohol, forced him to retreat to more rural settings. It is here, in settings such as the Swiss Alps at Sils Maria, where van Maray sets about composing his symphony for jazz and to build, for himself, some sort of bourgeois existence. Though it is not uncommon for symphonic composers to retreat to the countryside from the city centre to compose (one only has to

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\(^91\) This interpretation of René Schickele’s use of music in *Symphonie für Jazz* was made by Walther Killy and can be found in his *Literaturlexikon: Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache* (1991). Cf.: Kurt Wanner, *Der Himmel schon südlich, die Luft aber frisch: Schriftsteller, Maler, Musiker und ihre Zeit in Graubünden 1800–1950* (Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 1993), p. 307.

\(^92\) Robinson, p. 128.

cite Mahler’s Attersee or Beethoven’s Nußdorf or Grinzing), the rural rhythms and tempi of everyday life would have been a world away from those rhythms and tempi that were the driving force of the city and the very inspiration for jazz music. The rural setting is the contra-setting to the one that jazz embodies. As Paul Stefan, the chief editor of the already cited interwar music journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch* put it: jazz was an ‘Abbild der Zeit: Chaos, Maschine, Lärm, höchste Steigerung der Extensität – Triumph des Geistes, der durch eine neue Melodie, neue Farbe spricht’.94 Indeed, Schickele portrays a conflict between jazz as an expression of a quick pace of life and van Maray’s own desire to find peace and quiet, both of which—the quick pace versus the slow pace of rhythm—are indicative on the urban and rural environments. A mismatch between the two geographical settings, as depicted in the language of the rural and urban in Schickele’s text, may also be regarded as another reason why Schickele’s symphony was never complete.

3.2 City Symphony as a Literary Motif: A Comparison and Contrast between Vienna, Munich and Berlin

The modern city is synonymous with a continuous acoustic blur of sounds that knows no end. Though it fluctuates in frequency and pitch, rhythm and tempo during the course of the day, its omnipresence defines the urban space and the urbanite’s position within it. Irrespective of whether it is described as a *Großstadtwirbel, Brandung, Gemisch* or *Zusammenklang*, by the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, the city was being likened to a symphony. This labelling with its musical overtures would be conducive to the *Musikstädte* of Vienna, Munich and Berlin, all of which are primary locations where symphonies were, in the past, conceived, composed and performed. A glance at German musical magazines and newspaper of the time reveal the symphony as a musical construct that dominated the musical life of the concert halls, irrespective of whether it is the performances of Beethoven’s symphonies at the *Philharmonie* in the *Musikhauptstadt Berlin*, of Schubert’s symphonies in the *Musikstadt Wien* or the premier of Mahler’s symphonic compositions in the *Musikstadt München*. The music historical analysis interwoven in the analysis of the city symphony as a literary motif confirms that the musical symphony should not be disregarded in the consideration of the urban soundscape, especially if it is defined in the Cagean sense of a ‘makromusikalische Komposition’. As opposed to being divorced from soundscape discourse owing to its musical nature, the musical construct of the symphony is something that recurs in the wider urban soundscape of modernity and ought not to be discarded from historical considerations of the soundscape.

Aside from the musical appreciation regarding the role the symphony played in urban musical life, the symphony has long since been a literary motif, firmly fixed, but
often overlooked in German literary analysis. Its linguistic roots, as traced in Duden, date back to the romantic era and are evident in the works of Schiller, Wieland, Herder and Novalis. If the symphony as a literary motif is to be reflected upon as a whole in the works of these German eighteenth and nineteenth literary figures, then one commonality lies in their deployment of the symphony to express the beauty of nature, both in terms of its visuality and aurality. It is almost as if a blending of the two principle senses on the Aristotelian sensorial hierarchy takes place, harmonising and balancing the sensorial intoxication, just as the word symphony, in sheer musical terms, expresses a type of harmony and balance. To look at these literary figures from a musical historical perspective is to recognise that they died within a decade of each other, between 1803 and 1813. They would have regarded the symphony as a musical construct, at best, through the works of Haydn and Mozart. The later works of the symphonic master of Ludwig van Beethoven, particularly his Ninth Symphony, would not have been heard by these literary notables. By the time of the deaths of Novalis (1801), Herder (1803) and Schiller (1805), all of whom literarised the symphony for its romantic sense, the symphony in the music world was becoming the very essence of modernity. In June 1806, the Allgemeine Musikzeitung reported on the dominance of the symphony in the city’s musical repertoire:

man nimmt jetzt, und im Allgemeinen gar nicht mir Unrecht, die Art, wie ein Orchester neuere grosse Sinfonieen vorträgt, als Maasstab seiner Fähigkeit, moderne Musik überhaupt vorzutragen.\(^{95}\)

Not only has the symphony become the measure of an orchestra’s ability to perform; the symphony has, by the early nineteenth century, become the true essence of musical modernism. Indeed, it is not uncommon for the symphony as a then modern musical

\(^{95}\) ‘Merkwürdige Novität’, Allgemeine Musikzeitung, 25 June 1806, 616–9 (p. 617).
construct to be linked with the emergence of a modern urban concert life. In his music historical work *Die bürgerliche Musikkultur* (1935), an analysis of nineteenth century musical culture, Eberhard Preußner made a comparison and favourably contrasted the emergence of the symphony and urban musical concert life, concluding that the two were inextricably linked. His line of argument can be summarised best in three key points:

1. The development of a public concert life runs parallel to the development of instrumental music, in particular the symphony on the one hand and vocal music on the other.

2. Characteristics of the concert form in sociological terms mirror the symphonic form in music terms. The orchestra symphony does not just condition the formation of orchestral groups but also the constitution of a public audience.

3. Whilst the vocal work is suited to the constructed parameters of the church as its musical space, the solo and chamber music is accommodated in private residences of wealthy cultural sponsors. It is the symphony that precipitates and requires the concert hall for performance and interpretation.96

To understand the eighteenth and early nineteenth use of the symphony as a literary motif, a blending of the visual and aural moments needs to be envisaged. Likewise, the appreciation of the symphony as a musical construct in Eberhard’s eyes undergoes a blending as well, not, though, of sensorial stimuli, but of academic approaches. This recalls Reinhard Strohm’s blending of musical history and urban sociology. As Eberhard Preußner sees it, the understanding of the development of the symphony in its musical context requires the appreciation of the symphony for its music historical value.

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and in its urban sociological context. In comparing and contrasting the literary reflections, analysed and cited above, of or made in the cities of Berlin, Vienna and Munich, Strohm’s approach of music history and urban sociology is recalled to seek similarities and differences in the way that they depict the city as symphony.

By the time the Kaffeehausliteraten in Vienna, Thomas Mann in Munich and René Schickele in Berlin all wrote their literary symphonies—irrespective of whether it is a description of the land- and soundscape, the central motif or the structure around which their writing revolves—the symphony in music historical terms had long since become a part of urban musical life. It is known that Altenberg, Bahr, Polgar, Mann and Schickele were all fascinated with music. Their connections and reverberations with urban-centric musical life play out like a symphony itself: Altenberg knew the members of the Second Viennese School of Music, from Arnold Schönberg to Alban Berg, the latter of whom set Altenberg’s Ansichtskarten to music. Bahr as brief director of the Viennese Burgtheater and as a friend of Hugo von Hofmannsthal would have had some connection to music, either through the theatre world or the Kaffeehaus, where many members of the Second Viennese School of Music were known to frequent. Polgar’s close friendship with Altenberg as well as music critics, such as Max Graf, shows that he, too, came into close contact with music, predominantly through the Kaffeehaus culture. Thomas Mann’s connection to, passion with and participation in musical life in Munich has been extensively covered and does not need repeating here again. Out of all of the authors, whose symphony writings have been put under the spotlight, René Schickele still remains an author who is widely unknown in the German-speaking world. In the handful of biographical writings on the author, the role that Schickele played in musical life is given
no attention. The closest that any of the experts come to seeing Schickele in a musical light is Aimée Bleikasten and her contextualisation of the author’s early life in the Alsace. Though not expressed directly by Bleikasten, the contextual allusion is one where the geographical space of Strasbourg and the ‘elsässische Kulturleben’ had an impact, even informed the works of Schickele.\footnote{Aimée Bleikasten, ‘René Schickele und das elsässische Kulturleben um die Jahrhundertwende’, in René Schickele aus neuer Sicht. Beiträge zur deutsch-französischen Kultur, ed. by Adrien Finck, Alexander Ritter and Maryse Staiber (Hildesheim; Zurich and New York: Olms Verlag, 1991), pp. 27–44 (p. 32).} A more concrete connection between Schickele and music manifests itself in comments by Thomas Mann about Schickele’s writings; and herein lies another connection that brings the authors and their deliberations on music closer together: numerous examples exist in which they contemplated on the musical nature of each other’s works.

Thomas Mann’s introduction of the French translation to Schickele’s Die Witwe Bosca read: ‘Es ist ein Brio in dieser Dichtung, wie deutsche Prosa es selten gekannt hat’\footnote{Thomas Mann, GW, xi: Reden und Aufsätze 2 (1960), 761–66 (p. 766).}. The son of Thomas Mann, too, recognised the musicality of Schickele. Celebrating Schickele’s fiftieth birthday, Klaus Mann wrote an article to celebrate the life and works of this ‘good European’, commenting that ‘sein Werk voll Musik [ist]’.\footnote{Klaus Mann, ‘René Schickele’ Die Sammlung: literarische Monatsschrift, 1 (1933), 56.} Given the perceived musical nature of Schickele’s Symphonie für Jazz, it should not come as a surprise that Thomas Mann also appraised and reviewed this work, observing that Schickele’s prose was proximate to the ‘französischen Kultursphäre’. It was ‘die eleganteste und einschmeichelndste [...]…, die heute in Deutschland geschrieben wird, aristokratisch, ohne des Snobismus auch nur verdächtig zu sein’. Mann added in his Vorwort zu dem Katalog ‘Utländska Böcker 1929’: ‘Sein [Schickele] jüngst erschienenes Werk heißt “Symphonie für Jazz” und spielt in der großen Welt der Finanz, Journalistik
Mann clearly rated Schickele’s work among the best that was been produced in the latter stages of the Weimar Republic. Schickele’s own symphony of jazz would have definitely raised Mann’s eyebrows: just like Der Zauberberg, published five years earlier, it embeds musical motifs, a literary symphonic construct and counterpoint in its chapters. Schickele goes a stage further than Mann, though, in that he translates music on a syntax and onomatopoeic level. They both have rural settings, but the symphony is inextricably linked to the urban sphere, to urban musical life. The Symphonie für Jazz is really written for an urban audience and the fact that Schickele’s protagonist, John, retreats to the rural scene for most of the narration and does not complete the symphony goes some way in showing how jazz feeds off and from urban centres. For Mann’s Castrop, the symphonic-like rending of the invisible symphony of bird song is likened to urban musical life, which Castrop symbolically left behind when the train climbed to the peak of Der Zauberberg. But between Mann’s Der Zauberberg and Schickele’s Symphonie für Jazz with their urban musical images, there are differences which coincide with Berlin as a Musikstadt and Munich as a Musikstadt (as the city where Mann wrote Der Zauberberg and embedded his own experiences of that city’s musical life into the characterization of Castrop). The emphasis of commerce and money on musical life, not one that is highlighted in Mann’s Der Zauberberg or his short article Symphonie, is prominent in Schickele’s Symphonie für Jazz, particularly in depictions of the Generaldirektor Deutermann, known as the ‘Berliner Musikbebenwarte’. The earlier portrayal of Berlin as a Musikstadt even as a Musikhauptstadt, is as an Americanised city whose musical life is subject to the commercial forces of the markets and of finance. The centrality of jazz, an American

music genre, in Americanised Berlin, the role of money and finance as well as Berlin as home to modern musicians all ring true with Schickele’s *Symphonie für Jazz* and Berlin as an international and commercial musical city. As evidence exists to suggest that Thomas Mann’s own musical life in the city informed *Der Zauberberg*, with the citations of various performances that Castrop (or: Mann) attended, the symphony assumes much more natural overtones, more traditional and conventional images of urban musical life, far removed from jazz, commerce and a true Americanisation. In other words: the content of Thomas Mann’s *Musik in München* with its considerations of conductors, composers and classical music works is much closer to those musical images presented in *Der Zauberberg* than to the literary depictions of the symphony by Schickele. Though the literature of Mann and Schickele, both of whom knew each other personally, differences in the musical identity of the city, as depicted in literature, start to reveal themselves. Confirming musical historical and urban sociological accounts from the time and based on these two literary works, a significant part of Berlin’s musical identity of the 1920s, and by association, its symphonic-like soundscape, is fixed in the jazz rhythms, instruments and tones. Musical history, just like urban sociology, portrays a sense of oversaturation and competition, both in terms of musical production and also social Darwinist human life in the city. Schickele’s novel reflects both of these aspects: the protagonist’s constant touring and performances but also his money concerns despite his high-profile position in urban musical life in Berlin reflect this. The Berlin moments of Schickele’s *Symphonie für Jazz* are less of a fictional representation of musical life, but more a fictional story captured in its real setting that embodies the musical *Zeitgeist*. Though it is difficult to underpin a musical identity of Munich through Mann’s
Der Zauberberg, not least given its literary setting in Davos, urban musical life clearly has a role to play in his book. The connection with the symphony comes when Castrop finds himself in a dream; and the traditional urban concert experience (that really of Thomas Mann’s in Munich) is likened to the rich colours and bird songs in the dream world, one that is not urban but also not that of Der Zauberberg. The emphasis of colour and sound in Mann’s symphonic-like depiction of Castrop’s dream-like state in Der Zauberberg is very similar to his description of the impressionist painting Das Konzert by Oppenheimer in his 1926 article Symphonie. If the literary symphony of Thomas Mann is considered in this particular urban context, then a blurring of visual, aural and olfactory moments within the text are an embodiment of the symphony. Though Mann’s body of works are presented as quintessentially modernist in nature, the employment of the symphony as a sensorial blurring has romantic overtures of Wieland. The only difference being is that Mann looks to the urban musical world to compare the symphony-like landscape with its sights, sounds and smells to the effect of Caruso in the concert hall. If transposed on to the Musikstadt München: the city, or better still, urban musical life in the city is less modern than its modernist counterpart to the north: Berlin. At the height of the Golden Twenties in Berlin, the city symphony in Munich, one could safely say, retains a greater degree of its romanticism and is more closely attuned with nature. The sonic distance that Mann would have to cover from Munich, the city where the book was largely written, to Davos, the setting of the Der Zauberberg is far less than the distance he would have had to have covered if he were to start out in the Americanised Musikstadt Berlin.
How does Vienna fit into this comparison? Looking at Eberhard Preußner’s summarised points above, Vienna’s later image as a *Musikstadt* would owe much to the symphony: Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven were all symphonic composers, the latter of whom, as Bekker argued, ‘war es vor allem in seinen Sinfonien, deren Form eine Neubildung unseres Konzertwesens und damit des öffentlichen Musiklebens zur Folge hatte’. It is no surprise, therefore, that the figure of Ludwig van Beethoven features prominently in literary renditions of the symphony by the *Kaffeehausliteraten* of Vienna. Irrespective of whether the composer is reflected upon in a positive or negative light, particularly in Polgar and Altenberg’s works, the symphony as a musical form, transposed on to the soundscape of the city, is often seen through the symphonic master of Beethoven: Beethoven’s Nußdorf, Beethoven’s *Appassionata*, Beethoven’s musicalisation of fate knocking at the door. The literary contextualization, through the lens of music history and urban sociology, shows not only the city’s position in the symphony as a literary motif, but also Beethoven’s bearing on that literary symphony, one that is unquestionably significant for Vienna as the home of Beethoven and as the urban stage on which he performed. Altenberg and Polgar were undoubtedly influenced by Hermann Bahr. His written programmatic references to the symphony are more grounded up in art than either Altenberg or Polgar’s respective references to the symphony. Given his influence over *Jung Wien*, however, his deployment of the symphony, mixing images of urban musical life with the cross-sensorial experiences, does reverberate with some of Altenberg’s and Polgar’s works, particularly in the depiction of a more romantic, naturally-attuned symphony outside of the city centre, just like those depictions of Wieland and, later, Thomas Mann. The symphony of

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Hermann Bahr, especially the moment where he cross references musical images of the conductor, orchestra and symphony to the environment, albeit the built environment, reverberates with Thomas Mann’s own cross-referencing of the urban musical life with the physical environment as dreamt by Castrop.

Just as the symphony as a literary motif in German modernism has received little academic treatment, something that this study has attempted to counteract, the sound and music emitting device to which Mann’s Castrop listens attentively in Davos is just as underexplored. In the chapter *Fülle des Wohllauts*, the sanatorium in Davos procures a ‘Musikapparat’ for its guests: a gramophone. It is to this device as a literary motif that this study now turns, asking what role the gramophone plays in urban musical life and how the gramophone is presented as a literary motif. In literary discourse on the gramophone, German historical dimensions and initial written responses to the gramophone have too often been overlooked. The first ever gramophone performance in the *Musikstadt Berlin* shall be the initial focus of attention, setting the aural historical backdrop for the literary contextualisation that follows.
4. Urban Articulations of the Gramophone in Literature

4.1. Early Positionings of the Gramophone and Phonograph in the Literary World

Listed in the theatre column of both the *Volks-Zeitung* and *Neue Preussische Zeitung* on Friday 10 January 1890, the *Belle-Alliance Theater* in Berlin announced the first public demonstration of Emil Berliner’s *Grammophon*.¹ For the price of fifty German pfennigs, Berliners were given the chance to attend any one of the half-hourly performances of the gramophone in the theatre during the course of the day. The following day, on Saturday, the number of gramophone performances was reduced to hourly intervals, but their length presumably extended before they were transferred from the theatre auditorium into the lobby on Sunday.² Lasting one week, the public demonstrations of this new *Lautnach sprecher* found considerable favour from the assembled crowd, as reported in the *National-Zeitung*, published in Berlin, on 15 January 1890: ‘E. Berliner’s “Grammophon,” daß jetzt täglich von 10-1 und 3-6 im Belle-Alliance-Theater vorgeführt wird, erregt durch seine bewundernswerthen Leistungen fortgesetzt die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums.’³

This particular event, just confined to a handful of original newspapers and noticeably absent from aural historical accounts of the gramophone, signifies a unique aural-visual phenomenon: it is the first commercial demonstration of this mechanical

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¹ Both the *Volks-Zeitung* and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* featured the following caption in their Friday, 10 January 1890 newspaper editions: ‘Zum 1. Male Vorführung von Emil Berliner’s “Grammophon”. Vorführung von 10 Uhr morgens bis 1 Uhr Mittags und von 4 Uhr Nachmittags bis 10 Uhr abends halbstündlich.’ Cf: *Volks-Zeitung* (Zweites Blatt), 10 January 1890, p. 4. and *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (Morgen-Ausgabe), 10 January 1890, p. 3.

² In following day’s edition of the *Volks-Zeitung*, ‘Zum 1. Male’ was, for obvious reasons, omitted and ‘halbstündlich’ was replaced with ‘ständlich’. Cf: *Volks-Zeitung* (Zweites Blatt), 11 January 1890, p. 4.

sound-reproducing device to a public audience in Germany. The gramophone, visible to the assembled audience in the Belle-Alliance Theater in Berlin, discharged various musical tunes and voice recordings, whose amplification could be adjusted up or down accordingly. This audio-visual event at the Belle-Alliance Theater would take the gramophone out of the exclusive realms of scientific invention and supplant it in the commercial world as well as in the modern mind of the urban dweller.

With the invention and public demonstrations of Berliner’s gramophone came, unsurprisingly, the earliest, if not some of the first German written articulations on the gramophone in January 1890. The focus of these early written reflections was on the possible future practical uses and applications of this and other sound recording and sound reproducing devices. What is interesting about these early written reflections on the gramophone from 1890 is their potential usage for the recording of language and literary texts as opposed to the recording of music, for which the gramophone (as a playback device and its associated visual imagery) is most synonymous to this day. On Thursday 9 January 1890, for instance, a day prior to the first commercial demonstration of the gramophone at the Belle-Alliance Theater in Berlin, an article appeared in the Feuilleton column of the Volks-Zeitung entitled Der Phonograph und sein Zwillingsbruder das Grammophon. Citing a suggestion from a Professor Kauffmann from the Hungarian city of Pest, part of the front page article reads:

Jetzt hat nun aber Prof. Kauffmann in Pest einen Vorschlag zur Verwendung dieser Instrumente auf einem ganz anderen Gebiete gemacht: er will den Phonographen und ebenso das Grammophon in den Dienst der Humanität stellen. Welche Mühe macht es heut zu Tage, einen Blinden im Leben zu unterrichten und welche Mühe hat der Blinde, wenn er ein Buch lesen will, welches

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4 The most comprehensive study on the early gramophone and its uses by Chew overlooks this particular public gramophone performance in Germany and analyses the sound machine’s invention in the context of the advent of ‘musical entertainment’. Literary references to the gramophone, too, go ignored. Cf.: V. K. Chew, Talking Machines 1877–1914: some aspects of the early history of the gramophone (London: HMSO, 1967).
Though placing more emphasis on Edison’s phonograph as opposed to Berliner’s newer gramophone, Kauffmann identifies, in 1890, the potential of sound recording and reproducing technologies as an aural aid for the visually impaired to access literary works. Coming just over a decade after the introduction of Braille to Germany in 1879, to which the words ‘eine besondere Art für ihn gedruckt werden muss’ presumably refer, Kauffmann offers an aural alternative to the tactile reading of literary texts through the system of raised dots devised by Louis Braille. Moreover, Kauffmann’s proposal of capturing, recording and distributing not just single words but entire books on cylinder have all the hallmarks of both the production and the commercial distribution of talking books. Indeed, Kauffmann’s suggestion can be seen as the precursor to the modern day Hörbücher, audio books, livre audio within the German-speaking hemisphere.

Secondary literature into the phenomenon of the Hörbuch has long recognised its significance as a means for the visually impaired and blind to absorb literary works: Stefan Köhler, for instance, identifies the 1954 Deutsche Grammophon recording of Gustav Gründgens’s production of Faust as one of the first Literaturtonträger to be released in Germany. Its intention: ‘Hörliteratur für Blinde in einem kommerziellen

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6 Ibid., p. 1.
7 This is one of the earliest references in the German-speaking hemisphere to use the phonograph and the gramophone as a reading aid for the blind. Twelve years prior to Kauffmann making this suggestion, however, Thomas Edison, alas referring solely to his invention of the phonograph, identified ‘books [that] may be read by the charitably-inclined professional reader, or by such readers especially for that purpose, and the record of such book used in the asylums of the blind.’ Cf.: Thomas A. Edison, ‘The Phonograph and its Future’, The North American Review, 126 (1878), p. 533.
Rahmen auf Tonträgern anzubieten. The entry for *Hörbuch* in *Reclams Sachlexikon des Buches*, compiled by Dirk Wetzel, also identifies the *Hörbuch* as ‘eine Hilfe für sehbehinderte Menschen’; but the definition goes a step further in tracing the inspiration for the *Hörbuch* back to the talking books produced by the American National *Service for Blind and Handicapped People* in 1935. Yet Kauffmann’s suggestion, made as early as 1890, predates the earliest references which are contained in secondary literature on the practical uses and applications of audio recorded literature for the blind. This serves to demonstrate that the literary-historical nature of the *Hörbuch* dates back to the infancy of Edison’s phonograph and Berliner’s gramophone rather than, for instance, the founding of the *Blindenhörbucherei* in Marburg in 1954.

In January 1890, the same month and year as Kauffmann put forward his suggestion for the audio-literary applications for the phonograph and the gramophone, Dr. G van Munden published a short, comparative essay entitled *Phonograph, Graphophon und Grammophon* in the German journal *Unsere Zeit*. Recognising the gramophone as the superior *Lautnachsprecher* out of the three under investigation, van Munden singled out specific language pedagogical applications for Berliner’s gramophone:


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10 Cf.: Ibid., p. 262.
Van Munden, author of the *Sammlung französischer Schriftsteller für den Schul- und Privatgebrauch* (1863) and editor of *Die Erfindungen der neuesten Zeit – Zwanzig Jahre industrieller Fortschritte im Zeitalter der Weltausstellung* (1883), clearly had foreign language pedagogical and recent scientific matters at heart when reflecting on the possible future applications and uses of the gramophone. Whilst Kauffmann’s suggestion can be interpreted as the precursor to the *Hörbuch* in the German-speaking world, van Munden’s proposed practical applications of this new recording technology finds its modern day manifestations in the dual world of (foreign) language learning and in the preservation of soon-to-be extinct oral languages in digital sound archives.\(^\text{12}\) Unlike the substantial time lapse between Kauffmann’s suggestion and the advent of the *Hörbuch* (as defined by Wetzel), it was only a matter of two decades before van Munden’s proposed practical uses would become a reality.

These journalistic reflections on Kauffmann and these essayistic reflections by van Munden respectively, coinciding with the first commercial demonstration of the gramophone in January 1890 in Berlin, reveal the extent to which this recording and play-back equipment was identified as a complement to literature and literary texts and not so much as a competitor. Considering the etymological origins of the terms *phonograph, graphophone* and the *gramophone*, it should not come as a surprise that Kauffmann and van Munden saw in these modern inventions a significant value and potential for the world of literature. As van Munden correctly pointed out in his article,

\(^{12}\) Despite being a common feature in many of the world’s principle libraries as they actively seek to diversify their holdings to incorporate a range of audio material into their collections (e.g. The British Library *Sound Archive*, the *Phonoteque*, the Swiss National Sound Archives), the thorough analysis of the history of the *sound archive* still remains a research desideratum. Though a number of small investigations on individual sound archives exist and a short but concise definition in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* is offered, the project as a whole, in its international, even global context, has yet to be the subject of a thorough, detailed investigation.
all three terms are derived from the Greek: phonograph, rendered as ‘sound writer’ in English, is derived from the Greek words φωνή (meaning ‘sound’ or ‘voice’) and γραφή (meaning ‘writing’); Chichester Bell’s and Charles Sumner Tainter’s 1886 patented invention of the graphophone simply reverses these two elements of Edison’s ‘sound writer’; and the initial element of the word gramophone draws on the Greek word γραμμή (meaning ‘line’), yet its pronunciation is hardly distinguishable from the Greek word γράμμα (‘to write’ or ‘to inscribe’). Psychological linguists, such as Benjamin Lee Whorf, have long suspected a link between language and the way individuals think. In a narrower sense: the inherent meaning of the individual unit of language, i.e. the word, can influence and condition an individual’s thinking. Such interpretations are enforced by the proposal of Kauffmann and the practical suggestions offered by van Munden regarding the future use of the gramophone: though not immediately apparent in their articles, the Greek definitions embedded in the words phonograph, graphophone and gramophone lie at the heart of their thoughts, shaping, moulding, even conditioning their reflections on these new sound technologies.

With the epistemological nature of the words gramophone, phonograph and graphophone, lending itself to literary readings and interpretations, together with the first deliberations on the practical uses of these sonic devices, it is highly surprising that they have not been the subject of more concerted literary investigation. Indeed, Rüdiger Görner’s observation that the gramophone (not to mention the phonograph and graphophone) has been given very little treatment as a literary motif rings true here. Given that the first public performance of the gramophone in the German-speaking

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hemisphere was in the *Musikstadt Berlin*, and at one of its principle locations (*Belle-Alliance-Theater*), the performance would not just usher in a new era of music consumption that would fundamentally impact on musical life and on the *Musikstadt*. Forty years after the first ever public performance in Berlin, the chief conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Wilhelm Furtwängler published his essay *Die Lebenskraft der Musik* (1931). Centred around the gramophone, Furtwängler recognised the practical and pedagogical benefits of the device, but saw a catastrophic undermining of concert and musical life through the mechanisation of music:

> Die Musik wurde mehr und mehr ihres motorischen, leibhaftig-unmittelbaren Charakters entkleidet: der Rhythmus, der Pulsschlag des lebendigen Herzens, wurde dem mechanisch-schematischen Takt der Maschine angenähert, die organische Gestalt bis in die kleinste Gesangsphase hinein eines Teiles ihres Gehaltes an Wärme, an prallem, blutvollem, lebendigem ‘Sein’ beraubt.\(^{14}\)

The question is how literature in German modernism treated the gramophone within this forty-year period from the hopes of 1890 to the critical rumblings of one of German’s principle and well-known conductors. It is to the gramophone as a literary motif that this chapter now turns its attention.

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4.2 The Gramophone as a Literary Motif in Viennese Kaffehausliteratur

What is immediately apparent about the literary instances of the gramophone in German modernism is the extent to which the gramophone represents, as Chew said, ‘musical entertainment’; its early proposed usages for literary recordings, as cited above, would appear to have been sidelined in favour of musical recordings. The repercussions for musical life must have been significant and extreme. As opposed to attending a concert, music could be consumed in peoples’ own living rooms in the comfort of their homes. Peter Altenberg, who is known to have possessed a gramophone and a wide collection of records, wrote at the end of the First World War in *Simplicissimus*, that ‘das Grammophon das Opernhaus [besiegt]’, declaring rather proudly ‘mein lieber Herr Caruso, ich habe dich im “Grammophon” genossen für fünfzig Heller’. For the price of half of an Austrian crown or *Krone*, the denomination at the time, Altenberg boasts of hearing the world famous singer, Enrico Caruso, the same singer to whom Mann alludes in *Der Zauberberg*. The fifty Heller paid by Altenberg to hear Caruso recalls the fifty pfennigs paid by the Berlin audience to listen to the first gramophone performance in the *Musikstadt*: music is now subject to both machine and money. It is unknown whether Altenberg is referring to one of the numerous *Münz-Grammophone* or of a public gramophone performance to which each individual contributes fifty heller. Irrespective of whether it was a coin insertion machine or the handing over of the fifty Heller coin to pay for the public performance, it also recalls

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17 Ibid., p. 110.
Ingeborg Bachmann’s observation of *Musikstädte* in which ‘im Kleinen wie im Großen wird immerzu klingende Münze für die Musik ausgeworfen’.¹⁸

Just as Altenberg’s reflections of the gramophone are purely autobiographical with a tinge of cultural criticism, the gramophone receives more treatment from his contemporary, Alfred Polgar, specifically with regards to its sound output, which is contrasted with the voice of the unseen buried dead and the Berlin buzz of professional work. The early gramophone was known for its background hiss or crackling, its so-called *Nebengeräusch*; and it is this very parallel sound that accompanies the playing of music to which Berger refers in 1927:

> Der Mensch ist, was er ist. Besonders in Berlin. Hier kann man es mit freiem Auge sehen, daß der Beruf den Menschen ausübt und nicht umgekehrt. Hier versteht kein Tätiger die Kunst, sich aus dem Interessenkreis, in den er gebannt ist, auch nur für kurze Weile hinauszuzauern. Hier bibbert auch, wer stille steht wie angekurbelt und nur gebremst. […] Auch in des Feiernden Brust taktet ohne Aufhören der Motor des Berufs: mit hörbarem Gesumm. Es mischt sich in die Melodie der Ruhe, selbst in die des Vergnügens, und ganz auszuschalten ist es, wie die Nebengeräusche im Grammophon, niemals.¹⁹

In contrast to Vienna, the Berlin in Polger’s eyes is one that is motorised and technologicalized. Yet, this assessment does not merely refer to the life of the city. But from an urban sociological perspective, it refers to the life of the individual within that city. It is almost as if the Berlin worker has become enslaved in the motorised and mechanical rhythm of urban work. This mechanicalisation of the human through work is not just visible, but also has auditory significance: ‘mit hörbarem Gesumm’, as Polger puts it. This mechanism has penetrated into every part of urban life. Even moments of solitude and pleasure in the city have now been penetrated by the motorised and mechanicalised human, whose in-sound is likened to the somewhat disturbing crackling of the gramophone. In the same year as Polgar compared the image of the Berliner as a

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¹⁸ Ingeborg Bachmann, ‘Musikstädte’, 315.
¹⁹ Alfred Polgar, ‘Beruf’, *Berliner Tageblatt*, 1 December 1927 [page number unknown].
mechanicalised worker, in 1927, the German expressionist film *Metropolis* by Fritz Lang was released in Berlin, having been produced on the city’s outskirts at the Babelsberg Studio. It is unknown whether Polgar, on his visit to Berlin, saw Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* or, alternatively, heard about its existence through the plethora of negative reviews about the film. Polgar’s article *Beruf* appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on 1 December 1927, whilst the film ran up until the financial catastrophe of Black Friday, on 12 May 1927. Irrespective of whether Polgar did or did not see the film, the parallels between Polgar’s *Beruf* and Lang’s *Metropolis* are all too evident: the motorised urban worker, the enslavement in work, and the rhythm and melody of life dictated by and subjugated to urban work. Whilst Fritz Lang commissioned the German composer, conductor and singer, Gottfried Huppertz, to set these themes to music for the film *Metropolis*, Alfred Polgar sets similar themes to sound: the background sound of the gramophone.

Just as the film *Metropolis* portrays the ‘Tiefe’ as the underground world of work with its motorised marching workers, set to music accordingly, Alfred Polgar plays on a similar theme of the ‘Tiefe’ in specific relation to the gramophone. In his text fragment *Stilleben* (1928), also published in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Polgar depicts an imaginary couple, man and wife, absorbing the countryside with its natural charm, peace and tranquillity. It is punctuated only by the voice of the man exclaiming: ‘Himmlisch diese Ruhe!’ In the setting of the meadow near the sea, in which the fragment plays out, the man named Jack Smith together with his wife would appear to have brought a gramophone with them. The sound emitting device contrasts with the descriptions of nature and the natural scenery, but is somehow intertwined with it: ‘Das Grammophon steht auf dem Rasen; so macht es den Eindruck, als ob die Stimme aus der Tiefe käme,
aus einem Grabe’. Playing on Jack Smith’s delight of this Stilleben and that ‘every day is holiday’, Polgar would add: ‘Ein Toter unter der Erde flüstert herauf, daß ihm every day holiday sei.’\textsuperscript{20} The impression gained by the gramophone in Polgar’s fragment is one of immortality, where the dead are given life, evoked through the power of recorded voice. Pre-programmed by Edison’s Secretary’s declaration that the human voice had become ‘immortal’ through the sound recording and play-back invention, audio media technologies as a reviver of the dead, or, as Kittler called it, as ‘Gespenstererscheinungen’\textsuperscript{21} is something that fascinated German literary figures in the decades leading up to Polgar’s fragment.

This phenomenon stretches right back through the nineteenth century into the eighteenth century when the play-back of sound from new mechanischen Musikinstrumenten, or mechanical musical instruments, was an integral element of the wider urban soundscape. By the eighteenth century, inventions such as Jacques de Vaucanson’s The Flute Player and The Tambourine Player automatons gave philosophers and literary figures food for intellectual thought.\textsuperscript{22} Literary responses to these early mechanischen Musikinstrumenten, just like the gramophone later, reflected a kind of grappling of the perceived dichotomy between representations of music, the living and the dead. This is perhaps best captured in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Die Automate

\textsuperscript{21} Friedrich Kittler, Grammophon Film Typewriter (Berlin: Brinkmann & Bose, 1986), p. 22.
\textsuperscript{22} For an overview of ‘Die mechanischen Musikinstrumente in der Dichtung’, refer to: Musikautomaten und mechanische Musikinstrumente. Beschreibender Katalog der Seewener Privatsammlung, ed. by Heinrich Weiss-Stauffacher and Rudolf Bruhin (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1975), pp. 11–12.
(1814) when the protagonist, Ludwig, exclaims with such discord: ‘diese wahren Standbilder eines lebendigen Todes oder eines toten Lebens[!]'\textsuperscript{23}

Coming back into the twentieth century: another literary articulation of an audio recording device supposedly reviving the dead is Salomo Friedlaender-Mynona’s \textit{Goethe spricht in den Phonographen} (1916). The protagonist, Professor Abnossah Pschorr, in somewhat grotesque fashion, attempts and succeeds in satisfying the expressed wishes of his true love, Anna Pomke, to make the dead vocal organs of Goethe audible once more. In resurrecting Goethe’s voice of the past, Friedlaender factors in numerous preconditions, both into Pschorr academic background and the setting of the unusual experiment on which the professor embarks: firstly, the protagonist is presented not just as the inventor of the ‘Ferntaster’, hinting at an activation of something from a distance or from something distant, but also as a talented engineer, a ‘Psychophysiolog, Hypnotiseur, Psychiater, Psychoanalytiker’\textsuperscript{24}, all of which are prerequisites for the run-up and execution of his experiment. Secondly: to stand any chance of recreating Goethe’s voice at the exact place where he is known to have spoke, then geographical proximity is essential for the perceived success of Pschorr’s experiment. It is, for this reason, that Weimar, more specifically, Goethe’s \textit{Arbeitszimmer} at the \textit{Goethehaus} in Weimar, sets the scene for the grand demonstration of Pschorr’s experiment. Without the scientific imagination of Pschorr and the appropriate loci for the experiment, the results of the experiment would have been completely unthinkable. The experiment was based on the scientific presumption that whenever Goethe spoke, his voice produced vibrations which


\textsuperscript{24} Samuel Friedlaender's \textit{Goethe spricht in den Phonographen} is quoted in full in the aforementioned source: Friedrich Kittler, \textit{Grammophon Film Typewriter} (Berlin: Brinkmann & Bose, 1986), pp. 93–107 (p. 95).
continue through the course of time. Though these vibrations become weaker, they are still present, in a weak form, in the atmosphere. Pschorr’s experiment was, in short, the creation of media gadgetry, even puppetry, to receive these vibrations, record and amplify them. Identifying the construction of the receiver as the most difficult feat of the experiment, Pschorr asked himself how the receiver could be adjusted to the vibrations of Goethe’s voice, especially as the great German literary figure and his voice were confined to the past – distant and archaic. The answer lay in the analysis of the corpse of Goethe and of his throat. Using his powers of hypnosis, Pschorr hypnotised the guards at Goethe’s tomb and entered, taking measurements and wax moulding of ‘Goethes Kadaver’. Building ‘Goethes Kehlkopf als Attrappe, als mechanischen Apparat’, a type of mechanical ‘Empfangsorgan’ and model of Goethe’s larynx, Pschorr first presented his device to Anna Pomke. ‘Wohl ist es Goethe, seine Stimme, seine Worte,’ Pschorr remarks to Ponke, who was surprised and taken aback as the mechanically rendered voice was so close to the one that she envisaged to be that of Goethe’s. It only remained for Pschorr to demonstrate his machine in exactly the same spatial zone where the vibrations of Goethe’s voice still lingered to the present day. In justifying the experiment to the Hofrat Professor Böffel, Pschorr exclaimed: ‘Ich will den Stimmklang des Goetheschen Organs täuschend naturgetreu reproduzieren.’ The contraption was assembled in

25 ‘Er soll ein so schönes Organ gehabt haben, und was er sprach, war so gehaltvoll.’ This was one of the initial verbal exchanges between Anna Ponke und Professor Abnossah Pschorr in Salomo Friedlaender’s Goethe spricht in den Phonographen (1916). Although Goethe has been extensively assessed in secondary discourse, the power of his voice is something that has received very little academic attention. The impressive nature of Goethe’s larynx, his ‘so schönes Organ’, to which Ponke refers, is echoed by the twelve-year-old Felix Mendelssohn. In a letter to his parents, dated 10 November 1821, from Weimar, where Zelter introduced Goethe to the Wunderkind, Mendelssohn wrote: ‘Einen ungeheuren Klang der Stimme hat er [Goethe] und schreien kann er wie zehntausend Streiter. Sein Haar ist noch nicht weiß (mit 72), sein Gang ist fest, seine Rede sanft.’ Cf.: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, ‘Letter from Weimar, November 10, 1821’, in Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: sein Leben in Briefen, ed. by Reinhold Sietz (Cologne; Krefeld: Staufen-Verlag, 1948), pp. 15–6 (p. 15).

Goethe’s *Arbeitzimmer* in Weimar, placed on a tripod at a height where Goethe’s mouth would have been positioned whilst sitting at his desk. From this spot, the machine meets the vibrations that would have modulated his spoken words when he was alive. Eventually the ‘bekannte heisere Zischen, Räuspern und Quetschen’\(^{27}\), the technical imperfections of the early phonograph, gives way to ‘eine besondre Stimme’, which electrifies the assembled crowd. It is the perceived voice of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Just as Polgar sees the gramophone as an object through which the dead speak to the living, through which the dead speak from the grave, Friedlaender’s short story is an earlier literary articulation of this phenomenon. Whilst Polgar’s depiction is a likening or a literary contrast, Friedlaender’s story assumes a more sinister form in a world of absurdity. But it was not just Polgar and, earlier, Friedlaender whose literary musings centred on the immortality properties of the gramophone, Hermann Bahr, too, pondered and philosophized on the gramophone, saying in 1917:

> Es ist kein Buch, das man liest, es ist ein Grammophon, das man hört. Eine ganz neue Form der Mitteilung ist hier erreicht, von einer Unmittelbarkeit, Nähe, Lebendigkeit, die fast etwas Unheimliches hat.\(^{28}\)

Recalling comments by Friedrich Nietzsche, the German philosopher had noted in the last half of the nineteenth century that ‘Der Deutsche liest nicht laut, nicht fürs Ohr, sondern bloß mit den Augen: er hat seine Ohren dabei ins Schubfach gelegt.’\(^{29}\) Bahr recognises, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the manifest nature of the gramophone in society; and that the book as the printed source of medium was giving

\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 102.
\(^{28}\) *Hermann Bahr, Tagebücher 1919* (Leipzig; Wien; Zürich: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia(?)), 1920, p. 120.
way to the gramophone. Taking Bahr’s words at face value, an acoustic revolution would appear to have taken place by 1917, precipitating a shift in the sensorial realms back to the ear. It is now the book, the printed media, which would appear to have been—to adapt Nietzsche’s words to Bahr’s observation—‘dabei ins Schubfach gelegt’. Behind Bahr’s perceptions of the gramophone as a mechanic object that is immediate, proximate and life-like is the counter-effect of the gramophone capturing the past, the distant and the non life-like, i.e. the human voice lost to death. Coincidentally, in exactly the same year as Friedlaender-Mynona’s publication, in 1917, Bahr published a set of essays entitled Um Goethe. Just as Friedlaender had brought together Goethe and the acoustic technology of the phonograph, Bahr, too, brings Goethe and the gramophone in an essay in the Um Goethe volume entitled Der Unsterbliche. The publication, as the concluding paragraphs demonstrate, coincided with the release of the forty-volume Propyläen-Ausgabe of Goethe’s works by Georg Müller. However, historical research shows that this edition was published in 1911, six years before Bahr’s essay from 1917. In fact, the essay is a reprint of an earlier essay in Essays von Hermann Bahr five years earlier in 1912. The essay can be regarded partly as a book recommendation and partly as a lebensphilosophisch take on Goethe. Rather programmatically, Bahr passes the following judgement about the forty volumes, containing Goethe’s works, letters, diary entries and conversations: ‘Wir haben hier eigentlich zum erstenmal den ganzen Goethe lebendig vor uns; er spricht mit uns, und sein großes Auge blickt uns an’.\(^{30}\) Though long since deceased, Goethe lives through the medium of the published volumes, speaking to its

readers and looks at them as if he were, in fact, still alive. This ‘spricht mit uns’ evokes Friedlaender’s short story where Goethe speaks to the assembled crowd in Goethe’s Arbeitzimmer in Weimar. Indeed, the connection between Bahr’s essay and Friedlaender’s story runs much deeper: Bahr tells the story of a young man, on the verge of suicide, who was rescued by the ‘durchleuchtenden Stimme’\(^{31}\) of a singer. In some embarrassment, the unnamed man was unable to name or identify the singer to Bahr as it originated from a gramophone. Bahr continues:


It is unknown whether Friedlaender, living in Berlin at the time of his publication, knew of the existence of Bahr’s essay. Given his network of contacts in the Expressionist world, his contributions to various Expressionist magazines under the pseudonym of Mynona (the German word for anonymous spelt backwards), he would have been very familiar with the body of works by Hermann Bahr. Similarities exist between Bahr’s lebensphilosophischen questioning of the gramophone’s ability for the dead to speak and Friedlaender’s literary translation of the dead speaking to an audience. Goethe acts as a

\(^{31}\) Hermann Bahr, ‘Goethe’, 26–33, (p. 27).

\(^{32}\) Ibid., pp. 27–28.
coordinator, in the realms of time and space, in both instances. Whilst Bahr highlights the gramophone as a reviver of the dead to inspire the present and then contrasts, Friedlaender combines the modern acoustic technology with the revival of Goethe’s voice to achieve exactly the same result in his science fiction story. As opposed to the technical capacities of the gramophone one-hundred years in the future, as expressed by Bahr, Friedlaender seeks to translate these in the present to yield the voice of one-hundred years prior: the voice of Goethe from 1800.

Bahr’s reflections blend a personal encounter with early philosophical considerations on the gramophone, ones whose roots can be traced back to the ‘immortal’ declaration of Edison’s secretary. The literary reflections on the gramophone, irrespective of whether they are Bahr’s contrast between Goethe and the voice or Polgar’s object of awakening the dead, blend the themes of resurrection, awakening and immortality together. The musical object of the gramophone has not just become a rival to the musical life of the city, as expressed by Altenberg and substantiated later by Furtwängler; it had become, as early as 1911, both a motif of literary depiction and object of philosophical deliberation. Notwithstanding its rural references, such as in Polgar’s *Stilleben*, published in Berlin where he lived during the Golden Twenties, the gramophone has an urban sociological resonance: the metropolis is where Bahr’s singer, and apparently, his near-suicidal listener live through the song of the gramophone. The city is where Altenberg observes the fall in attendance numbers at the *Opernhaus* owing to the gramophone. The city is home to the background gramophone buzz, as Polgar explained, which is likened to the rhythms of urban work and workers in Berlin. Seen through these particular literary reflections, the advent of the gramophone in musical history had a sociological impact on
the urbanite and the urban writer. None more so was that the case with Thomas Mann and the presentation of the gramophone in his Bildungsroman, Der Zauberberg. According to Rüdiger Görner, the motif of the gramophone was of even greater interest because of its ‘ästhetische[n] Funktion des Grammophons im Erzählzusammenhang’. 33 Stefan Bub’s literary analysis of Thomas Mann’s treatment of the gramophone led him to the conclusion that the gramophone as a machine had an aura. The gramophone is linked in Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg, according to Bub, with ‘experiences of the startling discontinuity of time and awareness of death.’ 34 It is to the motif of the gramophone in Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg that this chapter now focuses its attention.

4.3 The Gramophone as a Literary Motif in Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg

In 1929, five years after the publication of Der Zauberberg, Thomas Mann was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in Stockholm. The substantial sum of money of 200,000 marks awarded to Thomas Mann was spent, in part, on an electrical gramophone and numerous records. Today, these records, bought by Mann in the late Twenties, are housed in both the Rundfunkarchiv in Frankfurt or the Deutschen Musikarchiv in Berlin. Indisputable is the fact that Mann was fascinated by the object of the gramophone and by the music record, the Schallplatte, not just in his literary works, in which the gramophone manifested itself as a literary motif, but also autobiographically speaking. Personal testimony and the testimony of others, diary entries and letters prove, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the gramophone played a central role in entertaining Thomas Mann, irrespective of whether it is in Munich of the Twenties or in Switzerland of the early Fifties. When analysing the gramophone and its predecessor, the phonograph as a literary motif, these objects have often been unattached from their role in defining a new urban musical life, particularly when these objects became more affordable to the wider public. Indeed, what the piano was to the bürgerliche Musikkultur of the nineteenth century,²⁵ it could be said, the gramophone appears to be the early twentieth century bürgerlich equivalent: a middle class must-have, furniture accessory, adorning Wohnzimmer across the German-speaking hemisphere. One of the most famous pictorial representations, that of a photo, bringing Thomas Mann, the gramophone and the living room setting together, was taken in Munich in 1922. Mann, with his arms folded, is looking directly into a gramophone case, on which a record is clearly visible. Given the position of the needle

²⁵ Eberhard Preußner spoke of the piano as a ‘bürgerliches Hausmöbel [um 1800]’, resulting in wider educational emphasis on music acquisition which had not hereto been the case. Cf.: Eberhard Preußner, Die bürgerliche Musikkultur, p. 197.
on the gramophone, it may be presumed that the picture captures Mann ‘beim Musikhören’ in his Munich living room.\footnote{A copy of this picture can be found in the following volume: Volker Mertens, \textit{Groß ist das Geheimnis: Thomas Mann und die Musik} (Leipzig: Militzke, 2006), p. 5.} Mann, however, did not just listen alone. Such acoustic objects for the home would lend themselves to \textit{Grammophon-Abende} or \textit{Plattenabende} where records would either be played for active or passive listening in private surroundings. Just as the second chapter showed, Mann enjoyed many musical evenings, full of instrumental playing and singing of classical music. He is known to have also held \textit{Plattenabende}, sometimes to the annoyance of his neighbours because of the loud volume at which he played his records. In the surroundings of his house on the \textit{Poschinger Straße}, presumably in 1924, Thomas Mann entertained the Munich painter and illustrator, Hermann Ebers (1882–1955). Recalling a visit to Mann’s home, Ebers writes:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

Even thirty years later, towards the end of his life, Thomas Mann was still listening to \textit{Schallplatten}, still giving \textit{Plattenabende}, combining poetry readings from his wife, Erika, which were followed up with the playing of music records.\footnote{The ‘Anmerkungen’ in the edited volume of his diaries for the entry 3 October 1954 cites, in full a newspaper article from the \textit{Münchener Illustrierte}, entitled as ‘Professor Zauberer. Thomas Mann, gesehen von Erika Mann’ from the previous day. One of the ‘Bildunterschrift’, as quoted in the ‘Anmerkungen’, reads: ‘Katia Mann, Thomas Mann, Platten hörend; Erika Mann Platten wechselnd’. Cf.: \textit{Thomas Mann Tagebücher 1953–1955}, ed. by Inge Jens (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1995), p. 682.} His diary entries from 1953, for instance, two years before his death, show that evening ‘Grammophon-Konzert[e]
were in full swing at their home in Ehlenbach, near Zurich. From Wagner to Weber, Beethoven to Brahms and Mendelssohn to Mahler – the range of records, incorporating symphonies, operas and concertos, demonstrates not just an avid interest in musical matters, but also how deeply entrenched music had become on Thomas Mann’s life. It would be a fair assumption to make that Mann led a Musikleben, not understood in the truest sense of the word as a manifestation of cultural offerings in the city, but as a life – as Bruno Walter wrote in his autobiography – ‘gefüllt von Musik’. The centrality of the gramophone in Thomas Mann’s life, as depicted in these diary entries and the personal testimony of Hermann Ebers, is mirrored in the prominence given to the gramophone in Der Zauberberg.

Considering the Entstehungszeit of Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg from 1913 to 1924 and Thomas Mann’s first encounter with the gramophone in 1920, a chronological convergence is more than apparent. It is this convergence that would appear to have informed Mann’s final chapter of Der Zauberberg, in which ‘Fülle des Wohllauts’ would play a significant role, as Rüdiger Görner put it, on the aesthetic function of the gramophone in terms of the wider narrative. Exclaiming to the guests of the sanatorium, Hofrat Behrens presents the gramophone as the ‘neueste Modell’, as the ‘letzte Errungenschaft’. In all likelihood, the novelty of the gramophone expressed in Der Zauberberg would have corresponded to feelings of novelty that were present in Mann’s life.

40 Taking just the time span of a month, from 7 March 1953 to 8 April 1953, Mann’s diary entries from this period are heavily interwoven with evening listening of musical interpretations of works composed by the composers listed here. Cf.: Thomas Mann Tagebücher 1953–1955, pp. 32–47.
when he was first introduced to the gramophone by the cultural historian Georg Martin Richter in Feldafing in southern Bavaria. Indeed, Mann’s diary entry for 10 February 1920 sheds light not only on Mann’s initial reaction but also on its potential as a motif for Der Zauberberg:


The Zbg., of course, is the abbreviated form of Der Zauberberg, on which Mann was working at the time. Without this aural experience, one involving his wife and a close confidante, it is highly questionable whether the gramophone would have made it into Der Zauberberg at all. Mann’s experience of the gramophone, in a non-urban setting (though the device itself, as shown above, was first presented in Berlin in 1890), directly impacts, influences, even sets the tone for the narrative. The epic nature of the scientific discovery of sound entrapment and play-back does correspond in some way to the epic nature of Mann’s Bildungsroman, which he would later liken, as shown in the previous chapter, to a symphony. The motif of the gramophone, then, may be regarded as one of the final motifs in Mann’s own symphonic composition. The position of the gramophone in Mann’s written symphonic composition can be compared to that of the role of the gramophone on the musical symphony and on modern urban musical life at the start of the twentieth century: the symphony was subject to a new modern ‘Klangkörper’, not so much that of a performing orchestra, but of the ‘Musikapparat’ of the gramophone. Attention now turns to the role of the gramophone in Der Zauberberg in bringing urban

musical life to the mountain-top retreat, a theme often overlooked in the analysis of *Fülle des Wohllauts* in Mann’s novel.

The initial description of the gramophone in *Fülle des Wohllauts* is one of the visual images that would seem to elevate the visual over the aural. The gramophone was a ‘sinnreiches Spielzeug also von der Art des stereoskopischen Guckkastens, des fernrohrförmigen Kaleidoskops und der kinematographischen Trommel’. Of course, it is no surprise that the gramophone was likened to a toy: as V. K. Chew showed, the gramophone was first made commercially available in Germany ‘in the undignified form of a plaything, manufactured by the toy-making firm of Kämmer & Reinhardt of Waltershausen’. The likening of the gramophone to other visual images, such as the tube of mirrors known as a kaleidoscope and the visual exclusivity of the cinematographic, would consolidate the visuality of this object. It is not until the record is set straight and the gramophone as an event is reflected upon in its true aural realms: ‘das war keine optische Veranstaltung, […] sondern eine akustische’. Though the gramophone is singled out in visual terms at the outset of Mann’s description, the acoustic novelty of this *event* relegates the visual to a lower sensory status. However, the deployment of visual imagery and visual objects to describe the gramophone and its output does not stop there; it is redeployed a short time later, more specifically in relation to a gramophone concert:

\[\text{Naturlich war es nicht so, wie wenn eine wirkliche Kapelle im Zimmer hier konzertiert hättet. Der Klangkörper, unentstellt im übrigen, erlitt eine perspektivische Minderung; es war, wenn es erlaubt ist, für den Gehörsfall ein Gleichnis aus dem Gebiet des Gesichtes einzusetzen, als ob man ein Gemälde durch ein umgekehrtes Opernglas betrachtete, so daβ es entrückt und verkleinert.}\]

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The instrument used to view the equivalent visual impact of the acoustic results of the gramophone is, in itself, an accessory designed for the ever-expanding urban concert hall and opera house: a pair of opera glasses. This object can, of course, be seen in a long line of optical instrument to sharpen view and focus of a particular focal point, irrespective of whether it is the telescope or the monocle. But the ‘Opernglas’ is sheerly designed for a specific purpose: for musical life. The expansion of modern cities, particularly Paris, also precipitated the widening of the concert halls to accommodate more people. Whilst the acoustics would fill the room, the further back the opera-goer was seated in these larger opera houses and concert halls, the less the opera-goer was able to see. Opera glasses, therefore, with their fixed lenses would lend themselves to the visual problem of ever larger urban concert halls and opera houses. For Mann to use a pair of opera glasses to liken the acoustic output of the gramophone to a picture portrait is to use a visual medium and object designed specifically for urban musical life. For Max Ackermann, Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg was the first novel in which ‘Musik als Struktur’ was fully developed, defined as:


Seeing the gramophone through the opera glasses, an accessory of urban musical life, ties in neatly to Ackermann’s own thorough assessment: not only is Mann likening the acoustic object of the gramophone to a picture; he proceeds to do so with the visual effect

46 Ibid., p. 866.
of the alliteration which also has an acoustic effect. *Gehörsfall, Gleichnis, Gebiet, Gesichtes* and *Gemälde* in the same sentence is nothing less than a ‘Wort- und Klangspiel’, one that would activate the eye whilst reading; and activate the ear when listening to the inner voice whilst reading. The *Hörmotif* of the word *Gehörsfall* is given concrete visual compliments in *Gleichnis, Gesichtes* and *Gemälde*, and to a lesser extent, with *Gebiet*, all of which have stronger visual connotations than aural or acoustic ones. This word-play leads into the opera glasses, not just an object of visuality, but also a visual image that is synonymous with urban musical life. The opera glasses, therefore, have a symbolic meaning: they not only provide a visual equivalent to an acoustic phenomenon; but it also links the gramophone to an aspect of urban musical life. It is not as if the *Opernglas* is an object that would have found much musical use at the *Hofburg*: Davos neither had the capacity or the room for a large scale opera house; nor did it put on operas. The nearest major Swiss opera house was less than 100 miles away in Zurich. The nearest the sanatorium got to an opera on the urban stage was, of course, through the gramophone.

It is not as if Mann did not realise it himself: one of the qualities of the gramophone was to bring a bit of the city to the most isolated parts of the country. It goes without saying that cities were not just the technological hubs which presided over the capacity to record music; but cities were also home to orchestra and attracted world class soloists and opera singers, all of which or whom were prerequisites for the production of record labels. Just like the modern day DJ, Hans Castrop ‘bediente den Apparat’, changing the huge selection of records that were on offer to him. The narrator speaks of recordings by ‘berühmten Orchestern’ and their ‘namhafte[n] [Leitern], by ‘große[n]
Opernhäuser[n]⁴⁸ and though the urban space is not mentioned in conjunction with these specific musical people and places, it is more than likely that the name of an urban space accompanies the music products that Castrop played either for his audience or for himself at the sanatorium. The urban dimension of the music takes a more specific form when the narrator speaks of the recordings of singers:

Die Sänger und Sängerinnen, die er hörte, er sah sie nicht, ihre Menschlichkeit weilte in Amerika, in Mailand, in Wien, in Sankt Petersburg, – sie mochte dort immerhin weilen, denn, was er von ihnen hörte, war ihr Bestes, war ihre Stimme, und er schätzte diese Reinigung oder Abstraktion, die sinnlich genug blieb, um ihm, unter Ausschaltung aller Nachteile zu großer persönlicher Nähe, und namentlich soweit es sich um Landesleute, um Deutsche handelte, eine gute menschliche Kontrolle zu gestatten. Die Aussprache, der Dialekt, die engere Landsmannschaft der Künstler war zu unterscheiden, ihr Stimmcharakter sagte etwas aus über des einzelnen seelischen Wuchs, und daran, wie sie geistige Wirkungsmöglichkeiten nutzten oder versäumten, erwies sich die Stufe ihrer Intelligenz.⁴⁹

Despite the acoustic imperfections of the gramophone with its—to quote Polgar again—‘Nebengeräusch’ and despite the singer’s physical non-presence in the room, the recording of the singers’ voices is appreciated in an urban context, irrespective of whether the voice was pre-recorded in the Musikstädte of Milan, Vienna or St. Petersburg. The city is not just portrayed as a place where top musicians reside; but the narrator, Thomas Mann, expresses a potential effect to wider inter-urban musical exchange with the emergence of the gramophone: the singer would not require travelling to particular destinations for his or her voice to be heard. It could be made out and reproduced by the gramophone. In the most extreme sense, the gramophone may be seen as an instrument of capture and entrapment: capture in the sense that it records the best possible voice for consumption; and entrapment in the sense that the gramophone may confine the singer to the said Musikstädten.

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⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 892–93.
Mann’s Castrop, a native of Hamburg, embarks on an interesting type of active listening here: out of the crackle of the gramophone appears the voice of musical song. For some of the listeners, particularly when a famous Italian baritone sang Rossini’s aria, the reproduced sound of voice had a comical value that played on the atmosphere of death at the sanatorium: ‘Die Zuhörer wollten sterben vor Lachen.’ For the more experienced listeners, on the other hand, among them Hans Castrop, fascination lay with the art of ‘Phrasierung’ and the ‘Atemtechnik’ of the singer.\(^{50}\) If the singer sang in German, the native tongue of Castrop, however, the recording would appear to be clear enough for the listener to discern a difference in the regional variation of the singer’s voice, ranging from the accent to dialect and pronunciation.\(^{51}\) In short: any German song, played on the Musikapparat at the sanatorium in Davos, possessed in them a German acoustic identity that was bound to numerous topoi. Given that Castrop leaves behind a whole macrocosmic sound structure as he ascends to the mountain retreat of Davos, the gramophone adds a modern, acoustic layer to the otherwise sterile soundscape, one that is recorded in the urban space, sang by urban-based singers or played by urban orchestras.

With the plethora of secondary discourse in Mann’s Der Zauberberg, this is one insight that has been overlooked: the gramophone brings a bit of urban musical life and implants it into the wider macrocosmic composition of otherwise quiet Davos.

It is, however, not just the urban origins of the Klangkörper, of the orchestra and the singers or soloists, which bring an urban acoustic essence to the Klaviersalon at the Davos sanatorium where the gramophone was set up. Many of the pieces of music heard

\(^{50}\) Ibid., p. 886.

\(^{51}\) Mere mention of the fact that accents, pronunciation and dialects can be discerned from gramophone records reverberates with earlier deliberations, cited above, by van Munden in his prognosis for the future of this sound recording and emitting device.
in the Klaviersalon have a prominent urban musical setting, some obvious, others less so. The music of the Viennese Waltz in its three-quarter tact recalls ‘das Märchen vom Leben einer großen, reichen, blühenden Stadt, von ihrer Lebensfreude und ihrer Daseinslust’.\(^{52}\) The Cancan embedded in Offenbach’s *Orpheus in the Underworld* embodies, it may be said, the ‘Geräusche, Figuren, Bilder und Szenen des Pariser Lebens’.\(^{53}\) Remaining in the Parisian setting: the soprano’s rendition of Violetta Valery in *La traviata*, whose voice ‘schmetterte, stakkierte und trillerte’ from the gramophone, is unquestionably a musicalisation of the demimonde of kept women in Paris. It had, according to George Whitney Martin, ‘no counterpart’ in ‘many cities and countries’.\(^{54}\) A recording of Georges Bizet’s *Carmen*, heard on numerous occasions by Hans Castrop at the theatre, is an opera with a Spanish urban setting: Seville. Noted for its Spanish melodies and rhythms, the fourth act, in particular, represents the ‘Feststimmung im Volk vor dem Stierkampf in Sevilla’ with its *Allegro deciso* in three-quarter time in G major.\(^{55}\) This piece, Bizet’s *Carmen*, receives the most extensive musical treatment alongside Verdi’s *Aida*, Gounod’s *Faust* and Schubert’s *Lindenbaum* in *Winterreise* by the narrator.

The latter three pieces have less of an urban theme to them, but this does not completely divorce them from the urban setting. As Volker Mertens pointed out: ‘für einen simplen Menschen hat Hans Castrop ganz ungewöhnlichen gute Musikkenntnisse’.\(^{56}\) Though it is exclusively the narrator who is describing the musical scenes, Castrop is fully engrossed

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\(^{56}\) Volker Mertens, p. 88.
in the musical output of his *Vorzugsplatten*; knows, inside out, the titles and order of the works on the records; and has some sort of appreciation for the musical form and content, though this appreciation of the gramophone is more for entertainment and enjoyment value rather than analytical musical appraisal. The extent to which Mann deliberations on these pieces of music suggests nothing less than an intense, live and active engagement in the musical life of the geographical area where these works are most likely to be performed in their entirety, and where access to specialist musical literature is at its easiest: the city. For Mann, this is obviously Munich. If the same model had to be projected on to fictional Castrop, then it is obviously Hamburg.

Perhaps more significantly, the musical themes of the *Vorzugsplatten* correspond to literary images in Mann’s work and the wider plot of the novel. This insight, of course, is no new discovery: Volker Mertens wrote in specific reference to the chapter *Fülle des Wohllauts*: ‘Der Erzähler setzt den Ablauf der Musik in Bilder und Handlungen um.’ Volker Mertens wrote in specific reference to the chapter *Fülle des Wohllauts*: ‘Der Erzähler setzt den Ablauf der Musik in Bilder und Handlungen um.’57 Charles Passage’s lists Mann’s arrangement of the five musical items according to the order in which they appeared in *Fülle des Wohllauts* (Verdi’s *Aida*, Debussy’s *L’Après-midi d’un faune*, Bizet’s *Carmen*, Gounod’s *Faust* and Schubert’s *Der Lindenbaum*), arguing that it is a literary means to an end. He puts the musical pieces in their firm géographie musicale context: the ancient Egypt of *Aida*, the ancient Greece of *L’Après-midi d’un faune*, Spain in *Carmen*, Germany in *Faust* and, as he puts it, the home in *Der Lindenbaum*. Passage argues that Castrop descends back home through the medium of music.58 Home, of course, signifies death in this instance. The motif of death is one that is not just linked to the slowly dying patients, but one that is interlinked with the

57 Ibid., p. 88.
gramophone and the discourse of capturing the immortal voice dating right back into the eighteenth century. Though the urban interpreters of the recorded music, saved on to the gramophone *Platte* were very much living entities at the time, be they city orchestras or urban opera house ensembles, the composers whose works they were interpreting were long since deceased when *Der Zauberberg* was published. This fact alone, often overlooked, bears some significance when it comes to the broader understanding of the likening of the gramophone to death and the deceased, a theme that gathers momentum throughout the course of this particular chapter and is a common strand that runs throughout the whole book. Metaphors of living and dying, life and death are associated with the gramophone, representing somewhat early problematic perceptions of the ‘Musikapparat’ which ranged from the macabre and lifeless to the immortal and even eternal. Obsessed with the gramophone and its workings, Castrop stays up for most of the night with the machine, playing its records and cataloguing their contents. The narrator speaks here of a ‘tönend[en] Leben’, whose reverberations with Nietzsche’s own ‘tönendes Dasein’ as a Schopenhauerean will to make music are all too evident. The ‘tönend[e] Leben’, to which the narrator alludes, exclusively enlives and arouses the acoustic spheres; but the invisible nature of the human body, from which the voice with no body derives, leads the narrator to draw on metaphorical associations of the gramophone with death or some magical and mystical phenomenon:

Man rief nach Weiterem und man bekam es: Menschliche Stimme entströmte dem Schrein, männlich, weich und gewaltig auf einmal, vom Orchester begleitet, ein italienischer Bariton berühmten Namens, – und nun konnte durchaus von keiner Verkleinerung und Entfernung mehr

59 From August 1907 to the start of World War I, the timeframe in which the novel was set, only one composer, whose works were played on the gramophone, was alive: the French composer, Claude Debussy.
die Rede sein: das herrliche Organ erscholl nach seinem vollen natürlichen Umfang und Kraftinhalt, und namentlich wenn man in eines der offenen Nebenzimmer trat und den Apparat nicht sah, so war es nicht anders, als stünde dort im Salon der Künstler in körperlicher Person, das Notenblatt in der Hand, und sänge. 62

The ‘Verkleinerung’ is clearly referring back to the allusion to the gramophone, seen through the opera glasses: ‘entrückt und verkleinert’. The monumentality of the voice, presumably that of the Italian baritone Titta Ruffo, singing Figaro, precipitates in a correction of the likening of the gramophone to a visual ‘Verkleinerung’. The power of the larynx has the effect of almost overcoming visual constraints of the non-presentation of the singer. Listening-in from another room (the German term here is lauschen), the gramophone tricks the mind into thinking, even believing (in) the singer’s presence. It is interesting that the musical accompaniment of the orchestra is not mentioned in this tricking of the imagination; it is just the artist in human form, the musical score and the sound of the singer’s song. Though its playing of Figaro, the orchestra would still have been heard vaguely in the background, is dismissed and the musical spatial image of the artist’s salon is introduced. It is almost as if the orchestral space in its urban setting is scaled down to a musical salon, one which fit the spatial confines of the sanatorium.

Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg, to conclude, is a novel set in a contra-urban environment and has been reflected as such in secondary literature. The gramophone, too, has received much critical appraisal, both for its effect on Castrop and for the role that the aforementioned musical pieces had on the wider context of the novel. However, the gramophone as a musical device, first invented in the city and with its influence on urban musical life, has received very little, if no appraisal in the literary context of Mann’s novel. Castrop’s obsession of the gramophone is a mirror image of Thomas Mann’s

fascination of the device’s workings and its ability to play-back. Combining music history with Mann’s own biography: it is known, for instance, that Mann owned a gramophone in Munich; that Mann had *Plattenabende* at his home in Munich; and that Mann’s knowledge of the described pieces of music was on the back of his own gramophone recordings, backed up by his active participation in Munich’s musical life. The recordings to which Mann refers were exclusively produced, made and sold in the urban space; they were of urban orchestras and singers confined to the urban space. Mann does actually refer to some of the *Musikstädte* in *Der Zauberberg*, though the mountainous retreat could not be further away from the hustle and bustle of urban musical life of these cities. In referring to these cities, in indicating that the singer need not leave the city, there is, of course, the suggestion that the city comes to the isolated countryside through the medium of the gramophone. Herein lies another feature of the gramophone: the ability to import recordings, often heard in city concert hall and opera houses, into spaces that were neither urban nor relevantly musical enough to warrant an urban musical existence. Given the centrality of the musical links in the novel with Mann’s own musical life in Munich (both institutional and non-institutional), disguised as Castrop’s musical life in Hamburg, it is safe to assume that Mann’s experienced urban musical life, and the knowledge gained from it, informed and shaped his narrative in *Der Zauberberg*. 
4.4 The Gramophone as a Literary Motif in its Musikstadt context: A Comparison

It was in the *Musikstadt* of Berlin, where, in 1890, the gramophone received its first public showing in the German-speaking world. Not a musical performance, but the acoustic discharge of spoken text, read out aloud, dazzled and stunned audiences who paid the fifty pfennigs for the privilege. The media discourse that immediately followed these first performances emphasised on the literary value of the gramophone to capture the spoken voice, even of authors speaking into the device, for future generations. Rather than been regarded as a literary adversary, the gramophone was seen as a compliment to the storage of literature: the storage device would widen from the book and the printed word to the record and the recorded voice. Just as scientists initially deliberated on the practical uses of the phonograph and gramophone for literature, the gramophone would become a source of inspiration for urban writers. But as time went on and the technology of the gramophone was improved, even fine-tuned to enable approximate recordings of music, the gramophone gained ground as an instrument, a *Musikapparat*, rather than a literary play-back device. Calls similar to those in the 1890s about the literary value of the gramophone would reappear in the 1920s, suggesting that the gramophone was, by this time, regarded more for its musical rather than its literary value.63

The gramophone’s invention, it is fair to say, in light of the aforementioned examples, triggered a response in literature. This response is unsurprising, especially as scientists of the time were predicting its future more as an addition to the world of literature rather than the world of music. Just two decades after the first public performance and positive appraisals on literary uses in the future, however,

Hermann Bahr was suggesting that it is no longer the book that was being read, but the gramophone that was being heard. Compare the initial journalistic discourse on the gramophone with later literary discourse, a tension has clearly surfaced. As opposed to complimenting each other, the gramophone became a visual competitor to the book, to the written word. Some parts of the literary world, one might say, may have felt undermined by the gramophone as an information medium: it has the potential to challenge, even threaten the visual literary print world as the chief storer of information, giving sound to otherwise silent words on a sheet of paper. These thoughts lead into the first commonality between the aforementioned literary deliberations on the gramophone: the audio-visual response in literature to the gramophone, torn between visual imagery and metaphor as well as literary sound markers: aural imagery, acoustic signals and rhythmic sentences. Alfred Polgar, firstly, sees in Berlin the work drive of its people with his own eyes, but he also hears it; and in doing so, he sets it to the Nebengeräusch of the gramophone. It is a coincidence of history, of course, that an aspect of a particular city’s life is likened to a sound-recording and reproducing object that had its first European premiere in that city: Berliner’s gramophone in Berlin. Looking at Berlin through Polgar’s assessment, together with the fact of Berlin as the city where the first ever complete gramophone recording of a symphony was made, the Musikstadt of Berlin could be seen favourably as the city of the gramophone: its Nebengeräusch is synonymous with the aural-visual work drone of the urban space.

This audio-visual response is, secondly, evident in the gramophone as a literary motif in Thomas Mann’s Der Zauberberg. Perhaps more so than Altenberg, Bahr and Polgar all put together, Mann combines visual imagery and metaphor as well as
distinctive sound markers, such as aural imagery, alliteration, similes and metaphors to balance out the visual and aural fascination of this ‘Musiksarg’. Citation of this word alone, Musiksarg, meaning a music coffin, underscores both the visuality and the aurality at the heart of his deliberations in the chapter entitled Die Fülle des Wohllauts. The coffin represents the dead in visual form, something that does not sound or make sound. Music, of course, represents the phenomenon of aurality, something that is heard and that sounds. This duality of the senses comes through in Thomas Mann’s narrative on the gramophone, not just in terms of content, but also in terms of style. The use of the ‘G’s in Gehörsfall, Gleichnis, Gebiet, Gesichtes and Gemälde in the same sentence is nothing less than an alliterative ‘Wort- und Klangspiel’, mixing the visual and the aural, when it comes to the effect of the gramophone on the hero of the novel, Castrop. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the word gramophone also begins with the same letter: G.

The term Musiksarg represents yet another parallel between texts, one that binds Alfred Polgar, Hermann Bahr and Thomas Mann’s deliberations on the gramophone together: the gramophone as an object that recalls death. As mentioned earlier, the ability to record and play-back voice and song had led Edison’s secretary to declare that voice had become immortal. This comment can be seen as the trigger that would feed literary reflections on the gramophone as being reminiscent of death. Only in folklore, fairy tale and in the literary Grenzerfahrung had the voice had been able to speak from the grave, but the gramophone made the experience seemingly possible: recorded voice, especially of those not physically present, even those who were long since deceased, could be

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64 Thomas Mann, GW, III: Der Zauberberg (1960), p. 907.
played back. It was, in short, a total aural recall of the dead and of the physically absent. Though Thomas Mann has often been seen as one of the first to make a literary point out of this perception, the analysis of the gramophone as a literary motif above, shows that the connection which Mann made between the gramophone and death, as present in German literary modernism, had already been made by the likes of Hermann Bahr and Samuel Friedlaender-Mynoma at the midway point of the second decade of the twentieth century. In the examples under the spotlight in this study—from Polgar and Bahr right through to Mann—the ‘Gespenstererscheinung’, as Kittler called it in literature, had specific geographical contexts. Although Polgar placed the Nebengeräusch of the gramophone firmly in the realms of urbanity, the gramophone as an object that recalled the dead would still be played out in a particular topos. In Polgar’s Stilleben, the scene is of the gramophone on a rural meadow near the sea. Bahr’s personal and philosophical deliberations on the humanising features of the gramophone know no boundaries, but were informed and inspired by an event in the urban space. Related to Bahr’s Goethe essay, Friedlaender-Mynoma, who worked in Berlin at the time of writing his essay, required the Literaturstadt Weimar, more specifically, the room in which Goethe worked, to reproduce the literary master’s voice. The geographical setting in which Thomas Mann placed the gramophone was strictly rural and secluded, but taking Thomas Mann’s biographical details into account, his narrative was clearly informed by his own gramophone experience in the urban context of his apartment in Munich. The gramophone, then, given its portable nature as a musical object, found home in both the urban and rural settings.
As early as 1908, the German-Jewish cultural critic and philosopher, Theodor Lessing, on whom the next chapter shall focus, spoke of the gramophone’s penetration into the quietest countryside. In his manifesto Der Lärm (1908), Lessing, addressing his ‘Leidensgenossen’ who also suffered from the tyranny of noise, wrote: ‘Begib dich in das tiefste, weltfernste Alpental, du wirst mit Sicherheit einem Grammophon begegnen.’ The urban invention of the gramophone had, as early as the start of the twentieth century, if Lessing’s words are to be believed, made its way into the remotest regions. A literarisation of Lessing’s own rural experience of encountering the gramophone in the ‘tiefste, weltfernste Alpental’ can be seen as Castrop’s own encounter with the gramophone in Davos in Der Zauberberg. Mann’s descriptions of rurality of this isolated part of the Swiss Alps blend neatly into Lessing’s earlier comment of being able to encounter the gramophone in the ‘tiefste, weltfernste Alpental’. In short: the rural backwaters had ceased to be an area where the urbanite could escape all the mechanical trappings of city life, escape the sound-generating devices, including the gramophone. The rural world would get a taster of urban-sounding life with the export of these devices from the city and their import into the countryside. This product flow, evident in the varying literary reflections of the gramophone in their different topographical contexts, leads on to the last and final point: the export of urban musical life out of its confined city borders through the new medium of acoustic technologies, through, for instance, gramophones and its records.

One of the areas of analysis underexplored in the impact of the gramophone is its ability to export urban musical life out of the city and into non-urban spaces. With the recordings of urban orchestras and urban-based singers and soloists, inhabitants of rural

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66 Theodor Lessing, Der Lärm, ed. by Inge Thöns (Stuttgart; Berlin: Mayer, 1999), p. 58.
communities would be brought closer to the type of musical performances which would
dominant the city’s musical life and, by association, its identity. In exporting musical
recordings out of the city and into the deepest countryside, rural dwellers would receive,
albeit grainy, an acoustic image of a segment of musical life of Musikstädte. For it was
these musical cities that not only housed the best orchestras and conductors, opera and
concerts, top virtuosos and soloists, singers and violinists, but the Musikstädte had the
greatest output of gramophone recordings, either in the sense of their actual manufacture
or in the Klangkörper which produced the music for the recordings. In the most
exaggerated sense, one could say: the Musikstadt comes to the village through the
medium of the gramophone. Of course, this export gave literary figures, such as
Thomas Mann and Hermann Bahr, philosophical food for thought. Bahr and Mann would
appear to agree that if singers could be heard in or out of the gramophone, then there is
no need for them to leave the Musikstadt to perform. Bahr speaks of the singer living in a
completely different place to the one where the young suicidal man was rescued from the
jaws of death. Mann speaks more specifically about the need of the singer not to leave the
city of his performance; and the cities which Mann mentions may be regarded as
international Musikstädte. As for the quality of the recording of performances that make
up urban musical life, Mann rather than Bahr goes into considerably more detail: it is
interesting to see how Mann, perhaps owing to his deeper musical fascination, employs
musical visual imagery of urban concert life and likens it to the acoustic impact of the
gramophone on Castrop in the rural setting of—to cross-reference with
Theodor Lessing’s own words—‘[dem] tiefste[n], weltfernste[n] Alpental’.
In a similar respect to the employment of the symphony as a literary motif to express the cross-sensory blur of modern urban living, with its bombardment of sights and sounds, a number of the literary depictions of the gramophone, as shown above, also hone in on this audio-visual paradigm. The gramophone was an object of amazement and fascination: coming after the phonograph with its later spin-off sister inventions, it captured, for the first time in acoustic history, actual voice and song that could be played back again and again, seemingly storing it for an eternity. Early literary depictions of the gramophone, of course, emphasised on the novelty of such an object and its effect on the senses, perhaps best described in Mann’s own appraisal of the sound, particularly of coloratura of the wind instruments: ‘Man traute seine Ohren nicht’. If the ear is not to be trusted, it is to the other senses, particularly to the most dominant in written literature, the visual sense, that the individual instils confidence. If present in the room, the hearer’s ear would lead the eye to the gramophone, which can be regarded as both an acoustic and a visual object which would eventually become part of the furniture set of any bürgerlichen household. Though the wooden music box with its internal mechanisms would be visually present in the room, it, too, would be part of a visual trickery that may lead the hearer to believe that the singer is physically present in the room, whereas he or she is not. It would be decades before sound recording and playback were perfected to such an extent that made differentiation all the more difficult. For Mann, the gramophone recording of the voice of song was far more convincing than the orchestral ensemble. He even went as far as to claim that someone in earshot’s distance of the gramophone in an external room at the sanatorium in Davos may be tricked into thinking that the musician was actually present, when he was not. This trickery, even entering into the realms of

magic, had the effect of confusing the senses, something that was communicated in literary depictions of the gramophone. Likening the gramophone’s acoustic effect to visual imagery, using metaphor, word plays, alliteration and rhythm, highlights the extent to which the senses were confused with this new technology – a confusion that is echoed in urban sociological (sensory) discourse of the time, dictating that the senses were being bombarded with stimuli that aroused these senses.⁶⁸

The gramophone was not just a device that ushered in a change of listening habits through the music recordings that knew no geographical boundaries, but these very recordings were acoustic etchings of key proponents of urban musical life on to records: conductor’s interpretations, orchestral performances of symphonies and suites, operatic renditions from top tenors, baritones and sopranos. With market forces as they were, only the most well renowned musicians in the world’s most renowned Musikstädte were initially made immortal on record. Though Vienna has long since manifested itself as a Musikstadt long before the advent of the gramophone and the particular musical topos had long since been engrained on the mind of the dwellers of that city, Berlin’s elevation not just to a Musikstadt, as shown in the second chapter, but to a Musikhauptstadt, as Hans Mayer called it, would seem to coincide with the gramophone’s advent. This is not to say that Berlin became a Musikhauptstadt because of the gramophone or because of the first ever public performance. But the gramophone clearly played a decisive role in cementing Berlin’s early twentieth-century reputation as a Musikhauptstadt. The fact that it was a Berlin orchestra with a conductor synonymous with Berlin that made the first ever recording of a complete Beethoven symphony underlines and supports this

interpretation. Polgar’s likening of a chief aspect of Berlin life with the *Nebengeräusch* of the gramophone presents itself as a literary rendition of a musical historical and urban sociological phenomenon. If the gramophone could be viewed as a relative of any of the *Musikstädte* under the spotlight, then Berlin would probably come closest with its first performance, its first recording of a symphony, its dominant commercial sales outranking both Munich and Vienna by the 1920s, and its new-found dominance in the urban musical life of the city as berated by Furtwängler. Even the background buzz of the working city was likened, by Polgar at least, to the gramophone. In terms of the city’s musical identity, then, the gramophone would seem to act as a new instrument in the wider symphony of the city.

As for the literary connection between the gramophone and the *Musikstadt* of Munich, the scarcity of direct references between the music technological apparatus and musical, even the sociological life of the Bavarian capital, especially within the chosen literary text corpus, do not allow for the thesis that the life of the city of Munich can, even metaphorically speaking, be likened to that of the gramophone. Nevertheless, Thomas Mann’s own musico-literary reflections of the gramophone in *Der Zauberberg* can be traced back, in large part, to Munich, the city where he possessed a gramophone, held gramophone evenings and had the most famous picture taken of him and the musical play-back device. *Der Zauberberg* is a Bildungsroman, it can be said, that has nothing to do with Munich; yet is informed, at the same time, by Mann’s gramophone interactions within the city, where he lived and worked at the time of the novel’s long development. Of course, the connection between the gramophone and Berlin in Polgar’s text is much more substantive and conclusive than the more vague connection between Mann’s
gramophone in Der Zauberberg and Munich. But both authors, irrespective of where they wrote their literary works or about which place or by whom they were inspired, seem to recognise the dual quality of the gramophone: its ability to be played anywhere, but also its ability to resemble the underlying feel for a place through the sound it produces or the sound it embodies.
5. **Offering a Musical Counterexample: Urban Noise as a Literary Motif**

By the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, the musical life of Berlin, Vienna and Munich was running parallel to an increasingly noisy urban environment, one which would, indeed, challenge traditional musical life in more ways than one. The cultural history of the orchestra, housed in its mighty, sound-proofed concert halls, has often been regarded as one of the few locations in the city where peace and quiet could be found from the noisy chaos of modern day life. In a 2002 interview with the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the then new chief conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, Sir Simon Rattle, implied the urban concert hall when he spoke of the one of the rare rituals of silence in the urban space:

> Die Zeremonie des Schweigens und der Stille [schätze ich sehr hoch ein]. Es gibt nicht mehr viele Plätze in unseren verrückten modernen Städten, wo eine große Menschenmenge zusammenkommen und schweigen kann.¹

In the volume *Stadt als Perspektiv* (2006), the concert hall, the opera house and the theatre are presented as the few places for the ‘moderne, urbane […] lebende Mensch’ which are ‘Ort der Besinnung und der Reflexion’, providing ‘Zeiten der Stille und Einkehr’.² In a slightly different take on the concert hall, Rüdiger Görner spoke of the concert hall phenomena as offering ‘eine Gegenwelt zum Urbanen’ and transporting the concert-goer ‘in die romantisch verklärte Natur […], in eine urbane Betriebsamkeit entrückte Gefühlswelt’.³ These reflections of concert halls as places of silence but also places to escape the chaos of modern urban noise from the first decade of the twenty-first

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century would have very much spoken to contemporaries who lived a century earlier at the start of the twentieth.

For some, however, aspects of musical life were the direct noise bane of their lives. In the autobiography of the controversial German-Jewish cultural philosopher and educator, Theodor Lessing would recall his time as a student and his post-student life in turn-of-the-century Munich:


Lessing would put up with this noise in his apartment on the Müllerstraße for five years until his marriage to Maria Stach von Goltzheim in 1900. A year later, in 1901, he would philosophise about his aversions to noise in two essays about the pressing urban noise problem that was, according to Lessing, blighting cities. The first essay, published in 1901 and entitled Über den Lärm with the by-line von ‘Theodor Lessing [in] München’ was followed up with a second essay in the same journal with the title Noch Einiges über den Lärm in the following year. These articles were Lessing’s first essayistic reflections published on noise and can be regarded as the precursor to a broader campaign against urban noise that would follow: the publication of the manifesto Der Lärm in 1908; the establishment of the first ever German nationwide Anti-Lärmverein months later with its headquarters in Munich, relocated soon thereafter in Hanover in the summer of that year; and the editorship of the society’s journal with its alternating titles Der Anti-Rüpel and Recht auf Stille from September 1908 until July 1911.

From the very outset of Lessing’s campaign, music and musicians came under the spotlight. Somewhat ironically, they provided the means and the motives to fight noise.

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In his first essay, *Über den Lärm*, for instance, he speaks of hypersensitivities of noise for those blessed with ‘musikalische[n] Ohren’, citing Richard Wagner’s despair in Florence of noisy barefoot children playing in front of the composer’s apartment. So annoying was the noise of the children to the composer, according to Lessing’s account, Wagner is reported to have placed fragments of glass in front of his apartment to stop the children from playing there.5 Whilst Wagner together with other leading noise-sensitive cultural figures from philosophy and the arts provided Lessing with a cultural context in which to fight noise, he would identity the ‘moderne Musikwuth’, the ‘Klavierpest’ and the ‘Musiklärm’ as part of the wider mix of aggravating acoustic phenomenon that he declared as noise.6 A problem of distinction arose here, one with which he himself was all too familiar: when is music noise? Lessing never really deliberated, in length, on the question. Instead, he turned to the philosophies of Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche; to the physiological and psychological effects of the broader range of loud sounds on the human ear and on the consciousness; to then held German stereotypes of a quieter European neighbour: England.

In Arthur Schopenhauer’s essay *Über Lärm und Geräusch*, published in his *Parerga und Paralipomena* in 1851, the philosopher voiced his complaints about the noisy mid-nineteenth century world with its ‘Klopfen, Hämmern und Rammeln’. Turning to the ‘verständigste[n] and geistreichste[n] aller europäische[n] Nationen’, Schopenhauer saw in England, where the rule ‘never interrupt’ was regarded as the Eleventh Commandment, a nation that was much quieter than his native country.7

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5 Theodor Lessing, ‘Über den Lärm’, *Nord und Süd*, 97, 289 (April 1901), 72–84 (p. 73).
6 Cf.: Theodor Lessing, *Der Lärm*, ed. by Inge Thöns (Stuttgart; Berlin: Mayer, 1999).
Schopenhauer’s sensitivities to noise were not only shared by Lessing, but were repeatedly quoted by Lessing throughout his own essays and work, perhaps more so than other contemporary philosophers on whom Lessing drew to justify his own personal fight against noise in the modern age. Although secondary literature into Theodor Lessing’s aversions to noise is at odds as to where Lessing gained his inspiration for the establishment of his *Anti-Lärmverein*, his first essays, often cited but rarely quoted directly, provide one possible answer: England.

Ueberhaupt haben die Engländer ein feines Empfinden für die Schrecklichkeit des nutzlosen Lärmes; der englische Sonntag ist eine Wohltat für die Nerven der Kopfarbeiter, und London ist die einzige Stadt, in der sich bisher ein starker Verein bildete, welcher die Aufgabe verfolgt, dem Straßenlärm durch Pflasterung und Verbote zu steuern und insbesondere das Peitschenknallen zu bestrafen.

Lessing’s admission, in 1901, of an anti-noise society active in London demonstrates that he was aware of organised socio-political initiatives to fight noise at the turn of the century. Furthermore, it is dated five years before Julia Barnett Rice set up her *Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise* in 1906. This insight contradicts, for instance, Rainer Marwedel’s assertion that Lessing set up his anti noise society ‘ohne Kenntnis von der Existenz dieser Organisationen’. Given that Lessing wrote about a ‘starken Verein’ in London in 1901, presumably the *Street Noise Abatement Committee*, it would

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11 The specialist area of environmental history has long since explored the question of the dating of the early noise abatement societies, often using an article in which Lessing dates the emergence of his own anti-noise society with a similar organisation in the United Kingdom. Lessing’s article *Antilärmericht aus England* from his first monthly journal *Der Antirüpel*, later renamed to *Recht auf Stille*, would be called upon by Karin Bijsterveld to date the emergence of the *Street Noise Abatement Committee* in London at exactly the same time as Theodor Lessing’s *Antilärmverein* in Hanover. However, a search of the Times newspaper’s archives reveals a deeper history of this English organisation; and the language used by the Times in this article even suggests an even earlier history of the *Street Noise Abatement Committee*. ‘[The] efforts of the Street Noise Abatement Committee to secure a quieter London had already born fruit.’ Cf.: ‘Street Noise Abatement Committee’, *The Times*, 5 May 1902, p. 11.
contradict the comments of Marwedel that Lessing knew nothing about other organisations on founding his *Antilärmverein* when he quite clearly did.

Many of the deliberations found in Lessing’s first two essays published in 1901 and 1902 would reappear in April 1908 in *Der Lärm*, a quasi manifesto in which he broadened his deliberations on noise, developed a cross-disciplinary philosophical construct to underpin noise and drew once again on cultural notables who had passed judgments on the noise of their times. By now, his intentions were obvious, as expressed in the concluding paragraph of the introduction of *Der Lärm*, in which he wrote:

> Mein Buch soll Signal werden zu einem allgemeinen Kampf gegen das Übermaß von Geräusch im gegenwärtigen Leben. [...] [Ich] hoffe auf Verwirklichung eines allgemeinen, internationalen Bundes wider den Lärm, der Einfluß auf Strafgesetz, Zivilgesetz, Verwaltungs- und Polizeigesetzgebung erlangt. Auf seinem Banner soll stehen: ‘non clamor sed amor’ ...  

In the summer of that year, after he initially set up an *Antilärmbund* in Munich, but then, on relocation to Hanover, he established the *Antilärmverein* with its headquarters on the Stolzestraße. From September 1908 until June 1911, he edited and published the society’s monthly journal, some rare copies of which are still available. The journals provide a glimpse into those sounds that were being perceived, at least by the society’s supporters, as noise. From gramophones to loud piano playing and noisy neighbours, Lessing kept track of cases that were going through the German and Austrian courts, reviewing and assessing the delivered verdicts for the wider judicial fight against noise. So-called *Blaue Listen* of quiet hotels for those seeking rest and recuperation from the city din were also drawn up and printed for the benefit of his subscribers. He also published the advertisements for the latest range of earplugs and sound shielding devices as well as reviews of recent publications on noise, irrespective whether they were from the scientific community or the literary world. Indeed, Lessing even published poems, sent in

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12 Theodor Lessing, *Der Lärm*, ed. by Inge Thöns (Stuttgart; Berlin: Mayer, 1999), p. 44.
by the members of his society, who often found a rhythmic structure of noise in poems such as _Lärmgedichte_ and _Die Flucht in den Vororten_. These somewhat second rate poems, targeted at a wider, more popular audience do not have a literary value worth pursuing; instead, Lessing’s journal also acts as a secondary source of reference for literary reflections on noise.

That German and Austrian literary figures were convinced of the noisy acoustic environment as well as Lessing’s attempts, with his anti-noise society, to curb the city din are undeniable. As the journal attests, well-known literary figures joined the society and would have received Lessing’s monthly journal through the post. Among the lesser-known names from the literary world who joined the cause included the female writer Franziska Mann (1859–1927), the author and theatre director Otto Falkenberg (1873–1947) and Marfa von Sacher-Masochs (1887–1963). Perhaps more familiar are the names of the female novelist Ilse von Stach (1879–1941), the theatre critic and essayist, Alfred Kerr (1867–1948) and, most famously, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), who wrote in a letter to Lessing:


Although Lessing does not refer to the term _Musikstadt_ in any of his deliberations, the cities of Berlin, Munich and Vienna in the German-speaking world receive the most attention in his journal. From the very outset of his written deliberations on noise, Lessing identified separate acoustic identities of these three particular cities, a century before soundscape discourse started to fight back against the tide of visual renderings of

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\(^{13}\) Theodor Lessing, ‘Antilärmiten’, _Recht auf Stille_, 4, 1 (February 1909), 53–57 (p. 53).
urban identity and gave more currency to the acoustic identity of cities. ‘Jede Stadt macht besonderen Lärm,’ Lessing claimed, ‘der Berliner macht “Radau” und “randaliert”, die Münchener wollen eine “Gaudi”, die Wiener veranstalten eine “Hetz”’. In his first of two essayistic reflections on the problem of noise, published in the journal *Nord und Süd*, Lessing suggests that the cities of Berlin, Munich and Vienna, all of which are prominent musical centres in the German-speaking hemisphere, possess a specific type of noise, which, one could argue, is not just a chief characteristic of their sound identity, but is also unique to that urban space. The *Radau* made in Berlin, for instance, is not the *Hetz* that is made in Vienna; and the *Hetz* that is made in Vienna is not the *Gaudi* that is made in Munich. Just as each city, therefore, has its own visual identity, its own landmarks, Lessing contrived as early as 1901 that different cities had their own culturally-conditioned acoustic noise identities, whose texture and nature are captured in words which the cities’ inhabitants have prescribed to it. Lessing is, of course, referring to the noise made by the city’s inhabitants, the human beings who make up the city. However, he would seem to link the sounds synonymous with the urban citizenry with the entire soundscape: ‘Jede Stadt macht besonderen Lärm’ precedes his observations about the noise made by its own citizens. It is not beyond the realms of fantasy, therefore, to consider Berlin’s *Radau*, Vienna’s *Hetz* and Munich’s *Gaudi* as urban cultural noise markers of identity that are applicable not just to the noise that the citizens of that city make, but which also underpin the soundscape of that city. Lessing’s understanding of the noise of Berlin, Munich and Vienna is informed and conditioned by umbrella terms *(Radau, Gaudi, Hetz)*, which put a linguistic label on the whole soundscape.

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Lessing’s own auditory understanding of the Berliner *Radau*, the Viennese *Hetz* and Munich’s *Gaudi* would have been further supplemented by verbalisations of the noise problem, sent to him in Hanover by the authors listed above. The acoustic texture of this *Radau, Gaudi, Hetz* would have been widened significantly as he read authors’ comments and complaints about the urban noise of their cities. Writing from Berlin, the German female author, Franziska Mann, for instance, complained about the ‘Ueberfülle von Geräuschen’ and the ‘Saufen der Autos, besonders der Auto-Omnibusse’.\(^{15}\) Taking Lessing’s understanding of Berlin as a *Radau* and Franziska Mann’s comments about the Berlin soundscape, Lessing’s perception Berlin’s *Radau* as the noise made by the city would encompass a whole range of sounds as well as the noise of traffic, particularly the automobile and the trolley bus. Joining the society from Munich, Otto Falkenberg was distressed at the ‘Türenschlagen, falsches und schlechtes Klavierspiel’ in the city.\(^{16}\) Given that Lessing understood Munich’s noise as a *Gaudi*, Falkenberg’s elaborations on the annoying acoustics of the city would have fed into Lessing’s perceptions of the Munich soundscape, experienced at first hand as a student: an aspect of Munich as a *Gaudi*, therefore, would be the banging doors and poor piano playing of the city’s inhabitants. Near Vienna, as cited above, Hofmannsthal suffered from the carpet beating, the barrel organ and the annoying sound seepage from his neighbours. Hofmannsthal’s words about the noise on the outskirts of Vienna would have certainly informed Lessing’s understanding of the Viennese soundscape before he visited the city and gave lectures on noise in 1911.

\(^{16}\) Theodor Lessing, ‘Antilärmiten’, *Recht auf Stille*, 4, 1 (February 1909), 53–57 (p. 54).
If Hofmannsthal read the September 1909 edition of *Recht auf Stille*, which Lessing would have sent to him, he would have discovered that one of his Viennese contemporaries, Alfred Freiherr von Berger, too, was adverse to noise. This feuilleton printed on 14 July 1909 followed an earlier article in 1907, in which von Berger embarked an experiment, one cited in the introduction and worth citing again:

So wie man gelegentlich das Trinkwasser, das man täglich genießt, chemisch und bakteriologisch untersuchen läßt, so habe ich kürzlich an einem schönen Abend, als es mir gerade besonders still zu sein schien, die mich umgebende Stille akustisch analysiert und dabei die folgenden Hauptgeräusche als teils gleichzeitig, teils in rascher Aufeinanderfolge sich ereignend festgestellt. Drei Musikkapellen, eine sehr nahe, eine etwas weiter, eine ganz fern; zwei bellende Hunde, einer in tiefer, einer in hoher Stimmlage; einen winselnden Hund; Wagengerassel; Glockengläute; das Schwirren und Tuten zweier Automobile; das Zwitschern vieler Spatzen; zwei Klaviere; eine singende Dame; ein Mikrophon, das abwechselnd ein Orchesterstück und ein gesungenes englisches Lied vorführte; den Schrei eines Pfaus; das entfernte Gebrüll der wilden Tiere in der Schönbrunner Menagerie; die Sirenen aus mindestens drei verschiedenen entfernten Fabriken; das heulende Wimmern eines elektrischen Motorwagens; das Rädergeräusch und Bremsenklirren eines Stadtbahnzuges; das Pfeifen und Pusten der Rangierlokomotiven der Westbahn; das Metallgeräusch der aneinanderstoßenden Puffer; das Rauschen des Windes in den Bäumen; einen Papagei; das wüste Geschrei der die Gäule eines Lastwagens antreibenden Kutscher; das Dengeln einer Senfe; Trompetensignale aus einer Kaserne; Ausklopfen von Teppichen und Möbeln; das Pfeifen eines Vorübergehenden; das Zischen des Wasserstrahls, mit dem der Nachbargarten begossen wird; eine Drehorgel; die Glockenschläge und das dumpfe Rollen der Dampftramway. Ich füge hinzu, daß mein Haus sich in einer als ruhig geltenden Gegend befindet.  

A century later, Pauline Oliveros, a pioneer in electronic music, devised, even lived her life by the notion of ‘deep listening’. Finding its way into modern German soundscape discourse, deep listening is defined as an ‘intensive[s] Hören’, which ‘den Klang des täglichen Lebens mit ein [schließt], den die Natur, den der eigenen Gedanken und den der musikalischen Klänge’. Alfred Freiherr von Berger’s literary note of the sounds that made up the quiet, turned noisy urban soundscape can be regarded as a type of literary recording of Oliveros’s deep listening: it incorporates not just everyday life sounds, the thoughts associated with these sounds, but also the sounds of nature and musical images,

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ranging from three *Musikkapellen* to two pianos, from an English song and the sound of playing trumpets. Musical articulations, just like their counterparts from nature and then high-tech sounds from street-level, define the acoustic environment of the city space as well as Berger’s position within it as the aggravated literary note maker, whose quiet is disturbed by this din. What is remarkable about this particular description, about this experiment, is Berger’s ability to express an acoustic blending through literary means. The first is obvious: he does so through his own admission, saying the sounds come ‘teils gleichzeitig, teils in rascher Aufeinanderfolge’. His own admission goes on to inform the literary style. Listing the various acoustic phenomena, separated off with semi-colons for each particular sound or sound group, together with the occasional comma usage, they can be regarded as fenced-off individual descriptions to further elaborate on the nature of that particular sound. The separate acoustic fragments, however, are contained in one whole sentence, giving the impression of an acoustic urban blend. It is one, heard as a whole, that constitutes the actual, real noise of the city.

The geographical reference of ‘Schönbrunner Menagerie’ locates Berger’s acoustic literary blur of early twentieth-century Vienna in earshot distance of the oldest zoo in the world. Indeed, a cultural history of villas in Vienna proves that Berger and his wife purchased the *Villa Hohenfels* in the *Stadtviertel* of Hietzing in 1894. If, however, Berger had not mentioned the fact that he could hear the ‘Schönbrunner Menagerie’ with the animal sounds of its wild animals, would it have been possible to have read these sounds as Viennese? In other words: does Berger’s description of the modern mechanized and increasingly urbanized blend of sounds place them in Vienna in 1907? Notwithstanding the reference to the acoustic might of wild animals from the Schönbrunn

as well as to the reference of the Westbahn, the description of the soundscape would appear, on the surface, to resemble the sounds that would have been reminiscent in either Munich or Berlin. To refer back to Lessing’s first two anti-noise essays and the printed letters from his own journals: the comparatively new and novel sounds of the ‘elektrischen Bahnen und Dampfbahnen, Automobiles und Telephone in einer modernen Großstadt’\(^{20}\) were, by 1901, defining the city’s acoustic environment. As Lessing’s writings also show, the cacophony of barking dogs, especially in Munich with its canine population of 15,000 by 1908, was a theme which also received attention in Lessing’s Recht auf Stille. One of the members of Lessing’s organisation wrote:

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\text{Daß es in München vielleicht mehr und schlimmeren Lärm gibt, wie in anderen ebenso großen Städten, weiß jeder, der einmal die Münchener Trambahn hat donnern hören oder sich überzeugt hat, welche Unmassen von Hunden hier herumlaufen.}^{21}\]

Tradition soundmarks, too, such as the ringing of bells and sirens as well as natural tones of wind and water (surprisingly not drowned out by the other less naturally induced sounds) are not specific to any one geographical location, not specific to Vienna, but could just as easily be heard in Munich as they could in Berlin. Although Berger strikes a balance between traditional urban soundmarks, more natural rural sounds, the new mechanical sound from then recent technological inventions, the sound of voice, the dominance and prominence of musical instruments, tones, tunes and songs in Berger’s fragment reveals not only an urban space that is acoustically interwoven with music articulations, but, with a bit of musical history, a space that is more Viennese than berlinerisch or münchnerisch.

Recalling Max Graf’s insight from the chapter in which the topos Musikstadt Wien was underpinned, in which he spoke of ‘jedes Regiment der österreichischen Armee

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hatte seine eigene Kapelle’ and the ‘Wiener [marschierten] im gleichen Schritt mit ihren Musikkapellen’,\textsuperscript{22} Berger’s ‘drei Kapellen’ reference squares neatly with Graf’s own words in his music biography of Vienna. The image presented by Berger of the multiple Kapellen, especially placed at the very outset of his long list of recognized sounds during his experiment, gives the musical dimensions of the blended urban soundscape special significance. Indeed, the Kapelle would almost seem to form the geographical boundaries within which Berger’s urban soundscape unfolds: ganz nahe, etwas weiter, ziemlich fern. Certain significance could also be attached to Berger’s positioning of the musical image of the three Kapellen at the very beginning of his acoustic account: it may, of course, be interpreted as the first most penetrable or memorable sound that landed on Berger’s ear; it may, on the other hand, be regarded as an acoustic cue, one where the playing of music triggers off all of these other sounds, irrespective of whether they are natural tones or the mechanized drone. In this respect, the acoustic cue would be definitive in setting the future tone, tempo and rhythm of the sounds that follow, evident in the repetitive sentence structure that Berger deploys to list the wide range of sounds in his surroundings. Given that the German literal translation for symphony is ‘im Einklang’ (in one sound or one-sounding), Berger’s sentence structure, together with the musical entrée, tempo and acoustically-laden words, could be regarded as a symphony in its own right. To this end, Berger presents a city symphony, one similar to the trip made by Max Winter to the outskirts of Vienna at around the same time, whose ‘im Einklang’ blending completely negates the peaceful setting of Hietzing in Vienna.

Although the *Kapellen* get the city symphony—to remain with the analogy—off to a start, they are not the only musical images that are present in Berger’s essayistic depiction of the acoustic environment. Immediately after the *Kapellen* are mentioned, Berger cites the sound of dogs. It is noteworthy that he employs musical terms to denote the sounds that are produced by these two dogs: one in a ‘tiefer Stimmlage’, synonymous with the voice of a male tenor; and another one in a ‘hoher Stimmlage’, reminiscent of an alto. Given that the *Stimmlage* has the most resonance with a choir and the *Kapelle* with the instrumental, then the instrumental can be seen as giving way to the choral ensemble of dogs barking. The interwoven musical nature of the first two described acoustic moments create the strong perception of a city of not just being associated with music but also one in which music dictates the acoustic output of the soundscape, regardless of whether it refers to its rhythm, tempo or texture.

The next set of musical images includes two pianos, a lady singing and a symbol of technological modernity: the microphone. Indeed, the latter, a device to amplify the sound of the voice and music, is one of the first German literary references to the loudspeaker in existence. It is unclear as to whether the orchestral piece and the English song being relayed from the microphone are live renditions or whether they are recordings from, perhaps, the latest music emitting device: the gramophone, which, by 1907, had become the middle class fashion accessory item. However, it is clear that the musical pieces give way to one another in a repetitive nature, just as if they were on a loop, suggesting that the gramophone may have been at work here. What is abundantly apparent is Berger’s coincidental use of groups of three, the triplet, in the appraisal of the musical features of the acoustic environment: the three *Musikkapellen*, the three dogs,
two of whose barks were likened to singing voice pitches, followed by an interlude of four non-musical sounds, and then: the next set of three musical instruments that of the human voice, the mechanical piano and the technological. The three, three, four, three combination is not all that far removed from the so-called Dreivierteltakt, one synonymous with the music of Johann Strauss and the city of Vienna. It is almost as if a Johann Strauss-like Dreitaktmelodien is embedded into the trio of motifs in the description of the urban acoustic environment. Such a melody, as present in the Blue Danube Waltz, as Max Graf put it, was the ‘ideales Bild der Stadt’. Similarly, Berger produces an acoustic image of the city in which the dominance of music is unquestionable and unmistakable: it is found in the presence of musical moments, translated into literary motifs by Berger; and it is embedded in musical perceptions of non-musical sounds.

Though social historians have often pointed to the results of Berger’s experiment as having all the hallmarks of a noisy soundscape, a more music historically grounded soundscape, paired with literary analysis, suggests a literarisation of the Musikstadt Wien in an increasingly noisy urban environment. Indeed, the fact that the musical images and motifs have a place in Berger’s analysis proves that music is still able to exert itself and to be heard in the modern urban soundscape despite competition from the new noise generating devices and vehicles that would very much shape the soundscape of modernity, the soundscape of this quintessential Musikstadt. The discourse surrounding the Musikstadt is attuned not to Vienna as a pure musical city which is consumed by music; but, by the late nineteenth century, it recognises a whole host of new sounds that were the embodiment of the modern city in the context of the Austrian capital. Max Graf

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23 Ibid., p. 85.
spoke of the ‘Moderne’ with its ‘elektrischen Straßenbeleuchtung und Autos’, its ‘lärmenden Verkehr’ and the first ‘kleine elektrische Straßenbahn’. Von Berger’s literary depiction of Vienna can be seen, therefore, as a prelude to the wider discourse on the *Musikstadt* that would follow in the twentieth century.

As for the second part of his essay, the one published in 1909 in the *Neue Freie Presse* and the one on which Lessing reported in his *Das Recht auf Stille*, von Berger would make an astonishing claim that delves right into the heart of the thesis under the spotlight here: he addresses a new type of urban aurality, a mode and manner of listening in and to the city. With the bombardment of all sorts of sounds from multiple sources, he would make a claim that is not too far removed from the urban sociological theories of Georg Simmel: the urbanite has developed some sort of immunity to the constant bombardment of urban acoustic stimuli. For Simmel, it was the development of a special filter organ through Darwin-like adaptation processes; for Berger, it is the evolution of the human ear and the human psyche to perceive the urban blend of sounds which land on the acoustic organ at any one given time, assessing it as quiet:

> Was der Großstädter Stille nennt, das ist ein Gemisch aller möglichen Geräusche, an das er sich gewöhnt hat, daß er es gar nicht mehr hört, welches also Stille für ihn ist.²⁷

The blending of all sorts of sounds can be regarded as a reference back to his first essay and to the extensively cited part of that essay above, in which he describes this ‘Gemisch aller möglichen Geräusche’, blending traditional animal sounds with old and new urban soundmarks as well as musical tones, tunes and articulations. That these musical dimensions constituted this ‘Gemisch’ is confirmed moments later in Berger’s essay and

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²⁵ Ibid., p. 17.
²⁶ Ibid., p. 106.
leaves no doubt that musical articulations, for Berger at least, are not isolated from this ‘Gemisch’, but are very much a part of it: ‘Aus dieser Quelle stammt sehr viel von dem Trommeln, Pfeifen und Trompeten und sonstigem musikalischen oder doch musikartigen Lärm, der sich mit den übrigen Stadtgeräuschen mengt […].’

Berger plays, literally speaking, on these musical instruments, redeploying them metaphorically to express various noise-generating devices concentrated in the urban space. Although he argued earlier in his essay that the urbanite’s perception of silence is not silence at all, but more like a mixture of all sorts of noise to which he has adapted, he would go on to claim:

Ich glaube, die Empfindlichkeit gegen Lärm wird heute darum so lebhaft empfunden und geäußert, weil in das Orchester der Kulturmusik einige neue Musikinstrumente eingefügt worden sind, denen sich unsere Nerven noch nicht angepaßt haben. Auch diese scharren Laute werden sich durch Gewöhnung im großen Gesamtgeräusch lösen, das für uns Stille ist.

Writing in Vienna, well known for musical traditions and its topographical status as a Musikstadt, Berger’s employment of the musical terminology is symbolic and significant in the urban context of the musical rich urban environment: the orchestra signifies the grouping of the individual sounding devices as a whole; the Kulturmusik refers to the modern urban soundscape and as the orchestra playing it; and the new musical instruments are the newly introduced sounds to the city’s repertoire of noise.

What is remarkable about this antepenultimate paragraph is that it culminates in a reference to a poem by Anastasius Grün. Berger sees his acoustic view of the world as a ‘Gemisch aller möglichen Geräusche’ confirmed by Grün’s poem. The integration of the poem in his essay, not quoted in full by Berger, suggests the predestined nature of the modern urban soundscape and the literary depictions that accompanied it. Although Gastein is regarded today for its rural and rustic nature, it was a vibrant town centre.

28 Ibid., p. 324.
29 Ibid., p. 330.
during the times of Anastasius Grün, attracting literary notables and political dignitaries. Grün’s poem is an autobiographical account of his first night in Gastein, hence the title *Aus Gastein – Erste Nacht* and was published in 1869. It reads:

> Es wäre Schlafenszeit; – doch das ist schlimm,
> Nicht schlafen läßt mich hier der Ache Grimm,
> Grad’ unterm Fenster schlägt ihr Katarakt
> Auf Felsenpulte dröhnend seinen Takt!
> Musik zur Unzeit! Was zu thun da sei?
> Zu horchen wach der Räthselmelodei:
> Einförmig tost’s und doch so wechselvoll,
> Wie Harfen jetzt, und jetzt wie Donnergroll!
> Ist’s Wagenrasseln, das die Stadt durchrollt?
> Ist’s Mühlgestampf, das täglich Brod dir zollt?
> Sind’s Eisenhammer, schmiedend Waffenerz?
> Ist’s Orgelton jetzt, der dir schmilzt das Herz?
> Nun Posthornklang, der dich zur Ferne reißt!
> Nun Waldesrauschen, das dich bleichen heißt!
> Nun Glockenschall, der fromm die Gläub’gen ruft!
> Nun Trauermarsch, geleitend in die Gruft! –
> Dem Leben gleich! Und Alles Staub und Schaum!
> Doch sang’s dich unbewußt in Schlaf und Traum.\(^{30}\)

Although the poem predates modernism and is firmly fixed in the romantic era, the sleeplessness documented by the author (the ‘mich’) as a result of the soundscape proves, once again, that sensitivities to perceived noise were not confined to the roaring twentieth century; they had a pre-history that can be traced back through the ages. Mentioned in all but name, Grün’s poem evokes a type of symphony, whereby the natural phenomenon of the waterfall in earshot distance of the insomniac’s window is rendered with musical terminology and imagery, rhythmic prose and verse. The eighteen-line poem can be divided neatly into three parts, the first of which is a depiction of the natural surrounding environment and its equation with music: the ‘Ache Grimm’ refers here to a waterway, whose ‘Katarakt’ or waterfall is crashing on a bed of rocks. Whilst the waterfall is gushing away, the narrator asks someone intimate (hence, the ‘dir’ and ‘dich’) about the

potential sounds that are probably heard by the ‘Ich’ and would appear to be in earshot distance of the Ich’s position, ranging from the Wagenrasseln to the Mühlgestampf. Tuning the ear more closely to the sounds, questioned sounds give way to exclaimed sounds, together with their evoked emotions, in the third part. The poem culminates in Grün’s alignment of the sound world with life itself, and it is this marriage that allows the ‘mich’, since turned to ‘dich’, to fall asleep with the soundscape still continuing, unabated, in the background. Grün’s poem is an example from Romanticism of the transformation of sounds of the acoustic environment into a literary object. Described by Berger as the poetic rendition of ‘alle[n] Töne[n] des Lebens’, Grün’s poem proves that the soundscape was an object of fascination for the literary world long before the onset of aesthetic modernism. The capture of ‘alle[n] Töne[n] des Lebens’ by Grün in the nineteenth century is a literary equivalent of Berger’s attempt to make a literary note of the ‘Gemisch aller möglicher Geräusche’ in the twentieth century. What both authors undertake is a kind of literary aurality, listening to the wider soundscapes of their times, compartmentalizing the individual sounds under umbrella terms, but using punctuation and literary rhythm to depict the tempo, flow and pace of these sounds, to which both authors are subjected, and around which both of the authors theme in their literary products. Differences in the manner of how Grün expresses ‘alle Töne des Lebens’ and how Berger expresses ‘Gemisch aller möglicher Geräusche’ both show how aurality has transformed, i.e. the sounds that these authors heard and perceived; and how, by association, the soundscape has changed between the long, Romantic nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, loud and modern in nature. Grün’s literary soundscape is more in tune with a soundscape where the listener can still make out the sounds of nature
and of human voice. Though Berger’s literary rendition of the loud Viennese soundscape identifies similar sort of sounds to those of Anastasius Grün, the literary rendition is more of a blurred and blended soundscape. This is, of course, understandable: Berger’s soundscape is one of the urban areas of the twentieth century and Grün’s is one of a more rural backwater of the nineteenth century. Berger’s soundscape, as he would later describe in his essay, constitutes a far greater blend of sounds than Grün’s. The buzz of electricity and technology of the early twentieth century does much to facilitate this movement away from the soundmarks that can be individually heard in Grün’s nineteenth-century soundscape towards Berger’s twentieth century. It is this very century, the twentieth, that experiences both a rapid expansion of the urban space and a dramatic acoustic transformation in which technological and electrical sounds are added to the already loud urban soundscape, making it more diverse, varied and wide-ranging.
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