

# INTRODUCTION



You know that city so unshakeable and still,  
Where no one treats your ears ill,  
Where not every breath of wind makes you wholly  
Nervous, furious and full of folly?  
You know that city?  
That way! That way  
I'd like to escape with the next express train!

—'Moderne Ballade', 1886

This is the first part of a poem titled 'Modern Ballad', published in the humorous magazine *Der Flob* in 1886.<sup>1</sup> The author is, as in most humorous texts and pictures published in magazines like *Der Flob*, unknown. The signature below the ballad says only 'Ein Wiener' – a Viennese. Yet, although the identity of the writer of the 'Modern Ballad' is unknown, the contemporary middle-class audience would certainly have immediately recognized the lines parodied here; they come from one of the most famous poems by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Mignon's Song'.<sup>2</sup> However, Goethe's classic text, which refers to Italy, is here radically transformed. In the modern ballad, the speaker is longing for a city still and unshakeable, in order to take an express train to get there. This ironic paradox cannot be fully understood without the framework of humour.

This inquiry into popular humour in Vienna between 1857 and 1890 is an attempt to discover why the city and its urban life in the late nineteenth century generated so much laughter, and how humour was used as an interpretative framework with which to deal with the changing city environment. In Vienna in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the urbanization and transformation of the city space were making the city the opposite of still and unshakeable, popular humour flourished.

The growing capital of the vast Habsburg Empire was a place where a variety of different local traditions and nationalities merged and created a new kind of urban culture. In the suburbs, popular singers sang couplet songs that circulated in the city from mouth to mouth; in festivals outside the city border, the pre-modern carnival culture persisted.<sup>3</sup> Whereas in the suburbs and in the

fringe areas of the city an oral popular humour flourished, in the bourgeois downtown humour expanded in literary forms. Thanks to modern printing technology, in particular, humorous magazines and satirical journals became extremely popular among the literate middle classes. The new urban bourgeoisie enjoyed puns about dim-witted street watchmen and jokes about a beggar and a millionaire meeting on the street, and were amused by cartoons of modern women cross-dressed as men and early comic strips on the horror of riding an omnibus on an ill-paved street (passengers bumping up and down), not to speak of riddles that bluffed the human eye: puzzle pictures and wordplay that fooled reason and opened up another kind of reality with ambivalence, fantasy and hidden meanings.

This book explores popular humour in the nineteenth-century city both as a mode of lived experience and as a discourse on urban life. I am therefore interested in the ways in which lived experiences and representations of the material city were interconnected and how they shaped each other. By examining the ways in which the urban environment and life in the city were discussed in various printed media such as jokes, puns and cartoons, my aim is not only to look at how urban life was represented in humorous accounts but to approach them as something that sprang from the lived experience in the city and sheds light on the complexity of everyday life in the transforming urban milieu. The present study focuses on the bourgeoisie's perspective on the city. The rising middle classes had a vital role in shaping Viennese intellectual and cultural history towards modernist culture, and I am approaching humour as a key to the urban imagination of the Viennese *Bürger*, unveiling the contradictions and ambiguities in the transition towards modernity. The central question of my study is: how was humour deployed in encountering and interpreting the experiences of urbanization and modernity? In order to answer this question, I ask what aspects of the transforming city were either seen or portrayed as comical or as a target for satire; how humour was used as a way to understand and negotiate change in the everyday environment, and to create meanings and identities in a situation when earlier spatial and social relations were falling apart.

The major theme of the study is the fundamental transition towards modernity in late nineteenth-century urban history. The modern city has been viewed as an emblem or epitome of modernity,<sup>4</sup> where the paradoxes and ambiguities of modernity became visible: a locus of fragmentation, discontinuation, movement, unfamiliarity and estrangement.<sup>5</sup> However, although the relationship between popular humour and modern urban culture has attracted academic interest in recent years,<sup>6</sup> the interconnection between nineteenth-century popular humour and modernity is a relatively neglected topic that has not yet been subjected to extensive close study. By exploring the comic press in Vienna, this study aims to widen our understanding of the various ways in which humour and laughter have been used in creating, understanding and inhabiting the modern world.

The notion of comical modernity carries with it a long historical tradition. Modernity's comical, absurd or amusing aspects have been dealt with, especially, by various clown figures, from Karl Valentin's cabaret performances in the 1920s Weimar Republic to Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) and Jacques Tati's *Play Time* in the Paris of the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> However, all these examples represent a full-blown, mature phase of modernity that resulted from the cultural rupture of the early twentieth century. The current study seeks to demonstrate that the 'modern' was encountered and processed through humour long before it became such a prominent feature in society and social debate. Furthermore, it explores alternative, divergent ways of understanding and interpreting modernity, which found their expression in the field of nineteenth-century popular culture, and popular humour in particular, but are missing from the dominant discourses surrounding modernity.

The concept of *modernity* is extremely ambiguous and has been defined in many ways. As Rita Felski has noted, this results from the fact that the term *modernity* has been used both as a thematic and as a periodizing term, and covers various intersecting cultural, social and philosophical strands. Because modernity has been associated with various complex historical processes, including urbanization, the expansion of capitalism and the emergence of nation states, different theoretical debates in the fields of historical research, political theory or literary studies tend to locate modernity at different places in time and address different aspects of it. Furthermore, as a periodizing term, *modernity* has been conceptualized in relation to other adjoining terms that seek to explain different features associated with it. The origin of the concept *modernity* has often been traced back to Charles Baudelaire, who used it in his essay *The Painter of Modern Life* (1864) to depict the transitory, fugitive and contingent experience of life. The concept *modernism* refers to various literary and art movements and schools in continental Europe and the United States, mainly in urban centres like Paris, Berlin or Vienna, which created a new kind of radical aesthetics that challenged existing traditions of representation and style.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the rupture from traditional society and the emergence of self-reflective subjectivism, modernity is often understood in terms of a shift in temporal understanding. It has been defined as a new concept of time as a linear continuum, externalized as a rational belief in progress and as a sense of a radical break from the past. Furthermore, modernity is linked to *modernization*, meaning the rational organization of space and society, manifested most clearly in the city renewal projects across nineteenth-century Europe. The reconstruction of Paris by the prefect Baron Georges Haussmann, between 1853 and 1870, created a model for a new kind of modern city that was followed by architects and urban planners across Europe.<sup>9</sup> Thus, as Marshall Berman has suggested, modernity can be understood as a body of experience involving a radically new kind of understanding of both time and space.<sup>10</sup>

My research focuses on urban renewal in Vienna and the emergence of modern Viennese culture and experience. The time frame chosen for this investigation, starting in 1857 and ending in 1890, encompasses three decades in which the city space was rebuilt and transformed. In the late 1850s, the old city walls, which dated from the Middle Ages, were torn down, and an architectural competition was organized for a new layout for the city.<sup>11</sup> In the following three decades, on the site of the former city wall there arose the new main boulevard of the Habsburg Empire, the Ringstraße. It surrounded the old city centre, connecting it with the growing suburbs. The urban renewal reached its conclusion in 1890 with the unification of 'Groß-Wien' into one municipal entity, although the rebuilding of the city continued into the next century.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of the city renewal, introduced by Kaiser Franz Joseph in 1857 with his famous declaration 'Es ist mein Wille' (it is my will), was to create new kinds of urban space to meet the demands of a modernizing and industrializing society. The population of Vienna was increasing rapidly, from around 476,000 in 1857 to approximately 1,365,000 in 1890 and to over two million in 1910.<sup>13</sup> The emergence of urban mass populations created tensions in the capital of the Habsburg Empire, and urban planning provided a means to govern and control the growing urban crowd more effectively. In Vienna the situation was distinctly turbulent, since the immigrants moving into the city represented a range of different cultures and nationalities, which created tensions and conflicts in an era of rising nationalism. Consequently, the symbolic and representative function of city space became a priority in the construction of the Ringstraße. The city renewal project, which aimed to create Vienna as a strong capital for the vast heterogeneous empire, was also a political attempt to reshape and reinforce the imaginary of a uniform nation and its shared past.<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, as the historian Carl E. Schorske has famously argued, the construction of the Ringstraße reflected the rise of the Austrian liberal bourgeoisie, which gained political power in the Habsburg Empire and in the city of Vienna as the political system changed in the 1860s from an absolutist to a constitutional monarchy. Schorske suggests that as the liberals started to reshape Vienna to their image, the city space became a battlefield, a 'politically contested space', through which different groups in society tried to express their claims to power and their cultural values.<sup>15</sup> Due to this specific historical context, Vienna's renewal differed from the rebuilding of Paris or, say, Berlin or Rome in the nineteenth century.

This book aims to give a new perspective on the heyday of Austrian liberalism by demonstrating that humorous sources give access to the underlying uncertainties and contradictions of the liberal era. Investigating popular humour helps us to understand better the crisis of Austrian liberalism and its historical roots in the Ringstraße era. The starting point of my approach is the suggestion that popular culture, which has received less attention in previous studies on late nineteenth-century Viennese cultural history, can provide a new perspec-

tive for the understanding of that era. Investigating popular humour enables a bottom-up perspective on late nineteenth-century Viennese cultural history and the dominance of the liberal bourgeoisie, which has previously been studied predominantly in terms of intellectual history and high culture.

Instead of further investigating the much-researched Viennese high culture between 1890 and 1914, my study focuses on the preceding era of the *Gründerzeit*,<sup>16</sup> and looks at how the transformation of city space was discussed in contemporary popular culture during the actual rebuilding process. As Marion Linhardt has suggested in her study on the history of Viennese popular theatre and operetta, the rebuilding of the city shook the old spatial and social structures and brought into existence a new urban community that created and consumed popular culture.<sup>17</sup> I am suggesting that, especially in this period of urban transformation, the realms of the popular can capture and uncover aspects from the everyday life that are missing from 'higher' elements of culture. Furthermore, the aim of this study is to rethink the boundaries of the bourgeoisie and to demonstrate that the fields of bourgeois 'high culture' and vernacular 'popular culture' or industrial 'mass culture' were not as separate from each other as the previous understanding of the nineteenth-century history has assumed. Therefore, my aim is not to present popular humour as something separate from other aspects of Viennese bourgeois culture, but rather to gain a new perspective on this culture by analysing it through its humour, which can reveal something of the dynamics of cultural processes that otherwise are hard to uncover. I am suggesting that shifting our attention from the high aspirations and ideals of the bourgeoisie to the plane of the low and mundane world of humour offers a new kind of insight into issues that were repressed, silenced and avoided in the official culture.

The focus on humour also offers a new perspective on the emergence of Viennese modernist culture, which has been the grand narrative of the studies in Viennese cultural history since the famous volume of Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (originally published in 1979). Schorske's thesis of the emergence of the modernist culture as a reaction to the failure of bourgeois liberalism and rationalism has fundamentally shaped our understanding of Viennese modernity. Schorske's central argument was that the next generation of the liberal bourgeoisie became alienated from their class and turned to the world of aesthetics and the psyche, turning their back on the cultural values of their fathers. Schorske argues that the building of the Ringstraße had a great impact on intellectual history at the turn of the century, since it expressed all those values that the next-generation modernists resisted and rejected, thus making Vienna into one of the core centres of ahistorical modernity, a legacy that still affects our day in a range of ways.

Consequently, late nineteenth-century Vienna has been seen as a 'birthplace of the modern world',<sup>18</sup> a 'laboratory of modernity'<sup>19</sup> where often contradictory cultural ideas and processes collided and intertwined. The historian Allan Janik

sees Vienna as a place where a self-aware and reflective ‘critical modernity’<sup>20</sup> took shape. Moreover, as many of the contradictions and paradoxes of the modern emerged in Vienna, they also generated new responses to a changing reality, from Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis to Adolf Loos’s modern architecture and Karl Lueger’s antisemitism and xenophobia. Because of the profound and far-reaching impact that Viennese modernity has had on the intellectual, political and cultural histories of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, understanding late nineteenth-century Vienna is still significant and vital for the understanding of our modern world.

The underlying thread in this inquiry is to pinpoint the relationship between popular humour and the modern experience, and to show that humour was not just a way of understanding and discussing modernity, but an integral part of it. The popular humour of the liberal bourgeoisie not only helped people to navigate in the ambiguous urban reality, but it also played an active part in shaping this reality. Thus, my research seeks to demonstrate the crucial contribution of humorous magazines in negotiating the city’s new, *modern* character.

While Schorske’s interpretation has profoundly shaped the understanding of the birth of modernity in late nineteenth-century Vienna, his thesis has also been subject to critical evaluations. Steven Beller emphasized in his study, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (originally published in 1989), the strong Jewish impact on the intellectual history and cultural flowering of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as well as more widely on modern culture and thought. One of the most important critical contributions to the Schorskean paradigm was the article series *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, edited by Steven Beller, which came out in 2001. As scholars have tried to achieve more differentiated ways of understanding the cultural history of Viennese modernity, the main critique of Schorske’s interpretation has focused on the question of who the liberal bourgeoisie actually were, and what the terms ‘liberal’ and ‘bourgeoisie’ meant in the Austrian context.<sup>21</sup>

The present study explores the problem of the liberal bourgeoisie and its relation to modern culture by looking at the popular humour published in the liberal humorous magazines that were produced and read by both the relatively assimilated Jewish and Gentile middle classes.<sup>22</sup> Looking at what kind of humour these magazines produced, what they found funny and what they laughed at, can reveal crucial insights into the ways the Viennese *Bürger* gave meanings to themselves, others and the changing world around them. I suggest that looking at the humour of the Viennese bourgeoisie sheds light on the heterogeneity of this emergent social class, revealing its controversies and uncertainties in the internal discussion on the changing city. As shown in the following chapters, although a liberal worldview permeated both the lower and higher middle classes, they enjoyed different levels of power in political and public life. Even when constitutional monarchy was achieved in the 1860s, only the wealthier bourgeoisie were able to vote. The lower middle classes were excluded from the political process,

but followed it in the press. As John Boyer has shown in his study on political radicalization in late nineteenth-century Vienna, the Austrian ‘liberals’ in power were actually not very liberal, or even illiberal, and the crisis of liberalism thus involved a larger alienation of the lower middle classes from liberalist politics and thought.<sup>23</sup> This study seeks to demonstrate that during the liberalist era, the humorous magazines were a central forum for the ongoing negotiation around a cluster of cultural and political values central to liberalist politics and its ambition to create a new kind of modern city.

In addition to offering a contribution to the debate in the field of Austrian and Habsburg Studies about late nineteenth-century Vienna that has continued since the 1970s,<sup>24</sup> my work also relates to the partly intersecting research traditions of late nineteenth-century urban history and historical research on the modern city. Although until recently popular culture has been a relatively neglected theme in the field of Austrian Studies,<sup>25</sup> there are, of course, numerous excellent studies on the interplay between popular culture and the city elsewhere, such as Vanessa Schwartz’s *Spectacular Realities* (1999), which dealt with early mass culture in nineteenth-century Paris.

Cities and the urban environment were crucial for the emergence of mass popular culture, which in turn helped to fashion the experience of urbanity and modernity. The research tradition of modernity has emphasized the role of urban representations – texts and images in particular – in the constructing of modern experience. Representations of the modern metropolis guided the living in a new kind of urban environment, and shaped the meanings of the ‘new’ and ‘modern’ in society.<sup>26</sup>

For example, Peter Fritzsche’s *Reading Berlin 1900* (1998) introduced the idea of the ‘word city’, and emphasized the idea of city as a text. Fritzsche suggests that ‘in an age of urban mass literacy, the city as place and the city as text defined each other in mutually constitutive ways’.<sup>27</sup> Because the idea of city as a text has been so influential, many of the historical studies on the nineteenth-century city have emphasized its role as a discursive place. The main idea shared in most of these studies is that as new representative practices emerged to capture the fugitive and contingent nature of the city, they at the same time created a discursive environment that shaped the ways in which the city was observed, interpreted and understood.<sup>28</sup>

However, the role of humour in experiencing and making sense of the nineteenth-century city has been overlooked in the discussion so far. Although there were all kinds of humorous prints circulating in nineteenth-century cities, the special ways in which humorous, satirical or ironic representations dealt with urbanity and modernity have remained relatively unexplored. Nevertheless, humour has always been an integral part of human existence and it was an inseparable part of nineteenth-century urban reality. In fact, in the age of rapid social change, industrialization and urbanization, popular humour had a new

significant role in constructing local urban identity. Humour, above all else, was understood to express a certain urban worldview and a way of life that was unique and authentic for the inhabitants of the city.<sup>29</sup> It was cherished with pride and comparisons were made between the senses of humour of inhabitants of different cities. For example, the local humour in Berlin, the *Berliner Schnauze*, was seen as conveying the wittiness of Berliners, who were quick at repartee,<sup>30</sup> whereas *Wiener Schmäb* by contrast expressed the Viennese mentality, which hid ridicule in politeness, and combined sarcasm and melancholia with light-heartedness or the famous Viennese *Gemütlichkeit*.<sup>31</sup> Thus, popular humour provided a significant discourse for urbanity, and using humorous publications as primary sources brings out aspects that cannot be found in other source material.

By examining popular humour, my aim is to bring a new perspective to the research tradition, which has emphasized the textuality and visuality of the city, but overlooked it as a material place. Since the 1990s, the spatial turn and the material turn have raised growing interest in the spatial and material aspects of culture. The theoretical thinking of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, especially, has turned focus onto the dynamics of space: how space is not merely a passive background for human action and container of social life, but something that is continuously produced by everyday spatial practices, abstract conceptions, symbols and imaginaries.<sup>32</sup> As Lefebvre argues, '(social) space is a (social) product',<sup>33</sup> which means that space is not only produced by the continuous flux of social life and its embedded power relations, but also gives structure to these, and guides how people live and give shape to their everyday experiences. I am approaching the urban renewal between 1857 and 1890 as a rupture in the previous spatial organization of the city, which made these underlying processes visible: that is, how space embodies knowledge, power and social relations. Because the construction of the Ringstraße was linked with several different ideological perspectives, the relationship between space and power is especially important for my study. As this study sets out to investigate popular humour as a discursive and interpretative mode for the negotiation of the transformation of city space, I am interested in how lived, conceived and perceived spaces are always mutually interdependent and how urban representations are always embedded in the material conditions in which they come to life. Because of modernity's interrelationship with the new (urban) spaces, my approach to modernity emphasizes its spatial aspect, and special attention is given to the interplay between the material city space and popular humour.

## **Viennese Witzblätter**

During the years of the urban reconstruction, a large number of humorous texts and images emerged to comment on the new urbanity. In addition to humorous



magazines and calendars, there were numerous books and booklets, with titles such as *Modernes Wien: Humoristische Federzeichnungen* (1859)<sup>34</sup> or *Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive* (1873).<sup>35</sup> In the weekly *Witzblätter*, modern city life was depicted in countless jokes and cartoons with titles and captions like ‘Strassengespräch’, ‘Im Tramway-Waggon’, ‘Wien vom Einst und Jetzt’, ‘Moderne Sitten’, ‘Grossstädtisches’, ‘Wiener Strassenfatalitäten’, ‘Moderne Jungfrau’, ‘Im Park’, ‘Fremde in Wien’, ‘Ode an das elektrische Licht’, ‘Die kranke Mode’, ‘Groß-Wien Hymne’ or ‘Zukunftstraum’, published side by side seemingly at random, without any obvious connection with each other. These juxtaposed scenes from the city pointed the reader’s attention to different parts of Vienna, from downtown to the suburbs, from the Stephansplatz out to Ottakring. However, the central part of the city, surrounded by the new Ringstraße, is clearly the major location for bourgeois jokes and cartoons. The humorous popular publications thus actively constructed their own ‘imagined geography’<sup>36</sup> of Vienna, by mapping the city with humour and giving meanings to various material places in which the magazines were, again, read and understood. The material city and the imagined city were thus intimately interlinked, which means that they should be studied in interaction with each other rather than as separate entities.

This spatial approach to humour is new in the study of Viennese humorous magazines. Although there are excellent studies on the German satirical press and popular humour, which provide a valuable reference point for my study,<sup>37</sup> the Viennese humorous magazines of the *Gründerzeit* have gone relatively unstudied. Previous studies have included attempts to create a comprehensive overview encompassing all the various magazines and their writers,<sup>38</sup> or the focus has been merely on political caricature and satire,<sup>39</sup> or on a specific event such as the 1848 revolution,<sup>40</sup> or on specific motifs such as the image of Jews in cartoons and caricatures.<sup>41</sup> The question of the relationship between humour and modernity has not been studied before at this length, although Viennese nineteenth-century popular culture in general,<sup>42</sup> and the impact of the shock caused by modernity on vernacular oral humour in particular, have been discussed by the Austrian scholars Wolfgang Maderthaler and Lutz Musner.<sup>43</sup>

The main reason for the fact that studies of humorous-satirical journals and studies of the history of popular culture have taken such different paths in the past is that humorous magazines and satirical journals have not been considered as popular culture. They have rather been seen as part of the modern press, and therefore studied in the context of the history of the press and other printed media. Furthermore, because the major European humorous magazines targeted an educated middle-class audience, and were produced, for the most part, by professional journalists, artists and writers,<sup>44</sup> they have been seen as a far cry from the emerging mass popular culture of the lower classes. Because of the emphasis on ‘serious’ political satire, the diversity of the material published in the

humorous *Witzblätter*, for example, has not been fully considered. Furthermore, precisely the elements that seem most ‘popular’, in the sense of being light, commercial, vulgar, mundane or entertaining, have mainly been overlooked or even smoothed away.

However, because the *Witzblätter* published all sorts of material, and took their topics from both high and low, they captured many aspects of everyday life that otherwise were neglected in the more official or mainstream discourses on the city. For example, the historian Ann Taylor Allen sees that humour documented aspects of everyday life that were considered too common, coarse or mundane to be treated by ‘high’ art; ‘such popular materials as the *Witzblätter*’, she suggests, ‘can help the historian to understand one of the least tangible facets of social change – the concomitant development of perceptions, attitudes and values of people affected’.<sup>45</sup>

In this study I am following the idea that details of everyday life that might not have been considered newsworthy for the ‘serious’ daily papers can reveal hints about mental patterns and experiences that have otherwise been left out of the documentation.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, because humorous magazines did not hesitate to deal with all aspects of bodily experiences of the city, they often captured sensory experiences that are otherwise pushed into the background in nineteenth-century literature. Humorous accounts referred not only to visuality and seeing, but to feeling, hearing and smelling as well. Whereas the research tradition on modern urban culture has strongly emphasized the visuality and textuality of the nineteenth-century city, less attention has been given to other sensory bodily experiences of transforming cities.<sup>47</sup> By exploring the city from unexpected and unconventional perspectives, therefore, humorous magazines help to shed light on multiple aspects of everyday life that otherwise would remain unnoticed or hidden.

Most importantly, until now, no attention has been given to the fact that the humorous magazines also invited readers to send in their own material for publication. Although the editorial staff were mainly responsible for the contents of the magazines, the three humorous magazines discussed in this study – *Der Figaro*, *Der Floh* and *Kikeriki* – all published material from their readers, and paid small fees for the accepted contributions.<sup>48</sup> The jokes and cartoons were sent in under pseudonyms and published anonymously; hence, the ‘Modern Ballad’ mentioned earlier, with the byline ‘Ein Wiener’, may indeed have been written by an anonymous reader, ‘a Viennese’, who decided to try his luck with *Der Floh* magazine.

My approach for this study is therefore guided by the observation that humorous magazines were not merely read passively, but that readers also sent in their own jokes, puns and cartoons for publication. Furthermore, this awareness among the readers that some of the material came from their fellow citizens will probably have affected the ways in which the jokes and cartoons were read and

understood. By inviting citizens to send in their own jokes, puns and cartoons for publication, the magazines enabled a forum for grassroots-level negotiation on current issues in an age of censorship. The anonymity of the great city was turned to advantage. Because the texts and pictures were sent in under pseudonyms and published anonymously, they reveal a debate that had the potential to bypass social hierarchies and limitations.

The popular humour studied in this book was always public in nature because it was printed and circulated in the city. In these humorous magazines, the 'popular' and the 'public' merged. On the one hand, they represented a new kind of popular culture, not only aimed at the new kind of mass audience, but also partly created by this audience, representing their ways of imagining and reacting to the surrounding reality.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, the humorous magazines were part of the new kind of public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*), providing the magazines with an effective site for public debate. My work therefore relates to Jürgen Habermas's theory that in the eighteenth century newspapers and other print media brought into existence a new kind of critical public sphere, which enabled individuals to share ideas in public. The nineteenth century led, however, to the commercial transformation of the public sphere and thus to the loss of its critical potential.<sup>50</sup>

The history of the nineteenth-century humorous magazines has often been interpreted as a transition from critical to commercial. In particular, the collapse of state censorships in the 1848 revolutions across Europe created a boom of humorous-satirical magazines that stemmed from the tradition of political pamphlets and caricatures. As the historian Mary Lee Townsend has argued, in the early nineteenth century humorous magazines became an important part of the political culture, because they offered means of dealing with politically, morally or socially delicate matters in an age of strong censorship. By the early twentieth century, the press had on the one hand gained more liberties, and on the other the publishing industry developed and expanded its range. Humorous publications turned into light reading, preceding many of the twentieth-century forms of popular culture such as comics, graphic novels, pulp fiction and even men's magazines.<sup>51</sup>

The period from 1860 to 1900 was the heyday of humorous and satirical magazines in Vienna. In 1860 there were only ten humorous magazines in the city; in 1866 the number was thirty, and in 1870 as many as thirty-four.<sup>52</sup> The statistics of the city of Vienna counted *Witzblätter* together with literary magazines and came up with even higher numbers in the 1880s: forty-four in 1882 and fifty-eight in 1884.<sup>53</sup> The humorous-satirical journals *Der Figaro*, *Kikeriki* and *Der Floh*, which constitute the main sources for this study, were the three most influential humorous magazines in Vienna. Unlike many of their rivals, these humorous magazines succeeded in surviving against hard competition, and continued publication long after the turn of the century.<sup>54</sup> *Der Figaro* and *Der Floh* are considered as liberal, whereas *Kikeriki* had started as liberal and

progressive in 1861, but turned conservative-nationalist and antisemitic in the 1880s, a political U-turn that was related to the wider rise of antisemitism in Austria-Hungary in the late nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to this political turnaround, between 1857 and 1890 all of the magazines underwent many other changes, which parallel wider shifts in the publishing industry. The popularity of the humorous magazines is related to the changing reading habits in the nineteenth century. As the literacy rate increased and printing technology developed, reading was no longer restricted to elite culture, but became a popular activity.<sup>56</sup> Whereas in the first half of the century humorous magazines published lengthy, florid texts that took a long time to read, by the turn of the century texts had become significantly shorter. They also became independent from each other, which made it possible to browse through only parts of the magazine. The humorous magazines enjoyed mixing different text types, from jokes, anecdotes and lampoons to sarcastic poems and funny songs. Furthermore, the humorous magazines also rewrote various urban texts, such as newspaper articles and official bulletins, thus not only commenting on the transformation of the city but also creating discursive practices that both guided and tried to give meanings to the changing material environment.

In addition to an expanded range of text types, the humorous magazines also experimented with their visual appearance. In the late 1850s, the pages of the magazines mostly consisted only of text, but by the 1890s the *Witzblätter* had become more and more visual in character. The cartoons and caricatures published in the *Figaro*, *Der Floh* and *Kikeriki* almost without exception included both text and image. Precisely this collision of words and images has been seen as a major characteristic of modern mass culture. Whereas the nineteenth-century high culture separated words and images and kept them far away from each other, the new kind of popular mass culture enjoyed mixing words and images together.<sup>57</sup>

There were many different types of images, political cartoons and caricatures of famous public figures such as politicians, artists and socialites. Moreover, these magazines published pictorial narratives, which resembled early comics, depicting everyday incidents from the changing city, encounters in the overcrowded tramways, rendezvous in the parks, and other stories from the fleeting urban life. Although the birth of modern comics has usually been located in the 1890s in the United States, European humorous magazines also played a pivotal role in experimenting with narratives made of words and sequential images, which later developed into modern comics.<sup>58</sup> The present study thus sheds light on the history of visual culture and early comics outside the Anglo-American culture.

In addition to comics, cartoons and caricatures the humorous magazines contained yet another type of image: advertisements. The increasing impact of commercialism on the publishing industry was clearly to be seen in the growing

number of advertisements published in the ‘Inseraten-Beilage’ supplements that sometimes had more pages than the magazines themselves.<sup>59</sup> Commercialism ran through the popular humour as well. Humorous magazines targeted as wide an audience as possible, and they constantly tried to widen their circulation. By the 1860s, the circulation of *Figaro*, *Floh* and *Kikeriki* had reached around twenty thousand each,<sup>60</sup> but the actual number of readers was probably substantially higher, since humorous magazines and satirical journals were often read in coffee houses.<sup>61</sup>

Because of the humorous-satirical magazines’ association with coffee houses, censorship issues and political debate, earlier studies of nineteenth-century satirical journals and humorous magazines have predominantly focused on political satire and humour. The topics covered have also typically been ranked hierarchically on the basis of their political relevance.<sup>62</sup> Issues in everyday life are often considered non-political, and therefore less interesting. For example, in his study on French political caricature, Robert Justin Goldstein argues that in times of heavy censorship the magazines were ‘forced’ to deal with trivial, harmless themes from everyday urban life, which lacked the cutting edge of political satire and made the magazines more like entertainment.<sup>63</sup> This study seeks to investigate the material in a new way, across the old borders of ‘political’ and ‘non-political’, to look at how they explored gender, fashion, urban mores and habits, material spaces and everyday life in the changing city. Therefore, my work is guided by a holistic understanding of culture that has been one of the main aspirations in cultural historical study. Moreover, the school of thinking in cultural studies that argues that issues of power affect all practices of everyday life, and ‘everything is political’, has been an inspiration for my approach.<sup>64</sup> Because structures of power are to be found in all aspects of human life, there are no ‘harmless’ or ‘insignificant subjects’, but rather it is important to pay more attention to what kinds of themes were raised as topics of humour and reconsider the question of why this was so.

## Theories of Humour

The study of a culture through its humour is unquestionably a challenging undertaking. Nevertheless, examining what people laughed at in the past enables one to approach the fabric of a culture that fashions the thoughts and actions of the people living in it. As the cultural historian Anu Korhonen has pointed out, far from being trivial, humour actually addresses topics that are meaningful to society. By revealing fundamental structural uncertainties and internal contradictions in a past culture, humour helps us to understand not only the cultural values, attitudes and ideas of the past but also the practices in which these ideas, values and attitudes were formed, questioned and negotiated.<sup>65</sup>

But what do we actually mean when we talk about humour? If *modernity* is an ambiguous and elusive concept, so is *humour*. In fact, it has been a phenomenon notoriously difficult to define and tackle. Humour is an integral part of everyday life and human experience, but an extremely difficult subject for academic research. It tends to elude rigid definitions and generalizing theories, and because scholars working in different disciplines apply different approaches to humour, there are several coexisting but partially incompatible terminologies in the field of humour research.

Originally the word *humour* derived from the Latin word *humores*, which referred to the four bodily fluids in ancient and medieval medicine. By the eighteenth century, in most European languages, humour had become a word that meant a certain mood or atmosphere; slowly it came to mean a playful attitude towards amusing things.<sup>66</sup> Humour has been defined as an attitude, a feeling, or a way of perceiving things comical, as funny or amusing.

The latter emphasis on the interpretative function of humour has its roots in history, as well. Whereas the word *humour* has traditionally been associated with notions of personhood, the word *wit* has a different origin that relates to concepts like knowledge, creativity and imagination. Wit is related to the German word *Witz*, which originally developed from the verb *wissen*, meaning 'to know'. Michael Billig comments that wit and humour were treated in the eighteenth century as distinctly different phenomena. The word wit referred to 'playing with words and ideas', whereas humour meant laughing at a person with a ridiculous, 'humorous' character. Accordingly, in eighteenth-century texts, wit referred to clever verbal sayings and an ability to put different ideas together, whereas humour stood for a laughable character. Moreover, eighteenth-century writers used words like ridiculous or ludicrous rather than humorous for the category of things that are comical or that might provoke laughter.<sup>67</sup>

The meaning of humour has thus radically changed in the modern period. The historian Daniel Wickberg has offered one explanation why the concept of humour became so widely recognized and significant in the nineteenth century: he argues that the idea of 'sense of humour' as a positive personal attribute did not emerge until the mid nineteenth century in the Anglo-American world. The rise of the modern formulation of 'sense of humour' as a positive attribute, which a person might or might not have, was closely related to shifting ideas of personhood and to the birth of modern individualism. The subjectivization of humour was related to the rise of the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century, as they invented new ways of navigating between personhood and social order, shaped by the bureaucratic and commercial tendencies of the period.<sup>68</sup> The birth of the modern sense of humour thus corresponded to the birth of the modern individual, able to laugh at everything and look at the surrounding reality with ironical distance.

Thus, the popular humour studied in this book did not merely address the new and the modern in the city, but the humour itself was also modern in many ways, shaped by the historical processes described in the previous paragraphs. The Viennese journalists and writers called themselves ‘humourists’ (*Humorist*) in the new, modern sense, as self-conscious creators of laughter.<sup>69</sup> In addition, they used the words humour (*Humor*) and humorous (*humoristisch*) in a distinctively modern sense, to point to that which was potentially funny or comical. Humour was thus above all understood as a subjective faculty, a way of perceiving or interpreting urban reality.<sup>70</sup>

It is important to note that just as the meaning and valuation of humour has changed over time in the various European languages, similarly there have been different approaches in different periods to explaining humour. The classical theories of laughter – superiority theory, incongruence theory and relief theory – entail multifaceted theoretical discussions that examine humour from different points of view and seek to explain different aspects of it. The superiority theories are the oldest theories of laughter, deriving their roots in antiquity. On the basis of their observations, the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle suggested interpretations of humour that were later developed into a theoretical tradition. Basically, superiority theory suggests that the foundation of humour is a feeling of superiority: laughter thus depends on a sense of hierarchies, and on demeaning and degrading others. One of the most famous contributions to superiority theories was the idea of ‘sudden glory’ proposed by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), which suggested that the passion of laughter was an elevated feeling, a sudden sense of eminence triggered by the infirmity of others, or one’s own former infirmity.<sup>71</sup>

Since the eighteenth century, however, incongruence and relief theories have challenged the superiority theories. Incongruence theories have often been associated with eighteenth-century coffee house culture and with the ideal of wit: they suggest that humour is based on the discovery of an incongruence – a contradiction or unexpected co-occurrence, for instance when two or more different ideas are suddenly combined in order to create a comic effect. Incongruence theories offer a different perspective on the origins of humour, not looking into the motives of the person who laughs, but seeking to identify the incongruous features in the world that provoke laughter. Incongruence theories thus emphasize the cognitive rather than emotional aspects of humour.<sup>72</sup>

The nineteenth-century relief theories, on the contrary, emphasize mental relief or a release of energy as the foundation of humour. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), for example, saw laughter as a physiological phenomenon, related to the nervous system, the function of which was to release excess nervous energy. The relief theory has often been associated with the Viennese psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose complex theory saw jokes as a way of expressing repressed feelings and thoughts. Freud had a vast impact on how

jokes and humour were understood: they were no longer seen as trivial or innocent, but like dreams and unintentional slips of the tongue, giving expression to hidden desires and wishes repressed by the conscious mind.<sup>73</sup>

Consequently, all theories of humour tell something about their own age. Although humour research has tended to treat humour as a universal phenomenon, the historical approach to humour has stressed its historical nature. Humour and laughter are historically and culturally determined phenomena that are thoroughly embedded in the culture.<sup>74</sup> This makes them extremely interesting, but challenging, subjects of cultural historical study. The cultural historian Peter Burke has reminded us that like any other aspect of culture, the realms of the comical are constantly changing. On the one hand there is continuity in the form of tradition that enables us to get hints of what people of the past thought to be funny, but on the other hand there are changes that make humour from the past unfamiliar and even impenetrable to today's reader.<sup>75</sup>

Because the ways of understanding something as funny vary across place and time, what people of the past laughed at may not seem funny to us at all. Some jokes become totally incomprehensible. This raises serious questions concerning how the humour of the past can be understood. The historian Robert Darnton has argued that one has to recognize the different ways of thinking of the people of the past in order to 'get the joke'. He argues that historical research needs to pay attention to the things that seem most unfamiliar and alien to us, and to try to make them comprehensible and intelligible. Because humour is embedded in a different mindset or mentality of the past, it is a phenomenon in which the profound 'otherness' of the past is truly revealed.<sup>76</sup>

In this study my approach to past humour and my attempt to 'get the joke' is based on contextualization. The task of contextualization is threefold. First, it is necessary to map the social and cultural circumstances that fashioned the uses of humour. For example, in nineteenth-century Vienna, the strict censorship and the development of mechanical printing technology were factors that significantly affected the uses of humour.

Second, my analysis of humorous texts and images is based on disentangling the different contexts or meanings that these humorous accounts have fused together. My analysis does not follow any of the classical humour theories in an orthodox manner, but rather combines elements from all of them according to my own research problematique, that is, what I am trying to find out by reading the jokes. Therefore, humour's relation to social hierarchy and social control makes both superiority theory and relief theory relevant to my study. In addition, incongruity theory helps us to understand that humorous expressions often entail some kind of conflict. The central idea of this approach is that humour is based on interpreting unexpected contradictions or surprising combinations: meanings from different contexts that are put together in a strange way. Thus, the comical effect results from the collision of different associative worlds that are evoked by



the joke. Reading humorous representations as historical sources thus requires a process of disentangling the different contexts or meanings that these humorous accounts combine, and setting them in a larger historical and cultural framework. In order to unravel this historical and cultural framework, I cross-read humorous accounts with various serious sources such as press articles, city planning documents and police reports held in the Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv).

Third, in order to unpack the ambivalent meanings of jokes and cartoons published between 1857 and 1890, it is valuable to consult contemporary nineteenth-century theories of humour. Because these theories were developed to explain the humour of their own age, they provide valuable analytical tools for understanding how Viennese humour was imprinted with the marks of its own time.

As the number of popular humorous magazines, joke books, comic almanacs and posters increased, the question of humour aroused significant academic interest.<sup>77</sup> Not only did the nineteenth-century theories of humour emerge as a response to contemporary forms of humour, but their approaches to the questions of what humour is and what functions it serves also tell much about their own age. In *Le Rire* (1900), the French philosopher Henri Bergson saw laughter as a form of social punishment against the mechanization of life. Sigmund Freud's analysis *Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten* (1905), which he started to develop as early as the 1890s, linked jokes to the human psyche, suggesting that they provided an outlet for subconscious conflicts and desires, much like dreams. In a later short essay called *Der Humor* (1927), Freud returned to addressing the characteristics of humour and the distinction between humour, jokes and the comical.

Freud's ideas are highly valuable for this study, which explores Viennese popular humour almost at the exact time when Freud started to formulate his theory of jokes. I have referenced Freud to gain a historical rather than a theoretical perspective, since this study approaches humour in terms of cultural history, not psychoanalysis. In particular, Freud's emphasis on the joke's power to express repressed wishes and unveil unresolved problems helps us to recognize how Viennese middle-class humour used strategies of disguising and transferring meanings, and often revolved around topics that caused anxiety in society.

Since Freud, there has been wide scholarly discussion in the twentieth century on the relation between humour and cultural anxieties. In the field of folklore and sociology, jokes have been treated as socially accepted outlets for taboo subjects. In contrast to the regulated forms of social communication, humorous expressions are able to reference issues that are forbidden or unspeakable in the cultural, social and psychological environment in which they are told.<sup>78</sup> Humorous expressions can thus shed light on the ways in which emotions, such as anxiety and nostalgia, were voiced during the urban transformation, and give

"COMICAL MODERNITY: Popular Humour and the Transformation of Urban Space in Late Nineteenth Century Vienna" by Heidi Hakkarainen <https://berghahnbooks.com/title/HakkarainenComical>

access to various changes in the emotional culture of the Viennese *Bürgertum*, which led to a new kind of understanding of humour at the turn of the century.<sup>79</sup>

Elizabeth Wilson has noted that Freud's theories were rooted in the urban Vienna of his own time, when he focused on things that critics of metropolitan life feared, such as transformation, the trivial, the ugly and the strange. Freud's modern focus displaced traditional assumptions about what was significant and central, and emphasized the fragmentary and marginalized aspects of daily experience as keys to understanding the human mind.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, this study seeks to demonstrate that in popular humour, seemingly trivial or odd topics were actually evoking complex and profound cultural meanings.

In Viennese studies, the theoretical discussion has not only stressed the suppressive functions of humour and laughter, but acknowledged their innovative potential as well. The next-generation theorist Arthur Koestler, for example, who like Freud came from Austria-Hungary and had studied in Vienna, linked humour with creativity and the human capacity to create new ways of thinking that challenge traditional patterns of thought. In his famous study, *The Act of Creation* (1964), Koestler suggests that humour involves a creative instability that shakes the routines of thinking. This results from the fact that there is not merely one single associative context within which the humorous text or image is interpreted, but several. Because humour operates on more than one mental plane, understanding humour requires a double-minded mode of thinking, which Koestler describes with his famous bisociative model. Furthermore, Koestler suggests that the more sophisticated the forms of humour are, the more contexts they entail. Whereas simple jokes are based on one culmination between an introduction and a punchline, that is, incongruence between two contexts, the higher forms of sustained humour such as satire do not rely on a single effect but on a series of continuously colliding meanings.<sup>81</sup>

Because my work deals with encountering change and unfamiliarity in the nineteenth-century urban milieu, the basic contradiction between humour's ability to both create and resist change is important for my analysis. Although the question of humour's function in society, whether it aims at changing the world or enduring the world, had been under discussion long before the nineteenth century, the basic dilemma of humour's double-faced nature that can work both as a means of suppression and empowerment became one of the key issues in nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories. The most famous example is probably Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (originally published in 1965), a classic that celebrated early modern vernacular spoken humour and laughter as a subversive, liberating force that resisted the dominant official culture in a carnivalesque spirit.<sup>82</sup>

In my examination of humour in the context of modernity, an exploration of humour's creative and innovative potential (rebellious humour), versus suppressive and conservative tendencies (disciplinary humour), provides a key

theoretical framework for the analysis of the empirical material in the first part of the study (chapters 1, 2 and 3), focusing on negotiations over the material city space. Furthermore, because the discussion on the transformation of the city was intimately linked with negotiations over the urban community and bourgeois class identity in the expanding metropolis, the second part of the book (chapters 4 and 5) highlights the role of humour in practices of exclusion and inclusion.

## Notes

1. Kennst Du die Stadt so still und unbeirrt, / Wo Niemand Deine Ohren malträtiert, / Nicht jeder Windhauch, falscher Töne voll, / Dich ganz nervös macht, wüthend, wild und toll? / Kennst Du sie wohl? / Dahin! Dahin / Möcht' mit dem nächsten Schnellzug ich entflieh'n! Moderne Ballade. (Sehr Frei Nach Goethe) *Der Floh*, 10 October 1886. All translations are by the author and Dr Keith Battarbee unless stated otherwise.
2. Mignon's Song, 'Kennst du das Land', originates from Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–96).
3. Wolfgang Maderthaler and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of the Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (New York, 2008), 79–81.
4. *Ibid.*, 3. See also David Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity: Critical Explorations* (Cambridge, 2001), 4–5.
5. See, for example, Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 33, 43–45, 101; Frisby, *Cityscapes*, 2–5.
6. See especially Mary Gluck, *The Invisible Jewish Budapest: Metropolitan Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Madison, 2016); Julian Brigstocke, *The Life of the City: Space, Humour, and the Experience of Truth in Fin-de-siècle Montmartre* (Surrey, 2014); Olivier Ratous and Martin Baumeister, 'Rire en ville. Rire de la ville. L'humour et le comique comme objets pour l'histoire urbaine contemporaine', *Histoire Urbaine* 2(31) (2011).
7. On Valentin's comedy, see further David Robb, 'Cities, Clocks and Chaos: A Modernist Perception of Time in the Comedy of Karl Valentin', in Susanne Marten-Finnis and Matthias Vecker (eds), *Berlin – Wien – Prag: Moderne, Minderheiten und Migranten in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Modernity, Minorities and Migration in the Inter-war Period* (Berlin, 2001), 76–79.
8. Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 9, 12–13.
9. David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York, 2006), 99–116; Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley, 1999), 3.
10. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1988), 15.
11. Marianne Bernhard, *Die Wiener Ringstraße: Architektur und Gesellschaft 1858–1906* (Munich, 1992), 23–33.
12. See further, e.g., Frisby, *Cityscapes*, 18–19, 168.
13. Josef Ehmer, 'Zur sozialen Schichtung der Wiener Bevölkerung 1857 bis 1910', in Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann (eds), *Wien–Prag–Budapest: Blütezeit der Habsburgermetropolen. Urbanisierung, Kommunalpolitik, gesellschaftliche Konflikte 1867–1918* (Vienna, 1996), 73–83, 75; Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's*

- Vienna (Chicago, [1973] 1996), 50; 'Bevölkerungsgeschichte', Wien Geschichte Wiki, <https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Bevölkerungsgeschichte>.
14. Irit Rogoff, 'Gustav Klimt, a Bridgehead to Modernism', in László Péter and Robert B. Pysent (eds), *Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy 1890–1914* (London, 1988), 32–33; Carl E. Schorske, *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton, 1998), 109; Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Cambridge, [1961] 1981), 24–62.
  15. Schorske, *Thinking with History*, 115; Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 24–25, 30–31.
  16. The *Gründerzeit*, or 'the age of the founders', is a term used of the mid-nineteenth-century epoch both in Austria and in Germany. In economic history this epoch is marked by the *Gründerkrach*, a stock market crash that ended a period of economic growth in 1873 and led to an era of recession. However, the *Gründerzeit* can also refer to a longer cultural period preceding the *fin-de-siècle* years from 1890 onwards, and this periodization is used in the present study.
  17. Marion Linhardt, *Residenzstadt und Metropole: Zu einer kulturellen Topographie des Wiener Unterhaltungstheaters (1858–1918)* (Berlin, 2012), 1–4.
  18. Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2003), 2.
  19. Wolfgang Maderthaner, 'Von der Zeit um 1860 bis zum Jahr 1945', in Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl (eds), *Wien – Geschichte einer Stadt: Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna, 2006), 249–51.
  20. Allan Janik, 'Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems', in Steven Beller (ed.), *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York, 2001), 30–45.
  21. See Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, passim, especially 1–13; Steven Beller, 'Introduction', in Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 8–11, 19; Janik, 'Vienna 1900 Revisited', 34.
  22. See further Elfriede Schneider, *Karikatur und Satire als politische Kampfmittel: Ein Beitrag zur Wiener satirisch-humoristischen Presse des 19. Jahrhunderts (1849–1914)* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1972), 47.
  23. See further John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848–1897* (Chicago, 1981), 3–17; Janik, 'Vienna 1900 Revisited', 34.
  24. See, for example, William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848–1938* (Berkeley, 1983); Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna*. The most extensive Austrian study of the Ringstrasse is the eleven-part book series *Die Wiener Ringstrasse – Bild einer Epoche* that was edited by Renate Wagner-Riegel and published in the 1970s.
  25. As Mary Gluck has noted, Viennese modernism has been studied in isolation from popular culture. Overcoming this 'Great Divide' calls for a new cultural history that would 'no longer talk about high art or popular culture, but rather of different human responses to the problem of creating values and meaning in an unprecedented modern world, where such values and meanings are no longer given in existing social and religious structures'. Mary Gluck, 'Afterthoughts about Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: The Problem of Aesthetic Culture in Central Europe', in Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 269.
  26. Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin*, 1–11; Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 2; Frisby, *Cityscapes*, 5–7, 23–26.
  27. Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin*, 1.
  28. See, e.g., Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin*; Frisby, *Cityscapes*. Cf. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, [1974] 1991), 7, 28.

29. Jan Rüger, 'Die Berliner Schnauze im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Thomas Biskup and Marc Schalenberg (eds), *Selling Berlin: Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preußischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt* (Stuttgart, 2008), 147; Mary Lee Townsend, 'Humour and the Public Sphere in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds), *Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1997), 200–203.
30. Rüger, 'Berliner Schnauze', 147–60; Townsend, 'Humour and the Public Sphere', 200; Ursula E. Koch, *Der Teufel in Berlin: Von der Märzrevolution bis zu Bismarcks Entlassung. Illustrierte politische Witzblätter einer Metropole 1848–1890* (Cologne, 1991), 33–35.
31. See further Lutz Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien: Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), 13–15, 119–20; Maderthaler and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 88, 135–36.
32. See further Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 33, 38–40.
33. Original brackets by Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 26.
34. *Modern Vienna: Humorous Quill Drawings*, by Carl Sitter (Vienna, 1859).
35. *Vienna and the Viennese from a Mockingbird's Eye View*, by Franz Masaidek (Vienna, 1873).
36. The term 'imagined geography' derives from Cameron Blevins, who uses it in deliberate reference to Edward Said's term 'Imaginative Geography' and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. The construction of imagined geography describes the active social construction of space in representations, narratives and discourses by giving meanings to places and privileging specific meanings over others. See further Cameron Blevins, 'Space, Nation, and the Triumph of Region: A View of the World from Houston', *Journal of American History* 101(1) (2014), 123–25.
37. See Ann Taylor Allen, *Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany: Kladderadatsch & Simplicissimus 1890–1914* (Lexington, 1984); Mary Lee Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter: Popular Humor and the Limits of Repression in Nineteenth-Century Prussia* (Ann Arbor, 1992).
38. Ernst Scheidl, *Die humoristisch-satirische Presse im Wien von den Anfängen bis 1918 und die öffentliche Meinung* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1950).
39. Schneider, *Karikatur und Satire*.
40. Ingrid Rasocha, *Die humoristisch-satirische Presse im Vormärz und während der Revolution 1848* (Thesis, Vienna, 1990).
41. Julia Schäfer, *Vermessen – gezeichnet – verlacht: Judenbilder in Populären Zeitschriften 1918–1933* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004).
42. See, e.g., Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien*; Linhardt, *Residenzstadt und Metropole*; Wolfgang Kos (ed.), *Wiener Typen: Klischees und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna, 2013).
43. Maderthaler and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, passim and 88–91.
44. For example, the editorial staff of the famous *Simplicissimus* consisted of renowned figures such as Rainer Maria Rilke and Thomas Mann. Allen, *Satire and Society*, 35.
45. Allen, *Satire and Society*, 4.
46. See further Taina Syrjämaa, *Constructing Unity, Living in Diversity: A Roman Decade* (Helsinki, 2006), 18.
47. See, for example, Bruce Johnson, 'Sites of Sound', *Oral Tradition*, 24(2) (2009), 462.
48. For example, *Kikeriki* paid 6 Kreuzer per line in 1862. Kleine Post der Redaktion, *Kikeriki*, 6 February 1862.
49. See Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to the Theories of Popular Culture* (London, 2004), 3.

50. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied am Rhein, 1965), 38–68, 193–98 and passim. On later critical interrogations of Habermas, see, e.g., Gregory Shaya, 'The *Flâneur*, the *Badaud* and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910', *American Historical Review* 109(1) (2004), 42–43.
51. Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter*, 2, 13, 19–21.
52. Scheidl, *Die humoristisch-satirische Presse*, 135.
53. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien. Die periodische Presse in Wien in den Jahren 1875–1884*. ANNO-elektronisches Lesesaal. Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB).
54. Both *Der Floh* and *Figaro* continued publication until 1919, and *Kikeriki* until 1933.
55. There are various views on the political orientation of the magazines. For example, Erns Scheidl associates *Der Floh* with the Liberal Party, although it attacked in all directions. Scheidl, *Humoristisch-satirische Presse*, 168. Elfriede Schneider sees *Figaro* as a supporter of the Liberal Party, *Der Floh* as independent, and *Kikeriki* as democratic and nationalist, as it stood up against the upper-middle-class *Grossbürgertum* and the clerical faction, fighting for the 'little man'. Schneider, *Karikatur und Satire*, 46, 61, 259–60. Matthias Nöllke sees *Figaro* and *Der Floh* as liberal and *Kikeriki* as initially a radical and populist periodical that turned to antisemitism in 1881/82. Matthias Nöllke, *Daniel Spitzers Wiener Spatziergänge: Liberales Feuilleton im Zeitungskontext* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 65.
56. Townsend, 'Humour and the Public Sphere', 204–5; Allen, *Satire and Society*, 3–5.
57. Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York, 1993), 138–49; Schwarz, *Spectacular Realities*, 2.
58. On the history of comics in Europe, see especially David Kunzle, *Father of the Comic Strip: Rodolphe Töpffer* (Jackson, 2007). Cf. Jens Balzer, "'Hully gee, I'm a Hieroglyphe": Mobilizing the Gaze and the Invention of Comics in New York City, 1895', in Jörn Ahrens and Arno Meteling (eds), *Comics and the City: Urban Space in Print, Picture and Sequence* (New York, 2010), 19–31. See also McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 17–18.
59. In Germany humorous magazines were among the first periodicals that started to finance their publication by selling advertisement space for companies. They were thus leading the way to a more commercial media culture. Georg Jäger, 'Das Zeitschriftenwesen', in Georg Jäger (ed.), *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 1. *Das Kaiserreich 1871–1918* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 386.
60. For example *Der Floh*, 16 May 1869 (20,000); *Kikeriki*, 9 April 1868 (25,000). The *Figaro* magazine did not publish its circulation figures like the other *Witzblätter*, but at the turn of the 1860s it promoted a calendar that was sold together with the magazine and had a circulation of 20,000. *Figaro*, 16 August 1857; 25 August 1860; 1 September 1860.
61. For example, Scheidl, *Humoristisch-satirische Presse*, 155–56.
62. It was this emphasis on politics that made the humorous-satirical magazine interesting for researchers, especially in the 1970s.
63. Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, 1989), 91–96, 111, 180, 261.
64. On the relations between approaches in historiography and in cultural studies in the German-speaking area, see further Christina Lutter and Markus Reisenleitner, 'Introducing History (in)to Cultural Studies: Some Remarks on the German Speaking Context', *Cultural Studies* 16(5) (2002), 612–13.

65. As Korhonen suggests, 'laughter is at the same time recognition of and reaction to cultural boundaries'. Anu Korhonen, *Fellows of Infinite Jest: The Fool in Renaissance England* (Turku, 1999), 23–24.
66. Daniel Wickberg, *Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America* (Ithaca, 1998), 16–19; Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, 'Introduction: Humour and History', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Humour* (Cambridge, 1997), 1–2.
67. Michael Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour* (London, 2012), 61–65. On the wit/humour distinction, see also Wickberg, *Senses of Humor*, 57–64. Cf. Witz/Humor in Jefferson J. Chase, *Inciting Laughter: The Development of 'Jewish Humor' in 19<sup>th</sup> Century German Culture* (Berlin, 2000), 5–6.
68. Wickberg, *Senses of Humor*, 13.
69. Daniel Wickberg claims that the self-conscious creator of humour was not called a *humourist* until the mid or late nineteenth century; Mark Twain was one of the first humourists in this modern sense. Wickberg, *Senses of Humor*, 29.
70. In addition, the comical was strongly associated with unfamiliarity as the novelty of city life was encountered with humour that pointed out the strangeness and ridiculousness of modern urban life. According to the dictionary of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, the word comical (*komisch*) already had two meanings in the 1870s and it referred not just to the foolish but to the strange and unfamiliar as well. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 5. Bearbeitet von Dr. Rudolf Hildebrand (Leipzig, 1873), 1625.
71. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge, [1651] 1997), 43. See also the passage on *Human Nature* (1650), cited in Wickberg, *Senses of Humor*, 48.
72. See further Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 57–85. Today, incongruence theories are the most widely supported in humour research. There has been a lot of discussion about whether humour is simply dependent on the occurrence of incongruence, or whether it needs the resolution of incongruence as well.
73. On the theories of laughter, see further Billig, *Laughter and Ridicule*, 37–110.
74. *Ibid.*, 87; Wickberg, *Senses of Humor*, 11–12; Bremmer and Roodenburg 'Introduction', 1–10.
75. Peter Burke, 'Frontiers of the Comic in Early Modern Italy, c. 1350–1750', in Bremmer and Roodenburg, *Cultural History of Humour*, 61.
76. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, [1985] 1999), 77–78. See also Korhonen, *Fellows of Infinite Jest*, 12.
77. Cf. 'Man darf auch daran mahnen, welch eigentümlichen, geradezu faszinierenden Reiz der Witz in unserer Gesellschaft äußert'. Sigmund Freud, *Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten* (Frankfurt am Main, [1905] 2006), 32.
78. For example, Alan Dundes, *Cracking Jokes: Studies of Sick Humour Cycles and Stereotypes* (Berkeley, 1987), vii; Elliott Oring, *Jokes and Their Relations* (Lexington, 1992), x, 30–39.
79. Cf. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2004), 124–29; Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York, 1994), 1–9.
80. Elisabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley, 1992), 86.
81. Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (London, 1964), 35–37. Over and above the logic pattern, humour depends also on an emotive effect. Koestler suggests that the switch from one associative context to another is emotionally charged. This means that although the

reason can switch from one mental matrix to another, emotions cannot follow this mental leap, thus creating a sensation of confusion that dissolves in a smile, sneer or laughter. *Ibid.*, 58. The theory of Freud went even further and located in the release of excessive emotional charge the very core of the joke, whereas the logical mistakes, transitions and dislocations represented only the technique of joke by which the relief and gratification are achieved. Freud, *Der Witz*, 160–71 and *passim*.

82. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington, 1984).