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Abstract

The thesis applies a network analysis to the cultural phenomenon of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna in order to gain a new perspective on the period. Vienna's cultural life was structured in overlapping circles of cultural interaction which were supported by wealthy patrons. The networks of the patrons are distinct within the cultural networks and three categories of relationships were identified: patronage, brokerage, and ordinary networking. Patronage will be demonstrated through Karl Wittgenstein, the steel tycoon, who was the primary patron of the *Secession* movement. While patronage is defined by an unequal relationship between a patron and a client, Wittgenstein's financial backing, enabled the creative scene to flourish. Berta Zuckerkandl and her salon exemplify the networking relationships. Zuckerkandl provided a platform for artists and patrons to meet and engage in exchange. Additionally, she brought together individuals from arts, business, and sciences at her *jour fixe*. Finally, Hermann Bahr typifies the broker and used his position as an editor accordingly to arrange the exchange of resources. Bahr's ability mitigated the social distance between artists and patrons as he tirelessly promoted new art movements. The bourgeoisie aimed for a more prominent social visibility and assumed cultural leadership through the patronage of radical artistic movements, such as the *Secession* and the *Wiener Werstätte*. Consequently, the network of artists and patrons struggled for cultural hegemony and for the creation of a supranational Austrian art against the conservative aristocracy and government. The vivid creative sphere which adapted to structural changes of the society, stood in contrast to the hierarchy of the state and the social classes. The strict hierarchy of first and second society and the decline of aristocratic and court patronage, opened a sociostructural void, which was consequently filled by the bourgeoisie. Pioneering art patronage in a dense cultural network enabled the Viennese cultural scene to flourish during a time of demagoguery and strict hierarchies.

Abstract

Diese Arbeit versucht durch Netzwerktheorie eine neue Perspektive der Wiener Moderne zu gewinnen. Das kulturelle Leben Wiens zeichnete sich durch eine Struktur von überlappenden Personenkreisen aus, die durch wohlhabende Mäzene unterstützt wurden. Im Mäzenatentum konnten drei Kategorien von Beziehungstypen identifiziert werden: Mäzenatentum, Networking und Vermittlung. Karl Wittgenstein, der die Secession stark finanziell unterstützte, steht als Mäzen im Zentrum. Berta Zuckermandl repräsentiert die Netzwerkerin und Hermann Bahr den Vermittler. Das kulturelle Netzwerk der Mäzene stand in Opposition zur sozialen Hierarchie der ersten und zweiten Gesellschaft und dementsprechend versuchte das Bürgertum sich durch Mäzenatentum größere soziale Sichtbarkeit zu verschaffen. Da sich der Adel und die Kirche aus dem Mäzenatentum zurückzogen, öffnete sich eine soziostrukturelle Leere, die das wohlhabende Bürgertum mit ihrer Unterstützung von radikalen Kunstströmungen und der Wissenschaft füllte.

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Introduction

Only two decades ago, the network topology has been a fringe aspect of historiography. Nowadays, most individuals maintain multiple social networks, digital and non-digital one, hence the network idea found its way into the science of history. Networks are part of our daily life considering that respiratory and neural system are equally natural networks. Essentially, what set humans apart from other animals was their ability to network, to communicate and share common practices. People learned from one another and developed hunting practices and compiled knowledge, which eventually developed into culture¹. Humans are a cultural species and culture seems to be embedded in social networks, as a result it appears logical to reevaluate Vienna's cultural heyday from a network perspective.

While the artists, politicians, and journalists of Vienna 1900 have been the focus of research, their circles only played a secondary role. However, the inherent strength of the Vienna Avant-Garde laid within its organization of a densely interconnected and interwoven network, which did not limit itself to Vienna. The philosophical Wiener Kreis, which gained popularity during the 1920s, mostly due to the academic achievements of Otto Neurath, was only the last surge of a long tradition of the Viennese society to connect through *Kaffeehausgesellschaften* (coffeehouse communities), salons, and other gatherings.

The cultural productivity in fin-de-siècle Vienna was the result of a struggle between hierarchies and networks for cultural hegemony. Within the argument the thesis touches upon the reign Christian Social Party in Vienna, which fundamentally shaped the city, the cultural circles and their patrons, and the state administration. Additionally, the Jewish experience of Vienna will play a role as well, since Jews, due to informal restrictions to enter the public service, focused trade, medicine, and other liberal professions. This lack of influence in the institutions was one of the primary reasons the Jews expressed sentiments of defenselessness after 1890. Economic and political antisemitism was one of the main challenges for Jews in Vienna, which led to the establishment of formal and informal networks². Personalities such as Karl

¹ Joseph Patrick Henrich, *The Secret of Our Success: How Culture Is Driving Human Evolution, Domesticating Our Species, and Making Us Smarter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016). 5f.

² John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). 82f.

Wittgenstein fundamentally influenced Vienna as the patron of the Vienna *Secession*. Hence, the societal structure of Vienna and the political and economic struggles are the main focus of this thesis. Undeniably, Jews will in some parts be the main protagonists due to their role as socialites and patrons, but also because antisemitism was a driving political force at the time. Karl Lueger and the Christian Social Party consolidated their power through a high-tension style of politics and through appealing to the masses, who grew weary of the liberal governments, which reigned up until 1897³. Finally, opposing the networks of Jews, artists, journalists, and Christian socials, stood the monarchy. The Emperor often intervened into politics to act as a mediator. Most importantly, Francis Joseph denied Karl Lueger the Mayor's office of Vienna four times, before finally accepting the election outcome in 1897. The Emperor, as the highest public official, signifies the hierarchy which oversees the chaotic turmoil in Vienna, created by networks, hierarchy and the struggle for primacy and power.

Many famous Viennese personalities at the turn of the century such as Karl Kraus, Hermann Bahr, Sigmund Freud, Victor Adler, Gustav Mahler, and Rosa Mayreder, to name a few, were surrounded by groups of other artists, politicians, journalists or simply socialites. Most importantly, these circles overlapped and created a wide spread of network⁴, which reached from Berlin to France, and even was touched upon by Emperor Karl in 1917, in an attempt to mediate a peace treaty between Austria and France⁵. Arguably, Vienna's greatest cultural, social, academic, and political achievements did not come about through individual genius but by the interconnectedness of the main protagonists in the city. While certain circles and personalities have been subject of extensive research and many publications, the struggle between the state hierarchy, networks, and circles of artists and minorities, such as Jews, have not been in the focus of recent research. The thesis will explore, what the conditions were, under which these networks of highly productive people formed, how they were composed, and interacted with the state hierarchy and shaped

³ John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). 2.

⁴ Edward Timms, "Cultural Parameters between the Wars: A Reassessment of the Vienna Circles" in., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, N.Y: Camden House, 2009). 2.

⁵ Bertha Zuckerkindl and Reinhard Federmann, *Österreich intim: Erinnerungen 1892 - 1942*, Durchges. Neuausg (Wien: Amalthea, 2013). 151f.

politics. Furthermore, certain institutions and meeting places also create a pattern. Out of this pattern, structural interrelations are derivable; for example, the role of an exhibition space or a university. Out of all the possible institutions, the Viennese café was often the meeting point of certain circles and has been fittingly described by the Journalist Franz Servaes:

Newspapers and coffeehouse are unquestionably related. The one only wields half the power without the other. [...] If one wants to read, one finds a myriad of newspapers of all countries, very many illustrated journals, often art magazines of high value and exquisite furnishing⁶.

The aim of a social network analysis is not to conclude that networks exist and are important, but to describe the patterns of them and to gain an understanding of how they work, came into existence, and what the consequences of this existence were. Network theory has long been established in social sciences as well as in the field of history. However, a difficulty for a social network analysis in the historic field is the lack of complete sets of data and that the available data is often based on subjective opinions. However, in Vienna, the manifold publications, such as the “Austrian Biographical Lexicon (Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon)” permit the reconstruction of the structure of the society. Additionally, due to a rigid bureaucracy, the state records are also rather complete and enable insight in Austria’s society at the time.

Commonly, Vienna has been identified as the birthplace of parts of modern culture and thought, which shapes our consciousness even today. The view of the Imperial capital of the Habsburg monarchy has evolved. In the 1990s, Vienna has been labeled “the birthplace of modernity”, while the view today is more differentiated. Nevertheless, Vienna remains a focal point in the research of modernism. During the 20th century, historiography of Vienna changed significantly, since for much of the last century, Paris was considered the city of modernism. Additionally, Berlin as the capital of the Weimar Republic was a center of avant-garde art. After World War Two, New York occupied the role as the center of modernism, until the movement of modernism itself was replaced by post modernism⁷. Only in the 1960s and 1970s, research shifted

⁶ Franz Servaes, *Briefe an eine Freundin in Berlin* (Klinkhardt&Biermann, Leipzig, 1910). 112f.

⁷ Steven Beller, ed., *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Austrian History, Culture, and Society, v. 3 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001). 1-2.

its focus to Vienna at the turn of the twentieth century. Research painted Vienna as the true center of the invention of modernism, paving the way for the other cultural capitals to follow. The books of Carl E. Schorkse, William Johnston, and Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, eventually cemented Vienna in the historiography of modernism.

The thesis will approach modernism in Vienna through a network perspective focusing on the patrons of arts and sciences. For some fields of research, such as renaissance Florence, connections and networks of the leading elite which shaped the cultural output and the politics of the city, have been the center of many publications. Some publications focused on the notion that patronage in Florence worked as a social system and researched patronage networks, which surrounded artists⁸. The focus on the societal structure provided useful insights in the social world of the patrons and artists provided explanations which were previously unavailable. Social networks are about movement and change rather than stasis, therefore, they come handy explaining a period of rapid change such as renaissance Florence⁹ and *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The thesis suggests approaching Vienna's modernism from a network perspective, focusing three of the main figures among in the cultural network, namely Karl Wittgenstein, Berta Zuckerkandl, and Hermann Bahr. The three actors fulfilled different functions in the network. Karl Wittgenstein, a wealthy industrialist, was the typical patron, providing financial resources to his clients. Patronage relations are inherently unequal, since the patron can exert pressure on the client to follow his wishes. Berta Zuckerkandl's relations fall under the category of networking. Her salon, apart from being a space for cultural production, also served the function of bringing together artists, their patrons, and the critics. Her jour fixe was essentially a networking event and some impactful connections were made in her salon. Finally, Hermann Bahr serves as an example for brokerage. In his position as an editor and a variety of newspapers and through his tireless promotion of new art movements, he spanned social distance and created opportunities for young artists and his protégés.

Previous publications on Vienna 1900 emphasized themes such as a rational liberalism which opposed the irrational populist mass movements and the flight into

⁸ Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004). 3f.

⁹ Paul McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence*, Politics, History, and Culture (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2007). 226.

the arts and culture of the bourgeoisie. The thesis will focus on the cleavages of the Viennese society and the circles of artists and patrons, who challenged the hierarchical order through cultural production. The questions the thesis will aim to answer are who were the main actors of the *Wiener Moderne*, why they engaged in patronage, how important their social network was, and how patronage relates to the political circumstances at the time. The network perspective is an exciting idea for a time when a dense and highly connected elite of patrons shaped the cultural sphere and attempted to produce an inclusive Austrian Art. The aim of the thesis is to show that modernism in Vienna was a result of a complex social structure of a society riddled with internal conflicts and struggles. A network of patrons which influenced art, business, and politics at the time through consciously selected patronage of the arts and sciences was at the base of birthplace of modernism. Hence, *fin-de-siècle* Vienna was the result of a closely interlinked Avant Garde and the aspirations of patrons. The financial base of radical movement of modernism in Vienna was slim but dense and formed a network struggling to renew the social and cultural hierarchy in Vienna.

Overall, the thesis will be structured in three chapters. The first part will establish the framework and context on which the thesis is based and provide a literary review of the most important texts. The focus will remain on the Viennese circles, how they are portrayed and how their influence is evaluated. Additionally, the thesis will discuss the major arguments on why Vienna's intellectuals were so productive and how they interacted with politics. Finally, the first chapter aims to provide a holistic understanding of the people involved in the making of Vienna's cultural heyday such as the patrons, the artist, architects, and academics. The second chapter introduces context of the social network analysis and will demonstrate how such an analysis has been used in sociology and other social sciences to explain certain phenomena. The Viennese cultural network will be divided into the patron, Karl Wittgenstein, the networker, Berta Zuckerkandl, and the broker, Hermann Bahr. The network perspective provides details on the positioning of the three main characters and shows that the connectedness was key to their influence. The final chapter introduces case studies of the networks of the three patrons and give a detailed insight into the working of the network. Consequently, the third chapter demonstrates the interconnectedness of the Viennese elite. The aim is to achieve a view on Vienna 1900 that has not been obtained so far and to give an incentive to pursue more research in networks and their

impact on societies in the past. In the conclusion the findings of the thesis will be summarized and draw conclusions on how these networks shaped Austria's past and present.

Since the thesis will focus on the networks and organizational structures in Vienna at the turn of the twentieth century, the heart of the thesis is the historiography of Vienna. Our understanding of Vienna 1900 has been significantly dominated by three major publications, which covered Vienna's intellectual, cultural, and social life at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. Those books were Carl Schorske's *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna*, William M. Johnston's *The Austrian Mind*, and Janik and Toulmin's *Wittgenstein's Vienna*¹⁰. Johnston's big achievement was the creation of an encyclopedic framework of the Viennese public life from 1848 to 1938 and for the first time provided a comprehensive overview of the dynamics in the Habsburg capital. The Austrian Mind does not only provide a great overview over the persons, who created and worked in Vienna but also put the persons in the context of their work through thematic explanations. Johnston also coined the term "therapeutic nihilism", meaning the contention that it is impossible to cure the Austrian society from its ills and that every attempt would be an utter failure, which, in contrast to Schorske's paradigm, did not have equal success.

Carl Schorske's developed his thesis over decades through a variety of essays, which were eventually compiled and published as a book. His interpretation states that the Viennese timeless mentality at the turn of the century was characterized by a generation of children of the bourgeoisie, which withdrew themselves from political life to find fulfilment in the arts and the aesthetic life. Essentially a collectivity of political movements, which all aimed to end liberal thought and went on to shape the 20th century, threatened Austrian liberalism¹¹.

After the publication of *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna*, research on the *Wiener Moderne* gained traction and became a fashionable topic of research. However, Steven Beller's book *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, for the first time, fundamentally challenged the Schorske paradigm. Today, new research focuses on a more "synthesized approach" to Vienna 1900 and aims to combine a manifold of topics, such as the literature and

¹⁰ Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*. 3f.

¹¹ Carl E Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=739447>. Chap. 1, epub.

the contemporary political climate. The uniqueness of Vienna 1900 is the collision of modern and counter-modern tendencies within art, literature, politics, and society¹².

Consequently, studying the Vienna circles fits the current state of the research of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as a multidisciplinary endeavor, since the network analysis combines ideas and methods from sociology, statistics, and political science. Especially, political scientists researching insurgent movements with a network structure successfully employed network analysis. Furthermore, since the thesis will also focus on a power struggle between networks and hierarchies, it expands the political aspect of the thesis. Politics certainly has relational aspects and so does a core construct of political science: power. In order to understand power of an individual, it is important to understand the pull factor an individual has. Karl Wittgenstein, Berta Zuckermandl, and Hermann Bahr had a certain amount of power through their connection and their ability to offer support to others, either through financial contributions, or through connections. The thesis is a multidisciplinary endeavor and aims to add to the historiography of Vienna and the network theory in political science.

The thesis is the result of a combination of secondary and primary sources, reaching from books of contemporary authors and critics, debates and documents of parliamentary discussions, to contemporary research on the topic. The comprehensive literature on Vienna addresses a vast array of topics, however, the thesis will focus on cultural and political aspects of the *Wiener Moderne*, and in regard to network analysis will pay special attention to the biographies of the main actors.

¹² Lorenz, *Wiener Moderne*. 5

Chapter I: Vienna 1900

In London, Paris, and Berlin, intellectuals, creative artists, and academia rarely knew each other. Rather they lived and moved in more segregated communities. However, Vienna's cultural elite was different. The cohesiveness of the social and cultural elite was strong until 1900. To maintain the interconnectedness in Vienna, the cultural salon and the café retained an important role as platforms of social exchange and networking. Intellectuals from different fields exchanged ideas and values and more importantly consorted with political and business heavyweights who were proud of their city's artistic culture. These patrons did not shy away from deploying large sums of money to enable groups of artists to strive for the artistic *Gesamtkunstwerk* (*total work of art*) according to Richard Wagner's ideas. Carl E. Schorske argues that the same elite of intellectuals and academics alienated themselves from the political and aesthetic value of the upper middle classes. Those who shaped Vienna's culture were detached from their class and from the political ruling class and later from the whole society¹³.

Schorske's Vienna

Carl E. Schorske identified the end of the Austrian liberalism as the cause for the increased cultural output. In Austria, the liberal party came to power in the 1860. Compared to other countries, it was not the inherent strength of the Austrian liberal movement which enabled their rise to power but the relative weakness of their opponents. Additionally, their actual political power was limited since the aristocracy still played a significant role in Austrian politics, as did the imperial bureaucracy. The social base of the liberal party remained small and weak, even throughout two decades of continuous rule. Their supporters were merely found among middle-class Germans and German Jews in the urban centers. The rule of the liberal party could only be sustained through the restricted franchise, an inherently undemocratic device. The power of the liberal party was challenged in the 1880s when artisans and workers formed their own political parties. Two major political parties were the result, the conservative Christian Social party and the Social Democratic Party. Within a short period of time, the new parties toppled the liberal regime and by 1895, Vienna was destined to be ruled by the Christian Social Party under Karl Lueger. The Emperor, Francis Joseph denied the new party his support and delayed Karl Lueger's appointment as mayor of Vienna. The pressure on the Emperor was mounting as Karl

¹³ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*. 18.

Lueger was confirmed as the first choice for the office in renewed elections. Francis Joseph eventually sanctioned the appointment which led to a Vienna ruled by demagogues who supported and spread anti-Semitism, clericalism, municipal socialism¹⁴.

The change of rule and the end to liberalism led to a tremor which shook the entire political landscape of Central Europe. Not only did the Christian Social party overtake the venerable liberal party in a short time, but they additionally implemented political measures aimed at the Social Democratic Party.¹⁵ The political turbulences shook wider parts of the society as even the *haute bourgeoisie* was agitated by the political developments. The intellectuals and artists who were dedicated to progress through advances in science, education, and hard work, felt that their prior achievements were rendered meaningless.¹⁶

As a result, the politically alienated social classes, according to Schorske, created an aesthetic modern culture opposing the historical consciousness, provincialism, and the politics of Austria at the time. The classes which used to be the central supporters of Austrian liberalism were now marginalized by illiberal political tendencies and were excluded from political power. Schorske argued that the Viennese modernism was the result of a cultural elite which reacted to the demise of liberalism through creative cultural works¹⁷. Through his collection of essays, Carl Schorske laid the foundation for any research regarding *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

Other interpretations

Schorske's interpretation of Vienna at the turn of the century have come under scrutiny and parts of his argument have been debunked. John Boyer's book with the title *Political Radicalism in late Imperial Vienna*, quietly challenged the hypothesis of Schorske and the idea of the failure of liberalism. Boyer's work drastically altered the picture of Karl Lueger. He argued that Lueger's appointment to the mayor's office in Vienna was not a complete rupture from the past but rather a new and revised version of consensus politics, which the liberals were unable to follow. Boyer painted Lueger as an example for informal pragmatism and a politician who returned to the basic

¹⁴ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, 26.

¹⁵ John W. Boyer, *Karl Lueger: (1844 - 1910) ; christlichsoziale Politik als Beruf*, Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung 93 (Wien: Böhlau, 2010). 12.

¹⁶ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*, 28.

¹⁷ Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*. 12

political traditions. Lueger strategically used political anti-Semitism and clericalism to harm the Viennese liberals. However, at all time Lueger kept a tight control on these devices and did not see a conflict with the liberal *Rechtsstaat* (state under the rule of law)¹⁸.

Furthermore, Lueger's influence on proto-fascist developments decades later cannot be ignored, however, Boyer argued that Lueger's social policy was deeply rooted in the 19th century liberalism and firmly connected to its values. Lueger did not dismantle the liberal state or turn the world upside down but worked more efficiently in the state of the time. No laws were ignored or abolished, but laws were exploited, as far as interpretations allowed, for Lueger's political gain. Vienna's mayor never strove to become a dictator or a *Führer*, but rather he sought to become some sort of paternal leader. His political game was far from fascistic and rather baroque than anything else.¹⁹ Overall, Lueger was probably the first professional politician in Vienna.

Another point of criticism of Schorske's paradigm is the omittance of the Jewish experience of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Boyer underlines that the liberal party was not the party of the Jews. However, the anti-Semites were adamant that the Jews were controlling the liberal party and defining its policy. Most members of the liberal party were staunch gentiles. Some of the press editors may have had Jewish ancestry, however, Jews did not account for the majority of the candidates for the liberal party nor for most of the votes. Even more ironically, the very party which was accused of serving the Jews and their interests, eagerly avoided appointing Jews to any level of the government hierarchy.²⁰

According to Steven Beller, the people labeled as assimilated Jews of Vienna were in fact the heart of the Viennese intelligentsia. This rather small but dense group upheld liberal values and did not desert liberalism nor morality as suggested by Schorske. Beller's and Boyer's arguments emphasize the circumstance that Jews, even assimilated Jews, were mostly excluded from political power. It appears as if Schorske purposefully omitted the enlightened-Jewish experience of Viennese culture as well as

¹⁸ Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna*. 411ff.

¹⁹ Ibid., 413-414.

²⁰ Ibid., 418.

the opposition to the aesthetic culture. Furthermore, in contrast to Schorske, Beller connects Vienna's achievements to the morals and values of the liberal culture²¹.

Furthermore, Pieter Judson does not accept the view that Austrian liberalism failed. By contrast, Judson understands Austrian Modernism as the result of a struggle for cultural hegemony among the aristocracy and the crown, the military, and the political parties. The liberals strengthened this development through their discourse which persistently created the environment for the contest of the existing order.²² Schorske's paradigm also relies on assumptions regarding how liberalism was embedded in the Austrian society and what its impact was. The paradigm assumes that liberalism is an elitist philosophy without support in the wider population. Some observers were astounded by the ease and speed with which the Christian Social party claimed power in Vienna. A Christian Social mayor in Vienna therefore, indirectly confirmed that liberalism was ill-suited for Central Europe. The Schorskian paradigm further suggests that radical politics became the norm in Austria and induced a rejection of liberal ideas, which incentivized artists, writers, and academics to establish new and radical cultural norms²³. Schorske believed that the Social Democrats were the heirs to the liberal legacy, but more recent academic work²⁴ implies that the Social Democrats were likewise engaged in aggressive cultural politics similar to the Christian Social Party.

Furthermore, if the downfall of Austrian liberalism represents a significant event, liberalism presumably must have had achieved political dominance prior to mass politics in Austria. The values of Austrian liberalism of the 1860s and the 1870s are represented in the *Ringstraße*, which celebrates the victory of the liberal ideas in public. However, this cultural and political hegemony seems to be short-lived and restricted to the so-called *Gründerzeit*, which commonly refers to the time in Austria-Hungary between the start of strong industrialization in the 1840s and ended abruptly through the collapse of the stock markets in 1873. As this short time-span indicates, the success

²¹ Allan Janik, "Vienna 1900 revisited" in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Steven Beller, ed., Austrian History, Culture, and Society, v. 3 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001). 29.

²² Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996). 9f.

²³ Judson, Pieter, *Rethinking the Liberal Legacy*, in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Steven Beller, ed., Austrian History, Culture, and Society, v. 3 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001). 57.

²⁴ See John Boyer's *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago 1981) and *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power* (Chicago, 1995); William McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, 1974)

of liberalism was short-lived and limited. However, had Austrian liberalism not established its cultural values during the middle of the 19th century, the *fin-de-siècle* in Vienna would seem much less coherent and less distinct.²⁵

A classical narrative for the failure of liberalism in Central Europe is the ideology's status as an import from the culturally foreign west. As a result, liberalism was fragile and never rooted in the Austrian monarchy. Moreover, the groups supporting liberalism were not those who held the political power. Especially in Vienna, the aristocracy was powerful, the state too dominant, the bourgeoisie was socially insignificant. The capitalist class and the owners of industrial production was too small in numbers to help liberalism to succeed. Unlike in France, the bourgeoisie in Austria did not achieve the establishment of liberal institutions, which led to the collapse of civil society, populist propaganda, nationalism, and racial divides²⁶. For Austria, the question which is now raised is how liberalism can, at the same time, be hegemonic and feeble? The answer might lie in the Austrian associational networks and the public sphere.

In Austria, the liberal ideas manifested in the cultural values, social theories, and liberal philosophies. The values were a result of the yearning of the Austrian citizens for institutional legitimation and appreciation of their contribution to society. This was achieved through the free association of people separate from the bureaucratic state and the traditional hierarchy of the Austrian society. In an era of absolutism, the *Vormärz*, the period before the 1848 revolutions in Europe, associations have provided a forum for exchange of opinions and expression of social values, sometimes contrasting those of the government. As the association, in German *Vereine*, were decisive for the dissemination of enlightenment ideas and for the reform of society, these associations adopted a moral and political agenda. Even unpolitical associations had, therefore, political potential through their self-imposed moral obligations. In most cases the goal of the association was to spread the ideals of the enlightenment and progress, which in return undermined the hierarchical structure of the Austrian society and challenged the preeminent position of religion. *Vereine* therefore, were a vehicle for the bourgeoisie and the middle-classes in Austria to adopt and formulate cultural

²⁵ Judson, Pieter, *Rethinking the Liberal Legacy*, in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Steven Beller, ed., *Austrian History, Culture, and Society*, v. 3 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001). 58f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 59f.

norms and share them with a wider public. Faster communication and interconnectedness of the Empire through railway networks helped the dissemination of shared values throughout the country. In a sense, the culture of associations was a development which was important for the eventual rise of mass politics in the 1880s.

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Furthermore, associations are not simply promoting liberal ideas and values, but are through their embeddedness in civil society the embodiment of liberal assumptions. Participation in associations can be interpreted as a model of active citizenship as it was conceived by liberal activists in the 1840s. In Vienna, associations stand in contrast to the state hierarchy, as a person, once a member, is conferred certain rights, such as the election of individuals into certain offices, negotiation of the associations agenda, and codetermination of the financial blueprint of the organization. New members also must accept certain obligations and responsibilities. Individuals who were deemed worthy of membership had to pass certain threshold requirements but enjoyed equal rights in the public sphere upon acceptance. The network of associations formed a generalized political culture in Vienna and challenged the hierarchic beliefs in the Austrian state.²⁸

Schorkse's innovative thesis was too simple to fully grasp the complex events in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. While his thesis is intriguing and offers an elegant explanation for Vienna's cultural awakening and golden age, his notion of liberalism is too blurry and not concise enough. Interestingly, the historical narratives of the nationalist, populist, social-democratic, and anti-Semitic movements in Vienna assumed that these movements represented the fundamental rejection of liberalism. However, these political phenomena are connected to Austrian liberalism as they shared a similar foundational intention to build a cohesive political community through enfranchising a group of similar people, overcoming internal differences and defining distinctions to external groups. Furthermore, German nationals often stayed true to the liberal values of progress through education of the population and through advances of science. The point of contention was not how a community should live and how it will advance but how the community was defined. First there was the question of the nation and later the question of race which defined the community. In this sense the German nationals

²⁷ Judson, *Rethinking the Liberal Legacy*, 60ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

among others, challenged one parameter of a community but not the community itself²⁹.

The ideological transformation happened within associations. Activists who attempted to revive the weakening liberal movements were among the first to found clubs with a nationalist shade, primarily on the local level. The primary argument was that the German part of the Empire ceded control over national issues to other nationalities within the empire, who in turn allegedly dominated the political sphere of the empire. Furthermore, nationalists argued that the Germans lost their territory to the Slavic populations and that Germaneness is being subverted and is fading away. These efforts created associations whose membership surpassed 50,000 persons, such as the *Deutscher Schulverein* (German School association) and the *Südmark*.³⁰ Both associations had an agenda which propagated the protection of the Germans in the crown lands of Cisleithania. Their work included the financial support of German diaspora and minorities in non-German speaking areas of Cisleithania, as well as the preservation of German cultural values throughout the Empire. Especially the *Deutsche Schulverein* was a role model for other *Schutzvereine* (protection associations). The membership of these two association was diverse and included members from different parties. Victor Adler of the Social Democratic Party, Engelbert Pernsdorfer, a German National, and Gustav Groß, a national liberal politician, were all members of the *Schulverein*³¹. The associations represented a strong liberal influence even though they were part of an eventual ideological transformation.

Even if some historian might have ignored the importance of associations and networks, the Austrian populists of the 1880s and 1890s certainly did not. Even though newer ideologies and mass politics were at odds with older liberal concepts, they nevertheless carry the legacy of liberalism within them. The point of contention were the different hierarchies. While liberals omitted workers, most peasants, women, and other minorities from suffrage, as they were considered to lack the understanding of reason, nationalist and populist politics excluded outsiders, often for being biologically

²⁹ Pieter M. Judson, “‘Whether Race or Conviction Should Be the Standard’: National Identity and Liberal Politics in Nineteenth-Century Austria,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 22 (January 1991): 76f., <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800019883>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 82f.

³¹ “Österreichische Landsmannschaft.” Österreichische Landsmannschaft. Accessed March 27, 2018. <http://www.oelm.at/deutscher-schulverein/>.

different. The notion that liberalism had ended rather abruptly is too pessimistic and rather liberalism in Austria fell victim to its own rigid and unimaginative ideology which was focused on elite culture. Eventually the hierarchic belief of the liberals brought their collapse, and a network of associations and discussion circles went on to shape the culture of Vienna and the politics to the same extent.

Political conflict and its connection to culture

In *fin-de-siècle* political disputes often took the form of cultural struggles. While the citizens of Vienna, who were drawn to the imperial capital from all the corners of the country, routinely used multiple languages in their daily lives, the members of the Austrian parliament, the *Reichsrat*, fought a conflict of nationalities based on the use of languages. Once the cabinet of count Badeni issued the language regulation in 1897, which aimed at the equality of the Czech and German language, the German part of the Empire protested militantly. The protests grew in vigor and eye witnesses described these tumults as civil-warlike. Similar to the scenes in the streets of Vienna was the behavior of the parliamentarians. Eventually, count Badeni had to resign. The works of Hofmannsthal, Kraus and later Wittgenstein, which covered the sensitization of intercultural and interlanguage communication had their roots in the struggle regarding which language must be the dominant one in the Empire³².

The language conflict was fueled by the general situation of the Empire which was marked by political crisis. The apparently unshakable existence of the Austrian monarchy of the Habsburgs was hit hard by two events. Firstly, the mysterious suicide of the liberal crown-prince Rudolf in 1889 symbolized a possible end of the monarchy, which was unable to adapt to the rapidly changing Austrian society. Rudolf, who had an intimate relationship with Moritz Szeps, the Editor in Chief of the liberal *Neue Wiener Tagespresse* and Berta Zuckermandl's father, published anonymous articles in Szeps' newspaper. In these articles the heir to the throne left the hermetical world of the court and put himself in the spotlight of the political public life as the personified liberal hope for the citizens who were suffering from a forced political absence. The second incident, which shocked the public, was the murder of the Empress Elisabeth

³² Lorenz, *Wiener Moderne*. 24.

by the hand of an Italian anarchist in 1898. The Empress, who lived restlessly and traveled most of her time, symbolized the symptoms of modernity³³.

The variety of cultural communities, language groups and ethnic groups, which lived in a rather dense space provided fertile ground for the development of a creative milieu in Vienna 1900. Vienna as the capital city of a still relatively rural and underdeveloped country, became a center of social and political tensions, fueled by the ever-progressing modernization of the world. The general plurality in Vienna opened creative opportunities but at the same time lead people down a path of existential crisis, triggered by modern fragmentation which in turn led to the construction of holistic ideologies and world views which challenged the national and collective identities.

Inequality

The Austrian society was deeply divided and showed a clear hierarchical order. The aristocracy was the “first society” and set the social standards. However, by the *fin-de-siècle*, the aristocracy, economically, stood in the shadow of the “second society”, the bourgeoisie. Most of the wealth was concentrated within a couple hundred families which flocked to Vienna. What seemed like an era of security for the bourgeoisie and the first society, was still characterized by deep economic insecurity for most of Vienna’s population. Twelve hour working days were common, while long footpaths from and to work, little room for relaxation or idleness were the norm. The introduction of universal male suffrage in 1907, heralded a new epoch, that of the mass parties. Karl Lueger, as a representative of the petty bourgeoisie stood at the top of the movements as the leader of the Christian Social Party, and as the mayor of Vienna. Nevertheless, Lueger did not stand for the industrial workers nor was he welcome in the salons of the rich. Segregation was a distinct feature of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The aristocracy and the court withdrew themselves from the rest of the population, the hereditary nobility from the money nobility, the Jews from non-Jews, and the Catholics from the Protestants. At the *Hofball*, members of the aristocratic elite met, while Lueger’s clientele met at the ball of the mayor. The Jewish bourgeoisie, which

³³ Lorenz, *Wiener Moderne*. 20ff.

constituted approximately 60 percent of the millionaires in Vienna did not belong anywhere. The aristocracy excluded them, Lueger incited hatred against them³⁴.

The income inequality in Vienna at the turn of the century was a greater than anywhere else in the Empire and in the history of Austria. The wealthiest per mil of the Viennese society earned 11,9 percent of the total income, the top percent approximately a quarter of total income, and the top ten percent earned more than half of the total income in Vienna. Additionally, only six percent of the Empire's total population lived in Vienna, however, two thirds of the millionaires³⁵. Vienna attracted wealth. The wealthy looked for the glamour of the city palaces and men who wanted to become rich found their opportunities in Vienna. However, most of the immigrants remained very poor. Compared to other countries, the income inequality is not unique to the Habsburg monarchy. Germany as well documented an extreme income inequality, however, the top incomes were not concentrated in Berlin. In fact, out of the fifteen wealthiest people in the German Empire, none lived in Berlin at 1910. Berta Krupp, the wealthiest German at the time lived in Essen. Similarly, the aristocracy did not concentrate in Berlin but was split up between the residence cities of the German counts. The concentration of wealth in Vienna at the turn of the century can only be compared to Paris or London at the time³⁶.

The names and the income of the richest per mil of the households in Vienna are documented. Among them are aristocrats, newly rich Jews, famous medical doctors, witty women, celebrated artists, managers, orthodox believers, and lucky devils. Around 90 percent of them were men, 60 percent Jewish or had Jewish ancestry, and only 10 percent stem from hereditary nobility³⁷. Even though the inequality in Vienna was unparalleled, the city offered a sparkling cultural life and some of the cultural and academic achievements of the time went on to shape the 20th century. The café was a cultural institution which brought people together and enabled the cultural achievements.

³⁴ Roman Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre: Die 929 reichsten Wienerinnen und Wiener im Jahr 1910*. (Wien: Styria Premium, 2013), chapter 1, <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1761727>.

³⁵ Ibid., chapter 1.

³⁶ Ibid., chapter 1.

³⁷ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*. Chapter 1.

Cafés

Cafés became part of Austria's immaterial cultural heritage in 2011. The typical Viennese café was not only a venue for the consumption of beverages and food, but was an alternative living and working space, open every day of the year. One could even call the café and ask for one of the regular customers, who would then answer the phone. Some even had their post delivered to the coffeehouse instead of their private address, welcomed guests there, and worked in their café. Additionally, coffeehouses also served as an informational hub. The most famous cafés in Vienna prided themselves with the fact that they could offer their customers every possible magazine, newspaper, and academic journals. The accessibility of academic journals in the cafés is significant, since foreign periodicals were scarce and hard to come by on the market. Apart from readings, the café often served as concert venues and offered pool, chess, and card players the possibility to pursue their hobbies.

The original character of the Viennese coffeehouse was lost at the time the *Ringstraße* was built. The so-called *Ringstraßencafé* achieved the highest popularity of all the cafés in Vienna and played a big role in the social life of Vienna. Large hotels started to sustain cafés of their own, such as the Hotel National. Additionally, cafés combined with confectionery were met with great popularity and developed into a functional counterpart of the coffeehouse of old. In the year of the World exhibition, 1873, Vienna counted 200 coffeehouses, in the following years the number of cafés exploded to reach 1.202 concession at its peak. In Fin-De-Siècle Vienna and during the First Republic, cafés formed the meeting place and focus of the society and was comparable to clubs in other countries. The writer, artist and intellectual café became legendary and the great protagonists of the time were regular customers in these cafés. During WWI, the number of cafés decreased for the first time, however, the institution endured the crises of the 20s and 30s. The institution as such was eternalized in the books of Friedrich Torberg with the titles "Die Tante Jolesch oder der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten", "Die Erben der Tante Jolesch" and "Kaffeehaus war überall".³⁸

In the story of Vienna 1900, the café plays an important role as a social public institution in Vienna, which could be visited at virtually any time of the day, unlike

³⁸ Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien: in 6 Bänden. Band 3: Ha - La* (Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 2004). 409f.

the theatre or the opera. The rapid increase of the numbers of cafés in Vienna suggests that it was a part of the daily life of many Viennese. Additionally, the café appeared in many literary works of the period. The café functioned as a leisure venue but also as a second office.

Cultural communities and intellectual circles in Vienna

Fin-de-siècle Vienna developed a special dynamic which led to creation of private and semi-private circles which engaged in the struggle for cultural hegemony. The strength of the cultural and intellectual society before World War I laid in its inner structure. The most famous circle is arguably the philosophical *Wiener Kreis* around Moritz Schlick, which was heavily influenced by the central figures of the *Wiener Moderne*, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Otto Neurath. However, the structure of the society at the time can be depicted as a network of circles. Many of the key figures of Vienna such as Freud, Kraus, Schnitzler, Adler, Wagner, and Klimt maintained a circle of adepts around them. The Vienna circles focused on different fields since Victor Adler's circle of social democrats founded and led a political party and Klimt and his following founded a cultural institution which shook up the art scene at the time. At the same time, Gustav Mahler revived the opera, Arnold Schönberg taught the principles of atonality to his students, Josef Hoffmann led the *Wiener Werkstätte*, Otto Wagner and Adolf Loos shaped and changed the ideas of modern architecture and build elegant but functional buildings to modernize the city scape, and Rosa Mayreder gathered the first Austrian feminist movement around her. In Literature, Hermann Bahr supported and acted as a literature patron for young talents such as Stefan Zweig and Hugo von Hoffmannsthal.

Often these circles are groups which met at a certain time, at a certain location, such as Freud's psychological group which met every Wednesday at Freud's practice. A young writer from Hamburg, Helga Malmberg, who became a partner of Peter Altenberg, described the scenes in a book as followed:

As I was sitting in this circle of "intellectually stimulating people" quietly, a new, bright world opened up to me. Like gemstones, shining in different facets, these people appeared strange to me. For hours I listened to deep and humorous conversations. Never in my life I considered possible that such intellect, witticism, and fantasy would be held up by a small circle³⁹.

³⁹ Malmberg, Helga. *Widerhall des Herzens: ein Peter Altenberg-Buch*. (München: A. Langen, G. Müller, 1961). 75. Translation of the author.

These circles were not focused on themselves exclusively, which is the main difference comparing the cultural life in Vienna to that of other cultural centers in Europe at the time. Rather the circles maintained close connections among them which led to the resonance they achieved. Some key figures of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna were members of two to three circles which led to a quick dissemination of ideas and reciprocal stimulation. These interrelations created synergies and underlines the importance of the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (*total work of art*) which was still prevalent in Vienna at the time⁴⁰.

The circle around Sigmund Freud is a paradigmatic example for the Vienna circles, since many people with a great variety of talents were members. An early member of the circle was David Joseph Bach, a social democrat and music critic. As an editor for the *Arbeiterzeitung*, Bach was an energetic supporter of the modern arts. In his contributions to the newspaper, he paid respect to Freud's publication of *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* and Mahler's third symphony. Throughout his life he was a close friend of Arnold Schönberg and he also was a busy organizer. His party leader, Victor Adler, supported his events in the *Musikverein*, which aimed at facilitating the access to high culture to the masses and to break the bourgeoisie's monopoly on the arts⁴¹.

The social democrats surrounding Victor Adler, were aware that they too would have to use organized mass politics to counter the reactionary powers in Vienna. The worker movement grew stronger since its first rally in 1890 and succeeded in 1907 to become the second largest party in Austria, only beaten by the Christian Social Party. Cultural initiatives strengthened the Social Democratic Party such as advances regarding adult education centers. The petition to establish a "University for the people" in 1905 was signed by scientists and writers alike, such as Ernst Mach, Emil Zuckerkandl, and Rosa Mayreder. The courses were supposed to be party neutral, however, caught in the midst of the struggle for cultural hegemony, the courses soon caused controversies. Liberals saw the adult education centers as an opportunity to

⁴⁰ Edward Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume: Die Schöpferischen Impulse Der Wiener Moderne*, Enzyklopädie Des Wiener Wissens, Band XVII. Wiener Moderne (Weitra: Verlag Bibliothek der Provinz, Edition Seidengasse, 2013). 11ff.

⁴¹ Jared Armstrong and Edward Timms, "Souvenirs of Vienna 1924: The Legacy of David Josef Bach," *Austrian Studies* 14 (2006): 72f.

overcome the differences between the social classes, while the social democrats used them to strengthen the worker movement.

The Christian Social party opposed the initiative of the Social Democratic Party, since they feared that these educational courses would endanger the primacy of the church and its teachings. The city of Vienna, under the major Karl Lueger therefore, supported the bourgeois and conservative program of the *Urania*. The *Urania*, which eventually moved to their newly built headquarters next to the *Donaukanal* in 1909, would thereafter be in competition with the “University for the people (*Volksheim*)”⁴².

The struggle for cultural hegemony is also represented in the *Ringstraße*, the monumental project which replaced the city walls and elevated Vienna into the status of a modern metropole. The new boulevards enabled the Emperor to hold impressive parades to appeal to his loyal supporters, however, only very few old aristocratic families moved into the new palaces along the boulevard, but mostly newly rich Jewish industrial families and bankers. Among them were the famous names of Ephrussi, Epstein, Gomperz, Todesco, and not to forget the Rothschilds and Wittgensteins, who lived in the Heugasse and the Argentinierstraße respectively. Without these families and their investments and business acumen, the economic upturn in Vienna would not have happened. The grand palaces of the newly rich Jews, who only received equality before the law in 1867, made them an easy target for populists and incited feelings of envy, which developed into anti-Semitism.

Especially after the economic crash of 1873, the weak Austrian economy created resentments against the rich Jews which lived in the palaces alongside the *Ringstraße*. Populists like von Schönerer and Lueger ably used the sentiments of the masses for their political agenda. Lueger, as the Mayor of Vienna between 1897 to 1910, controlled the scene through local politics which modernized the urban spaces and advanced the planning of the Vienna, but culturally propagated Catholicism and patriotism. The local government could not find a consensus on the regarding the cultural policy in the city and was unable to realize Otto Wagner’s city museum project at the Karlsplatz⁴³. Lueger himself was a pragmatist who was not absolutely rejecting modern tendencies in architecture and arts. Especially his time as mayor of Vienna represents the struggle for cultural hegemony and the tension between renewing and

⁴² Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume*. 16f.

⁴³ Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume*. 19f.

conservative movements. Looking at the founding of the *Secession* and the construction of the exhibition building, it becomes evident that Lueger, under certain circumstances, was prepared to work with Jewish patrons of the arts⁴⁴. The struggle for cultural hegemony on the streets in Vienna among the different parties, associations, circles, influenced the thinking of many academics and politician who went on to shape the 20th century in their fields. The leading minds of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna pursued subtle ideas for reform which lead to significant societal changes over time. Adolf Loos wrote in his critique *Ornament and Crime* that in all areas of life, functionality should be preferred over ostentatious ornaments. Loos realized that the feudal and historicist architecture in Vienna did not reflect the changing society and argued for a usage of new materials and forms. The controversy culminated in a house which Loos built with the support of the builder Ernst Epstein, at the Michaelerplatz in 1911, directly across from the main entrance to the *Hofburg*⁴⁵. The house represents the subtle interdependency of Vienna 1900, as Loos combined traditional forms with a radically clear and empty façade, in the view of the Emperor, whose residence was right across the house.

In comparison to innovative thinkers like Loos, Wagner, Freud, and Klimt, the culture policy of the clerical camp paled and showed its backwardness. Unable to introduce true cultural renewals in Austria, the conservatives safely held political power since the efforts of the Avant-garde focused on the cultural sphere, not the political. However, the power of the ideas of the modernists expanded their influence, and certain radical ideas had political consequences. One need only think of Herzl's Zionism, school reforms by Genia Schwarzwald, and Karl Kraus polemics against the justice system. Unsurprisingly these ventures resulted in intervention of the censorship department of the state. Cultural innovations were tolerated and sometimes even supported as a valve for disagreement, since they did not question the hierarchy of the state and the power structure of the authorities. Until the dissolution of the monarchy, the "protests" and disagreements with Austria's political circumstances remained peaceful and quiet and expressed themselves through books, composition, arts, and buildings. The creative result of the tensions enhanced Vienna's position as a cultural

⁴⁴ Boyer, *Karl Lueger*. 209

⁴⁵ Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien: in 6 Bänden. Band 4: Le - Ro* (Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 2004). 89f.

center. Only in the long term the circles and networks of Vienna challenged the hierarchy of the monarchy, as the ideas with origin in Vienna, passed the borders of Vienna and disseminated worldwide, also partly due to an extreme wave of emigration starting in 1934, with the creation of the *Ständestaat* in Austria and lasting until the end of World War II⁴⁶.

A variety of factors created the unique atmosphere in Vienna that enabled cultural production in Vienna but also resulted in a struggle for cultural hegemony. Since the city of Vienna experienced a construction boom, the new spaces such as the *Ringstraße* resulted in a structural change of the Viennese public. The coffeehouse serves as the stage for social and intellectual transformation and the tireless innovators stood in conflict with pragmatic authorities. And finally, the Jews as outsiders and their power of marginality enables them to take up important positions as artists but also patrons, who stood in contrast to the clerical government of Vienna.

Patrons

Until the 19th century, patronage of the arts and sciences was the task of the crown and the nobility. However, due to increasing wealth of the bourgeoisie, the structure of patronage change significantly. In *fin-de-siècle* Vienna bourgeoisie patronage should be understood as a feeling of responsibility for community. Especially during the *fin-de-siècle*, a time when the bourgeoisie was finding its place in social hierarchy, patronage cannot be separated from political aspirations. Patronage in this sense is a contribution of an individual to provide a living and to support the work of their clients. Bourgeoisie patrons become active, if there are deficits in society which require their contribution. Commonly, bourgeoisie patronage took the place of state, which for some reason will not or cannot provide the necessary support. The patrons act as trendsetting inspirers and brokers, who complement the task of the state, and possibly induce political change⁴⁷.

Additionally, often bourgeoisie patronage has the aim to influence a social process. The patrons of museums and institutions shaped the contemporary understanding of art and increased its widespread impact. An individual interest in prestige drove their

⁴⁶ Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume*. 17ff.

⁴⁷ Thomas W. Gaethgens, *Der Bürger Als Mäzen*, Gerda Henkel Vorlesungen (Opladen: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1998). 9. And Hannes Stekl, *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*. (Böhlau Verlag, 2004), <http://www.mylibrary.com?id=823067>. 238ff.

actions. The promotion of artists through an individual or an informal circle enjoyed the highest societal prestige. Throughout the 19th century, the bourgeoisie salon cemented its position as the new institution of patronage. Berta Zuckerkandl's salon was one of the main salons in Vienna, where the idea for the *Secession* was born and the artistic dilettantism was strengthened through the encounters between artists and their patrons. Their discussions in the salon led to common interests, personal connections, and opened the doors for far reaching networks which led to commissions for the artists. In many cases the recommendation of young talents to patrons through brokers such as Hermann Bahr, Johannes Brahms, and Carl Moll, played an important role for aspiring artists. Established artists would also act as customers from time to time⁴⁸.

The salons created efficient connections which consequently shaped journalistic debates about art movements and in some cases secured public contracts. Berta Zuckerkandl reportedly recommended Josef Hoffman for the construction of the *Sanatorium Purkersdorf* to her brother in law Viktor Zuckerkandl. Furthermore, behind many private commissions regarding modern styles, women of the salons were involved. Presumably, Hermine Wittgenstein, who adored Gustav Klimt, pushed her father Karl Wittgenstein to anonymously subscribe large parts to the guarantee funds of the *Secession* and to support the movement with yearly payments between 20.000 and 40.000 gulden⁴⁹. Karl Kraus was one of many vocal critics and branded the *Secessionist* art as “goût juif” and raised the question of Jewish culture and patronage⁵⁰. However, it is true that Jews, who accounted for only 10 percent of Vienna's population were among the leading patrons of new artistic movement, without owning a monopoly in this regard.

Among the leading patrons was August Lederer, whose house at his spirit factory in Hungary, was built by Josef Hoffmann and was furnished by the *Wiener Werkstätte*, which was founded in 1903. His Viennese apartment was the home of many pieces of art of the *Secession* artists, and his wife Serena was the strongest supporter of Klimt and built the largest Klimt collection in Vienna. Some of the art works in the Lederer

⁴⁸ Stekl, *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie*. 248f.

⁴⁹ Jorn K. Bramann and John Moran, “Karl Wittgenstein, Business Tycoon and Art Patron,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 15 (January 1979): 106, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800012686>.

⁵⁰ Kraus, Karl. *Die Fackel* 42, p.22, 56, p. 23, 59, p.19, 1900. Accessed April 28, 2018. http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/main_jq.html#.

collection were surrounded by scandal such as the *Philosophy* painting by Klimt which was subject of public outrage upon its unveiling. Additionally, Klimt recommended Egon Schiele to the Lederer family, when the latter was suffering from his imprisonment in Summer 1912 for his paintings of underage girls. Schiele would become friends with the son of the family, Erich Lederer, who he portrayed. The Lederer family would support the artists troubled by existential fears⁵¹.

Similarly, the Jewish industrialist and merchant, Fritz Waerndorfer, financed the *Wiener Werkstätte* from its inception until 1914, and regularly made generous purchases of the products of the workshop. He supported the luxury cooperative to his financial exhaustion until Otto and Eugenie Primavesi and the Gallia family replaced him as the patrons of the Viennese workshop.

Notably, the Viennese patronage was not exclusively Jewish but can be traced back to liberal and German elite within the bourgeoisie. Their ideals were based on high education, strong cosmopolitanism, and the emancipatory traditions of the Jewish religion. At its foundation was openness towards the new and the foreign which can be highlighted through the experiences many of the patrons discussed in this thesis made, especially in Western European countries⁵². Karl Wittgenstein escaped to the United States for two years and returned a changed man through his experiences with social Darwinism and raptor capitalism. He was branded as an American in Vienna and his view reflected in his published articles on the political economy⁵³. Berta Zuckerkandl had strong familial ties to France and was a regular guest at her sister's salon in the Avenue d'Eylau in Paris⁵⁴. Hermann Bahr too spent a year in Paris from 1888 to 1889, during which he rid himself from the anti-Semitism which was slowly becoming established in Vienna at the time⁵⁵. And finally, Fritz Waerndorfer, was sent

⁵¹ Tobias G. Natter et al., *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele Und Kokoschka: Sammler Und Mäzene* (Köln: Dumont, 2003) and Hannes Stekl, *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*. (Böhlau Verlag, 2004), <http://www.myilibrary.com?id=823067>. 252.

⁵² Steven Beller and Marie Therese Pitner, *Wien und die Juden: 1867-1938*. (Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), 228f. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4402320>. and Hannes Stekl, *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*. (Böhlau Verlag, 2004), <http://www.myilibrary.com?id=823067>. 252f.

⁵³ Karl Wittgenstein and János Kristóf Nyíri, *Politico-economic writings: an annotated reprint of "Zeitungsartikel und Vorträge,"* Viennese heritage = Wiener Erbe, v. 1 (Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: J.B. Benjamins Pub. Co, 1984).

⁵⁴ Franz Eder and Ruth Pleyer, "Berta Zuckerkandls Salons – Adressen und Gäste" in, *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne*, Bernhard Fetz, ed. Profile 25 (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018). 214

⁵⁵ Donald G. Daviau, "Hermann Bahr and the Radical Politics of Austria in the 1880s," *German Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (May 1982): 163, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1429312>. 169

to England to study the textile industry by his father in the early 1890s, where he found his passion for design and art⁵⁶.

The process of patronage took place in a society caught in the midst of a transformation from a bureaucratically led culture of representative art, committed to historicism, to a new aesthetic culture. The letters flaunting over the entrance to the *Secession Der Zeit ihre Kunst, der Kunst ihre Freiheit*⁵⁷, are emblematic for cultural experiments of the time.

Architects

Architects shaped the new district commissioned by Franz Joseph after the city ramparts were abolished in 1857. Different ideas on how a city should look like and how it has to function collided and fierce competition among the main protagonists escalated. The Ringstraße in its current form was proposed by Ludwig Förster and was designed as a boulevard embellished by a variety of public and cultural buildings. The rest land would be sold to private developers. Many of Austria's most important buildings such as the parliament, the city hall of Vienna, the opera and the Burgtheater are located at the *Ringstraße*. Otto Wagner initially followed the aesthetic ideology but worked towards the idea of functionalism. During his career beginnings, Wagner planned villas and houses for the upper and middle class and eventually became a professor for architecture at the academy of fine arts in 1894. Throughout his teaching career he was a proponent of the anti-historicist style and was one of the first to introduce the art nouveau style of Van de Velde to Austria. While Wagner for the most part of his career was a supporter of flat surfaces, he appreciated ornaments, and only in the later stages of his career he would opt for a more utilitarian style. He included many motifs of the art nouveau in his work, most prominently the underground stations in Vienna.

His most famous work is *Moderne Architektur* (1896), which he wrote during his time as a professor. In the book he fiercely criticized the *Ringstraße* under the ideas of functional simplicity. Wagner was aware of the economic requirements in urban planning and proposed a more apartment blocks with more than five stories, built around an open space which should include public institutions, shops, and other

⁵⁶ Peter Vergo, "Fritz Waerndorfer and Josef Hoffmann," *The Burlington Magazine* 125, no. 964 (1983): 402–10. 403.

⁵⁷ To every age its art, to every art its freedom

facilities needed for quotidian life. Philosophically, Wagner belonged to the utopians and imagined more that he could hope to achieve; however, he was less attached to the past and planned and built for all social classes alike. In his opinion the engineer should plan the cities of the future not the decorator⁵⁸.

While there was an ongoing struggle between Adolf Loos and Joseph Hoffmann, who were lifelong antagonists, the relationship between Otto Wagner and Joseph Maria Olbrich was cooperative and productive. At the turn of the century Wagner and Olbrich were the leading architects of Vienna and shaped the appearance of the city to this day. In the late 1890s the two architects were working together to regulate the Danube through the Danube Canal and to plan and build a new rail system which spanned the entire city. The *Stadtbahn* was a populist project, rebelling against Vienna's focus on the rich inner city and aimed to provide transportation services to the suburbs and municipalities which were only recently integrated into municipality of Vienna. Wagner, who built a career through contacts to the *Ringstraße*, was the ideal candidate for the renovation project, since his academic critique of the *Ringstraße* did not only find ready listeners in the classrooms of the academy but also among municipal politicians. At the time Wagner only recently converted to a more radical modern and functional style. The working cooperation between Olbrich and Wagner was exciting on paper, since Olbrich was the product of the local school of applied arts, led by the neo-romanticist Camillo Sitte, and Wagner was trained in Berlin and brought a taste for harmony and symmetry to the table. Wagner's pragmatism and geometry needed some of his younger colleague's idea of *Jugendstil*, which included organic ornaments with geometric influences⁵⁹.

At the same time the collaborators were separately working on unique projects. Olbrich's best known building is the exhibition building of the *Secession* movement, finished in 1898, while Wagner built the church of St. Leopold, on the Steinhof. Both architects mastered the challenge to create a building which serves unconventional uses and formulated complex and uncommon meanings. Olbrich, as a one of the founders of the *Secession*, build an exhibition space with skylight and moveable space

⁵⁸ William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr, 1976). 150f.

⁵⁹ Kirk Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design* (New York : Boston: Museum of Modern Art ; Distributed by New York Graphic Society Books/Little, Brown, 1986). 28f.

to comply with the wishes of the movement to break the monopoly of the *Künstlerhaus* and to have more and better art exhibitions in Vienna⁶⁰.

The contrast between Olbrich's and Wagner's ideas of style and their different concepts of social unity represent the classic oppositions of the epoch. While Olbrich was working towards a sense of community in a smaller circle, the *Gemeinschaft*, Wagner had greater ideas of a cosmopolitan society, the *Gesellschaft*. Consequently, Olbrich worked on smaller dwellings and built houses close to nature, and Wagner planned and built for large institutions and won two major commissions from the city of Vienna⁶¹. Through both commissions Wagner demonstrated his ability to combine modernism with the style of the past without the excessive use of historicist elements.

Joseph Hoffmann and Adolf Loos have admired Wagner. The two architects were born within a day but went on to pursue opposite careers. Hoffmann has been the highly acclaimed student of Wagner and a co-founder of the *Secession* and laid his foundation for success early. Once Olbrich left Vienna, Hoffmann became the *Secessions* favorite architect, which quickly allowed him to plan and design for a variety of wealthy clients. In 1899, Hoffmann became a professor at the *Kunstgewerbeschule*, today the university for applied arts, and founded the *Wiener Werkstätte*, a design collaborative. Hoffmann soon became known for all things fashionable in Vienna.

Adolf Loos, by contrast, was a loner. He spent three years abroad in the United States and denounced the *Ringstraße* and its society. As a talented journalist he also took his disgruntlement public and apart from a couple of interior design jobs he became known as a cultural critique, rather than an architect. The circle he built around him had an art focus and one of his closest allies was Karl Kraus, the fiercest critic of modern Vienna. Similar to Kraus, Loos also published his own magazine called *Das Andere* ("*The Other*") with the mission to bring western culture to Austria. Even though, both architects shared admirations for English and American modern simplicity in the early stages of their career, their position in the society was different⁶².

⁶⁰ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900*, 30f.

⁶¹ The first commission was the central sanatorium for mentally ill, today called the *Otto-Wagner Spital*. The second commission was the new Headquarters of the Postal Savings Bank, still goes by the same name today and housed a museum until the end of 2017.

⁶² Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900*. 40 f.

In 1913, Loos received a large part of Ludwig Wittgenstein's donation to the arts. Like the other beneficiaries, Loos would never learn the name of his patron⁶³.

Hoffmann exhibited his *Beethoven* installation as a part of the 14th *Secession* exhibition, which arose from the aesthetic and social circumstances in Vienna at the time. He rejected the *Jugendstil* and favored a new conservatism, which embraced the monumental appearance of buildings. Hoffmann's goal of stylish simplicity had a political motivation. His aim was to combine the collective socialism with a more brutal individualism. Furthermore, Hoffmann appealed to the absolute order, to the existing hierarchy. Loos on the other side was not an idealist and rejected Hoffmann's ambitions. He aimed plenty of his articles at Hoffmann and accused him of design-tyranny⁶⁴. Loos most notorious piece of writing was "Ornament and Crime" published in 1908, as a critique of the building of the Stoclet house in Brussels. In the text he argues that modern cities with access to the fine arts had no need for ornaments, while ornaments are permissible for peasants who had no other pleasures⁶⁵. However, his text did not always comply with his style of architecture.

Hoffmann and Loos both idealized an architecture which would combine classicism and the modern and would instill the modern spirit into the lives of its inhabitants. This idea corresponds to Austrian aspirations in the intellectual and political sphere. The Empire must somehow find a way to reconcile the force of progress with the rural parts of the land, which possibly could have been achieved through a rougher and more rational style of politics.

Literates and Journalists

Throughout the Empire and in Vienna the coffeehouse grew as an institution where people met to converse, discuss, and work. It was Vienna that made the *Café* a cultural institution. The real embodiment of the culture was the Young Vienna circle who regularly met in Café Griensteidl. Most of the intellectuals in the circle were born into nouveau riche families and used their time in the cafés to overcome idleness with occasional writing. Even though many were merely making the first artistic attempts

⁶³ Ursula Schneider, "Paul Engelmann - Architektur, Judentum und Moderne zwischen Wien, Olmütz und Israel," *Aschkenas* 7, no. 1 (July 17, 2009): 155–72, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/asch.1997.7.1.155>. 156.

⁶⁴ Loos, Adolf, "Vom armen reichen Manne," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (Vienna), April 26, 1900, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=nwg&datum=19000426&zoom=33>

⁶⁵ Loos, Adolf. 1908 "Ornament Und Verbrechen." Ornament Und Verbrechen – Wikisource. Accessed March 30, 2018. https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Ornament_und_Verbrechen.

and avoided larger commitments, the circle grew influential and formulated ideas which would shape today's idea of *fin-de-siècle*.

Essays from the 1890s fiercely criticized the way of life at the time. Hugo von Hofmannsthal made a strong point in his essay on D'Annunzio, arguing that the modern Viennese holds two things in high regard: the analysis of life and the flight from life. He goes on to state that he perceives little motivation for action and that the analysis of the inner life of the soul and dreaming have been firmly established as an Austrian *mode de vie*. Additionally, Vienna considers the splitting of Atoms modern and its population instinctively indulges in all manifestation of the beautiful, every color accord, and every glittering metaphor.⁶⁶

Without a doubt, Hofmannsthal described how the bourgeois youth perceived their life in Vienna. Hofmannsthal's assessment of the Viennese mentality corresponds with Carl Schorske's interpretation, who found a moral-scientific and an aesthetic part of life in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Hofmannsthal called it the analysis and the flight of life.⁶⁷ The sentiment of Young Vienna can also be found in the literature of the time. Instead of forming a chain of events, Viennese authors resorted to a recombination of conditions and emotions and toyed with the thought of the loss of the perspective of the whole.

The emphasis on nuances, which could be perceived as a philosophy of life, was existential to the *Jung-Wiener* generation. The diaries and the letters of the protagonists demonstrate their focus on nuances. Additionally, reviews of texts of the *Jung-Wien* circle reveal how invested the young writers were in their emotions and perceptions of life.⁶⁸ Most of the members were educated in a humanist *Gymnasium* and their cultural preferences were influenced by their fathers' attempts of assimilation into the Viennese society. However, the world of their parents appeared to be as far away as the world of antiquity.

It seems that their melancholic belief that they were born too late, or born in the wrong time, manifested in their writing. Some of the writers, such as Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal, preferred earlier epochs over their own such as the Rokoko and the late

⁶⁶ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke: in 10 Einzelbänden. ... Gedichte. Dramen I: 1891 - 1898*, Ungekürzte, neu geordnete, um einige Texte erw. Ausg. der 15 Bd. "Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben" (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1986). 174-184.

⁶⁷ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. 10.

⁶⁸ Lorenz, *Wiener Moderne*. 78f.

ancient régime. This perception at times took a turn to the apocalyptic. Certain authors saw themselves as the last meaningful expression of Austrian culture, before Central Europe would descend into the dark times of barbarism.⁶⁹ Since many members of the circle felt estranged from “real life” and saw no direct connection to the world through their existence as writers, they speculated that the last resort is a flight into a world of coulisse and aesthetics.

This artificial world some of the Viennese artists and members of *Jung-Wien* built for themselves, can be linked to the Habsburg monarchy, in the sense that the late Empire put a lot of emphasis on ceremonies and formalism. To a certain extent, the monarchy maintained its legitimacy and the loyalty of the citizens merely through tradition. Carl Schorske further argues that the circle around Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal was suffering from the dissolution of a classic liberal view of man, on which politics in Austria depended at the time.⁷⁰

The struggle with life under the monarchy appears to be a shaping factor of the work of many of the writers who grew up at matured during the turn of the century. Some, such as Stefan Zweig, later praised the monarchy in his auto-biographic book *The World of Yesterday* as place with unlimited freedom, soaked with creativity and ignores the repressive politics and censorship at the time. Hofmannsthal took a different approach in his book *The Tower* and outlined the aggression which grows within a population which is repressed and excluded from participation in the ceremonial aspects of the monarchy. However, what Zweig, Hofmannsthal and Schnitzler have in common is the assessment of the modern man, who is shaped by psychological paradigms which were created through the destruction of old culture and the end of liberal tradition.

Overall, Vienna’s *fin-de-siècle* literature brought together influences from all over Europe and even the United States. Especially Friedrich Nietzsche and Richard Wagner influenced the Austrian literary and music Scene. Hermann Bahr, as one of the central figures of the *Wiener Moderne* attempted to make Vienna of the modern era by translating texts which carried central French ideas into German. Furthermore, literature in Vienna was closely linked to other artistic disciplines such as music and

⁶⁹ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁰ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*. 10.

visual arts. Oskar Kokoschka, a painter, was also active as a playwright, even though unsuccessfully⁷¹.

Academics

When Gustav Klimt's image *Philosophy* was unveiled, it sparked public protest. Destined to decorate the halls of the University of Vienna, alongside other murals depicting *Medicine* and *Juris Pudence*, Vienna's scientists and academics barred the image from ever being seen on the walls of the university. To Schorske, this uproar was connected to the fall of liberalism, and he understood professors and Klimt to be on the opposing side of the aesthetic culture, still supporting the older, rational culture. However, others argue that skepticism was the core value of the intellectual culture in Vienna. Liberalism was under threat by clericalism and radical relativism, but nevertheless Vienna was a place of scientific creativity which was based on a value system which supported probabilistic reasoning to overcome the social and political insecurity and uncertainty of the time⁷².

One of the physicists who turned to become of a philosopher and in the *Zeitgeist* of probabilistic reasoning, rejected metaphysics was Ernst Mach (1838-1916). He was born near Brünn in today's Czech Republic and studied mathematics and physics at the University of Vienna. He eventually earned a doctorate in 1860 and habilitated only a year later. He became a professor for mathematics in Graz and later for experimental physics in Prague, which were his most productive years. In 1895, Mach became the chair of the new department of history of inductive sciences at the University of Vienna, which was founded only shortly before he filled the position. After three years of teaching at the University of Vienna, Mach suffered a severe stroke and was thereafter paralyzed. He spent his retirement in Vienna and joined the *Herrenhaus*, after being offered a title of nobility which he declined. He died near Munich to be close to his son Ludwig.

Since World War II, Mach's name is synonymous with the velocity of supersonic aircraft. His pioneering studies of the airflow, which he conducted during his time in Prague were the key to the measurement being named after Mach. Furthermore, in his

⁷¹ Ernst Grabovszki and James N. Hardin, eds., *Literature in Vienna at the Turn of the Centuries: Continuities and Discontinuities around 1900 and 2000*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003). 4 ff.

⁷² Deborah R. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). 2ff

study, called *Optisch-akustische Versuche*, Mach used a technique of diffraction, in order to photograph bullets during flight. In his publication, Mach found that once a projectile exceeds the speed of sound would cause two shock waves. Apart from sciences, Mach was also an avid philosopher. Even though he disliked his position among professional philosophers, which he wished to exchange for the admiration of the scientists, he was one of the leading philosophers of science. Similar to his lifelong friend, Popper-Lynkeus, he adored the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which questioned concepts such as God and nature. Furthermore, Mach supported the idea that the best theory is the one with the fewest variables, applying Occam's razor. In his position as a chair, Mach pursued mostly historical studies in Vienna, and was researching the task of philosophy to unify individual sciences. Finally, Mach made a big discovery in psychology when he found the purpose of the semicircular canals in the inner ear, which are organs which create a sense for equilibrium ⁷³.

Ernst Mach's reductionist perception of psychology was popular with the impressionist writers of Vienna. Hermann Bahr predicted that Mach's views would be titled the "philosophy of impressionism", while Hugo von Hoffmannsthal wrote *Ein Brief* which was based on Mach's psychology of impressions. Overall, Mach attracted many young thinkers of Vienna at the time, and few philosophers were invested in as many fields of study as Mach was. Mach also gave name to the Ernst Mach Society, which would later become known as the Vienna Circle. ⁷⁴

Another polymath whose achievements are influential to this day was Otto Neurath (1882-1945). Born and raised in Vienna, Otto Neurath earned two doctorates one in political science and one in philosophy. His most influential projects include the founding of the first Social and Economic Museum in Vienna, his membership of the Vienna circle whose philosophy he shaped fundamentally, and most importantly the creation isotypes, which were pictograms which influenced today's informational graphics. Neurath attempted to apply his isotypes to facilitate communication between nations and to communicate with the illiterate. Neurath dedicated himself to building bridges between academic disciplines, social classes, and nation states, in an attempt to continue his father's vision. Similar to Ernst Mach, Neurath too questioned the importance of metaphysics in philosophy. Against the wishes of his philosophical

⁷³ Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*. 181ff.

⁷⁴ Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*. 185f.

colleagues, Neurath was involved in socialist politics in Vienna. His legacy includes visual education of the masses, the idea of museums of history and civics, which now can be found in most cities across the world, adult education, and integrative thinking. Neurath was forced into exile in 1934 and would never return to Vienna. He passed away suddenly and unexpectedly in 1945 in Britain⁷⁵.

Even though Ludwig Wittgenstein worked in Britain for the majority of his career, *fin-de-siècle* Vienna shaped his work fundamentally. As the heir to a vast fortune, he declined to be seen as part of the upper class and gave his fortune away as soon as he received it. Throughout his life, he changed his career many times working as a philosopher, teacher, and architect. Growing up in a liberal household in Vienna, Wittgenstein was mostly unhappy. He was raised Catholic by a Catholic mother and a father who was baptized a Protestant. Both of his parent had Jewish ancestry. Wittgenstein's father Karl was a central figure in business and cultural life in the monarchy. Through his knowledge of the latest technological advances, Karl amassed a vast fortune, which he used in his public life as a patron of the musical and visual arts. The house Wittgenstein was one of the most important musical salons in Central Europe and names such as Brahms, Mahler and Pablo Casals were frequent visitors. Furthermore, Karl Wittgenstein funded the construction of the *Secession* building. Wittgenstein's relationship with his father can be described as difficult, since three of his brother committed suicide, and he himself contemplated suicide in his *Notebooks of 1914-1916*. Wittgenstein was personally exposed to the crises of morality, family life, and the arts, which were the center of discussion in Vienna before World War I.

Wittgenstein's work as a philosopher was influenced among others by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, who was a 18th century natural philosopher. Lichtenberg was also admired by Karl Kraus and Ernst Mach and his writings were generally popular among the *fin-de-siècle* intellectuals in Vienna. Among his peers, Wittgenstein especially adored Karl Kraus, Adolf Loos, and Otto Weininger, especially Loos' critique of ornaments aligned with Wittgenstein's understanding of function and explains his excursion into the architectural field. His experience during the war

⁷⁵ Ibid., 190f.

changed Wittgenstein from a happy child with sparkling intellect to a lonely and introvert character.⁷⁶

Visual artists

Vienna became one of the modern centers of creativity and art after a long conservative and culturally sedated 19th century. Even though Austrian painters never reached the quality of its composers, some painters and graphic designers such as Klimt, Schiele, and Koloman Moser gained significant popularity and fame. The birth of the modern art which is connected to *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, is marked by the foundation of the Vienna *Secession*. Gustav Klimt, together with 18 other artists resigned from the *Künstlerhaus*, an association which represented the interest of the artists in Vienna, and created the “Association of visual artist Austria, *Secession*”. Their main point of contention was the historicist legacy and taste and the political power the *Künstlerhaus* exerted on its members and they decided not to submit themselves anymore. The group curated a journal, *Ver Sacrum*, which was the voice of modern art and of the *Secession*. Max Burckhardt, the director of the *Burgtheater*, and Hermann Bahr, were among the editors of the magazine⁷⁷. The building, which is prominently located close to *Karlsplatz* to this day, opened its doors in 1898 according to the plans of Joseph Maria Olbrich. The *Secession* Building provided young artist with a space to display their works to a large audience for the first time. Apart from an exhibition space, the *Secession* also served as an educational space for the Viennese Audience and for the first-time, artists such as van Gogh and the French impressionists were exhibited in Vienna. The plurality of the *Secession* group achieved that handcraft and sculpting were considered level with the fine arts of painting⁷⁸.

Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) enjoyed large success as one of the leaders of the *Secession*. The son of a goldsmith incorporated his father’s craft into his own pieces, as his paintings include golden ornamental structures. During the 1880s, Klimt worked on murals in Budapest and Vienna, most famously in the *Burgtheater*. After the death of his brother, Klimt quit painting murals and focused on his artistic education. He resurfaced with the foundation of the *Secession* and made innovations in painting. For

⁷⁶Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein’s Vienna* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973). 167 ff.

⁷⁷ Hermann Bahr, “Aus meinem Reich,” *Ver Sacrum* 1, no. 1 (January 1898): 35.

⁷⁸ “VIENNA 1900.” Vienna 1900 & Art Nouveau | Focus of the Collection | The Leopold Collection | Leopold Museum. Accessed April 09, 2018.
<https://www.leopoldmuseum.org/en/leopoldcollection/focus/vienna1900>.

the first time in modern arts, Klimt used a square canvas and used gold leaf in his paintings, which he employed in mosaic-like surfaces. Furthermore, Klimt included a broad variety of ancient symbols, such as hieroglyphs, alongside floral patterns in his works. In the early 1900s, Klimt caused outrage with his university paintings for the Philosophy, Medicine, and Law faculties. Professors of the University of Vienna signed a petition to avoid Klimt's Philosophy painting to ever be mounted in the building, due to, what they thought, was excessive use of nudity. The three works were unfortunately destroyed in a fire and never exhibited⁷⁹.

Egon Schiele (1890-1918) was even more obsessed by nudity and erotic than Klimt. Schiele was a talented painter already in his childhood. He was best known for his drawing and used to make dozens of sketches of one model, never using an eraser, adding color later in the process. His fascination with proletarian women and nudity saw him sentenced to jail for twenty-four days after painting scandalous paintings of school girls. Klimt protected the young prodigy, whose depiction of nudity contrasted Klimt's aesthetic approach and was perceived as a caricature. Egon Schiele died only aged 28 from influenza⁸⁰.

Finally, the last painter of the period who achieved fame was Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980). The son of a goldsmith lived in Vienna until 1910. In 1909, some of his paintings were exhibited alongside the works of van Gogh and Schiele and caused a scandal. Through the imitation of the style of his teacher Klimt, Kokoschka aimed to expose duplicity. Similar to Karl Kraus, who was introduced to the painter by Adolf Loos, Kokoschka showed moral misconduct through his paintings. Apart for painting, Kokoschka also published a play with the title *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderer, Hope of Women) in 1907, which he dedicated to Adolf Loos. The play was met with considerable criticism after its first performance. Kokoschka emigrated from Austria in 1911 after Archduke Franz Ferdinand said that one should break every bone in his body⁸¹. Through his prominence, Kokoschka perpetuated the legend of Austrian decadence. His work was often aimed at exposing the corrupt bourgeois and showed his aversion against modernity. Kokoschka had an affair with Alma Mahler and tried

⁷⁹ Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*. 143ff.

⁸⁰ Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*. 146f.

⁸¹ SPIEGEL ONLINE. "MALEREI / KOKOSCHKA: Mit Seinen Koko-Strahlen." DER SPIEGEL 31/1951. July 31, 1951. Accessed April 09, 2018. <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-29194478.html>.

to convince her to marry him, however he failed, and Alma Mahler eventually married Walter Gropius ⁸².

The section demonstrates, that all the different artists were part of some circles. the circles crossed the disciplines and combined different ideas. Renowned academics, such as Ernst Mach, discussed philosophy with the broker of the *Wiener Moderne*, Hermann Bahr. They met at the salon of Berta Zuckerkandl, who supported the *Secession* movement, which was financed by Karl Wittgenstein. To analyze the interconnectedness of the Viennese cultural network, the thesis introduces network analysis which will be applied in the case studies in chapter III.

⁸² Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*. P. 147f.

Chapter II: Social Network Theory: perspectives, methods, and theoretical assumptions: Networks in Vienna

The Viennese cultural and academic scene could not have functioned without funding. Financial support for the arts came from different sources, however, the structure of patronage changed significantly over the course of the 19th century. Initially, it was the task of the aristocratic class and even the Emperor's court to hold the position as patrons of the arts and sciences. However, the art historian Albert Ilg, one of the directors of the *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des ah. Kaiserhauses*⁸³, noted in 1886 that the interest in art among the aristocracy ended, as the close interactions with artists stopped. Ilg further assumed that the bourgeoisie is poor and powerless and does not play a part in art patronage. Recent research has debunked the assumption that the bourgeoisie was poor, but significantly wealthier than the aristocracy, according to the taxed incomes from the year 1910⁸⁴. Similarly, the church does not fulfil its old mission as a patron anymore⁸⁵. Reading commentaries of contemporary witnesses regarding the situation at the universities in Vienna, reveal a similar picture. With some exceptions, the aristocracy did not support natural sciences financially as the Austrian aristocracy did not express sustainable or goal-oriented interest. By contrast the Hungarian aristocracy invested substantial amounts into the sciences. The situation is partly due to ignorance of the nobility and the Emperor towards technological advances and research in general. This disinterest opened a sociostructural void for the bourgeoisie to fill. Arguably, the wealthy Viennese *Bürger* picked up philanthropy and patronage of the sciences, the arts, and social welfare⁸⁶.

When addressing patrons, it is important to also mention the Jewish influence in Vienna 1900. The question of the Jewish influence on the Viennese modernism became a topic of broad research in the 1980s when publications such as *the Jews of Vienna* by Marsha Rozenblit and *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* by Robert Wistrich were released in 1983 and 1989 respectively. The publication of the books coincided with the Waldheim affair in 1986 which dominated Austria's image in the world at the time. The publications attempted to show that the contribution of

⁸³ Collection on the history of arts of the imperial house.

⁸⁴ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*. Chapter 1.

⁸⁵ Albert Ilg, *Unsere Künstler und die Gesellschaft*, (Wien 1886) 15f.

⁸⁶ Wolfgang L. Reiter, „Mäzenatentum, Naturwissenschaft und Politik im Habsburgerreich und in der Ersten Republik Österreich“, *ÖZG* 25/2014/3, 212-247. 221 f.

Jews and those with Jewish ancestry was disproportionately large compared to their representation in the population. One of the main questions was, how it was possible for the Jews, living in an environment where anti-Semitism was on the rise, to have such a great impact on the cultural and political life in Vienna.⁸⁷

The key to the Jewish dominance of the cultural life lays in their overproportioned representation in the Viennese *Gymnasia*, the elite schools of the Empire. These students would later merge with the liberal and modern bourgeoisie of Austria. At around 1900, Jews occupied many of the key positions in the Viennese society: Gustav Mahler was the most sought-after conductor, Arthur Schnitzler the most renowned playwright, and Karl Kraus was the most famous Satirist of Vienna. In the political sphere, Victor Adler managed to unite the Social Democratic movements under one flag and in academia, Sigmund Freud published his ground-breaking book *Interpretation of Dreams*. Part of the Jewish experience were the Jewish patrons of the *Ringstraße*. Karl Wittgenstein, the father of Ludwig Wittgenstein and wealthy industrialist, financed the *Secession* building. The cultural critic and journalist, Ludwig Hervesi, made the *Secession* socially acceptable, and finally Richard Beer-Hofmann, an author, found himself as the patron for aspiring Viennese architects. Arguably, these patrons were drivers of a new creative artistic and architectural spark, which swept over Vienna at the turn of the century. At the time, being Jewish had a negative connotation to a certain extend. To diffract the animosity Jews encountered, they created a cultural space which was defined by artistic freedom and modernization of the city. The public perceived them as dandies, however, Jewish patrons took charge of artistic networks, far away from Austrian provincialism.⁸⁸ Certainly, the individuals had different and even contrasting motivations, however, the patrons partook in the creation of a new vocabulary without which a new style would not have been possible. At this point it is important to mention that Young Vienna, the circle of young literates, also contributed to the transition from a conservative and historicist style to the acceptance of the *Secession* movement, as their art critiques and writings eased the absorption of a new style into the society.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*. 6f.

⁸⁸ Elana Shapira, *Style & Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin de Siècle Vienna*, The Tauber Institute Series for the Study of European Jewry (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2016). 14f.

⁸⁹ Shapira, *Style & Seduction*. 16

The Jewish business and social network was closely interwoven with the cultural circles at the time. This connection can be demonstrated through Richard Beer-Hofmann, himself a patron and part of the Young Vienna circle. While some authors, who published on Vienna 1900, considered the Jewish part of Vienna's culture negligible, this thesis will focus on patrons, some of which are Jews, and their networks and how they interacted with party networks and the state hierarchy. The fact is that the Jewish Vienna of 1900 stopped to exist in 1938 which also implies the end of the Viennese Jewish experience. It is, therefore, not surprising that writers such as Stefan Zweig, who called Vienna home, idealized the time of the Empire, when Jews enjoyed the status of a citizen. Surely the collapse of the Empire meant the loss of a system of identification for many Austrian Jews. The newly established state was more homogenous than the Empire and the Austrian identity much more exclusive, which meant that Jews again found themselves on the fringe of society. Scholars today still debate how big the Jewish aspect to Vienna's modernity was.⁹⁰

Undeniably Jews played a role in the Viennese modernity and were part of initiators of some of the circles in Vienna. Even though, many Jews were integrated in society and were considered leaders of political thought and in literature, their position in society was questioned. Schorske argues that the Jews of Vienna were among the last people upholding liberal values in a world which was leaning increasingly towards conservative beliefs. The complex relationship between German nationalism and the Jews in Austria who supported the Empire and held liberal beliefs, will be an important part of the analysis of the networks in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

Patronage

The network of bourgeoisie patrons was most significant in Vienna from approximately 1897 up to 1918, which marks the end of the Empire. The choice fell on the patrons of architecture and art, since they were involved in many of the Viennese circles through patronage or membership and shaped Vienna as we know it today. Until 1980, historians researching Vienna 1900 did not take the patrons into consideration when the assessing the art and architectural production of the time. The analysis of the networks will happen in two ways. First, the networks of chosen patrons will be

⁹⁰ Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, N.Y: Camden House, 2009). 12f.

described and analyzed from a network perspective, then the networks will be tied together through personalities which connected them, such as for example Hermann Bahr. By connection the different networks, the thesis will demonstrate, that the reason for Vienna's productivity was the social structure within Vienna. While the circles struggled for cultural hegemony, the patrons supported the certain circles and associations they esteemed to be worth of patronage. Furthermore, what the thesis hopes to demonstrate is that the creative output was the result of a struggle of the bourgeoisie to find recognition and to fill a gap which has remained void since the nobility became less interested in patronage. The focus will lay on the collaboration and interconnectedness which took place in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Overall, the thesis will not argue that the crisis was the trigger for increased cultural production as Carl Schorske suggested and will rather emphasize the importance and role of networks and connections.

The year 1897 marks the starting point of the analysis since it was the year of the appointment of Karl Lueger into the mayor's office. However, this was not necessarily a crisis for the patrons, since they continued to support the multi-national Empire and the Emperor at the head of it. The Emperor's ideology of multiculturalism offered an alternative to Lueger's radical and anti-Semitic rhetoric. As the founding of the *Secession* in 1898 demonstrates, patronage of the arts continued and offered a counter-culture to populist politics. For the construction of the networks, the thesis relies on eye-witness accounts, through a variety of publications in newspapers and books at the time, and on academic literature which was published after 1950. To introduce the subject, a quote from Stefan Zweig's book *The World of Yesterday* sets the scene.

The real determination of the Jew is to rise to a higher cultural plane in the intellectual world. [...] In the last century the pursuit of art in Austria had lost its old traditional defenders and protectors, the Imperial house and the aristocracy. Whereas in the eighteenth century Maria Theresa had Gluck instruct her daughters in Music, Joseph II ably discussed operas with Mozart, and Leopold III himself composed music, the later emperors, Francis II and Ferdinand had no interest whatever in artistic things; and our Emperor Francis Joseph, who in his eighty years had never read a book other than the Army list, or even taken one in his hand, evidenced moreover a definite antipathy to music. The nobility, as well, had relinquished its erstwhile role of protector; gone were the glorious days when the Esterhazys harboured a Haydn [and] the Lobkowitzes and Kinskys and Waldsteins competed to have a première of Beethoven in their palaces [...]. To maintain the Philharmonic on its accustomed level,

to enable the painters and sculptors to make a living, it was necessary for the people to jump into the breach, and it was the pride and ambition of the Jewish people to co-operate in front ranks to carry on the former glory of the fame of Viennese culture. [...] In public life they exerted only a meagre influence; the glory of the Imperial house overshadowed every private fortune, the leading positions in the administration of the State were held by inheritance, diplomacy was reserved for the aristocracy, the army and higher officialdom for the old families, and the Jews did not even attempt ambitiously to enter into these privileged circles.⁹¹

Stefan Zweig describes Vienna as the world of security, where Jews and other bourgeois patron families, who did not participate strongly in public life, had the opportunity gain social prestige through cultural patronage. The patronage of art and science and the support of circles had in some cases a clear political intention.

Few other artists were as successful as Klimt, Schiele and Kokoschka. Klimt's patrons were mostly people from the higher bourgeoisie. These patrons had the extensive financial resources, were industrials, dynamic men of action, whose career was partly due to the late industrialization in the Empire. They were not only the engine behind the industrialization, but at the same time the target of fierce critique of the economy and capitalism in general. These patrons formed families of art patrons, which were relatively small but highly interconnected. Schiele and Kokoschka, belonging to the next generation of artists, found their patrons in different milieus. Some of Schiele's supporters also supported Klimt, however, this was probably mostly because Klimt and Schiele were closer as artists rather than Klimt and Kokoschka. Klimt introduced Schiele to some of the collectors of his works himself. Overall, the supporters of Schiele are more heterogeneous than those of Klimt and included people belonging to the bourgeoisie, art critics, and academics.

Among the supporters of Kokoschka, the most prominent is Adolf Loos, who, with his critique of ornaments, led the counter-movement to Klimt's aesthetic. Kokoschka understood early on that he needed supporters in the German art market. The patrons of the three artists were more than mere collectors, some even took classes in art taught by Klimt, Schiele, and Kokoschka. Their engagement was indispensable, since without the support of the church and the royalty or nobility, the bourgeoisie filled a vacant position for patronage. The structural particularity of Vienna was that

⁹¹ Zweig and Bell, *The World of Yesterday*. 33ff.

the patrons had direct contact to the artists, since in other countries art dealers held this broker role⁹².

There are a variety of common characteristics between patrons, clients, and brokers. Commonly, a patron-client relationship is dyadic, including two individuals and has personal and even emotional aspects. The relationship is also unequal, as the patron is in some way superior to the client. However, the inequality takes place in a vertical and voluntary relationship. The link between a patron and a client is based on reciprocal exchange. The patron provides financial resources and protection, while the client returns loyalty and service. In Vienna, even though the time of the portrait was over, the bourgeois patron families of the city commissioned many portrait paintings. The most famous portraits are Klimt's paintings of Serena Lederer and Magarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein. The bourgeois families commissioned an older style of art, as they aspired to achieve the same glamour of the first society, the aristocrats, and the court⁹³.

As indicated, there range of the exchange of resources and services is wide, and the interaction is not limited to one interaction but is continuous. An example here is the long-lasting relationship between Klimt and the Lederer family. Additionally, the term friend is commonly used in a patron-client relationship, to express the close bond between the individuals. However, looking into the history of patronage, the terms friend and friendship were commonly used to express political loyalty. Evidently, true friendships among clients and patrons can and do exist, however, usually a true friendship bond has commonly been created before the patronage relationship. The nature of the relationship changed as one individual progressed up the political or economic ladder helped his friend to new opportunities as well. The boundaries between friendship and clientage are blurry. Another important aspect of the client-patron relationship is the reciprocity of the exchanges. Karl Wittgenstein or August Lederer, two of the richest men of Vienna, controlled large parts of a scarce resource, capital. They are expected, as patrons, to provide the resource to administer material assistance to artists, who in return pay their debt with loyalty, and art works⁹⁴.

⁹² Natter et al., *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele Und Kokoschka*. 294ff.

⁹³ Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, 1st ed. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). 12f.

⁹⁴ Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*. 15f.

Another important character who plays a significant role in the network of patrons is the broker. The broker finds himself between the client and the patrons, as he aims to arrange and exchange of resources. Most of the time the individuals, who eventually agree on an exchange are physically, but also socially distant, hence, the broker arranges the connection. Normally, the broker is more than just an intermediary, since he has significant resources as well, and in certain cases might act as a patron himself⁹⁵. In Vienna, Hermann Bahr is the personification of a broker. In his earlier days he provided the members of the *Jung-Wien* circle with opportunities to publish their works in renowned newspapers. He additionally, founded his own newspaper in 1894, called *die Zeit*, which went on to set the tone for regarding culture in Vienna. Through this endeavor, Bahr gained prestige and was well regarded as an art critic, hence, his opinion of the *Secession* provided a strong reason for many to visit the exhibitions. Later, Bahr became a patron himself, when he commissioned a house to be built by Joseph Maria Olbrich, the architect of the *Secession* building. Bahr also sat together with Fritz Waerndorfer in Café Museum, to build a defense for Gustav Klimt in the wake of the university painting scandal⁹⁶. All these examples should show the different shapes and forms the work of a broker can take.

Finally, for a patron network to work effectively, a platform where artists meet their patrons is necessary. In Vienna, the salon and their hostesses filled this position. The salons show a new category of relations linked to patronage since women for the first time occupied a central role in the cultural network. Commonly, the relations of women provided the network which eventually resulted in commissions or the purchase of paintings. The salon, such as the one of Berta Zuckermandl, provided women with a position of cultural leadership. Salons are comparable to the practice of an open house, where the hostess created an engaging atmosphere which fostered and facilitated the exchange of ideas. It was in the salon, where leading figures of the arts, politics, business, and academia met and engaged in a relaxed exchange. The conventional patron, such as August Lederer or Karl Wittgenstein, met artists directly in the salons, or were introduced to them through brokers. It is important to note that patronage is not merely financial support for the artists, but additionally, providing a

⁹⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁹⁶ Shapira, *Style & Seduction*. 227.

platform for artist to meet and engage with potential supporters on an equal basis to convince them of their abilities⁹⁷.

Furthermore, while the first society held their own salons, the ones of the bourgeoisie were patronized, and members of the aristocracy rarely participated in such salons if they ever did. However, the new group of capitalists who came to wealth through industry and global investments embraced the idea. These new patrons built large collections and supported new artists and Avant Garde movements⁹⁸. In many countries these collections were later donated to modern arts museums or to other newly established museums, however the exemplary fate of the Lederer collection, the largest Klimt collection to exist, shows that many collections of the primarily Jewish patrons were destroyed by in the events after 1938.

All patrons built many relationships around them which in aggregate constituted a network. These networks, once built, were reconstructed, and transformed over time. Thus, when thinking about networks, it is important to think of them as dynamic entities which are subject to change. Every effort at networking happens in a newly constructed position in a network. As a result, brokerage within a network is always accommodates the unfolding social network. Consequently, the networks which are included in the thesis merely offer an incomplete and momentary glimpse into the network of patrons in Vienna⁹⁹.

The network theory assumes that all ties of one type are fundamentally the same, however, this cannot be quite true. Membership in a formal organization entails different meanings for different members and other ties such as friendship, or a patron client relationship, can be perceived differently by the two sides in the relation. Additionally, the meaning of a ties can be subject to change too. Consider the relation between the *Jung-Wien* circle and Karl Kraus, who first participated and profited of the circles connections to newspapers, but soon published *demolirte Litteratur*, a pamphlet mocking everyone in the circle. The relationship with other members turned sour quickly, and as an extreme example demonstrates how the relations change. Karl Kraus was still part of the Viennese network; however, he was critical of the actions of the other members and appearing in his newspaper, *die Fackel*, was feared by many.

⁹⁷ Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord, *Artists, Patrons, and the Public: Why Culture Changes* (Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, 2010). 64ff.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 105.

⁹⁹ McLean, *The Art of the Network*. 12ff.

He was the most vocal critic of all the actors described in the thesis. Furthermore, the struggle with ties is that at one point there is a limitation of data one can find to qualify the ties. Hence, certain characteristics must be derived from third party descriptions or omitted in general.

Upon breaking down networks, the structural thinking in network theory becomes evident and shows that the theory relies on positions of actors in networks. Arguably the actions of individuals are shaped by their positions. However, there must be more freedom for identities and a less deterministic approach to social networks. Networks are drivers of change, as they are dynamic and are arenas of social interaction. Any attempt to conceptualize the patron network in Vienna 1900 will fall short of a complete analysis and will only be able to show one interpretation of a structure¹⁰⁰. Therefore, the thesis will emphasize on the construction of the networks instead of the assumption of position and ties in an existing network.

Overall, the thesis will try to grasp the economic component to cultural life and how it served as a political vehicle to cement the social position of patrons in Viennese society. After all, patrons enable cultural institutions to flourish and did not support them due to pure altruism. Additionally, there should be paid attention to the women in the networks of cultural production, who were apt enablers of discussion and the sharing of ideas, most prominently Berta Zuckerkandl, and Alma Mahler.

The social network perspective

The social network research perspective is a method based on the assumption that relationships and interactions between people are important. Within the social network perspective, different theories and models are included which are explained in terms of relational concepts and processes. One primary concept are linkages.¹⁰¹ It appears then that social networks are structures humans naturally form. Individuals belong to family networks, even though few people have detailed knowledge about their ancestry. Throughout history, patterns of networks in migration and settlements have led humans to spread around the globe. Today we witness digital social networks producing worldwide uproars in a short period of time. However, this might not be news since conspiracy theories and other crazes are as old as humans and have been

¹⁰⁰ McLean, *The Art of the Network*. 15f.

¹⁰¹ Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences 8 (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). 4.

periodically produced without premeditation or leadership or some sort. Social networks appear in different sizes and different forms and reach from secret societies to semi-public café circles, to exclusive salons. Furthermore, some networks are spontaneous and organize themselves, some are more static and thoroughly organized. In today's world, networks are more prevalent than ever before, with Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, becoming indispensable tools for our daily lives, business, and politics. Nevertheless, human societies in recorded history have been organized in hierarchies. The power concentrated at the top of the hierarchical pyramid in the hands of the chief, king, or in Austria's case the emperor. The sheer size of the hierarchy overwhelmed individual networks, since most people did not have any access to the wider world but were confined to their family and their village. At the time of the *Wiener Moderne*, mass politics parties tightened their grip on power, the emperor stood at the top of the hierarchy, but networks, private and public, flourished in the creative atmosphere. Humans are social animals; therefore, it seems logical to research networks individuals built for themselves and how they helped them achieve a goal.¹⁰²

There are four major assumptions which conceptualize this thesis. First, actors and their consequent actions are interdependent rather than independent. No one acts completely autonomously. Secondly, ties between actors, called linkages, are a steady flow of resources, which could be material or non-material, depending on the resource. Thirdly, once conceptualizing a network model, the structural environment will provide the individuals with opportunities or restraints in their range of possible actions. Finally, the network theory understands a structure, which could have a social, economic, or political emphasis, as a pattern of lasting relations among actors. The social network analysis emphasizes on the individuals and their ties. The aim to understand the structures, whether they are social, political, or economic, and how these structure influence observable characteristics of a certain network, and how these characteristics relate to others.¹⁰³

The concept of social network analysis underlines the fact that every actor has social ties to other individuals, who in turn are tied to others, and so on. Hence, in the case of the thesis, the concept "social network" refers to a set of actors and the linkages

¹⁰² Niall Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power* (London: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2017). 16ff.

¹⁰³ Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*. 4f.

among them. Once the structure of the group has been described in a model, it is possible to make conclusions on the inner workings of the group and pinpoint the influence certain individuals exerted on the group. Furthermore, through researching the background of the members of a network, it is possible to conclude on the spread of ideas within the network. Network analysis is also a tool which can be applied to describe the process of change in a society, political institutions, or an economy. The structure of a group could be modeled at different dates to manifest a change in the group and further explain the influence of new individuals or to explain the diminishing power of a former member in the network. Overall, the social network theory emphasizes the importance of a structure, its impact, and its evolution¹⁰⁴.

Applications of Social Network Analysis in the social sciences

Social Network Analysis and theories have found a wide range of applications in the social sciences, reaching from sociology, to economics and political science. There are attempts of historical network analysis, however, there have been recorded difficulties with fragmented and incomplete data. The same is true for this thesis. Even though there is a wealth of data and information on Vienna, which is easily accessible, there are holes in the data. The archives are filled with data on marriages, tax census, real estate ownership documents, however, accessing the data and preparing it in a useful way would exceed the extend of this thesis. Hence, the thesis is intended to provide impetus for further network research on Vienna 1900. Furthermore, the thesis will provide an incomplete historical summary of Vienna 1900 and its networks but will aim to provide strong arguments and directions for future research. In the following lines the particular ways in which social network theory has provided answers to major questions and a variety of central concepts which will be used in the analysis of the thesis.

Social network analysis is commonly used to understand the organizational pattern among and with organizations. Primarily, this part of the analysis focused on communication, such as the members of an organization and their patterns and modes of communication. An interesting part of this field the research regarding mass mobilization and social protest, which had some fruitful results such as the study called

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 9ff.

“The Structure of Social Protest, 1961–1983” by Bearmann and Everett¹⁰⁵. Network analysis will shift away from focusing on the collective body of a mass movement and will instead emphasize the role of groups and organizations that take part in such movements. At this instance the internal structures of the groups and the relation to other groups will be examined. Furthermore, Social network analysis is also a tool which allows tracing relations outside of defined boundaries. An example are “invisible colleges”, which are groups of academics, who exchange information. However, the members of the group are not part of the same institution, but groups form across established universities¹⁰⁶. In this context the paper also makes the conclusion that the most cited author often holds a gate keeper function in the respective academic field which is an indicator on how knowledge is transferred within the academic community¹⁰⁷.

This directly leads to the second point, genealogy of knowledge. Network analysis is a tool which enables researchers to track the way ideas flow and how knowledge is socially constructed. While this application of the network analysis is popular among researchers to assess how knowledge flows through academic institutions nowadays, it has also found application in history. Sigrist and Widmer conducted a network analysis with the title “Training Links and Transmission of Knowledge in 18th Century Botany: A Social Network Analysis.”¹⁰⁸ Especially in the case of Vienna, where Psychotherapy and isotypes were developed such an analysis is intriguing. These studies have paved the road for many more studies concerning the formation of knowledge and communication.

Finally, the last application exploration of social capital. Commonly studies researching social capital focus on the opportunities actors gain through their connections to other individuals. These resources are information and aid or financial support. However, some other studies focus on the individual’s access to social

¹⁰⁵ Peter S. Bearman and Kevin D. Everett, “The Structure of Social Protest, 1961–1983,” *Social Networks* 15, no. 2 (June 1993): 171–200, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-8733\(93\)90004-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-8733(93)90004-5).

¹⁰⁶ Palonen Tuire and Lehtinen Erno, “Exploring Invisible Scientific Communities: Studying Networking Relations within an Educational Research Community. A Finnish Case,” *Higher Education* 42, no. 4 (December 1, 2001): 493–513, <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012242009758>.

¹⁰⁷ Eugenia Roldán Vera and Thomas Schupp, “Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences,” *Comparative Education* 42, no. 3 (August 2006): 405–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060600876723>. 410ff.

¹⁰⁸ René Sigrist and Eric Widmer, “Training Links and Transmission of Knowledge in 18th Century Botany: A Social Network Analysis,” *Revista Hispana Para El Análisis de Redes Sociales* 21, no. 1 (2011), https://doi.org/http://revista-redes.rediris.es/pdf-vol21/vol21_7e.pdf.

promotion. To determine whether an individual has access to the mentioned resources, three measures are available, centrality of each actor, the group solidarity, and the identification of autonomous actors. The field of social capital among the network analysis applications is valuable also from a historical perspective, since it enables researches to map alliances and kinship between communities. A much-cited example for this application is the network of the Medici, which enabled their rise to power and showed how power, social cohesion and influence are needed in the forming of historical communities¹⁰⁹. In Vienna, the relationship between Gustav Klimt and the Lederer family is a prime example of social capital. Through his connection to the family, Klimt was able to work tirelessly on his art, knowing he has nearly unconditional support from the family. In the wake of the university picture crisis in 1901, August Lederer bought the Philosophy painting and brokered the sale of the other two paintings to Koloman Moser. The sale of the pictures enabled Klimt to decline the commission he would have received from the state and to overlook the criticism he received.

Historical and theoretical foundations

Applying social network theory is a multidisciplinary undertaking. The concept which today constitutes the theory have their origins in social theory and application and influences are manifold, primarily from mathematics, statistics and computing methodology. The central concepts, such as network and structures were created through collaboration of specialists from different fields. The creators had a background in sociology, psychology, and even anthropology. Interestingly, many researchers from a variety of disciplines have discovered network theory for their respective field to approach previously unsolved problems or to gain a previously unavailable perspective. Arguably, network theory is used to improve our understanding of empirical data which struggles to fit theories. Networks are part of our lives and are grounded deeply within social phenomena and theoretical concepts. More importantly, the theory also provides a guideline on how to think about the social world. The methodology enables researchers to comment on social phenomena and processes in a concise and consistent way. Concepts are defined precisely, which

¹⁰⁹ Eugenia Roldán Vera and Thomas Schupp, "Network Analysis in Comparative Social Sciences," *Comparative Education* 42, no. 3 (August 2006): 405–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060600876723>. 412-414

consequently allows logical arguments about processes and mathematical statements concerning social concepts. Since it is not possible to construct an effective theory based on metaphors, the social network theory provides an interesting opportunity to research social phenomena such as *fin-de-siècle* Vienna¹¹⁰.

A multitude of theoretical concepts have been defined through network theory. Important examples are group, popularity, structural balance, role, status, and influence, to name a few. Within the notion of a group, researchers have researched the network theory concepts of a clique, interacting communities, social circles, and structures of affiliation. There is a wide range of what a group can be, therefore, the network concept to detail the properties a group has come in handy. Other concepts which were subject of intense research were the social role, and status. The idea that certain individuals in a group have the same linkages as another person in the same group led to the expression of the social role in a mathematical concept¹¹¹.

Fundamental concepts and Centrality and Prestige

The first fundamental concept is the individual actor. This seems intuitive, since the theory aims to understand linkages between social entities and to assess the impact these relations have. An actor is part of a group or a subgroup, a corporation, an authority, or on a grander scheme the nation state. By calling an individual an actor does not necessarily imply that this person is able to act. Additionally, most network applications focus on actors which are all the same, meaning that they for example all belong to the same group, in this thesis's case all the actors were active in Vienna, and part of a circle. Such a network is called a one-mode network. Other methods also allow to look at actors at different level of an organization and who differ in type as well¹¹².

The following concept regards the relations between the actors and concerns the relational tie. This feature establishes the connection between the actors. Since there are many different relations, it is important to define a set of different ties. The ties could depend on one person evaluating the through friendship or respect, or through the exchange of material resources, association or affiliation to a political club or a café circle, interaction in general, migration, social mobility, formal relations, or

¹¹⁰ Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*. 11f.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 14ff.

¹¹² Ibid., 12f.

kinship. Consequently, actors connected through ties form a Group. In this case the group will be a finite set of actors whose relations will be studied. It is important that it can be argued from an empirical and conceptual perspective that these actors belong together in a set. In many cases the research must be restricted to one group, for analytic reasons, however, a network could potentially include many groups of actors, but only one set of actors. Furthermore, the collection of relational ties among actors is called the relation. In the case of this thesis the relation could be the linkages between the *Secession* founders and their patrons. Ties only exist between the individual actors; however, the relation is encompassing the entirety of all the ties¹¹³. Finally, a social network is a “finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them. The presence of relational information is a critical and defining feature of a social network.”¹¹⁴ Overall, these terms provide a vocabulary which enables to discuss social networks in detail. Next it is important to define the applications of social network theory and what the findings will add to the understanding of the society of Vienna 1900.

One of the primary goals of network analysis is always to identify the most important actors of the network. There are different measures to do that and the two explained here are centrality and prestige. Prominent actors are those who are deeply involved in their group and are more visible than other members. Simply put, a central actor will be at the receiving and transmitting more information than others, because he has more ties. The connections to other actors could be directional or non-directional. By contrast to a directional relation, if one examines a non-directional connection, there is no distinction between receiving and transmitting information. The centrality measurement was used and fitted to sociological and economic ideas such as control over a resource or brokerage of information. In both concepts, the actor must be central to hold a bargaining position in his connection, meaning that the other actor is merely participating in the interaction. Overall, the actor with the strongest grip on control in a network and who is most active as a broker will most likely also be the most central¹¹⁵. Hermann Bahr and his position in the *Jung-Wien* circle, is an example for the measure of centrality. In 1893, Hermann Bahr took the position as

¹¹³ Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*. 20f.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 20.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 173f.

Feuilleton editor at the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and in his position as the leader of the circle and as an editor smoothened the way for publication opportunities for the members of the circle, such as Hugo von Hoffmansthal, Stefan Zweig, and Felix Salten.

Prestige is a similar measure to centrality, however, only applies to directional ties, meaning that the actor in question is the recipient of most ties. This measure is more refined than centrality but cannot always be measured. An increase of prestige is achieved if an actor attracts more ties but not necessarily initiates them. The only important ties in this case are ties which are directed at the actor in question. Prestige can only be quantified if the relations are directional, which implies that the measure does not always have an exclusively positive connotation. For Example, Karl Kraus, who ended many of his friendships and never hesitated to confront or provoke another person. The scorn of his opponents is certainly some sort of prestige, since we can assume that many actors had a one directional relation to Karl Kraus. Similarly, Karl Kraus regularly criticized Karl Wittgenstein for his capitalistic mindset and mocked Berta Zuckerkandl as the “midwife” of culture. Kraus further accused Zuckerkandl of propagating Jewish culture in Vienna in an attempt to achieve assimilation. Through their actions, the actors attracted attention, both negative and positive. Nevertheless, attacks and praise aimed at them is the basis for prestige. Different authors have different names for a similar concept, such as status, rank, and popularity, however, all these measures have the goal of conceptualizing the position one actor has in a delimited group. All the terms can be used synonymously to describe the same concept. Both, centrality, and prestige can be measured on the group level as well, with the aim to compare different networks¹¹⁶.

Furthermore, the concepts of social roles and positions are still widely debated among social scientists. Ralph Linton gave the most direct definitions of social roles in his 1936 book “The Study of Man”. Linton describes the position as a polar position in a pattern of relationships and therefore, one actor will have many positions since the actor will have many different relations. However, the term is also used to describe the total of positions one individual occupies in a society, meaning it represents the position of one actor in relation to the society. The position of Hermann Bahr in society is deduced from all the positions he held in a variety of circles and institutions, as a

¹¹⁶ Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*. 174f.

writer, journalist, critic, and so on. The role on the other hand means that an actor uses the duties and right a certain position incurs and is therefore, performing the role. The concepts of role and position are closely related¹¹⁷.

Whole network and egocentric networks

The differentiation between whole network analysis and egocentric network analysis is essential in the field of Social network analysis. The whole network approach attempts to grasp all the existing ties among actor in a set. By contrast, researcher pursuing the egocentric approach focus on the ties of one single actor.

In a whole network approach all the ties of relevance are included and analyzed. Modern business behaviorists often use this approach to graph the functioning of a corporation. Some researchers argue that the whole network approach is more powerful since it portrays a whole social system, while the egocentric view focuses on ties of a selected actor, and since most of the statistical aspects of network theory were designed for the whole network approach. In the case of Vienna, a whole network approach could be insightful if one researches the network of patrons and their connections in politics, art, and business. Density is only one measure out of many which could explain the system of patrons in Vienna. The reason whole network analyses are difficult to conduct in history is it excessive need for data¹¹⁸. For example, a study on the community in Middlesex County in Virginia of the 17th and 18th century was conducted by Darrett and Rutman.¹¹⁹ This extensive study used the biographical data of more than 12.000 individuals who lived in a 100-year period. The data included tax, church, and marriage records, the property records, a register of birth and data on social interactions such as buyers and sellers of property and guardians of minors. Arguably, this thesis will not be as extensive, and the author does not possess the resources and time to create a study with similar detail.

However, the egocentric network analysis offers an alternative, but still requires a significant amount of data. Instead of focusing on such a large amount of data, this analysis emphasizes the quality and nature of specific ties of one individual. For the argument of the thesis, the author will focus on the egocentric network analysis to

¹¹⁷ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Men*, First (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), <https://archive.org/details/studyofman031904mbp>. 113f.

¹¹⁸ Charles Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis," *International Review of Social History* 43, no. S6 (December 1998): 125–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000115123>. 127ff.

¹¹⁹ Darrett Bruce Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650 - 1750* (New York: Norton, 1984).

demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Viennese society. The personal networks which are the subject of research are titled *personal communities* in previous papers and books which used the egocentric approach. The research focused on the individuals ties with kin, friends, colleagues at work or in a circle and how these ties are used in quotidian life¹²⁰. There are five main aspects of a personal community. The first one is the size of a network. This point includes the quality of the ties, whether the contact is intimate or not and if the tie is strong or weak. Secondly, there is the question of the composition of a personal community, meaning that how many ties the individual has with kin, friends, and coworkers. Thirdly, the spatial dispersion of the network could be locally concentrated, or members of the network could be found around the globe. The interconnection among the members of a personal community is the fourth point. Often, the members are not interconnected but through the actor whose network is the subject of research. And finally, the last concept is support. The personal community fulfils a variety of functions and one of them is to provide the actor with specialized support he may need, such as financial, emotional, or creative support¹²¹.

Hermann Bahr as the broker, enjoyed a large network since his connections to the *Jung-Wien*, the *Secession*, the Zuckerkandls Salon, and to the idea of the *Volkshochschule*, demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Viennese society. On the one side, Bahr was the mentor and patron of young literary talent and fostered their relations with publishers and actively promoted the *Secession*, by writing articles about it and even reached out to with Wittgenstein, who would finance the construction of the building. On the other side, Bahr was a regular visitor in the Salon Zuckerkandl, where he would discuss the idea of national and adult education with Ernst Mach, the famous academic. The Zuckerkandl salon was one of the places where the social democratic ideas found fertile grounds and strengthened the idea of the *Volkshochschule*, to which the Christian Social Party reacted with the installation of

¹²⁰ Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis." 130ff.

¹²¹ See Barry Wellman, "The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers," *American Journal of Sociology* 84, no. 5 (March 1, 1979): 1201–31, <https://doi.org/10.1086/226906>.; Barry Wellman and Scot Wortley, "Brothers' Keepers: Situating Kinship Relations in Broader Networks of Social Support," *Sociological Perspectives* 32, no. 3 (September 1989): 273–306, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1389119>.; Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis."; Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–80.

the Urania¹²². All these aspects can be demonstrated by the personal community of one actor in the Viennese society.

Social Network Analysis and comparative research in the historiography
Comparative and Network analysis in history are defined by the concern for a causal analysis and underlines the importance of change over the examined period. The goal is to establish a system which can be applied to other epochs and contexts, to better understand the dynamics of the era. Most historical analyses, as will this thesis, focus on the social and political structures and their change over time. Arguably, a historic network analysis will present formerly existing network in a much-simplified form and achieves that by deducing the relationships from documents and biographies. In this thesis, as in other historical works, the network theory and its applications have been abstracted. In sociology and other disciplines, the social network theory is heavy on the theory itself, therefore, the thesis argues that if the theory in the background is plausible enough for the given subject of research the results can be powerful even though, the thesis did not apply the mathematical and statistical methods suggest by the theoretical papers. The thesis will there for use abstracted network analysis methods and will aim to provide a holistic picture of society and politics in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and show communalities with other clusters of networks that have existed in history and even today. Deriving implications from observable patters will help overcoming the issue many historians face, to understand and realistically depict the subjective experience of an actor in the past¹²³.

Historical network analysis has tended to research some sort of collective action. Underlining previous examples such as the Medici family, consequently the thesis demonstrates that researching Vienna's societal activities around 1900 fits the idea of collective action as well. While the inhabitants of Vienna which will be important to the story of the thesis, were not only partly linked through kinship, they were however, part of a unique and historic cultural, political, and business elite, which was cohesive and closely interlinked. The thesis will focus on the parts of society which were not

¹²² Christian Stifter, *Geistige Stadterweiterung: Eine Kurze Geschichte Der Wiener Volkshochschulen 1887-2005*, Enzyklopädie Des Wiener Wissens, Bd. 3 (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, Edition Seidengasse, 2005). 20f.

¹²³ Roger V. Gould, "Uses of Network Tools in Comparative Historical Research," in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 241–69, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803963.008>. 241ff.

aristocratic or the court, since they seem to have withdrawn themselves from the cultural patronage in the city. Arguably, they were influential, however, took a passive stance towards the Vienna circles and to a certain extent also towards the political parties. The thesis will be in line with previous studies that used the network methodology. However, the difference will be that many studies such as the study of Gerlach and Hine¹²⁴ and another by Gould¹²⁵ focused on protest movements and how they formed. This paper will examine a subtler form of protest, the cultural expression and artistic creation which stood in stark contrast with a restrictive government and a hierarchical bureaucracy. Previous studies findings emphasized the importance of relations in individual decisions and researched the diffusion of ideas and the mobilization for protest movements. Furthermore, overlapping networks, dense networks, and the creation of mass collective identity were linked through social network theory. As demonstrated, the application of the theory is vast and has great potential to broaden the historical understanding of specific social phenomena or the structure of society during especially turbulent periods of time¹²⁶.

Network and Hierarchies

In turbulent times, the counterpart of networks are hierarchies. Most people understand hierarchies as vertically structured organizations with a top-down command in which few people control most of actions. The best example for rigid hierarchies are the military and the bureaucracy within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Hierarchies are successful because power can be efficiently executed. The emperor, at the top of the hierarchy, comes to a decision, which consequently resolves all discussions concerning the direction of action. The problem of absolutism is evident as well. One cannot expect one individual to master all the challenges which arise during the reign as an emperor. Furthermore, few people can resist the siren's call of absolute power. Critiques of a hierarchy from a political and economic perspective comes easy and are manifold. First, political freedom and inclusive policies, appear to be a prerequisite for continuous economic growth. Secondly, as populations grow, and technology rapidly advances, democracies and freer societies tend to cope better with the added

¹²⁴ Luther Gerlach and Hine Virginia, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

¹²⁵ Roger V. Gould, "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871," *American Sociological Review* 56, no. 6 (December 1991): 716, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096251>.

¹²⁶ Gould, "Uses of Network Tools in Comparative Historical Research." 256ff.

complexity. Finally, networks as compared to hierarchies are not endangered by decapitation. The loss of the leading figure at the top of a hierarchical system can lead sharp decent and even to a collapse of the system. Arguably, the death of the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, on November 21, 1916, created anxiety and uncertainty regarding the future of the monarchy. In a network, another figure would occupy the vacant spot. In a historical context, hierarchies observably triumphed over networks, however, new networks have often challenged obsolete hierarchies and the impact of networks has increased through technological progress. Networks cannot exist without hierarchy and would descend into anarchy without them, but the argument of the thesis is that some historical changes and in the case of Vienna, a golden age of culture, are insurrections of networks against the existing hierarchical order¹²⁷.

¹²⁷ Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower*. p. 21ff.

Chapter III : *Fin-de-Siècle* Vienna and the Cultural Network

Karl Wittgenstein, a steel tycoon, was the main financier of the *Secession* building and saw it as an opportunity to mark his position in the Viennese society. Berta Zuckerkandl, a journalist, and the hostess of her famous salon, wrote favorable reviews for Klimt and the *Secession*, also invited artist and patrons to her salon. The businessman Fritz Waerndorfer would become the patron of the *Wiener Werkstätte*, the design laboratory founded by Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann. August Lederer was another supporter of the *Secession* and a patron for the arts. Behind the scenes, Hermann Bahr worked tirelessly to connect young artist to the wealthy Viennese patrons.

The families Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl and Lederer belonged to the “second society”. Through their wealth they were part of the bourgeoisie elite. The Wittgenstein family has Jewish roots, however the father of Karl Wittgenstein converted to Protestantism. The Zuckerkandls and the Lederers were confessional Jews. They were among the richest people of the country, and their wealth enabled them to integrate into the highest class of society. However, there were limits, since the “first society”, meaning royalty, aristocracy, nobility, lived secluded from the rest of society and did not allow moneyed aristocracy among them. Hence, the “second society” was the highest honor a member of the bourgeoisie could hope for.

Religion	Number	Convertites
Catholicism	392	108
Protestant (Lutheran)	165	71
Protestant (Helvetic confession)	16	8
Anglicanism	2	0
Jewish	333	2
Greek Orthodox	6	0
Without confession	15	15

Table 1: from Sandgruber¹²⁸ 2013, 156.

Among the rich bourgeoisie, the Jews were disproportionally represented with 36% of all the millionaires in Vienna. By comparison, only 42% of the millionaires were of

¹²⁸ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*. 156.

Catholic faith, even though, Catholics made up around 90% of the population of Cisleithania. Additionally, many of the Protestants and Catholics in Vienna were convertites, mostly from Jewish faith. Accounting for the former Jews as well, the Jewish portion of the millionaires in Vienna grows to approximately 58%, a clear majority. Subtracting the number of aristocrats from the total, the percentage of Jews and millionaires with Jewish ancestry grows to 64%¹²⁹.

If such a big part of the social group, which included most of the bourgeoisie patrons, was Jewish, this also had an impact on the modern culture of Vienna. As previously mentioned, the Jewish prevalence in the Gymnasias in Vienna was also disproportionally large, which leads to a similar conclusion. Additionally, the imperial and municipal civil service was closed for Jews in most cases through institutional anti-Semitism, however, there were some Jews working for the civil service. Most of their careers were in less prestigious services such as the Post Offices and the Railroad. Overall, approximately 3% of Jewish Grooms between 1870 and 1910 pursued a career in the civil service, which is more than one might expect, but is still a small number piling in comparison to the two-fifths of Jews who were merchants at the time of their marriage¹³⁰.

Occupation of Jewish Grooms 1870-1910	Number	%
Civil Servants	21	2.6%
Professionals	92	11.3%
Industrialists	28	3.5%
Merchants	331	40.8%
Business Employees	207	25.5%
Artisans	97	12.0%
Workers	35	4.3%

Table 2: from Rosenblit, 1983, 50

Overall, the crisis of being Jewish in Vienna 1900 coincides with the sharpening of the anti-Semitic propaganda and the blooming of Vienna's cultural life. Interestingly, the Wittgenstein and the Zuckerkandl families were poly-religious. Karl

¹²⁹ Beller, Steven, „Das jüdische Wien um 1900 am Beispiel Wittgenstein und Zuckerkandl“ *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl*. Fetz. 88.

¹³⁰ Marsha L. Rosenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity*, SUNY Series in Modern Jewish History (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1983). 50f.

Wittgenstein's Father converted to Protestantism, while some of his siblings did not. Karl Wittgenstein went on to marry a Catholic, Leopoldine Kalmus, however, she too had Jewish ancestry. Ludwig Wittgenstein was raised Catholic and his sister, Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein married Jerome Stonborough, originally Jerome Hermann Steinberger, from a German-Jewish family in a Protestant ceremony. Hermine Wittgenstein argued that the family Wittgenstein only realized their Jewishness once they promoted their own education and culture¹³¹.

Berta and Emil Zuckerkandl still had their Jewish confession, however, their son Fritz was baptized and raised Protestant. Fritz left the Protestant faith upon his marriage with Trude Stekel, because his wife was Jewish. He remained without a confession. The point is that even formerly Jewish families tend to marry into other Jewish families or formerly Jewish families. However, both families were outside of the norm. Zuckerkandl's father, Moriz Szeps came from Galicia and eventually became the counselor of Kronprinz -Rudolf. Even though he supported the German culture, he lobbied for a greater orientation towards France, which reflects in Berta Zuckerkandl's network. On the other side, both families were to an extent very Jewish, they focused heavily on education and emancipation. Berta Zuckerkandl heavily criticized anti-Semitism in her journalistic work, as did her father who went to prison for a month because of libel of Georg von Schönerer, an ardent German nationalist and Anti-Semite. Berta Zuckerkandl political position was clearly pro-French, liberal, promoting progress and modernity on a social and cultural level. The Wittgenstein family, especially Karl Wittgenstein were also supporters of the modern and provided financial backing to the *Secession* and contracted the *Wiener Werkstätte* for various projects. Similarly, Emil Zuckerkandl defended Klimt's university paintings which were stylized into a political affair by conservative media. Viktor Zuckerkandl, Emil's brother, contracted Josef Hoffmann's *Wiener Werkstätte*, to build the sanatorium in Purkersdorf. Karl Wittgenstein's brother, Paul, was equally a patron of the whole *Secession* movement¹³².

As a joke in the *Fackel* Issue from middle November 1900 demonstrates, the support of the *Secession* and later the *Wiener Werkstätte* was seen by many as a Jewish

¹³¹ Hermine Wittgenstein and Ilse Somavilla, *Familienerinnerungen*, 1. Auflage (Innsbruck: Haymon Verlag, 2015). 520.

¹³² Beller, Steven, „Das jüdische Wien um 1900 am Beispiel Wittgenstein und Zuckerkandl“ *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl*. Fetz. 88. 90 ff.

taste of art¹³³. Another similarity of both families is that they were targets of Karl Kraus. Kraus criticized Berta Zuckerkandl for her support of the wrong Modernism, while criticizing Karl Wittgenstein heavily as a corrupt businessman, together with Gutmann and Rothschild¹³⁴. However, Ludwig Wittgenstein would later admire Karl Kraus.

Karl Wittgenstein, the patron

Karl Wittgenstein was the youngest son of Fanny and Hermann Wittgenstein and had a special talent for music. In his youth he would collect music instruments rather than art. His parents collected art from the *Biedermeier* era and preferred historicist art such as Hans Makart. Karl was educated in Art by Rudolf von Alt, who was an influential figure in Karl's life, as they would remain friends until von Alts death in 1905. Upon his success as an industrial magnate in the 1870s and 1880s, Karl Wittgenstein sought after representative art for his *Palais* and his land holdings. He bought a Palais in the Alleegasse, today's Argentinierstraße, which he decorated with rather conservative, academic art by Josef Fux and Franz Schönthaler among others. Karl Wittgenstein demonstrated his closeness to the imperial family of Austria through his choice of the family's residences and emphasized his social prestige. However, Karl Wittgenstein, throughout his life declined the possibility of ennoblement, which a man of his standing deserved. By declining ennoblement Karl Wittgenstein demonstrated his dedication to the western democratic role models and his liberal mindset which he also expressed in a variety of newspaper articles¹³⁵. Additionally, he also distanced himself from ennobled industrialists who were treated contemptuously by the first society and stabilized his position in the second society¹³⁶. Karl Wittgenstein built a business network around himself and Georg Günther reported that Wittgenstein's friends became rich men without much of an effort¹³⁷. Together with his friends in the *Böhmische Montangesellschaft*¹³⁸ Wittgenstein staged a coup, which brought the *Alpine Montangesellschaft*¹³⁹ under his control. The latter company was the largest

¹³³ Kraus, Karl. "Preisräthsel". Die Fackel 59, 1900. Accessed April 28, 2018. http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/main_jq.html#. 28.

¹³⁴ Kraus, Karl. Die Fackel 31, 1900. Accessed April 28, 2018. http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/main_jq.html#. P.3

¹³⁵ Wittgenstein and Nyíri, *Politico-economic writings*.

¹³⁶ Ursula Prokop, *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein: Bauherrin, Intellektuelle, Mäzenin* (Wien: Böhlau, 2003). 24f.

¹³⁷ Georg Günther, *Lebenserinnerungen*, (Wien: self-publishing, 1936). 59.

¹³⁸ Bohemian Mining Company

¹³⁹ Alpine Mining Company

industrial company of the Empire at the time. Eleven of Wittgenstein's friends served as straw men in the coup among them were Isidor Weinberger, Karl von Wessely and the two Kupelwieser brothers. Additionally, Wittgenstein's network was not confined exclusively to business, since the businessmen owned mansions at the *Wolfgangsee* and in Brioni, where they met for vacations¹⁴⁰.

The Wittgenstein family hosted a salon themselves which grew to become a hotspot of the Viennese intellectual life. The focus lied on music, hence the likes of Johannes Brahms, Gustav Mahler, Pablo Casals, and Josef Labor were frequently guest in the house Wittgenstein. Most of the children of Karl Wittgenstein, himself a talented violinist, were playing multiple instruments, however, the father did not support his children in pursuing careers as musicians. Once Karl Wittgenstein withdrew himself from his business endeavors in 1898, his daughter Hermine became his counsel. Hermine was an inspired amateur painter and took lessons from Anton Nowak and Franz Hohenberger, both founding members of the *Secession*. Not only was Karl Wittgenstein at the center of the *Secession* patronage, he also played an important broker role for the Minister of Culture, Wilhelm von Hartel. For the minister, Karl Wittgenstein was the most important contact to the economically potent bourgeoisie. Von Hartel was acting upon the belief of Minister President Körber, who was in favor of the reform movement of the *Secession* and aimed at promoting the economic and cultural modernization. Körber saw the *Secession* as an opportunity to create a supranational Austrian statesmanship in the time when the Empire suffered from ongoing nationality conflicts. The interests of the government aligned with those of Karl Wittgenstein and other members of the wealthy bourgeoisie, even though for different motives. The patrons on Vienna were tired of orienting themselves towards the aristocratic role model and supported the new visual language of the *Wiener Moderne* as their emancipation. The reformist movements were a vehicle of self-representation in contrast to the conservative first society. The financial prowess of the second society, was, without a doubt, a fundamental economical pre-condition for the golden age of Viennese art¹⁴¹.

Only with the founding of the *Secession* the family Wittgenstein really entered the Olympus of patrons and witnessed an artistic and aesthetic shift of paradigm. While

¹⁴⁰ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*.

¹⁴¹ Prokop, *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein*.30 f.

Gustav Klimt became the first president of the *Secession*, the old family friend, Rudolf von Alt, became honorary president of the *Secession*. Together with Carl Reininghaus, Karl Wittgenstein provided fundamental financial support for the construction of the *Secession* building and other members of the Wittgenstein family, such as Paul, Louis, Hermine, Helene, and Margarethe supported the future exhibitions of the *Secession* through purchases of art works. Karl was fascinated by the art of Klimt and sculptures in general. He met Max Klinger, a German sculptor at the 1902 Beethoven Exhibition, and bought a statue of Beethoven from him. Additionally, he supported the young Croatian *Secession* member Ivan Mestrovic with contractual work. Mestrovic brokered the connection between Karl Wittgenstein and Auguste Rodin. Karl bought the plastic *L'homme que marche*, which he found in the Parisian atelier of Rodin. Wittgenstein ensured the support of lesser known artists of the *Secession* such as Victor Krämer, Alois Hänisch or Franz Hohenberger¹⁴².

The family took a similarly prominent position in the patronage of the *Wiener Werkstätte* (WW). The *Jugendstil* of Otto Wagner was soon represented in the Wittgenstein Palais and other estates. Through Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser, Karl Wittgenstein found to a new style, however, not only Karl had a taste for the WW-Design, as his brother Paul was the first to order the redesign of a country house and gave Hoffmann all creative freedom. After the Klimt-group turned their back to the *Secession*, which from then on was led by Josef Engelhart, the engagement of the Wittgenstein family with the *Secession* also faded. Some artists of the *Secession* were still welcome guests at the Wittgenstein Palais, however, after the death of Karl Wittgenstein 1913, the taste of his children underwent a caesura. For example, while Margarete Stonborough had her Berlin apartment decorated by Josef Hoffmann, in 1913 she had the Villa Toscana decorated by Rudolf Perco, a rather unknown student of Otto Wagner. Only Paul Wittgenstein continued to support the *Wiener Werkstätte* until his death in the 1920s¹⁴³. The change of taste shows on the one hand the shifting of aesthetic categories, away from aestheticism and that Hermine and Ludwig

¹⁴² Kamenicek, Elisabeth, „Die Wittgensteins als Sammler Bauherren und Mäzene“ in *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerandl*. Fetz. 124ff.

¹⁴³ Kamenicek, Elisabeth, „Die Wittgensteins als Sammler Bauherren und Mäzene“ in *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerandl*. Fetz. 130ff.

symbolically overcame the aesthetic of their overpowering father¹⁴⁴. However, until the 1920s and beyond the Wittgenstein family saw themselves as patrons and supporters of the arts, architecture, and music. However, Jerome Stonborough meanwhile preferred Paris over Vienna, since Paris became the artistic metropole of the 1920s, and considered the small Austria to be provincial. The Wittgenstein family's involvement in with the art scene concluded with the building of the city Palais for Margarete in 1928. The Palais was planned by Ludwig Wittgenstein and Paul Engelmann, a student of Adolf Loos.

The connections of the family Wittgenstein were far-reaching and were not secluded to the arts. The mother of Karl Wittgenstein, Fanny Wittgenstein, belonged to the Figdor family, a wealthy Jewish family and supported Karl's father by providing the financing and sale of his goods¹⁴⁵. Members of the Figdor family, which also came to wealth during the *Gründerzeit*, and were patrons of the sciences. Wilhelm Figdor was the cousin of the well-known banker Albert Figdor and was one of the founders of the *Biologischen Versuchsanstalt* (Biological research institute). Albert Figdor, who was a role model for Karl Wittgenstein as a patron and in 1891, suggested to donate his vast art collection to the museum of art history in Vienna. However, his offer was refused due to his confession. Karl Wittgenstein's patronage would remain tied to his mother and her family, since she used to host a salon in Vienna and introduced her son to the Viennese cultural world for the first time and encouraged his active engagement in the scene¹⁴⁶. The younger sister, Berta Wittgenstein, was married to Karl Kupelwieser, who was an industrialist and one of the close friends of Karl Wittgenstein¹⁴⁷. Karl Kupelwieser's brother Paul was the one who recognized Wittgenstein's talent early and promoted him in the steel industry. The greatest achievement of the two friends was the creation of an Austrian-Hungarian steel cartel in 1886.

In contrast to Karl Wittgenstein, Karl Kupelwieser invested heavily in the *Wiener Institut für Radiumforschung* (Institute for Radium Research), which was a leading research facility for radioactivity research in Europe at the time. Through his patronage

¹⁴⁴ Prokop, *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein*. 91.

¹⁴⁵ Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family At War*, 2013, https://nls.ldls.org.uk/welcome.html?ark:/81055/vdc_100034262879.0x000001. Chapter 4, Entrepreneur

¹⁴⁶ Shapira, *Style & Seduction*. 91f.

¹⁴⁷ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*. 46.

he supported a young group surrounding the charismatic teacher Franz S. Exner, who came from a dynasty of university professors who shaped the sciences in Vienna. Kupelwieser was involved in the development of the heavy steel industry together with Karl Wittgenstein, which made him a wealthy man. At the time of the discovery of radium in 1898, Austria had a quasi-monopoly on the mining of uranium ore, therefore, Kupelwieser must have been very interested in the scientific and economic applications of the new element. Already in the year 1905, Kupelwieser presented himself as a patron for the sciences, when he financed the construction of a biological station in Lunz am See. This station was one of the first environmental science research laboratories. As Karl Kupelwieser's vision of a radium research institute was threatened to disappear in the bureaucratic gears of the monarchy, he first intended to build in Germany, since the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften* (*Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science*) offered an innovative framework for the patronage of natural sciences. However, through a letter to the president of the *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*Austrian Academy of Sciences*), Karl Kupelwieser sarcastically mentions the bureaucratic nightmare and finally achieves the founding of the radium research institute¹⁴⁸. In the letter, Karl Kupelwieser also laments the passive position of Austria regarding process. He criticizes the attitude of the state and the ponderousness of political representatives to make decisions. Additionally, he mentions, that "the others", referring to the Western European industrialized nations, are making rapid progress, while Austria was threatened to fall behind her rivals. For all these reasons he concludes that he must expend his private funds to fulfill his social obligation a wealthy Austrian industrialist and patron¹⁴⁹.

In the end, Karl Kupelwieser's generous donation of 500.000 Kronen enabled the institution building to be constructed within two years. On the October 28, 1910, the first institute dedicated to the research of radioactivity was opened thanks to the patronage of Karl Kupelwieser.

¹⁴⁸ Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Akte Kupelwieser. Abschrift Zl. 713 ex 1908 in Wolfgang L. Reiter, „Mäzenatentum, Naturwissenschaft und Politik im Habsburgerreich und in der Ersten Republik Österreich“, ÖZG 25/2014/3, 212-247. 224.

¹⁴⁹ Reiter, „Mäzenatentum, Naturwissenschaft und Politik im Habsburgerreich und in der Ersten Republik Österreich.“ 223f.

The Lieben family serves as a connecting link between the networks of Karl Wittgenstein and Berta Zuckermandl. While members of the Lieben family were patrons of the sciences similar to the Kupelwieser family, Zuckermandl rented a room in the Lieben Palais after the death of her husband.

The Lieben foundation within the Imperial Academy of the Sciences was established 1847, against the resistance of the neo-absolutist government under Metternich. The foundation could be understood as the one of the first signs of the strengthening of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, the influence of the foundation was still limited. Only when state sector did not increase the funding of the sciences proportional to the accumulated wealth over the next four decades after the establishment of the foundation, the private funding gained importance. The German Chemist Wilhelm Ostwald noticed during a visit in Vienna in 1887 that the newly constructed university building demonstrated exaggerated luxury, which was not reflected in the funding of the physics and chemistry institute¹⁵⁰. In *Denkschrift über die gegenwärtige Lage der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien*, which was directed at the imperial ministry of education, a group of academics outlined the problems of the natural science faculties in Austria. They argued that the Austrian natural sciences would never be able to compete with the German counterpart, since the Austrian government preferred small short-term changes, and did not pursue a long-term strategy to compensate years of neglect. Furthermore, the public funds would only be made available if the public interest in the natural sciences would increase¹⁵¹. Political reasons are not explicitly mentioned in the *Denkschrift*, however, the text talks about “relevant circles”, which means the aristocracy, church, and the state, which have to gain respect for the natural sciences. At the end of the liberal era in the 1890s the liberals were not anymore part of the reigning political powers, therefore, a state corrective, led by a bourgeoisie-democratic collective did not happen. Clearly the lack of state funds for patronage of the natural sciences was not due to lack of wealth but rather due to the absence of political will. The achievements of the

¹⁵⁰Engelbert Broda and Paul Broda, *Wissenschaft, Verantwortung, Frieden: Ausgewählte Schriften* (Wien: Deuticke, 1985). 172.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 171

Austrian Sciences in the early 20th century and beyond have therefore be accredited to the network of patrons such as the family Kupelwieser and Lieben¹⁵².

On the 60th government anniversary of the Emperor Francis Joseph in 1908, the family Lieben founded the Richard-Lieben price, which would be awarded to young aspiring scientists full of potential. The price was donated as a sign of loyalty of the liberal bourgeoisie toward the monarchy and the Habsburg family. Fritz Lieben would write in his diary that his family's patriotism was always firmly rooted in the continuous existence of the Empire. It was not the first price the Lieben family founded. The Ignaz-Lieben price is especially notable and was awarded to chemists, physiologists, and physicists since 1865. In 1901, the Adolf Lieben, a chemist, and son of the industrialist Ignaz Lieben ensured that the Ignaz-Lieben price, which would become known as the Austrian Nobel price, would be awarded every year. Only the elite of the Austrian scientists received the price. The institution lasted until 1938, the seizure of power of the Nazis in Austria¹⁵³.

Even though the Lieben family maintained the most valuable price in the natural sciences in Austria, Adolf Lieben (1836-1914) was barred from becoming a chemistry professor until 1871 due to his Jewish background. Upon his arrival in the professor position in Prague in 1871, Adolf Lieben thought alongside Ernst Mach, the famous physicist and philosopher, who was a frequent guest at the Salon Zuckermandl. Adolf Lieben accepted a position as the head of the Chemistry department at the University of Vienna in 1875 and would eventually gain a permanent seat in the house of lords of the Austrian parliament, which he held until his death in 1914. In the house of lords, Adolf Lieben reportedly was a fervent supporter of the liberal party, to which his brothers in law Josef Unger and Baron Josef Schey, and Julius and Theodor Gomperz belonged as well.

In 1907, Adolf Lieben celebrates his 70th birthday and asked for donations for a newly founded foundation. The interest on the foundation should benefit young chemists. More than 10.000 Kronen are donated, the largest part from Max Gutmann, a member of another wealthy family of the Viennese Bourgeoisie. At a similar time,

¹⁵² Reiter, „Mäzenatentum, Naturwissenschaft und Politik im Habsburgerreich und in der Ersten Republik Österreich.“ 217ff.

¹⁵³ Marie-Theres Arnbom, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch: Fünf Familienporträts aus Wien vor 1938*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.7767/9783205128380>. 178f.

the couple Adolf Lieben and his wife Mathilde, born Schey, moved to a new apartment in the Palais Lieben, to which Berta Zuckermandl moved only 8 years later¹⁵⁴. The new apartment offered room to host a salon as well. The friends and acquaintances of Adolf Lieben were manifold and naturally include many scientists such as Ludwig Boltzmann, Physiologist Sigmund Exner, and many members of the Gomperz family, some political leaders, and artists. Among the frequent guests was Wilhelm Figdor, a relative of Karl Wittgenstein and a patron of the sciences. The guest book of the salon Lieben reveals the extensive contacts Adolf Lieben maintained to scholars around the world¹⁵⁵. The salon also raised funds for charity. Most of it went to student association of any confession and the Israelite institute for the deaf and dumb¹⁵⁶.

Another family tied to the network of the patron Karl Wittgenstein was the family of August Lederer. The Jewish industrial family owned the largest Klimt collection in Vienna and like Wittgenstein, supported the *Secession*. Only the expense of enormous financial resources and partisanship allowed the family to build the collection. Serena Lederer, the wife of August, initiated the first purchase of a miniature painting of Klimt in 1888. Serena came from the wealthy Pulitzer family and is related to the famous journalist Josef Pulitzer, whose Pulitzer-price is awarded yearly by the Columbia University. August Lederer, a wealthy industrialist, married Serena in 1892. Like most Klimt-collectors, August Lederer is characterized by meteoric rise to wealth. He would be described as the second wealthiest man after the Rothschild. The family's home was in the Bartensteingasse 8, behind the city hall, close to the university and only a short walk away from Klimt's atelier. The proximity might be a coincidence but encouraged contact. The three children of the family were also involved in the relation with Klimt and one son, Erich Lederer, reported that Klimt joined the family for a meal on Thursdays. Klimt also educated Serena in painting over years¹⁵⁷.

The painting of Serena Lederer, which shows her in a white dress, was painted by Klimt in 1899. This painting marks the starting point for an extensive Klimt collection. Especially interesting is that the family Lederer bought two out of three of Klimt's

¹⁵⁴ Arnbohm, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch*. 200f.

¹⁵⁵ Isabella Stadler and Werner Soukup, "Das Gästebuch Der Familie Lieben Als Dokument Der Kontakte Dieser Wissenschaftlerfamilie Zu in- Und Ausländischen Gelehrten Vor Und Nach Der Ersten Weltkrieg," *Mensch – Wissenschaft – Magie. Mitteilungen Der Österreichischen Gesellschaft Für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 26 (n.d.): 161–80.

¹⁵⁶ Arnbohm, *Friedmann, Gutmann, Lieben, Mandl und Strakosch*. 200ff.

¹⁵⁷ Natter et al., *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele Und Kokoschka*. 116ff.

faculty paintings. In 1894, Gustav Klimt was contracted by the ministry of culture to paint three pictures, for the law, philosophy, and medicine faculty. After the presentation of the first picture in 1900, generated a public discourse, which lasted years and drained Klimt until he eventually from the commission of the university paintings and decline any governmental support. At that time the main protagonists of the thesis, such as Berta Zuckerkandl, Hermann Bahr, Fritz Waerndorfer, and the Lederer family rallied behind Klimt and defended him and his work publicly. Emil Zuckerkandl even signed a petition with 11 other faculty members in support of Klimt, however the opposing petition achieved 87 signatures¹⁵⁸. August Lederer went even further as he covered Klimt's expenses and bought the philosophy painting. The other two paintings were acquired by Koloman Moser. In 1918, after the death of Moser, Lederer bought the law painting and brokered the sale of the medicine painting to the *Österreichische Galerie*¹⁵⁹. After the purchase of the philosophy painting Josef Hoffmann was tasked to redesign the apartment of the Lederer family, to fit the new painting in the living room¹⁶⁰.

Overall, Klimt painted three portraits of Serena Lederer, and she recommended Klimt to her sister to for a painting of her recently deceased niece. During World War I. the Lederer family expanded their Klimt collection rapidly, mostly due to the instability of the financial system and the flight into material assets. A letter of Klimt to Serena Lederer, that was only published in 2003, shows that even Klimt went through financial hardship during the war and asked Serena Lederer for an advance payment of his commission. August Lederer managed to buy the *Beethovenfries* in 1915 and receives more than one hundred study drawing from Klimt. Even after Klimt's death, the Lederer family's interest in the art of Klimt does not diminish. Additionally, Erich Lederer and Egon Schiele were close friends, and similar to Klimt, Schiele was a family friend of the Lederer family. He drew many portraits of the son Erich Lederer, but also of August and Serena Lederer. Even as late as 1928, Serena Lederer is said to have bought the Schubert-painting from Klimt, which previously had been in the possession of Baron Dumba¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁸ Mayer, Monika. „Nicht nur Klimt“ in *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl*. Fetz. 257.

¹⁵⁹ Austrian Gallery. Today the collection is in the Belvedere Palace in Vienna, however, the three original university paintings have been destroyed in a fire.

¹⁶⁰ Natter et al., *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele Und Kokoschka*. 120ff.

¹⁶¹ Fritz Novotny, *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie*, 1st ed., vol. 7 (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1963). 90.

Due to his success as an industrialist, August Lederer was also criticized by the public, most notably, by Karl Kraus¹⁶². Karl Kraus' text shows that Lederer prototypically stood for the *Secession* aesthetic which in turn stood for the hated economic liberalism and scorned capitalism. Kraus critique is typical, as he continuously attacked the *Secession* and the patronage of the bourgeoisie which were inseparably connected. However, interpreting the Kraus' texts, the attacks seem to be aimed at the patrons rather than the artists. After 1918, August Lederer continued to be crosshairs of criticism and is accused of speculation. Explosive devices are affixed at his door two times, only the second exploded and injured August Lederer lightly. Karl Wittgenstein suffers through the same kind of criticism. The Lederer family dispersed throughout the world after the *Anschluss*¹⁶³.

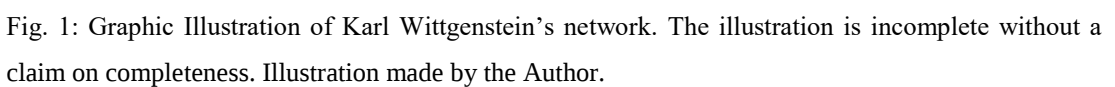
From the network visualization, it is possible to observe that Karl Wittgenstein's network had six distinct parts. Most prominently his family network, which is depicted in green. Karl Wittgenstein had ten siblings, who to an extent lived a separated life and only met for occasions. However, through the marriages of his sister Bertha, he came in touch with the Kupelwieser family, which would enable his career. Additionally, the Figdor family is also part of the family through Karl Wittgenstein's mother. Furthermore, Karl Wittgenstein had nine children, however one daughter did not survive her childhood and three of his five sons committed suicide. The remaining children were influential, and Hermine Wittgenstein strengthened his interest in the *Secession*. In turquoise, we see that Ludwig Wittgenstein built his own small cultural network including Adolf Loos, Paul Engelmann, and Karl Kraus. This part of the network stood in contrast with the part which is depicted in brown, since Loos and Kraus were always critical of the *Secession* movement. The main protagonists in the brown part of the network are Berta Zuckermandl and Gustav Klimt and consequently most of the artists and individuals who partook in the *Secession* movement. Within the brown part of the network, the founding members of the *Wiener Werkstätte* also obtain a prominent position. The blue part depicts a small part of Karl Wittgenstein's business network and focuses on the businessmen which enabled him to build the steel cartel in 1886. The red part of the network depicts Karl Wittgenstein's children and some of his

¹⁶² Kraus, Karl. "Preisrättsel". *Die Fackel* 59, 1900. Accessed April 28, 2018. http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/main_jq.html#. 19.

¹⁶³ Natter et al., *Die Welt von Klimt, Schiele Und Kokoschka*. 120ff.

friends which were not members of any Viennese circle, such as Andrew Carnegie. Overall, the network shows that Karl Wittgenstein maintained contacts in business, sciences, and the arts. Notably, he had relations to other influential patrons such as Karl Kupelwieser and Fritz Wärndorfer. Without a doubt, the network is saturated with influential people, however, the author of the thesis was not able to find any true connections to the first society. Even though the network is vast, it certainly was restrained, due to the strict hierarchy of the Austrian society. Even though the second society seemed more open towards more radical artistic movements, the hierarchy between the patrons and the clients was clearly defined. However, the favorite artists of the patron families, eventually became part of the extended family.

Throughout *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, the patrons maintain a close relationship to their clients. The link between the patrons and their clients is based on reciprocal exchange, as can be demonstrated through Karl Wittgenstein's support of the young artist Mestrovic and the return of the loyalty through the brokering of the connection to Rodin. Furthermore, the Lederer family offered more than just financial support to Klimt as some letters to Serena Lederer show. In the letters Klimt opens up about his emotional hardship and asks for the family's support. The patrons control resources to protect and assist their clients. Their control over resources indicates a difference in power. The most meaningful connections of Karl Wittgenstein were his family and business partners. He maintained close connections to people of equal wealth and reputation, which indicates that the patronage relationship is unequal, always involving a social superior and one social inferior. Even though the Viennese patrons controlled immense resources, their real power was limited to their businesses. Eventually, the patron aimed to achieve more prestige and better social visibility, which is the reason they chose to support the radical movements. Karl Wittgenstein came from a conservative family but supported new and radical artistic movements later in his life. However, after his death, his sons and daughters did not continue to pursue his patronage but decided to work for their own interests. Karl Wittgenstein consciously created a persona which incited heated public discussions, provoked scandals and did not fear to risk his reputation to loyally support their clients. Clearly Karl Wittgenstein used his network to achieve a lead over the conservative patrons of the first society in terms of social visibility.



His connections to the Figdor, Kupelwieser, Lieben, and Lederer families were valuable for his business and art interest and demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Viennese elite. Karl Wittgenstein had contacts in central positions in the industry, business, and even in the bureaucracy. Many of the connections were immediate family such as the Figdor family. The family Wittgenstein was immensely rich, culturally influential, and well interconnected as demonstrated above. However, politically, the family never achieved great power. At this point, it is necessary to mention that the strong and international family ties also existed within the nobility. However, the bourgeoisie understood to use their networks for the business. The cultural network, the social capital of the bourgeoisie, and their enthusiasm for education, increased their financial prowess. In order to build such a vast network, individuals need a platform where they can meet people. Salons often provided such a platform and the salon of Berta Zuckerkandl became an informal cultural institution in Vienna.

Berta Zuckerkandl, The Networker

The salon culture was introduced in Austria in the late eighteenth century. The salons, which gained popularity in Vienna and became famous through literature, were a cultural import from Berlin. Before that, salons were casual meetings of the aristocracy and were merely social but not cultural events. Only through the introduction of the atmosphere cultivated by the Jewish hostesses of Berlin¹⁶⁴ the salon found its way into Viennese society. Largely the salon culture in Vienna was of Jewish origin and remained in Jewish hands.¹⁶⁵

The salon adapted to Viennese society during the times of tension between the ambitious bourgeois and the aristocracy, which previously held the monopoly on salons. Thereafter the salon became an institution which mediated between academia, the arts, and business interests. A salon is defined as a form of conviviality and communication, which takes place on the initiative of a woman and take place in the rooms of a woman. Men and women, belonging to different professions, social classes, and confessions meet. People meet for entertainment, mostly for music and other arts.

¹⁶⁴ Such as Rahel Varnhagen and Henriette Herz among others

¹⁶⁵ Beller and Pitner, *Wien und die Juden*. 97f.

The mixing of different social classes, arts, and political preferences can be regarded as one of the specific features of the salon culture¹⁶⁶.

The largest soirée Berta Zuckerkandl recalled in her autobiography demonstrates the idea of the salon. The company of her father, a publicist for the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt*, successfully flouted the new censorship regulations of the government von Taaffe and has avoided bankruptcy. Berta Zuckerkandl writes that “it was a triumphant evening; whose political significance showed its demonstrative character. The liberal Vienna, many aristocratic opponents clustered into the salon.”¹⁶⁷

Berta Zuckerkandl’s father, Moriz Szeps, immigrated to Vienna at the age of 20 in 1854. Upon giving up his studies in medicine, he focused on journalism. In 1870, Szeps is for the first time listed as an editor of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. In the 1870s, his career took a strong upwards turn. As a secular person, he strongly supported the liberal politics and endorsed Austria’s rapprochement towards France. His opinions were reflected in his journalistic work and incurred the interest of the crown-prince Rudolf. Szeps and Rudolf became acquainted in 1881 and their friendship lasted until Rudolf’s suicide in 1889. As Berta saw herself as the daughter of her father, of whom she was very proud, she became his successor as journalist, and as a politically active *Bürger*. The household Szeps was open for journalists, musicians, actors of the time, to make contacts and to socialize. Berta Zuckerkandl’s salon certainly was influenced by her experiences as a child, as the cultural and intellectual elite of the city always surrounded her. Famous guests included Johann Strauss, who lived close by and there are also reports of occasional visits of the later mayor Karl Lueger, who visited even though Moriz Szeps was known for opposing political views. Lueger also congratulated Szeps on the engagement of his daughter, Berta¹⁶⁸.

In 1883, Berta Szeps met Emil Zuckerkandl, who was a regular guest at her parent’s salon. The couple married only three years later in Berta’s parent’s house. Congratulations were numerous, among the most notable were Ludwig Hevesi, later a friend of the *Secession*, Sofie and Anton Löw, owners of a sanatorium, and George

¹⁶⁶ Hannah Lund, *Der Berliner “jüdische Salon” um 1800: Emanzipation in Der Debatte*, Europäische-Jüdische Studien Beiträge, Bd. 1 (Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012). 59.

¹⁶⁷ Berta Zuckerkandl, *Ich Erlebte Fünfzig Jahre Weltgeschichte*, 1st ed. (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1939). 68.

¹⁶⁸ Robert S Wistrich, Marie-Therese Pitner, and Susanne Grabmayr, *Die Juden Wiens im Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs*. (Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4402372>. 194.

Clemencau. Moriz Szeps previously provided a connection between George Clemencau and the crown-prince of Austria¹⁶⁹. Berta Zuckerkandl's sister, Sophie, later married Paul Clemenceau, Georges brother. It was Sophie who introduced Maurice Ravel, Gustav Mahler, and Auguste Rodin to her sister. Additionally, she always welcomed Austrian artists who visited Paris.

In 1888, Berta and Emil Zuckerkandl moved into an apartment in the Günthergasse 1, right behind the *Votivkirche* in Vienna. The apartment block belonged to an industrialist family Hellmann and housed the family Zuckerkandl and Löw. Anton Löw had opened a private hospital in 1882 and was a friend of Henri Dunant and co-founded the Austrian Red Cross. Löw dedicated himself to public health issues and financially supported organizations to treat tuberculosis¹⁷⁰. His hospital would become the most modern of Austria and house the first x-ray apparatus of the Empire in 1899. Patients came from all around the world and even some members of the royal family were treated in the *Sanatorium Löw*. Importantly, the family Löw were also patrons of the arts and according to media reports owned a true museum¹⁷¹. The painter Carl Moll was a common friend of the Löws and the family Zuckerkandls and he was a frequent guest in the Günthergasse. Once Moll became an owner of *Galerie Miethke*, an art dealing shop, through which he and Berta Zuckerkandl started the PR-machine for the *Wiener Moderne*. The family Hellmann, wealthy through the textile trade, equally were supporters of the arts and Lili Hellmann, a daughter of the family eventually married Fritz Waerndorfer, the first patron of the *Wiener Werkstätte*.

Other visitors in the house Hellmann were Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Richard Strauss. Gustav Klimt was a frequent guest as well and his art works were collected by the Löw, Hellmann, and Zuckerkandl family¹⁷². The editorial office of *die Zeit*, a weekly newspaper, founded by Hermann Bahr in 1894, was in the same building in Güntherstraße 1. Hermann Bahr is also known to have been a visitor at Berta Zuckerkandl's salons. Among the writers and supporters of the newspaper, Max Burckhard, the director of the *Burgtheater*, was one of the most important, since he

¹⁶⁹ Franz Eder and Ruth Pleyer, "Berta Zuckerkandls Salons – Adressen und Gäste" in, *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne*, Bernhard Fetz, ed. Profile 25 (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018). 212 ff.

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Armin Cziner, "Dr. Anton Loew," *Neue Freie Presse*, September 15, 1907. 13f.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14

¹⁷² Franz Eder and Ruth Pleyer, "Berta Zuckerkandls Salons – Adressen und Gäste" in, *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne*, Bernhard Fetz, ed. Profile 25 (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018). 212 ff.

opened the theater for contemporary literature. The newspaper's offices were moved in 1902, to an office space at the Kärntner Straße, in the center of the city. The new office was designed and furnished by Otto Wagner. Among the well-known employees, Felix Salten, Theodor Herzl, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal strike out as the best known¹⁷³. The Güntergasse 1 was a center of the cultural movements in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Berta Zuckerkandl provided a platform for artist and patrons to meet while Hermann Bahr through his newspaper, and Carl Moll through his gallery, promoted the artistic achievements. The families Hellmann and Löw provided the necessary funds for the artists and purchased their works. In a sense, the house in Güntherstraße 1 represents the birth place of the Wiener Moderne and demonstrates the closeness of the second society at the time.

Meanwhile, Berta Zuckerkandl's father Moriz Szeps, was hit hard by the censorship of his newspaper. The government disagreed with the views expressed in the journal and eventually instructed a ban on all sales at tobacco shops of the paper in 1883. Due to financial difficulties, Szeps was forced to move and sell the family's house he built in 1870s. The family moved to the Alserbachstraße, where the couple Berta and Emil Zuckerkandl joined them eventually. After 1896, the most notable guests of Berta Zuckerkandl's salon in the Alserbachstraße, were Carl Moll, Hermann Bahr, and stage designer Alfred Roller. During this time, Joseph Maria Olbrich made a name for himself in the salon and its members. Two years later Olbrich was chosen to build the *Secession* building. All the mentioned salon visitors would become founding members of the institution. Olbrich also built Hermann Bahr's house in *Ober St. Veit*. Ludwig Hevesi, himself an ardent supporter of the *Secession* wrote in 1907, that the idea for the founding was first formulated in Berta Zuckerkandl's salon¹⁷⁴. In her autobiography, Berta Zuckerkandl also mentions that a group of young artists approached her and asked her to make them a contact to Auguste Rodin, knowing that Rodin portrayed Zuckerkandl in 1894. In 1902, upon a visit of Auguste Rodin to Vienna, Zuckerkandl introduced Klimt, Moll, the minister of education, Wilhelm von Hartel and others to Rodin¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷³ Shapira, *Style & Seduction*. 72f.

¹⁷⁴ Berta Zuckerkandl, *Zeitkunst in Wien 1901-1907*, 1st ed. (Wien; Leipzig: Hugo Heller, 1908). IX.

¹⁷⁵ Zuckerkandl and Federmann, *Österreich intim*. 56f.

Another impactful connection was made between Gustav Mahler and his future wife Alma Mahler, who met in November 1901 in one of Berta Zuckerkandl's salons. Zuckerkandl writes in her memoirs that her husband Emil arranged the meeting after consultation with Alma Mahler's mother, Anna Moll¹⁷⁶. According to Alma Mahler's diary, Sophie Clemenceau, Max Burckhard, Viktor Spitzer, Gustav Klimt, Carl Moll, and Gustav Mahler with his sister Justine, were present at the night Alma met Gustav Mahler. Alma Mahler would go on to build her own network around herself with a salon hosting guests like Alban Berg, Franz Werfel, Maurice Ravel, and Arnold Schönberg among others. As Berta Zuckerkandl supported the *Secession* through her publications and articles, she became an easy target for Karl Kraus and his mockery. He criticized her engagement as a publicist of the *Secession* movement and trivialized the importance of the salons and their meaning abroad¹⁷⁷.

After Emil Zuckerkandl's death in 1910, Berta Zuckerkandl, forced to look elsewhere for an occupation, eventually approached Arthur Schnitzler in 1911 to offer her services for translating and marketing his works for the French market. Since Schnitzler used to be a student of Berta's husband they were already familiar, and a friendship developed which lasted until Arthur Schnitzler's death in 1931. In 1916, Berta Zuckerkandl moved to the Palais Lieben-Auspitz, owned by the wealthy Jewish banker family, incidentally patrons of the sciences, especially chemistry. Berta and her Husband have been guest at the family's salon before, however the preferred taste for art divided them as the Lieben palais was decorated in the conservative style of Makart, and not the extravagant *Secession* style. In the new apartment, Zuckerkandl continued to host a salon every Sunday and the guests were known personalities such as Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Hermann Bahr, Richard Beer Hofmann, Felix Salten, Max Reinhardt, Alma Mahler, Franz Werfel, and the French writer Paul G  raldy. However, her salon took an abrupt end in March 1938, and Berta Zuckerkandl left Vienna days after the *Anschluss* and would never see her home town again¹⁷⁸.

Berta Zuckerkandl's network shows five different sections. The largest part is depicted in green and her father and his connections to *Kronprinz* Rudolf, which is the

¹⁷⁶Zuckerkandl and Federmann, *  sterreich intim*. 38.

¹⁷⁷ Kraus, Karl. "Preisr  thsel". *Die Fackel* 43, 1900. Accessed May 1, 2018. 26 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Franz Eder and Ruth Pleyer, "Berta Zuckerkandls Salons – Adressen und G  ste" in, *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne*, Bernhard Fetz, ed. Profile 25 (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018). 224 ff.

only connection to the first society. Additionally, since Berta's sister married Paul Clemenceau, the Zuckerkandl family observably had strong ties to France and even the later Prime Minister of France George Clemenceau. The red part of the network indicates Berta Zuckerkandl's connections to the *Secession* movement and the *Wiener Werkstätte*, since the three main protagonists of both movements are depicted in the network. The blue and orange parts show members of her family by marriage. The Zuckerkandl family was highly influential on the field of medicine since Emil, Otto, and Viktor Zuckerkandl were physicians and Viktor founded the sanatorium Purkersdorf. Finally, the purple part of the network depicts Berta Zuckerkandl's close friends and regulars at her salon. The best-known members are Hermann Bahr, Stefan Zweig, and Otto Wagner. In comparison to Karl Wittgenstein, Berta Zuckerkandl did not use her network for her own financial advantage. Neither did she seek for higher social visibility. It appears that her salon served as an institution which should bring people together and create synergies for the artists and patrons. Berta Zuckerkandl was the hostess of what would be called a networking-event today.

The salon Zuckerkandl stood in the center of the Viennese society at the turn of the century since the guests from the artistic as well as academic sphere of Viennese society were regulars. Berta Zuckerkandl, as the daughter of an important publicist and wife of the famous anatomist Emil Zuckerkandl, in her profession as a journalist and writer dealt with topics regarding culture and society. Arguably, the occupation of her father heavily influenced her. In her position as a journalist and critical thinker, she worked as an intelligent nerve center of a network of intellectual elites. As a supporter of the modern, Zuckerkandl fostered discussion and an exchange of ideas. Next to Hermann Bahr, Zuckerkandl was the primary supporter of the *Secession* among the journalists, and, therefore, indirectly stands for the constant progress and a modern society which was developing at the time¹⁷⁹.

Even though the salons commonly only served for entertainment purposes, Zuckerkandl's salon was special since it also served a political idea, *Volksbildung*, national and adult education. *Volksbildung* ties into the ideas of Viktor Adler, as a

¹⁷⁹ Markus Oppenauer, *Der Salon Zuckerkandl im Kontext von Wissenschaft, Politik und Öffentlichkeit: populärwissenschaftliche Aspekte der Wiener Salonkultur um 1900*, Enzyklopädie des Wiener Wissens, Bd. 15 (Weitra: Verl. Bibliothek der Provinz, 2012). 30ff.

politician, and the goals of the academics Otto Neurath and Ernst Mach, as the latter was a frequent visitor of the salon.

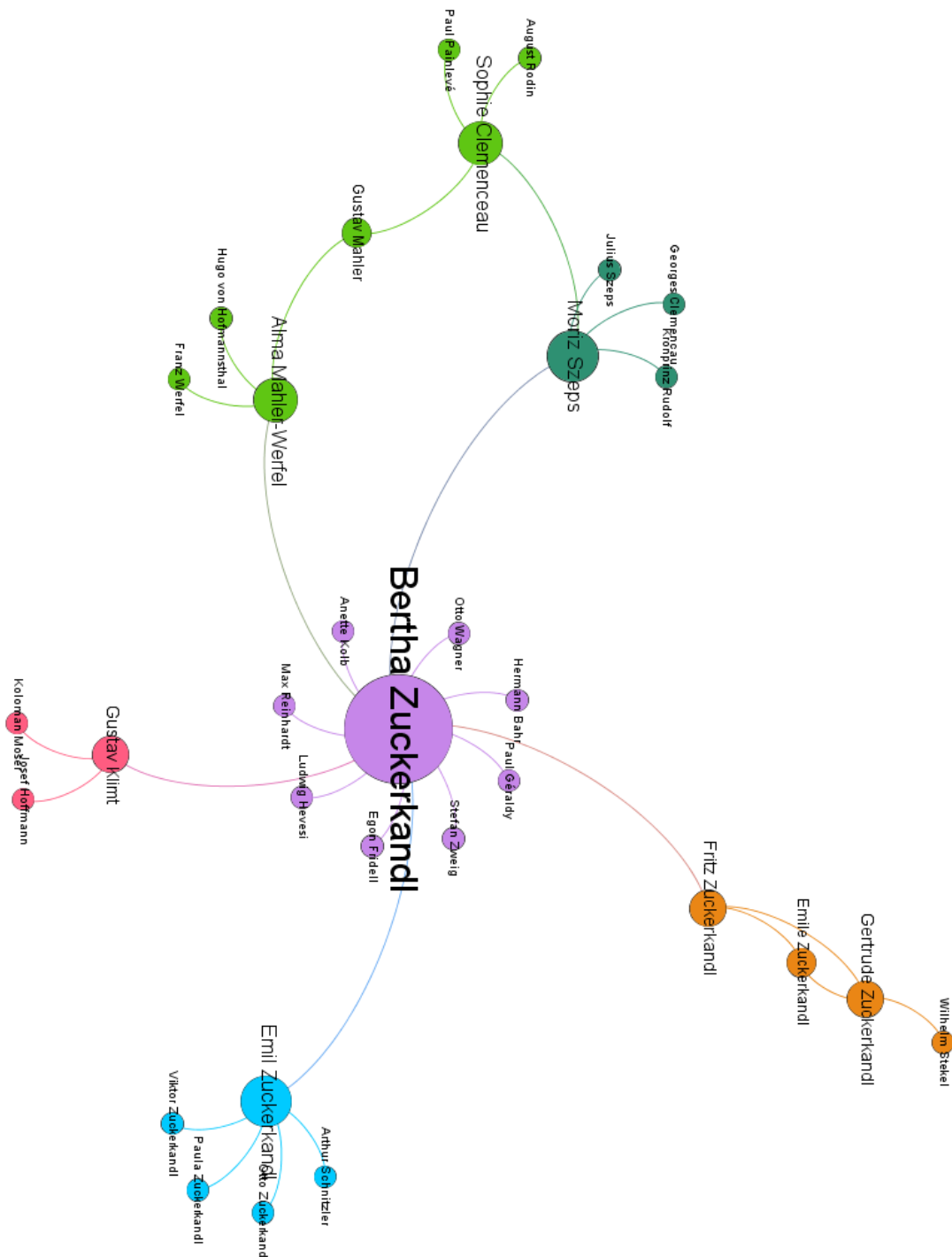


Fig. 2: Graphic Illustration of Berta Zuckerkandl's network. The illustration is incomplete without a claim on completeness. Illustration made by the Author¹⁸⁰.

¹⁸⁰ Vera Brantl, *Die familiären, politischen und kulturellen Netzwerke Berta Zuckerkandls*, In *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl*. Fetz.

In this regard, the salon was probably aligned with the Social Democratic movement, as the hostess wrote in her autobiography: “the other problem, which interested me, was the task of national education: a social, not socialist movement, which, with great power, aims to substantiate the 20th century morally. [...] I became involved in the project, which corresponded to my and [Emil] Zuckerkandls vision.¹⁸¹” Generally, the salon Zuckerkandl can be regarded as a space where theories and theses have been tried out for the first time. Some enjoyed approval by the large academic and artistic public which was usually present at the salon that consequently amplified the ideas of Ernst Mach and Emil Zuckerkandl. The salon, apart from being a space for cultural production, was also served the function of bringing together artists, their patrons, and the critics. The salon with its Jewish character was, therefore, next to the cafés, the pacemaker in the cultural and intellectual sphere. Furthermore, the salon created connections between persons who mutually influenced their work, which could not be rejected by the wider public. An example for cross-fertilization of ideas are Ernst Mach and Hermann Bahr who met and discussed at Zuckerkandl’s salon¹⁸². As a result, Mach’s ideas in his publication “Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations” were popularized by the *Jung-Wien* circle, which Bahr lead at the time.

The salon in the household of the Zuckerkandl’s illustrates the network structure of the society in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The institutionalized national or adult education was driven by the members of the Zuckerkandl network and shows the transfer of knowledge between the academic sphere and a variety of other fields in an informal setting. The salon further illustrates that circles and network are a fundamental feature of the Viennese society at the time and for the creation of a modern knowledge society. The salon was a vehicle which brought together a variety of intellectuals from different disciplines and enabled them to formulate inter-disciplinary ideas which quickly disseminated and found its way into the general discourse of the time. The salon Zuckerkandl, shows the synergies created between the disciplines were not unique to turn-of-the-century Vienna, but hare also embedded in traditions in Austria. However, unique to the *Wiener Moderne* is the density of scientific and artistic networks, which maintained a lively exchange among them.

¹⁸¹ Zuckerkandl, *Ich Erlebte Fünfzig Jahre Weltgeschichte*. 167f.

¹⁸² Oppenauer, *Der Salon Zuckerkandl im Kontext von Wissenschaft, Politik und Öffentlichkeit*. 41ff.

The significance of Berta Zuckermandl becomes evident upon reading the diary of her grandson Emile. He wrote that he loved attending the salons, since he enjoyed great company. Emile adored the vibrant life in his grandmother's salon, especially the far-reaching network which he described as a gathering of people with great capacities: poets, writers, doctors, and people from the ministries of a variety of countries. Additionally, there is a strong argument to be made, that the artistic collective which shaped the *Wiener Moderne* was first contrived in her salon. The idea that the movements which shaped *fin-de-siècle* Vienna formed because of the living arrangement of Berta Zuckermandl in the Günthergasse is very intriguing. Clearly, Berta Zuckermandl was not the only central node of the Viennese patron network. Hermann Bahr and the Wittgenstein family are only a few actors who kept the network vibrant and creative.

Hermann Bahr, the Broker.

Hermann Bahr's nickname was „the man from the day after tomorrow“, since he adored new sensations and changed his mind accordingly. In other words, he was an opportunist. However, historians today have a different picture of Hermann Bahr, and he himself was aware of the perception people had of him. He wrote “you must not say that today, since they perceive me as a transformation artist.”¹⁸³ He began as a journalist and playwright during the heyday of naturalism. Some of his early works define Bahr as a social critic as he wrote dramas in the naturalist style. In 1889, Bahr spent a gap year in Paris, which changed his perspective and focused his work on literature and arts instead of politics. In early 1890s, Bahr defined himself as he “critic of the modern” and introduced himself to the world of theater and literature critics. His book “Fin-de-Siècle” was seized by the police in 1890. Four years later, he published the *Studien zur Kritik der Moderne (Critical Studies of Modernism)*, in which he also critically assessed anti-Semitism. He would eventually grow disillusioned with Vienna in 1906 and created a program to promote culture called *Die Moderne (Modernity)*¹⁸⁴.

Hermann Bahr's goal was to promote Austria's art and achieve the level of the Western nations in terms of arts. This idea also serves as an ideological link between Bahr, Zuckermandl, and Wittgenstein, since they all aimed to create a uniquely

¹⁸³ Hermann Bahr, *Das Hermann-Bahr-Buch*, 1st ed. (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1913), <http://archive.org/details/dashermannbahrbu00bahr>. 18.

¹⁸⁴ Hermann Bahr, *Cultur*, In *Bildung*, Hermann Bahr, 1st (Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1900). 5.

Austrian art. In Bahr's opinion, it was therefore, important to establish good relations with the nations. As the founder of his own newspaper, *Die Zeit*, and with a network of friends including Max Burckhard, the director of the *Burgtheater*, Gustav Klimt, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Joseph Maria Olbrich, and Arthur Schnitzler, Bahr worked tirelessly to modernize the artistic world of the capital city. Hermann Bahr oversaw the feuilleton section of the newspaper, as his co-founders Isidor Singer and Heinrich Kanner focused on the economic and political aspects of life and the newspaper. In his position, Bahr therefore had the capacity to promote his cultural program. One of his main motivations was to integrate Austria into the Western hemisphere, since the Empire was still regarded as *Halb-Asien*¹⁸⁵. In his Book *Kritische Schriften IV*, Bahr wrote

Und es könnte, wenn sie die rechte Gestalt des Oesterreichischen finden, wie es jetzt ist, mit diesen bunten Spuren aller Völker, mit diesen romanischen, deutschen, slavischen Zeichen, mit dieser biegsamen Versöhnung der fremdesten Kräfte – es könnte schon geschehen, dass sie, in dieser österreichischen gerade, jene europäische Kunst finden würden, die in allen Nationen heute die neuesten, die feinsten Triebe suchen¹⁸⁶.

It could be that if they find the right form of the Austrian, the way it is now, with colorful traces of all the nations, with the Roman, German, and Slavic signs, with the pliable reconciliation of the foreign virtues – perhaps that they, in the Austria, find the European art, which, in all nations, strives for the newest, most delicate urges.

Since the 1890s, Hermann Bahr has promoted a united Europe and even suggested that Salzburg would be ideal capital city¹⁸⁷. In the late 1920s, Bahr already talked about globalization and suggested a global news network. Back in the day, his ideas and thought seemed radical to most people, however, today they are widely accepted and in fact promoted by the European Union. Bahr was open to ideas from all parts of the Empire and even from nations beyond the Empire. His letter exchange and the names he mentions in his essays demonstrate his connectedness and show the reach of his network far beyond Vienna and Austria. Next to the well-known Austrians such as Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler, Altenberg, and Zweig, Bahr maintained correspondence with Thomas Mann and Wedekind in Germany, Shaw, Wilde, Ellen Key in England,

¹⁸⁵ Bahr wrote that Western Europe perceived Austria to be a *Half-Asian Empire*.

¹⁸⁶ Hermann Bahr, *Studien zur Kritik der Moderne*, 1st ed. (Frankfurt: Rütten & Lutting, 1894). 78.

¹⁸⁷ Hermann Bahr, Die Hauptstadt von Europa. Eine Phantasie in Salzburg. In *Bildung*, Hermann Bahr, 1st (Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1900). 116-122.

Ibsen in Norway, Emile Zola and LeMaitre in France, D'Annunzio in Italy, and even with Walt Whitman in the United States. The list of his correspondence is much more extensive than could be mentioned here¹⁸⁸.

Bahr was also among the supporters of the Arts and Crafts movement, which had its origins in England. The idea was combine form and function, a concept which was adopted by the *Wiener Werkstätte* in 1903. Furthermore, Bahr helped Max Burckhard to modernize the *Burgtheater* through a more modern approach to acting. Finally, Bahr propagated Mach's philosophical ideas of a fluid ego and discussed the concept extensively with the philosopher at Berta Zuckerkandl's salon. Even Emil Zuckerkandl participated in the discussion providing his expertise as an anatomist¹⁸⁹. Towards 1900, Bahr also fiercely supported the applied arts and the founding of the *Secession*. With his expertise as an editor, he worked with the artists to publish *Ver Sacrum*, the magazine of the *Secession* where he published programmatic texts.¹⁹⁰

Overall, Bahr showed an exceptional ability to highlight the work of colleagues and artists. As he was always excited about a new movement or new art, his opponents, notably Karl Kraus, saw in him a person who does not have a clear agenda. Bahr also tended to glorify the artist over their work. For example, once Gustav Klimt revealed his Schubert-painting, Hermann Bahr called it "the most beautiful painting an Austrian has every drawn."¹⁹¹ At the same time, Bahr was a patriot, writing that he "would get angry if someone calls him a German"¹⁹².

Bahr also used his network to defend Klimt in 1901 and 1902 through two speeches *Gegen Klimt*. During preparation, Hermann Bahr sat with Fritz Waerndorfer in the *Café Museum* and collected articles to defend Gustav Klimt's reputation. Waerndorfer was a loyal reader of *Die Zeit* and continued his correspondence with Hermann Bahr. In letters to Bahr, he underlines that he thought of Bahr as the publisher of the newspaper, and that he sees Kanner as the best political commentator of the time. Waerndorfer sent his first letter to Bahr in 1898, in which he presented himself as a cosmopolite with a great understanding of art. He encouraged Bahr to recommend

¹⁸⁸ Donald G. Daviau, "Hermann Bahr. An Extraordinary Example of Transnational Networking. With Special Reference to Central Europe.," *Kakanien Revisited*, Kakanien Revisited, 2003, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/ncs/DDaviau1.pdf>. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Oppenauer, *Der Salon Zuckerkandl im Kontext von Wissenschaft, Politik und Öffentlichkeit*. 42ff.

¹⁹⁰ Bahr, "Aus meinem Reich." 35.

¹⁹¹ Hermann Bahr, *Secession*, 2nd ed. (Wien: Hanfstaegnel Verlag, 1900), <http://www.univie.ac.at/bahr/sites/all/ks/6-secession.pdf>. 120.

¹⁹² Ibid., 122.

Josef Engelhart and Koloman Moser to explore traditional art of the rural parts of the Empire to create a new Austrian art¹⁹³. In the wake of the university picture affaire in 1903, Waerndorfer cooperated with Bahr to write a text to defend Klimt, who was at the time heavily criticized. The result was the book *Gegen Klimt*, and Bahr argued that Klimt suffered a similar fate to the Jewish patrons through victimization and rejection¹⁹⁴.

Coming to the defense of Klimt united Zuckerkandl, Bahr, Waerndorfer and even the Wittgenstein family, who continued their support for the *Secession* and the *Wiener Werkstätte*. It was also the *Wiener Werkstätte* which furnished Karl Wittgenstein's hunting lodge in Hochreit, and his daughter's apartment in Berlin. In a letter of Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein to her father she describes the idea of having the redesign of the hunting lodge done by the *Wiener Wertkstätte* as *meschugge*, jiddish for crazy, and expresses her curiosity¹⁹⁵. Waerndorfer himself visited the lodge, which shows a connection between the two patrons Wittgenstein and Waerndorfer. In a letter to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer complimented the liveliness of the newly decorated rooms and implied that Stonborough would become crazy in that room¹⁹⁶.

Fritz Waerndorfer was the patron behind the *Wiener Werkstätte*, which enjoyed the support of Hermann Bahr, Berta Zuckerkandl, and the Wittgenstein family. In Spring 1903, Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser met with the wealthy textile industrialist Fritz Waerndorfer at the Café Heinrichshof, just across from the state opera. The Jewish patron was a connoisseur and was introduced to the *Secession* through Hermann Bahr. As he had many international contacts as a cotton dealer who idealized the design ideas of Rennie Mackintosh from the Glasgow-school. Once Hoffmann and Moser asked Waerndorfer for seed capital for their venture, and according to the legend, Waerndorfer put 500 Kronen on the table and the *Wiener Werkstätte* was born. In May 1903, the association was officially registered in the commercial register. The employees should be honest artisans, according to the example of the Arts-and-Crafts movement from England. The *Wiener Werkstätte* moved into their workshop in the *Neustiftgasse* near the *Ringstraße*. Hoffmann and

¹⁹³ Fritz Waerndorfer to Hermann Bahr, May 29, 1900, A25001 BaM, Autographen und Nachlässe Sammlung, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna in *Style & Seduction*. Shapira, 124 ff.

¹⁹⁴ Hermann Bahr, Claus Pias, *Rede über Klimt - Gegen Klimt*, kritische Schriften in Einzelausgaben, Hermann Bahr. Hrsg. von Claus Pias; 8 (Kromsdorf: VDG Weimar, 2009). 10.

¹⁹⁵ Prokop, *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein*. 59.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 59

Moser took on the lead design and crafts rooms for metal works, wood working, bookbinding, and a paint shop were built. In these work rooms the artists and artisans created elegant consumer items, mostly with geometric patterns. Among the goods were ceramics, furniture, jewelry, and later textiles and cloths. In 1905, Moser, Hoffmann, and Waerndorfer wrote a program which stated that the workshop emphasizes usability is the first condition of their designs¹⁹⁷.

Through Waerndorfer's support, Hoffmann and Moser were able to rebel against historicist traditions and promoted Waerndorfer's idea of modern aesthetics in Vienna. But even before his patronage of the WW, Waerndorfer was one of the leading art patrons in Vienna and demonstrated his dedication to new art movements by giving up his membership of the *Künstlerhaus* to wholeheartedly support the *Secession* movement. Hermann Bahr stood in close correspondence with Waerndorfer and both helped organize the exhibitions and Waerndorfer contributed significantly to the continuity through commissioning and purchasing art works. Among the most famous artworks Waerndorfer purchased are *Pallas Athene* from Klimt and the kneeling boy, a sculpture from Georg Minne.

Waerndorfer's last important endeavor was the *Kabarett Fledermaus*. The idea for the cabaret venue may have again originated from correspondence between Waerndorfer and Hermann Bahr in April 1906. In the specific letter, Waerndorfer was agitated since the director Max Reinhardt did not commission the construction of his new theater through Josef Hoffmann. Max Reinhardt, a frequent guest at Zuckermandl's salon and corresponded with Bahr, inspired Waerndorfer through his theater productions. Waerndorfer commissioned the building and decoration of the new cabaret venue through Josef Hoffmann and at the same time both advanced their positions in the cultural life in Vienna. In October 1907, the Cabaret Fledermaus opened its doors to the public and Berta Zuckermandl wrote a favorable review in which she praised the establishment of a new cultural platform. Only a month later, Karl Kraus published a fierce critique, labeling the cabaret and the people involved a cultural offense¹⁹⁸. Surely, Karl Kraus' most beloved enemy, Hermann Bahr also supported the new cultural venue.

¹⁹⁷ Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume*. 91ff.

¹⁹⁸ Kraus, Karl. "Die Kulturtat". *Die Fackel* 236, 1907. Accessed May 11, 2018. http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/main_jq.html#. 1ff.

Hermann Bahr's network, similar to the networks before includes four separate sections. The green part of the network depicts the most prominent members of the *Jung-Wien* literature circle. The blue part shows Hermann Bahr's connection to the Secession movement, most prominently Gustav Klimt and Fritz Wärndorfer. The largest part of the network, in purple, demonstrates Bahr's connections to people outside Vienna and to the Zuckerkandl salon. Notably, Bahr maintained contact with prominent figures of the German and French literature scene in Gerhard Hauptmann and Emile Zola. However, Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, and Victor Adler, the founder of the Social Democratic Party, were among his frequent contacts. Isidor Singer, and Heinrich Kanner, the co-founders of the newspaper *Die Zeit* were tied to Hermann Bahr through their business endeavor. Finally, Hermann Bahr met Max Burckhard, the director of the Burgtheater together with Alfred Roller and Carl Moll.

Hermann Bahr signified the broker of the *Wiener Moderne*. He was the leader of the *Jung-Wien* circle of young literates and discovered Hugo von Hofmannsthal and other young talents. Through his network and contacts to publishers, the young writers were able to publish in renowned newspapers early in their career. Hermann Bahr pursued the idea that the modern Viennese literature should be well known in the German-speaking language area and should not remain a regional development. As the representative of the group, which he presented as homogenous, he planned his ascend within the Viennese cultural scene in a precise manner. He formulated a clear distinction to other literary movement in Berlin, which can be interpreted as his strategy to counter the supremacy of Berlin over Vienna in cultural terms¹⁹⁹. Furthermore, Bahr's notes permit to reconstruct his pursuit for funding of his own theater plays and ventures. In Mai 1903, Bahr prepares for finding investors to finance his newest play and his diary reveals a series of misfortunes. Fragments of the diary read "which Figdor is the rich one?", "Arrive early at Dr. Löw's, who is still humanitarian towards me", and "at Wittgenstein, refused, people say that he secretly had his hands everywhere". Eventually, Bahr raised 195.000 Kronen in July 1904²⁰⁰. Patrons in Vienna might have been generous, however, even the best-connected broker

¹⁹⁹ Lorenz, *Wiener Moderne*. 43 ff.

²⁰⁰ Hermann Bahr and Lukas Mayerhofer, *Tagebücher, Skizzenbücher, Notizhefte*. Bd. 3, Bd. 3, (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.7767/9783205790228>. 311ff.

had to rely on patronage. The dependency on the generosity of some people surely was frustrating.

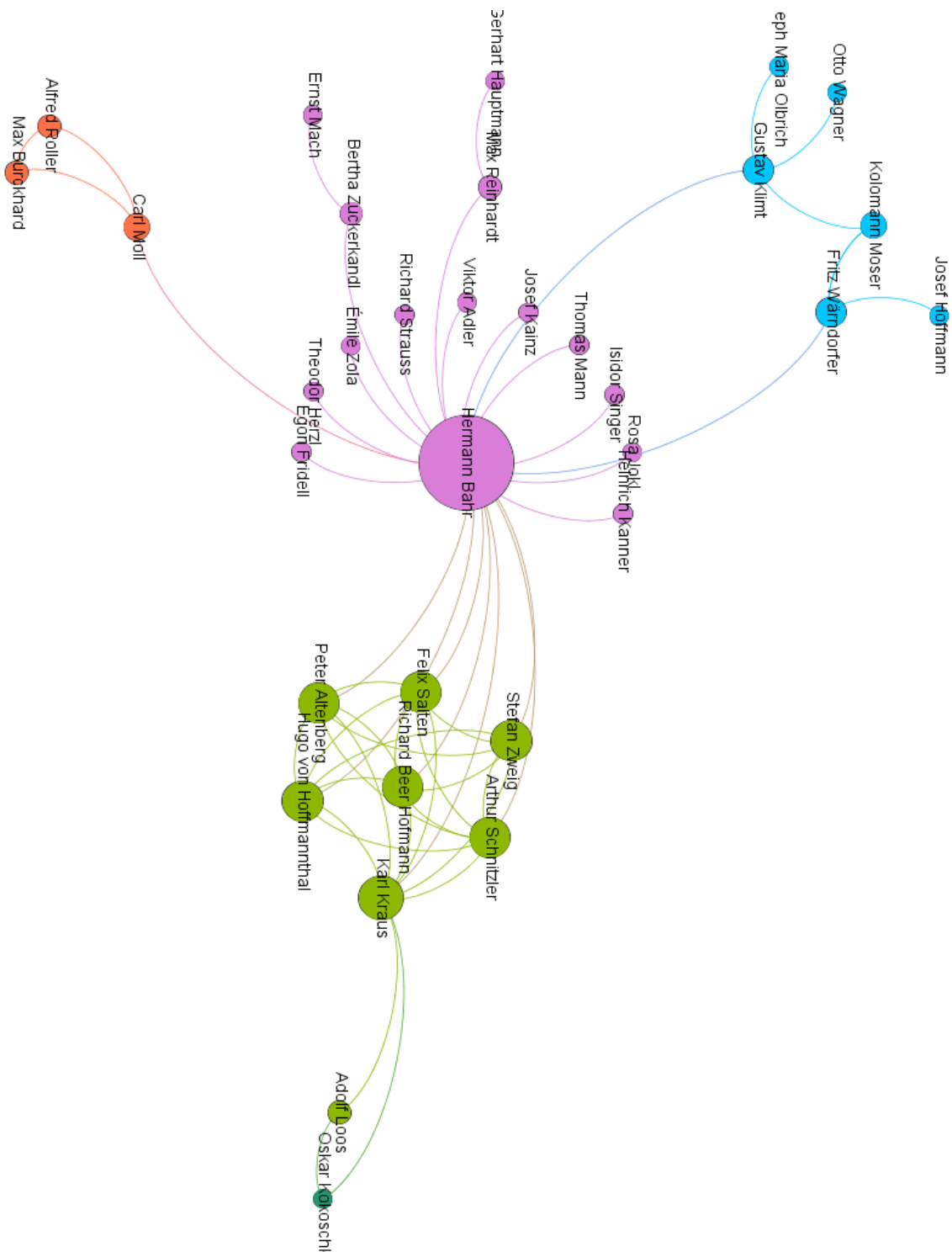


Fig. 3: Graphic Illustration of Hermann Bahr's network. The illustration is incomplete without a claim on completeness. Illustration made by the Author.

Other than that, Bahr's career in newspapers is notable. In 1892, Bahr started as the culture editor for the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a Viennese newspaper with a German-national positioning. Within only two years, Bahr managed to become co-editor of the newspaper and left shortly after to build his own venture, *Die Zeit*. As previously mentioned, the first offices of the newspaper were in the same building as Berta Zuckermandl's salon at the time. With the founding of the *Secession*, Hermann Bahr started to publish the magazine of the movement *Ver Sacrum* together with Max Burckhardt. Only five years after its founding, his own newspaper did not seem interesting enough anymore for Bahr, as he switched to the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, where he grew highly influential. His continued efforts to promote the literature of the *Jung-Wien* circle, opened opportunities in newspapers for other members of the circle. His promotion enabled the circle to publish in most papers at will²⁰¹.

Hermann Bahr was at the center of the *Wiener Moderne*. His work includes over forty plays, ten novels, and over forty critical texts. His exchanges with many significant artists, writers, and intellectuals from Austria, Germany, France, Italy, England, and the United States shows the reach of the Viennese cultural networks of Vienna 1900. In early literature, Hermann Bahr appeared an opportunist, disparagingly called *der Herr von Linz*²⁰² by Karl Kraus, underlining his position as a foreigner in Vienna. Today the emphasis is on his role as broker between artists, patrons and even cultures.

²⁰¹ Bahr and Mayerhofer, *Tagebücher, Skizzenbücher, Notizhefte*. Bd. 3, Bd. 3., 108

²⁰² The Gentleman from Linz

Conclusion

The strict separation between classes in the Viennese society can be shown through the connections of the three main protagonists. Berta Zuckerkandl's father had the only meaningful connection to the first society through the heir-apparent Rudolf, who anonymously published articles in Moriz Szeps' newspaper *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. Berta Zuckerkandl and Karl Wittgenstein had ties to the minister of culture von Hartel, however, the politician was not a member of the court of the high-aristocracy. The first society lived secluded from the rest of the population and restrained themselves mostly to the first district and their palaces in the countryside.

On the *Ringstraße*, the second society and the rich bourgeoisie encircled the first society and built their palais in the image of the palaces of the nobility. Financially, the bourgeoisie has outpaced the first society. The entire taxed income of the 91 richest aristocratic families amounted to approximately 28 million *Kronen* in 1910. Baron Rothschild taxed income amounted to 25.7 million *Kronen* in the same year. Admittedly, some of the wealthiest aristocratic families did not have their primary residence in Vienna and taxed their income in different counties, nevertheless, the second society's financial prowess was immense²⁰³. Contrasting their wealth, the political power of the bourgeoisie was limited. Only few members of bourgeoisie families received an ennoblement and some, such as Karl Wittgenstein, even declined the offer. Some occupied a seat in the House of Lords in Austria, such as Adolf Lieben. Nevertheless, the aristocracy maintained an influential political role since until 1907, one fifth of all the seats in the House of Lords were reserved for nobility and most high offices in the bureaucracy were occupied by the higher nobility²⁰⁴. However, fundamental change happened in the cultural sphere.

The second society strove for a stronger higher social representation and were inspired by Western countries and personalities as can be demonstrated through links of the three main protagonists. Karl Wittgenstein was an admirer of Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish-American industrialist, and in his writing continuously lamented the lack of suitable political and legal frameworks to enable entrepreneurial activities²⁰⁵. Berta

²⁰³ Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*. Chapter III.

²⁰⁴ Lothar Höbelt, „Das Problem der konservativen Eliten in Österreich-Ungarn.“ in *Die Wiener Jahrhundertwende: Einflüsse, Umwelt, Wirkungen*, Jürgen P. Nautz and Friedrich Achleitner, eds., 2., unveränd. Aufl, Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung 46 (Wien: Böhlau, 1996). 779.

²⁰⁵ Wittgenstein and Nyíri, *Politico-economic writings*. II.

Zuckerkindl as well looked up to the West and through her sister had contacts to high-level French politicians such as Georges Clemenceau. She also fostered the international artistic exchange and brokered a meeting between reputable members of the *Secession* and the French artist Rodin²⁰⁶. Additionally, Zuckerkindl propagated national education, which was also a fundamental part of her salon network. Hermann Bahr, the broker, worked relentlessly to renew the arts in Austria. After an inspirational year in Paris in 1889, Bahr focused on arts and literature to implement his comprehensive program of cultural program called “modernity.”²⁰⁷ Overall, an unwillingness of the aristocracy to fulfill the demands of the artist and the unwillingness to experiment, opened the stage for a well-connected bourgeoisie elite to form the culture of Vienna according to their visions.

Through their continuous support and commissions, the patrons enabled a certain artistic freedom. The goal of the patrons, according to Bahr and Zuckerkindl²⁰⁸, was to create an Austrian art, and as a supranational entity is the binding link between the nations of the empire. The Körber government from 1900 to 1904 acknowledged the need for a renewal of the culture and the minister of culture and education, Wilhelm von Hartel, approached Zuckerkindl and Wittgenstein. Additionally, it was von Hartel who aimed to promote artist of the *Secession* movement into official position. Klimt was destined for a high-ranking professorship at the academy of applied arts, however, the university painting affair crossed Klimt’s aspirations. Apart from Otto Wagner, no *Secession* member or supporter had the honor to obtain an influential office. Overall, politics interfered little with the bourgeoisie cultural aspirations under the assumption that a laissez-faire policy would avoid the escalation of conflicts²⁰⁹. The focus on culture aimed to create an Austrian identity. The message was “power through culture”, and politicians and patrons from the whole political spectrum could agree that Austria was above all a nation of culture, a *Kulturstaat*, rather than an economic or military powerhouse²¹⁰.

²⁰⁶ Monika Mayer, „Nicht nur Klimt.“ In *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkindl*. Fetz. 253.

²⁰⁷ Daviau, “Hermann Bahr. An Extraordinary Example of Transnational Networking. With Special Reference to Central Europe.” 1.

²⁰⁸ Zuckerkindl, *Ich Erlebte Fünfzig Jahre Weltgeschichte*. 176f.

²⁰⁹ Timms, *Dynamik Der Kreise, Resonanz Der Räume*. 24.

²¹⁰ Heather Hess, „The Wiener Werkstätte and the Reform Impulse.“ In *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*, Regina Lee Blaszczyk ed., Hagley Perspectives on Business and Culture (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). 119f.

The interconnectedness of a small and wealthy elite and the connections of Patrons, networks, and brokers led to the development of a strong and innovative cultural scene. Additionally, the marginalization of Jews on the one side, and the destiny of political periphery for most members of the second society induced an admiration and orientation towards the western European countries. Under the patronage of the Viennese bourgeoisie, the artists had more freedom and escaped the conservative and representative patronage of the church and the aristocracy. The cohesiveness of the network appears clearest during crisis. During the university picture affair, the conservative forces pilloried Klimt and the scandal became one of the biggest art scandals of the 20th century. The cultural network, under the leadership of Berta Zuckermandl and Hermann Bahr undertook coordinated efforts, which even included patrons, such as Fritz Waerndorfer, to defend Klimt. August Lederer, the primary patron behind Klimt, bought one of the university paintings and brokered the sale of the other two to Koloman Moser, who came to riches through marriage.

Without a doubt, *fin-de-siècle* Vienna was a social phenomenon. The net of overlapping connections between the main protagonists of the time is impressive and the sources such as letters and newspapers are manifold. The interplay of the relation between the patron, the networker, the broker is important, since they fulfil different functions in the network. While the patron maintains a hierarchical relationship with his clients, the broker and the networker open the social capital of the bourgeoisie to outsiders. While the network takes a more passive stance, the broker attempts to actively create ties and links between artists and patrons. It is evident that Karl Wittgenstein, Berta Zuckermandl, and Hermann Bahr were central nodes in a far-reaching cultural, intellectual, and family network and all of them stood in an international context as well. Certainly, a network approach adds to the understanding of the *Wiener Moderne* which is demonstrated by the growing literature of historical social network analysis. The network theory is all about structural changes and how to connect them with the experiences of ordinary people. In a sense, through network theory it is possible to achieve a more holistic view on the society since the focus is not only on the ruling elite but also on the agency of individuals. The thesis demonstrates the inner working of the wealthy bourgeoisie and uncovered their motivations and aspirations through their ties. Most actors in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna use a combination of kin and non-kin connections throughout their lives. Additionally, the

closeness between the patrons and the artist seems to be a Viennese phenomenon. While arts dealer took the place of a broker in Paris, the artist in Vienna directly engaged the patrons if they were in need for financial or emotional support. Klimt wrote letters to Serena Lederer requesting an advance on his payment, when he was in financial crisis. Similarly, Hermann Bahr approached many patrons directly in 1903, raising funds for his new play. In the case of the university painting affair, Klimt received the emotional support from a variety of actors of the cultural network, who also defended him publicly. Through the analysis of the ties, it is possible to assess the friendship bonds and the opportunities certain individual enjoyed in their life. Additionally, the network perspective allows to evaluate the restraints individual actors faced due to demography and culture. In Vienna, the segregation between the first and second society and the rest of the Viennese population comes to mind. Overall, the network theory is a vehicle which can advance debate and aims to tie extensive structural changes and lives of individuals together.

On the other hand, network theory by itself might be too weak to serve as a theory by its own. The results of ties and the sheer amount of data, needs another underlying theory which conceptualizes the actions of the actors. Without the motivations behind certain actions the network theory merely is a tool, a methodology to uncover ties between actors. The thesis assumed that all the actors in a politically marginalized bourgeoisie strove for power and prestige, similar to the bourgeoisie in France and the United States. Their value was cultural production. Network theory works well to bring order in the mess of a city in a struggle for cultural hegemony. The structural approach helps to clearly delimit the social hierarchy and permits conclusions on grievances of certain actors. Generally, the network theory is still work in progress in historiography, however, new projects, aiming to improve the network theory methodology are currently in progress. One of the most ambitious projects is the “Austrian Prosopographical | Biographical Information System” which digitalizes more than 18.000 biographies in order to identify networks and groups in Austria²¹¹.

Clearly, network theory conforms with the *Zeitgeist* of data driven research, since nowadays tools to process large amounts of data are readily available and easier to

²¹¹ Ágoston Zénó Bernád, Christine Gruber, and Maximilian Kaiser, eds., *Europa baut auf Biographien: Aspekte, Bausteine, Normen und Standards für eine europäische Biographik. Unter Mitarbeit von: Matthias Schloegl Katalin Lejtovicz*, 1. Auflage (Wien: new academic press, 2017).

handle. It is true that network theory could bring a new, fresh perspective to historic phenomena and some studies tend emphasize the explanation of data instead of the creation of a new narrative. Network theory requires a combination of a set of strong assumptions and maybe even a theory to explain the results in order to add to historiography.

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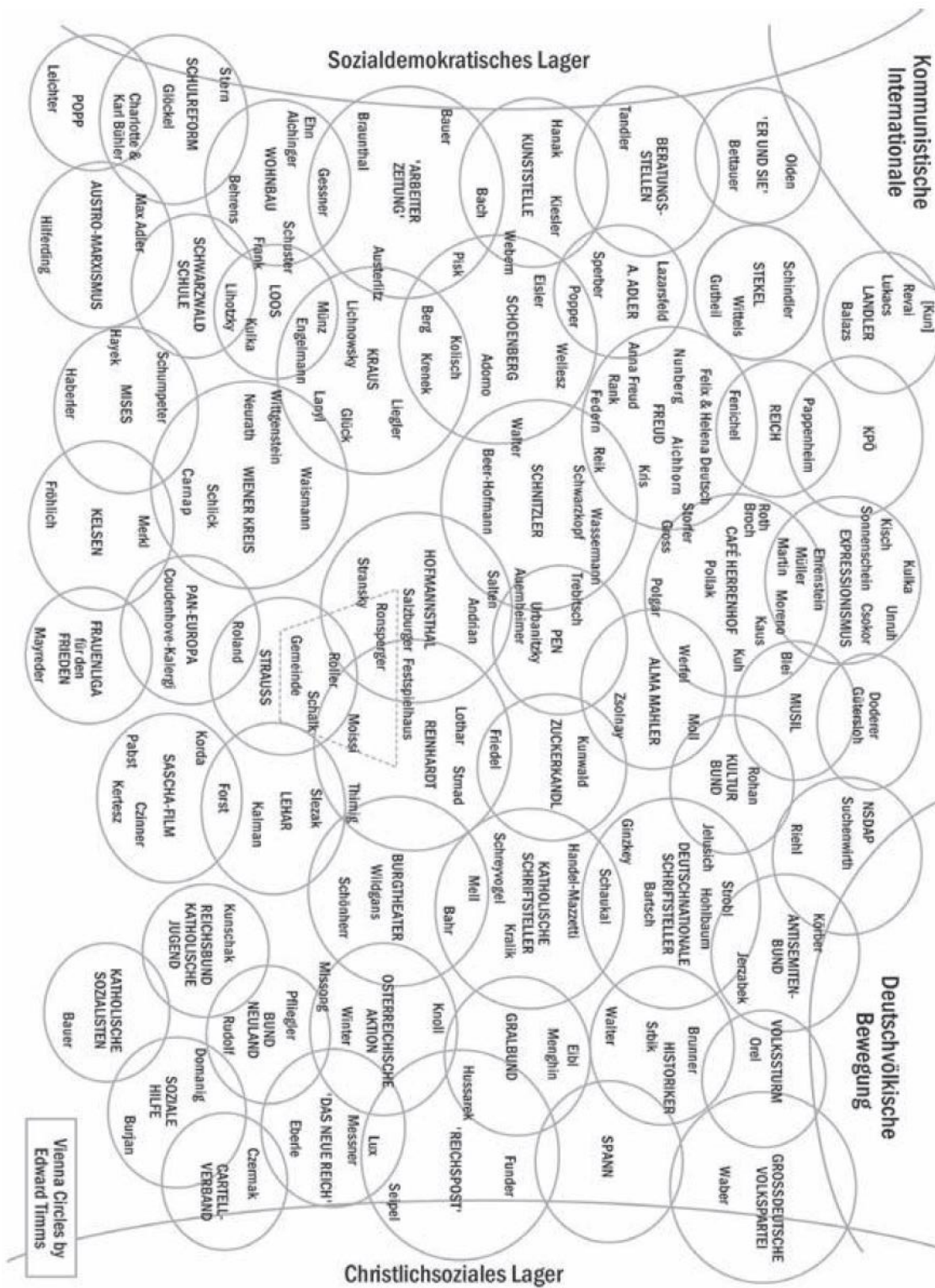
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Appendix

Tables and Figures:

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Maps



Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, N.Y: Camden House, 2009). 25.



Monumental-Plan Der Haupt- Und Residenzstadt Wien. 2017. Image. ²¹²

²¹² Monumental-Plan Der Haupt- Und Residenzstadt Wien. 2017. Image.
https://www.wien.gv.at/actaproweb2/benutzung/archive.xhtml?id=Stueck++8E9730D0-DE76-4B37-99B1-902C8B50224Clanm08alt#Stueck__8E9730D0-DE76-4B37-99B1-902C8B50224Clanm08alt.

Visualization Data

Karl Wittgenstein

Nodes

Id	Label	timeset	modularity_class
0	Karl Wittgenstein		4
1	Hermann Christian Wittgenstein		1
2	Fanny Figdor, Ver. Wittgenstein		1
3	Jakob Kalmus		0
4	Marie Stallner, Ver. Kalmus		0
5	Anna Wittgenstein, Ver. Franz		1
6	Marie Wittgenstein, Ver. Pott		1
7	Paul Wittgenstein Sen.		1
8	Fine Wittgenstein, Ver. Oser		1
9	Louis Wittgenstein		1
10	Leopoldine Kalmus, Ver. Wittgenstein		0
11	Bertha Wittgenstein, Ver. Kupelwieser		4
12	Clara Wittgenstein		1
13	Lydia Wittgenstein, Ver. von Siebert		1
14	Emelie Wittgenstein, Ver. von BrÄ¼cke		1
15	Clothilde Wittgenstein		1
16	Hermine Wittgenstein		2
17	Dora Wittgenstein		4
18	Hans Wittgenstein		4
19	Helene Wittgenstein, Ver. Salzer		4
20	Konrad Wittgenstein		4
21	Rudolf Wittgenstein		4
22	Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein		5
23	Paul Wittgenstein		2
24	Ludwig Wittgenstein		2
25	Paul Kupelwieser		3
26	Karl Kupelwieser		4
27	Max Feilchenfeld		3
28	Isidor Weinberger		3
29	Karl von Wessely		3
30	Karl Wolfrum		3
31	Otto Wolfrum		3
32	Wilhelm Kestranek		3
33	Adolf Lieben		5
34	Rudolf von Alt		1
35	Gustav Klimt		5
36	Ivan Mestrovic		4
37	Auguste Rodin		4
38	Victor KrÄmer		5
39	Franz Hohenberger		5

40	Otto Wagner	5
41	Fritz WÄrндorfer	5
42	Josef Hoffmann	5
43	Koloman Moser	5
44	Josef Engelhart	5
45	Rudolf Perco	5
46	Paul Engelmann	2
47	Adolf Loos	2
48	Karl Kraus	2
49	Theodor von BrÄ¼cke	1
50	Albert Figdor	1
51	Wilhelm Figdor	1
52	Ernst Mach	5
53	Bertha Zuckerkandl	5
54	Baron Schey	5
55	Theodor Gomperz	5
56	Andrew Carnegie	4
57	Johannes Brahms	4
58	Pablo Casals	4
59	Josef Labor	4
60	Hermann Bahr	5

Ties

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	3	4	Undirected	Heirat	2	1
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	4	10	Undirected	Tochter	4	1
	1	0	Undirected	Sohn	5	1
	2	0	Undirected	Sohn	6	1
	1	5	Undirected	Tochter	7	1
	1	6	Undirected	Tochter	8	1
	1	7	Undirected	Sohn	10	1
	1	8	Undirected	Tochter	11	1
	1	9	Undirected	Sohn	12	1
	1	11	Undirected	Tochter	13	1
	1	12	Undirected	Tochter	14	1
	1	13	Undirected	Tochter	15	1
	1	15	Undirected	Tochter	16	1
	0	16	Undirected	Tochter	17	1
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	0	18	Undirected	Sohn	19	1
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41	42	Undirected	WW	44	1
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35	44	Undirected	Secession	46	1
23	46	Undirected	Architektur	48	1
16	46	Undirected	Architektur	49	1
47	46	Undirected	Architektur	50	1
47	48	Undirected	Architektur	51	1
24	48	Undirected	Café/Literature	52	1
50	2	Undirected	Family	53	1
51	2	Undirected	Family	54	1
33	52	Undirected	University	55	1
53	52	Undirected	University	56	1
33	54	Undirected	Parliament	57	1
33	55	Undirected	Parliament	58	1
0	57	Undirected	Friends/Salon	61	1
0	58	Undirected	Friends/Salon	62	1
0	59	Undirected	Friends/Salon	63	1
0	56	Undirected	Friends/Salon	64	1
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40	45	Undirected	Architektur	68	1
24	46	Undirected	Architektur	69	1

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34	16	Undirected	Friends/Salon	72	1
34	0	Undirected	Patron	73	1
34	7	Undirected	Patron	74	1
34	9	Undirected	Patron	75	1
11	26	Undirected	Heirat	76	1
25	27	Undirected	Work	77	1
28	27	Undirected	Work	78	1
28	29	Undirected	Work	79	1
30	29	Undirected	Work	80	1
30	31	Undirected	Work	81	1
32	31	Undirected	Work	82	1
32	25	Undirected	Work	83	1
26	25	Undirected	Brother	84	1
29	25	Undirected	Work	88	1
28	25	Undirected	Work	87	1
30	25	Undirected	Work	89	1
31	25	Undirected	Work	90	1
32	25	Undirected	Work	91	1
27	25	Undirected	Work	92	1
60	35	Undirected	Patron	93	1
60	53	Undirected	Patron	94	1
35	53	Undirected	Patron	95	1
41	60	Undirected	Patron	96	1
41	53	Undirected	Patron	97	1

Berta Zuckerkandl

Nodes

Id	Label	closnesscentrality	Betweenness- centrality	modularity_ class
0	Bertha Zuckerkandl	0.596154	403	3
1	Emil Zuckerkandl	0.418919	114	0
2	Viktor Zuckerkandl	0.298077	0	0
3	Paula Zuckerkandl	0.298077	0	0
4	Otto Zuckerkandl	0.298077	0	0
5	Fritz Zuckerkandl	0.407895	84	1
6	Gertrude Zuckerkandl	0.300971	30	1
7	Wilhelm Stekel	0.233083	0	1
8	Emile Zuckerkandl	0.298077	0	1
9	Arthur Schnitzler	0.298077	0	0
10	Paul Géraldy	0.378049	0	3
11	Anette Kolb	0.378049	0	3
12	Hermann Bahr	0.378049	0	3

13	Stefan Zweig	0.378049	0	3
14	Moriz Szeps	0.449275	150	2
15	Julius Szeps	0.313131	0	2
16	Georges Clemenceau	0.313131	0	2
17	Kronprinz Rudolf	0.313131	0	2
18	Sophie Clemenceau	0.344444	63	4
19	August Rodin	0.258333	0	4
20	Paul Painlevé	0.258333	0	4
21	Egon Fridell	0.378049	0	3
22	Gustav Mahler	0.333333	9	4
23	Alma Mahler-Werfel	0.424658	80	4
24	Max Reinhardt	0.378049	0	3
25	Hugo von Hofmannsthal	0.300971	0	4
26	Franz Werfel	0.300971	0	4
27	Otto Wagner	0.378049	0	3
28	Ludwig Hevesi	0.378049	0	3
29	Gustav Klimt	0.397436	59	5
30	Koloman Moser	0.287037	0	5
31	Josef Hoffmann	0.287037	0	5

Ties

Source	Target	Type	Kind	Id	Weight
0	1	Undirected	Familie	0	1
0	5	Undirected	Familie	1	1
0	11	Undirected	Politik	3	1
0	12	Undirected	Literatur	4	1
0	13	Undirected	Politik	5	1
0	14	Undirected	Familie	6	1
0	21	Undirected	Literatur	7	1
0	24	Undirected	Literatur	8	1
0	23	Undirected	Kunst	9	1
0	27	Undirected	Kunst	10	1
0	28	Undirected	Kunst	11	1
0	29	Undirected	Kunst	12	1
1	2	Undirected	Familie	13	1
1	3	Undirected	Familie	14	1
1	4	Undirected	Familie	15	1
1	9	Undirected	Kunst	16	1
5	6	Undirected	Familie	17	1
5	8	Undirected	Familie	18	1
6	7	Undirected	Familie	19	1
29	30	Undirected	Kunst	20	1
29	31	Undirected	Kunst	21	1
23	26	Undirected	Literatur	22	1

23	25	Undirected	Literatur	23	1
23	22	Undirected	Kunst	24	1
18	22	Undirected	Kunst	25	1
18	19	Undirected	Kunst	26	1
18	14	Undirected	Politik	27	1
18	20	Undirected	Politik	28	1
14	15	Undirected	Familie	29	1
14	16	Undirected	Politik	30	1
14	17	Undirected	Politik	31	1
6	8	Undirected	Familie	32	1
0	10	Undirected	Literatur	33	1

Hermann Bahr

Nodes

Id	Label	timeset	modularity_class
0	Hermann Bahr		3
1	Arthur Schnitzler		0
2	Hugo von Hoffmannthal		0
3	Stefan Zweig		0
4	Bertha Zuckerkandl		3
5	Peter Altenberg		0
6	Richard Beer Hofmann		0
7	Karl Kraus		0
8	Felix Salten		0
9	Heinrich Kanner		3
10	Isidor Singer		3
11	Rosa Jokl		3
12	Joseph Maria Olbrich		1
13	Gustav Klimt		1
14	Max Reinhardt		3
15	Josef Kainz		3
16	Richard Strauss		3
17	Egon Fridell		3
18	Kolomann Moser		1
19	Theodor Herzl		3
20	Viktor Adler		3
21	Gerhart Hauptmann		3
22	Thomas Mann		3
23	Emile Zola		3
24	Fritz Wärndorfer		1
25	Adolf Loos		0
26	Josef Hoffmann		1
27	Ernst Mach		3
28	Carl Moll		4

29	Alfred Roller	4
30	Max Burckhard	4
31	Oskar Kokoschka	2
32	Otto Wagner	1

Ties

Source	Target	Type	Kind	Id	Weight
0	1	Undirected	Literatur	0	1
0	2	Undirected	Literatur	1	1
0	3	Undirected	Literatur	2	1
0	5	Undirected	Literatur	3	1
0	6	Undirected	Literatur	4	1
0	8	Undirected	Literatur	5	1
0	7	Undirected	Literatur	6	1
1	2	Undirected	Literatur	7	1
1	3	Undirected	Literatur	8	1
1	5	Undirected	Literatur	9	1
1	6	Undirected	Literatur	10	1
1	7	Undirected	Literatur	11	1
1	8	Undirected	Literatur	12	1
2	3	Undirected	Literatur	13	1
2	5	Undirected	Literatur	14	1
2	6	Undirected	Literatur	15	1
2	7	Undirected	Literatur	16	1
2	8	Undirected	Literatur	17	1
3	8	Undirected	Literatur	18	1
3	7	Undirected	Literatur	19	1
3	5	Undirected	Literatur	20	1
3	6	Undirected	Literatur	21	1
5	6	Undirected	Literatur	22	1
5	7	Undirected	Literatur	23	1
5	8	Undirected	Literatur	24	1
6	8	Undirected	Literatur	25	1
6	7	Undirected	Literatur	26	1
8	7	Undirected	Literatur	27	1
7	25	Undirected	Literatur	28	1
31	25	Undirected	Literatur	29	1
24	0	Undirected	Geschäft	31	1
9	0	Undirected	Geschäft	32	1
10	0	Undirected	Geschäft	33	1
11	0	Undirected	Familie	34	1
24	18	Undirected	Familie	35	1
24	18	Undirected	Geschäft	36	1
24	26	Undirected	Geschäft	37	1

0	28	Undirected	Geschäft	38	1
29	28	Undirected	Geschäft	39	1
30	28	Undirected	Geschäft	40	1
30	29	Undirected	Geschäft	41	1
0	4	Undirected	Politik	42	1
0	19	Undirected	Politik	43	1
0	20	Undirected	Politik	44	1
0	13	Undirected	Kunst	45	1
32	13	Undirected	Kunst	46	1
18	13	Undirected	Kunst	47	1
0	22	Undirected	Literatur	48	1
0	23	Undirected	Literatur	49	1
0	14	Undirected	Kunst	50	1
0	17	Undirected	Literatur	51	1
4	27	Undirected	Politik	52	1
0	15	Undirected	Kunst	53	1
0	16	Undirected	Kunst	54	1
14	21	Undirected	Literatur	55	1
13	12	Undirected	Kunst	56	1
7	31	Undirected	Kunst	57	1

Pledge of Honesty

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

Jonas Bohun

VITA

Jonas Bohun was born in Mödling and attended the Vienna University of Economics and Business to obtain a degree in International Business Administration. Once his interest in International Relations grew, he decided to earn a master's degree at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. During his time at the Diplomatic Academy, he focused on Economics and History and eventually wrote his thesis on a topic in intellectual history. Apart from his academic duties, Jonas completed some internships and worked at an Embassy throughout the second year of his master's degree. His interests are manifold and include history, architecture, design, and spatial planning. In his leisure time he likes to run, visit museums, and to debate political issues.