THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BODIES THAT SHIMMER:

AN EMBODIED HISTORY OF VIENNA'S NEW WOMEN, 1893-1931

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In the summer of 2016, I rented an apartment on Langegasse in Vienna's VIII district, Josefstadt. The apartment was a beautiful *Altbau*, with large windows looking into a peaceful courtyard. Upon exiting the building one day, I stumbled over a *Stolperstein*, a cobblestone-sized brass plate inscribed with the name and life dates of a victim of National Socialism. To my disbelief, I found that it was dedicated to Hugo Bettauer, Jewish sex reformer and journalist, the brainchild of newspapers such as *Bettauers Wochenschrift* and *Er und Sie*, both of which I cite frequently in the following pages. In March 1925, a member of the Nazi Party walked into Bettauer's editorial office on Langegasse, and shot him six times. After doing some sleuth work, I soon realized that Bettauer's office was the very apartment I was living in that summer. In fact, he was quite possibly murdered in what now served as the dining room. I could not believe the coincidence: I was researching and writing about gender and sexuality in the very apartment in which an important sex reformer lived, worked, and, tragically, died.

Vienna bursts with history, and it was during that summer when I encountered Bettauer's ghost, that I became acutely aware of this. It is impossible for me to walk down the city's winding, cobblestone streets without being overcome with a wave of nostalgia for a past that I have never lived. An Austrianist once told me that my approach to history is romantic. How can one not be a romantic and study history, no less the history of one of the most alluring cities of all time, Vienna, which is so haunted by its past that its ghosts sit next to you at the dinner table?

I did not always like Vienna. In fact, for many years, I found it to be stuffy and pretentious, a city more suited for my grandparents than for a young feminist scholar like me. After I arrived in the city in mid-September 2014 for my research year abroad, I did what any native New Yorker would do: I walked. I walked from one end of the city to the other, to the grittiest parts, and through the

most elegant, and soon, after several glasses of *Sturm*, the young wine that is sold all over Austria in early fall, I fell in love. I distinctly remember sitting on a bench in the Belvedere gardens overlooking the city, listening to the sensual sounds of an accordion, the smell of cigarette smoke from my neighbor tickling my nose, when it dawned on me that I truly loved Vienna. In researching and writing this dissertation, I allowed myself—like a true romantic—to become so enraptured by this city, so taken in by it, that it informed everything I thought and wrote. I wrote at least half of the following pages while snacking on Manner wafers (my roommates in Vienna used to joke that I was responsible for keeping Manner afloat); the other half I wrote while listening to *Wiener Lieder* and the occasional *Czárdás*.

Although a love-affair with a city is one way to inspire the writing of a dissertation, it was the institutions and people that assisted me along the way to whom I owe the most thanks. Throughout the process of researching and writing, I received invaluable financial support from the University of Chicago History Department and the Division of Social Sciences. My dissertation committee provided me with thoughtful critique and encouragement: I thank my chair and adviser, Tara Zahra, for her generosity, unwavering support, and feedback, as well as her challenge to me to think more broadly—possibly even transnationally—as I move forward with my work. She has been everything I could have ever hoped for in an adviser, and more. I would not be the scholar I am today without Leora Auslander's attention to detail and frank advice, as well as her willingness to entertain my more romantic tendencies. The reading course I did with her in preparation for my orals examination in the history and theory of gender and sexuality was, perhaps, one of the most formative moments in graduate school, inspiring me to integrate feminist theory into my academic work. And finally, I also thank John Boyer, whose love of Vienna possibly surpasses mine, for reminding me to think more contextually so as not to lose sight of the thing itself.

I would not have made it through graduate school without a community of modern Europeanists encouraging me along the way. Michael Geyer provided me with invaluable support during the writing of my first-year seminar paper and in preparation for my oral examinations. Jan Goldstein's "Paris-Chicago" seminar inspired aspects of this project, in particular the emphasis on women's embodiment and urban space. During my teaching assistantship for "European Civilizations," I was lucky to benefit from Fredrik Albritton Jonsson's friendship, knowledge, and wisdom. I also thank all of my former and current colleagues at the Transnational Approaches to Modern Europe workshop, which became my academic home for the seven years that I spent at the University of Chicago. I owe much to its firm deadlines and loyal participants.

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As an historian of gender and sexuality, I found my other academic home at the Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality, which has provided me with tremendous academic and financial support, countless lunches, and an office space to boot. Tate Brazas, Gina Olson, and Sarah Tuohey continue to make the Center a dynamic, exciting, and welcoming place for feminist scholars. Thanks to my colleagues, as well as the Gender and Sexuality Studies Working Group for feedback, camaraderie, and critique over endless glasses of wine.

I never would have had that dreamy moment in the Belvedere gardens had it not been for the Fulbright Program and the people I met during my nine months in Austria. I am particularly

indebted to Matti Bunzl for challenging me to make big claims; Li Gerhalter for providing me access to the rich collections at the Sammlung Frauennachlässe; Margarete Grandner for serving as my mentor abroad; and Veronika Helfert for including me in a network of gender historians in Vienna. I also thank Michaela Laichmann from the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Michael Winter from the Archiv Bundespolizeidirektion, as well as the archivists from the Filmarchiv Austria and the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. At the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I thank the sparkly-eyed mustachioed man working at the circulation desk for learning my name because according to him, I was *amtsbekannt*. No one was probably ordering as many sex-related titles as I.

I am especially indebted to the kindness of friends and loved-ones. If it hadn't been for Zoe Nelson's emotional support, I never would have gotten this far. I thank her for daring to come to Chicago with me, and for being by my side for so many years. I am also grateful to Roman Birke, Chris Dunlap, Musetta Durkee, Katharina Gratz, Emily Lord Fransee, Phillip Henry, Michaela Hintermayr, Britta Ingebretson, Phil Pierick, Lisa Scott, Lauren Stokes, Michael Williams, and my D&D family. A special thanks to Carmine Grimaldi for helping me come up with a dissertation topic in the first place, and Hugh Schmidt, whose friendship and research assistance I have come to rely on. Johanna Barry, one of the best humans I know, I thank for her unwavering support, patience, and faith in me. Without biweekly Zumba classes, and coffee and muffin dates with Kelli Gardner, I would have had a difficult time completing the dissertation on time. Finally, I will forever be grateful to Ryan Dahn's boldness at Maria's. It changed my life forever, and turned me into an even greater romantic than I ever thought was possible.

Last, but certainly not least, I thank my family. Over the years, my parents, Irene Motyl-Mudretzkyj and Alexander Motyl, have provided me with unconditional love and endless encouragement. My mother was the first *Wienerin* I came to know, and my love of all things Viennese I owe to her. I am endlessly grateful to my father for his faith in me as a scholar, and his

boundless optimism. Traipsing through Eastern Europe with him (and eating every kind of *periogi* under the sun) in the spring of 2016 was magnificent. Finally, I thank my grandparents, whose history shaped every part of this project. Their ghosts sat by me as I wrote every word.

ABSTRACT

Fin de siècle Vienna is often remembered as a place saturated with sex, calling to mind the eroticism of Gustav Klimt's paintings, Sigmund Freud's discovery of the sexual unconscious, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing's sexology. According to contemporaries, Vienna was in the throes of a "sexual crisis." Historical scholarship has retained this language of sexual crisis, examining the milieu from the perspective of the male cultural and intellectual elite. Yet, as social historians have observed, the majority of Viennese residents were not familiar with Klimt's paintings, nor were they patients of Freud. Turning away from the perspective of the male cultural and intellectual elite, we might wonder if there was any correlation between the constant talk about "sexual crisis" and everyday life. My dissertation, *Bodies That Shimmer: An Embodied History of Vienna's New Women, 1893-1931*, attempts to answer this question. Drawing on methodologies from cultural and social history, as well as feminist theory, it examines how ordinary Viennese women, the objects of sexual knowledge, experienced this sexually vibrant milieu.

Bodies That Shimmer argues that the "sexual crisis" corresponded to real changes in gender and sexuality, as embodied by the city's new women: urban working-class and bourgeois women who subverted gender norms and sexual conventions by articulating a new kind of femininity. Women articulated this new femininity not only through their changing roles in society, family, and politics, but also through their bodies. Whether they were walking more expansively on city streets, emulating the emotional expressiveness of the silent film actor, or learning to inspect their bodies as medical objects, new women began using and experiencing their bodies in radically new ways. At its core, then, *Bodies That Shimmer* reveals that femininity is neither a stable nor a unified category, but one that changes over time.

Ultimately, this dissertation argues that new Viennese womanhood was not necessarily emancipatory, but rather, complex and contradictory. Despite casting aside their corsets and cutting off their hair—acts that have come to be viewed as incontrovertibly emancipatory—Vienna's new women were engaging in a new script of femininity. That is to say, the very performance of new womanhood was just that: a performance that could be learned and reproduced.

INTRODUCTION

> She gradually began to undress in front of the mirror. The coat fell to the floor so that the bright, flowered silk dress became visible. She then loosened the lace scarf from her head and stood there, her body the shape of a petite, modern silhouette…
> Intrigued, as if today was the first time she ever saw herself, she looked at [her]… petite, soft, always unrestricted [*miederlos*] serpentine figure as depicted on the magnificent Secessionist skirts. So this was Fanny Roth. She found herself to be quite interesting.[1]

This intimate scene, in which a young woman contemplates her own body for the first time, is from the 1910 novel, *Fanny Roth*, written by Jewish-Austrian feminist writer, Grete Meisel-Hess. At first, the eponymous protagonist identifies her body as just another modern "serpentine" figure as referenced and reproduced by the Viennese Art Nouveau movement known as the Secession. The scene calls to mind Gustav Klimt's 1899 painting, *Nuda Veritas*, in which a milky-skinned waif stands nude, a snake slithering at her feet, holding a mirror up to us, the viewer. In Meisel-Hess's version, however, the woman holds the mirror up to herself.

> And a strange new tenderness arose in her for this body, about which no one ever thought, not even she.
> And yet, there was a shimmer under the open lace of the dress by the neck, which was white and glowing.
> With trembling hands, she undid the hooks and slipped out of the sleeves and threw the silk gown on the chair next to her.
> A soft rustling—the skirt fell to the ground.
> She stood there in a white, short underskirt, the arms and neck exposed, and the small bust softly rising and falling under the knitted shirt…
> And she turned off the light—so only the light of the moon could throw its furtive shine over her. She stood again in front of the mirror and stared into the weakly lit glass…
> Ribbons loosened and something long, flowing, and white streamed to the floor.[2]

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[1] "Sie begann sich langsam vor ihrem grossen Spiegel zu entkleiden. Der Mantel fiel, und das helle, geblumte Seidenkleid wurde sichtbar. Dann löste sie den Spitzenshawl vom Kopf und stand da, als kleine moderne Silhouette, wie sie heut abend gespielt hatte. Mit einer Neugierde, als sähe sie sich heute zum erstenmal, betrachtete sie… die kleine, weiche, immer miederlose Schlangengestalt in dem fabelhaften secessionistischen Röckchen. —Das also war Fanny Roth. Recht interessant kam sie sich vor." See Grete Meisel-Hess, *Fanny Roth: Eine Jung-Frauengeschichte* (Berlin: Seemann, 1904), 8-12.

[2] "Und eine fremde, neue Zärtlichkeit stieg in ihr auf für diesen Körper, an den nie jemand dachte, nicht einmal sie selbst. Und doch schimmerte es unter der durchbrochenen Spitze des Kleides, beim Halse, weiss und leuchtend… Mit zitternden Händen löste sie die Haken, schlüpfte aus den Aermeln und warf das seidene Leibchen auf den Sessel daneben. Ein leises Rauschen, —der Rock glitt zu Boden. Sie stand da in dem

It is at this moment in the text that Fanny Roth reclaims her body as her own to become re-embodied: she suddenly feels "tenderness" for her body, her senses sharpen ("a soft rustling"), and she becomes more attuned to the "rise and fall," the inhale and the exhale of her breath. The removal of the "flowing" (*wallend*) and "streaming" (*fluten*) underskirt can be likened to a baptism by water, a rebirth that allows her to gaze upon her naked body and see its "shimmer." There is eroticism in the scene, as Fanny coyly and anxiously—with "trembling hands"—undresses and turns off the light, engaging in the same rituals that occur before a lovemaking session, only here, she is experiencing sensuality and tenderness on her own and for herself.

Fig. 1 Gustav Klimt, *Nuda Veritas* (1899). Public Domain. From Wikimedia Commons.

weissen kurzen Unterrock, mit nackten Armen und Hals, und der kleinen, bewegten Büste, deren leises Heben und Senken unter dem gestickten Hemd zu sehen war… Und sie löschte die Lampe aus, —nur das Nachtlicht warf seinen verstohlenen Schein über sie. Dann stand sie wieder vor dem Spiegel und starrte in das schwacherhellte Glas… Bänder lösten sich, und etwas Langes, Wallendes, Weisses flutete zu Boden."

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A year before the publication of *Fanny Roth,* Meisel-Hess published *The Sexual Crisis* (*Die Sexuelle Krise*), which portrayed fin de siècle Vienna as sexually repressive and regressive, especially for women.[3] According to her, Vienna was experiencing a "sexual crisis," which espoused both a stifling bourgeois morality and an "inverted sexual paradigm" that prioritized the phallus over the womb, male desire over female desire, masculinity over femininity. She identified the family wage, the restricted selection of marriage partners, as well as the lack of sexual rights for unmarried people as reasons for prostitution, illegitimate births, illegal abortions, and, consequently, the declining number of marriages. The solution, she argued, lay in restructuring the nuclear family by offering women higher wages so that they, too, could assume the position of breadwinner, and by placing greater emphasis on sexual pleasure for married and unmarried women. At the center of Meisel-Hess's sexually liberated Vienna stood the financially independent and sexually satisfied woman—a new woman who, like Fanny Roth, was reclaiming the "white and glowing shimmer" of her physicality.[4]

But while Meisel-Hess viewed fin de siècle Vienna as sexually underdeveloped, others believed it to be the very opposite. Karl Kraus, the cultural critic of the journal, *The Torch* (*Die Fackel*), argued that the "sexual crisis" was a symptom of cultural decline,[5] the product of a new

[3] Grete Meisel-Hess, *Die sexuelle Krise: Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung* (Jena: Diederichs Verlag, 1909).
[4] Interestingly, Roland Barthes describes the body as an affectual "shimmering." See Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 11.
[5] Daniel Pick argues that the language of degeneration was used not only in reference to "others" outside of a group, but also "others" within a group. The latter point is true with regard to the "sexual crisis" in Vienna: it was the city's new women who were condemned for being degenerate and toxic. See Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-c.1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

"masculine woman."[6] This sentiment was reiterated by Otto Weininger, author of the controversial book, *Sex & Character* (*Geschlecht und Charakter*), which was published in 1903.[7] According to Weininger, fin de siècle Viennese modernity was a breeding ground for sexual perversions, immorality, and decadence. The new masculine women of the feminist movement epitomized this perversion, insofar as they were unnatural, deviant hermaphrodites. "A woman's demand for emancipation," he argued, "and her qualification for it are in direct proportion to the amount of maleness in her."[8] And a male woman, Weininger argued, was certainly not a natural woman. To be sure, he insisted that it was society's duty to "do away with the whole women's movement, which creates in so many people anti-natural and artificial, basically dishonest striving."[9] The "sexual crisis," then, held very different meanings for different people, so that while no one could agree on what it was or how it should be diagnosed, one thing was for certain: there was a change underway and Vienna's new women had something to do with it.

Most scholarship on the Viennese "sexual crisis" examines either how it was discussed by contemporaries, such as Meisel-Hess, Kraus, and Weininger, or its relation to the production of sexual knowledge, with emphasis placed on the eroticism of Gustav Klimt's paintings and Hugo von Hofmannsthal's writing, Sigmund Freud's discovery of the sexual unconscious, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing's sexology. But Vienna, as historian Maureen Healy observers, "was a city of two million residents, the vast majority of whom did not read Hofmannsthal and were not patients of

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[6] It should be noted that the women's movement explicitly rejected the emulation of masculinity. See Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin de siècle Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.

[7] In many ways, Meisel-Hess's text, *Die sexuelle Krise*, can be viewed as a rebuttal to Weininger's controversial book.

[8] Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character, 6. Edition* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, [1903] 1906), 64.

[9] Otto Weininger as quoted in David S. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 63.

Freud."[10] What, if any, was the everyday experience of this "sexual crisis"? Was there any correlation between discourse and everyday life?

Bodies That Shimmer examines the everyday experience of the alleged "sexual crisis" by looking to new woman. The figure of the New Woman was a projection of contemporary hopes, fears, and anxieties, the very embodiment and personification of "sexual crisis." But instead of investigating how she was imagined over time, this dissertation examines the experience and performance of Viennese new womanhood on the ground. I argue that new women did exist,[11] and that it was their radical performance of femininity that constituted early twentieth century "gender trouble"—what contemporaries pessimistically described in terms of crisis.[12]

At its core, then, *Bodies That Shimmer* traces the emergence of new articulations of Viennese femininity from the late nineteenth century to the interwar period. In so doing, it shows that femininity is neither a stable nor a unified category, but one that changes over time. Moreover, it reveals that gender is not the property of any person, class, race, or sex.[13] As I show in the following chapters, the deviant femininity of the Habsburg sex worker came to be appropriated by ordinary women, so that what was once deviant came to be seen as rather ordinary. Moreover, working-class women influenced bourgeois articulations of new womanhood, just as the bourgeoisie inspired working-class women. Even further, I argue that by the mid-1920s, early conceptions of female masculinity came to be reimagined as feminine, indicating that the boundary separating femininity from masculinity is much more porous than we think.

Importantly, *Bodies That Shimmer* explores these new articulations of femininity by looking to embodiment. According to Judith Butler, gender constitutes an embodied performance, a series of

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[10] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.
[11] To emphasize the fact that I am focusing on the experience of new womanhood on the ground, I refer to "new women" instead of "New Women."
[12] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
[13] Although this dissertation only focuses on female—and not male—femininity.

gestural iterations and citations that creates the illusion of a stable sexed subject. Although we are led to think that female sex determines feminine comportment, it is actually the other way around: embodied performances of "femininity" give coherence and materiality to femaleness, creating the illusion of a stable sexual identity.[14]

Although this dissertation is partially indebted to Butler's notion of gender performance, it also takes a more moderate approach by reevaluating her extreme dismissal of the body, and materiality, more generally.[15] Not only does her idea of performativity ignore the realities of embodied difference,[16] even further, as disability scholar Ellen Samuels observes, it is "en-abled by its own reliance upon a stable, functional body that is able to walk, talk, give birth, see, and be seen."[17] I therefore draw on a feminist phenomenological approach to stress that bodies do matter (to rephrase Butler's title): new woman Fanny Roth felt the shimmer, the matter, of her body. Rather than think of the body as either discursive or pre-discursive, feminist phenomenologists have highlighted the porousness, the very shimmer, separating these oppositions. As historian Kathleen Canning observed, and whose work inspired aspects of this project, the body "constitutes and intriguing point at which discourses and everyday experiences converge."[18]

Beyond the Schorskean Paradigm: Rethinking Vienna's "Sexual Crisis"

Most scholarship on fin de siècle Vienna alludes to crisis—whether liberal, rational, masculine, or sexual. The crisis narrative was first popularized by Carl Schorske, who famously

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[14] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
[15] For a discussion of the "turn to the body" in contemporary feminism, see Constance L. Mui and Julien S. Murphy, eds., *Gender Struggles: Practical Approaches to Contemporary Feminism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).
[16] For a more recent book on embodied difference, see Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (New York: Routledge, 2000).
[17] Ellen Samuels, "Critical Divides: Judith Butler's Body Theory and the Question of Disability," *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 58-76.
[18] Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 14.

attributed Viennese cultural and intellectual developments to the alleged crisis of Austrian liberalism, the emergence of an irrational "politics of a new key," and the subsequent liberal retreat into an aesthetic *Gefühlskultur*.[19] Schorske framed his thesis in terms of Oedipal revolt, where three generations of sons abandon their fathers' politics for culture, rationalism for irrationalism, historicism for ahistoricism, becoming the bearers of a radical and modernist *Weltanschauung*. If liberalism could be likened to a garden, then modernism—especially its fullest expression—not only involved a "transformation of the garden," but also its "explosion."[20]

Most revealing is how Schorske and his predecessors relied on and gendered the binary oppositions undergirding crisis, so that modernity and modernism came to be seen as feminine and sensual, while liberalism became its masculine and temperate opposite. By describing the mass politics of Pan-Germanism, Christian Socialism, and Zionism as "more abrasive, more creative, and more satisfying to the life of feeling than the deliberative style of the liberals," Schorske drew on gendered language to cast Viennese modernity as volatile, effusive, and feminine, and liberalism, as composed and masculine.[21] He described modernism in similarly feminized terms, referring to Hofmannsthal's cultivation of an "irrational force of feeling,"[22] as well as Klimt's "celebration of womanly sensuality."[23] And, finally, he analyzed Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* as a "voyage interieur,"[24] an exploration of the feminized "world of instinct" in response to hyper-masculine liberal-rationalist academic orthodoxy and aggressive anti-Semitism.[25]

Drawing on this schema, William McGrath described the Viennese culture of modernism as Dionysian, thereby reinforcing the gendered and sexualized dimensions already set in place by

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[19] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).
[20] The final two chapters/essays in Schorske's book are "The Transformation of the Garden" and the "Explosion in the Garden: Kokoschka and Schoenberg," respectively.
[21] Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna*, 119.
[22] Ibid., 22.
[23] Ibid., 223.
[24] Ibid., 208
[25] Ibid., 181-207.

Schorske. Though McGrath was specifically referring to the Nietzschean opposition between Apollonian and Dionysian forces, this dichotomy nevertheless managed to perpetuate the Schorskean oppositions between liberalism and modernism, rationalism and irrationalism, politics and culture, and, crucially, masculinity and femininity. According to him, Dionysian ideas provided a "coherent philosophical framework for a cultural ideal radically opposed to that of Austrian liberalism with its faith in progress and scientific rationalism."[26] By evoking the image of Dionysus, the most decadent, as well as sexually ambiguous Greek god, McGrath thus managed to code Viennese modernism as dithyrambic, sexually licentious, and thoroughly effeminate.

Fin de siècle Viennese modernism certainly *was* saturated with sex. One is reminded of Gustav Klimt's seductive female nudes or Egon Schiele's pornographic renderings of women's intimate body parts. But what narratives such as Schorske's and McGrath's (as well as Nike Wagner's[27]) seem to imply is that Viennese sexuality was repressed before the late nineteenth century, at which point it erupted due to this very repression.[28] For example, Schorske argues that, "Klimt banished the moral sense of sin that plagued the righteous fathers,"[29] "attempt[ing] to liberate sexuality from the constraints of a moralistic culture,"[30] so that his erotic paintings, at least initially, must be viewed as "desublimat[ed]" or de-repressed.[31] As Michel Foucault has revealed in his *History of Sexuality*, however, the repression model is misleading because it overlooks the ways in which sex and sexuality were managed by the liberal bourgeoisie. Casting the fin de siècle as

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[26] William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 59.
[27] Nike Wagner, *Karl Kraus und die Erotik der Wiener Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982).
[28] For a discussion of this "Energiemodell" of sexuality, see Franz X. Eder, "'Diese Theorie ist sehr delikat… Zur Sexualisierung der 'Wiener Moderne'," in *Die Wiener Jahrhundertwende*, eds. Jürgen Nautz and Richard Vahrenkamp (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), 165.
[29] Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna*, 224.
[30] Ibid., 224.
[31] Ibid., 222.

Dionysian and sexual thus reinforces both the fallacy of binary oppositions and the illusion that Viennese liberalism was completely uninterested in sex.

In addition to being regarded as effeminate and sexual, the Viennese fin de siècle also came to be seen as threatening to bourgeois conceptions of masculinity. Even though the modernists were initially drawn to liberating sexuality, Schorske observed that, soon, "the joyous explorer[s] of Eros found [themselves] falling into the coils of *la femme tentaculaire*. The new freedom was turning into a nightmare of anxiety."[32] He analyzed Klimt's paintings as manifesting a fear of castration, using the decapitation depicted in *Judith* and the "clawed hands and bony face" of *Salome (Judith II)* as examples.[33] Continuing in the Schorskean tradition, Jacques Le Rider's *Modernity and the Crises of Identity* suggested that the crisis of liberal rationalism manifested itself, first and foremost, in the fragmentation of the masculine individual.[34] As the liberal subject was called into question by Nietzschean irrationalism and the sense-based science of Ernst Mach, masculinity—which has its roots in the liberal subject[35]—was seen as losing ground to Jewishness[36] and decadence.[37] Likewise, historian Chandak Sengoopta explained Otto Weininger's misogyny and anti-Semitism in terms of this very crisis of masculinity.[38] According to Sengoopta, Weininger's work was a larger critique of

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[32] Ibid., 224-225.
[33] Ibid., 224.
[34] Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and the Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin de Siècle Vienna*, trans. Rosemary Morris (New York: Continuum, 1993).
[35] For feminist reinterpretations of liberalism, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[36] Le Rider's thesis draws on Steven Beller's important revision of Schorske. According to Beller, Viennese fin de siècle culture was not a result of liberal, but rather, *Jewish* liberal retreat into both culture and intellect. See Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[37] With the rise of anti-Semitism, Jewishness itself was undergoing a shift, becoming a marker of decadence, corruption, and most importantly, masculine lack. For a fascinating discussion of the cultural codes of Jewishness in interwar Vienna, see Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians: Jews and culture between the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[38] Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

fin de siècle modernity,[39] which he considered feminized and Judaized (the latter often being equated with the former).[40] The shift from liberalism to modernism, then, could be read as an aggressive emasculation, and resulting "impotence,"[41] of Viennese culture and society.[42]

What is more, the "sexual crisis" has been understood to be less about sex, and more about male anxieties about changes in politics, culture, and society. Indeed, sexuality, according to Edward Timms, "became the 'symbolic territory' where the fundamental issues of the age were debated,"[43] or, to quote David Luft, a "metaphor for thinking about inwardness in the context of modern science and the crisis of Western traditions of spirituality after Nietzsche."[44] And yet, by focusing on the significance of the "sexual crisis" to mostly male intellectuals, many scholars have lost sight of the thing itself. While it is precisely because—to quote Dagmar Herzog—"sex can be the site for talking about very many other things besides sex," that it is a rich and important subject of history, it nevertheless seems problematic to me to view the fin de siècle discourse on sexuality solely as a stand-in for male crisis.[45] The implications of this are two-fold. By discussing sex in such intellectual terms and as a substitute for something else, this approach ignores the very real, everyday

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[39] "Die Krise der Männlichkeit, die Infragestellung der männlichen Identifikationsmuster und der parallel laufende Untergang der Welt der Väter schockierte—wie Le Rider gezeigt hat—die Jungen der letzten Jahrzenhte des 19. Jahrunderts bis ins Innerste." See Eder, "'Diese Theorie ist sehr delikat…' Zur Sexualisierung der 'Wiener Moderne'," 175.

[40] On the intersection of feminization and Jewishness in Vienna, see especially Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Sander L. Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de siècle* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[41] Schorske describes the failure of liberalism thusly: "This defeat had profound psychological repercussions. The mood it evoked was one not so much of decadence as of *impotence*," (emphasis mine). See Schorske, 6.

[42] For additional literature that deals with the Viennese crisis of masculinity and its resulting misogyny, see Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Claude Cernuschi, "Pseudo-Science and Mythic Misogyny: Oskar Kokoschka's *Murderer, Hope of Women*," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 1 (March 1999): 126-148; Agatha Schwartz, "Sexual Cripples and Moral Degenerates: Austrian *Fin-de-Siècle* Women Writers on Male Sexuality and Masculinity," *Seminar* 44, no. 1 (2008): 53-67.

[43] Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: cultural Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 28.

[44] Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna*, 2.

[45] Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 8.

experiences of changes in gender and sexuality on the ground. While we know how Freud and Hofmannsthal diagnosed the "sexual crisis," how did ordinary people experience these changes in their everyday lives? Following the work of Matti Bunzl, Anita Kurimay, Britta McEwen, Scott Spector, Keely Stauter-Halsted, and Nancy M. Wingfield, *Bodies That Shimmer* shows that the "sexual crisis" was more than just an intellectual preoccupation;[46] it took place on the ground and within bodies, and it is my goal to take what has been abstracted—gender and sexuality—and bring it back to physical life.[47]

Second, this approach perpetuates rather than critically reassesses the pessimism and sexism that fin de siècle contemporaries came to rely on. That is to say, there is slippage between what the likes of Schiele, Weininger, and Klimt experienced and how scholars assess the fin de siècle today (though I am certainly not suggesting that Schorske and his predecessors knowingly perpetuated this sexist pessimism). Drawing on the revisionist works of John W. Boyer, Pieter Judson, and Deborah

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[46] On popular sexual culture in Austria before 1948, see Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 146-170; Franz X. Eder, "Sexual Cultures in Germany and Austria, 1700-2000," in *Sexual Cultures in Europe: National Histories*, eds. Franz X. Eder et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Claudia Schoppmann, *Verbotene Verhältnisse: Frauenliebe, 1938-1945* (Berlin: Querverlag, 1999); Franz X. Eder, *Kultur der Begierde: Eine Geschichte der Sexualität* (München: Beck, 2002); Günther Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., *Sexuality in Austria* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007); Matti Bunzl, "Desiderata for a History of Austrian Sexualities," *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 48-57; Britta McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact, and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900-1934* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Scott Spector, *Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). On sexual cultures in the Habsburg Empire and successor states (beyond Vienna) before 1948, see Mark Cornwall, "Heinrich Rutha and the Unraveling of a Homosexual Scandal in 1930s Czechoslovakia," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 3 (June 1, 2002): 319-347; Nathan Wood, "Sexual Violence, Sex Scandals, and the Word on the Street: The Kolasówna Lustmord in Cracow's Popular Press, 1905-06," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 243-269; Anita Kurimay, *Sex in the 'Pearl of the Danube': The History of Queer Life, Love, and its Regulation in Budapest* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2012); Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[47] As Scott Spector puts it, the "broad attention to turn-of-the-century Vienna's contributions to the 'superstructure' of sexuality studies, from medical science to art and literature," is "accompanied by a relative lack of discussion of popular sexuality in the same place and time." This dissertation seeks to remedy this. See Scott Spector, "The Wrath of the 'Countess Merviola': Tabloid Exposé and the Emergence of Homosexual Subjects in Vienna in 1907," in *Sexuality in Austria*, eds. Günther Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 33.

Coen, which have both challenged Schorske's crisis-narrative and rethought such binary oppositions as liberalism/mass politics and rationalism/irrationalism,[48] my dissertation deconstructs Schorske's gendered categories in an effort to recast the fin de siècle Viennese milieu from a more nuanced, ground-up, and ultimately feminist perspective that also takes the interwar period into account.[49] Ultimately, I argue that the "sexual crisis" must be stripped of its pessimism and reconceived in more neutral terms.[50]

(Gender) Trouble in Vienna

What is interesting is that neither Schorske nor his predecessors explained the sexual crisis—the so-called "eroto-feminization" of modern culture, on the one hand, and the subsequent crisis of masculinity, on the other—as related to real women. In fact, women, with the exception of the imagined and vilified *femme tentaculaire*, arguably a New Woman, are hardly present in these texts. Instead, they mostly described the proliferation of cultural forces that were gendered feminine. This dissertation shifts the focus to Vienna's women, and suggests that one reason for the perceived feminization of culture and crisis of masculinity was that women—the alleged purveyors of femininity—became more visible and public at this time. These were the new women of Vienna.

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[48] Revisionist work has reassessed different aspects of the Schorskean paradigm. On the continuities between liberalism and mass politics, see John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Pieter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996). For a reassessment of the nature of Austrian liberal rationalism, see Deborah R. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). For modernism, see Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[49] Deborah R. Coen's book, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty*, most explicitly reveals the gendered dimensions of Schorske's thesis. She draws on feminist theory to suggest that a "retreat" into the private sphere of culture never took place, as public and private spheres were/are intimately linked.

[50] For a rethinking of the crisis-narrative, see James Shedel, "*Fin de Siecle* or *Jahrhundertwende*: The Question of an Austrian *Sonderweg*," in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 80-104.

The Austrian women's movement was, perhaps, the clearest indicator of women's new visibility. Historians typically date the start of the movement to 1866, when Viennese salonniere, Iduna Lauber, founded the Women's Employment Association (*Wiener Frauen-Erwerbverein*). As men left to fight against Prussia, women took part in the *Erwerbverein*'s many workshops so that they could enter the workforce and participate in the war effort. With the spread of industrial urbanization and globalization, as well as the subsequent economic crash of 1873, the number of salaried women workers increased dramatically over the next few decades, so that by 1890, 6.5 of the 9 million women over the age of ten and living in Austria were making a wage sufficient to live on.[51] As more women began to work shoulder to shoulder with men, they also became more vocal about equal rights, pay, and treatment, prompting Marianne Hainisch to pen the essay, "The Question of Woman's Paid Work" in 1875. In 1902, Hainisch would go on to establish the League of Austrian Women's Associations (*Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine*, BÖF), which took a pragmatic and economic approach to the woman question, addressing women's work, education, and suffrage.

According to Harriet Anderson, by the 1890s, the bourgeois women's movement shifted its focus to a more visionary feminism, divorced from the pragmatics that would inform the BÖF. In 1893, the General Austrian Women's Association (*Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein*, AÖF) was established with "the purpose of promoting [Austrian women's] economic interests and their intellectual development, as well as the raising of their social status," and furthering "the development of [women's] personalities."[52] Instead of promoting either sameness or difference

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[51] Agatha Schwartz, *Shifting Voices: Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in fin de siècle Austria and Hungary* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 45. In 1890, 1,827 women worked in industry and trade, 8,405 in transport and commerce, and 30,926 in the public and professional sector; in 1910, by contrast, 14,676 women worked in industry and trade, 36,811 in transport and commerce, and 79,187 in the public and professional sector. See *Berufsstatistiken nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung*, as cited in Erna Appelt, "The Gendering of the Service Sector in Late Nineteenth-Century Austria," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, eds. David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes (Providence: Bergahn Books, 1996), 122.

[52] As quoted in Schwartz, *Shifting Voices*, 8.

paradigms to substantiate women's claim to rights—that women are, in other words, the same as men and therefore entitled to the same rights, or different from men and in need of their own rights—the AÖF insisted on going beyond rights, promoting a feminist agenda that sought to change society altogether so as to attain a higher level of progress. "Let us not forget how closely rights and force have always been connected," Auguste Fickert, the AÖF's leading figure, declared.[53] "We do not want to imitate men who in the course of history have generally used their attained rights only to oppress those weaker than themselves. For us it is a question of something much higher."[54]

Anderson drew on Schorske's text to suggest that in the wake of liberal failure, bourgeois feminists eschewed the rationalism of the earlier generation to retreat into a world of visionary feminism. And, indeed, visionary feminisms did emerge at the fin de siècle, but not at the expense of the more pragmatic approach that dictated the movement from the very beginning. As mentioned above, the more pragmatic BÖF was founded in 1902, nine years after the founding of the AÖF. Similarly, the Women's Right to Suffrage Committee (*Frauenstimmrechtskomitee*) was established as late as 1906. In facat, the Austrian women's movement became so interested in practical outcomes, that the Austrian Women's Party (*Österreichische Frauenpartei*) was founded in December 1929 in an attempt to bridge the divide between the Social Democratic Worker's Party (SDAP) and the Christian Social Party (CSP), and to advocate for Austrian women's interests, peace, and international disarmament.

Even further, visionary feminism itself, while undoubtedly utopian, did not always reject the sameness- and difference- paradigms that undergirded liberal thought. For example, the Austrian branch of the League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform (*Bund für Mutterschutz*

[53] Auguste Fickert, *Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein Jahresbericht* (1895) as quoted in Anderson, *Utopian Feminism*, 10.
[54] Ibid., 10.

und Sexualreform),[55] founded in 1907 and of which Grete Meisel-Hess was an avid member, emphasized difference via maternalism, while also promoting free love, marriage reform, and matriarchy. For the *Bund für Mutterschutz*, women's femaleness and reproductive capacities were a reason for the attainment of rights. During and after the First World War, the espousal of maternalism became even more widespread in Austria, with liberal Jewish and Christian women, as well as members of the SDAP, invoking it—but for very different ends.

More recent scholarship has attempted to break with Anderson's narrative by considering more moderate branches of the women's movement, as well as feminist involvement in the Habsburg Monarchy more generally, especially vis-à-vis nationalism.[56] For example, Agatha Schwartz has considered the intellectual contributions of feminists in both the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the monarchy.[57] Historian Gabriella Hauch's work provides historical narratives of Austrian women's engagement in politics from 1848 until the Nazi period.[58] Meanwhile, Heidrun Zettelbauer has examined the intersection of feminism and *völkisch* German nationalism. Her recent

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[55] The *Bund für Mutterschutz*, led by Helene Stöcker, Lily Braun, and Adele Schreiber, was founded in Germany in 1905. See Any Hackett, "Helene Stöcker: Left-Wing Intellectual and Sex-Reformer," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, eds. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984); Christl Wickert, *Helene Stöcker, 1869-1943: Frauenrechtlerin, Sexualreformerin und Pazifistin* (Bonn: Dietz, 1991); Gudrun Hamelmann, *Helene Stöcker, der "Bund für Mutterschutz," und "Die Neue Generation"* (Frankfurt/Main: Haag & Herchen, 1992).

[56] Still relatively little has been written on women involved in either SDAP or CS. On women and the SDAP, see Thomas Lewis Hamer, "Beyond Feminism: The Women's Movement in Austrian Social Democracy, 1890-1926," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973); Ingrun Lafleur, "Adelheid Popp and Working-Class Feminism in Austria," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 86-105; Gabriella Hauch, *Frauen bewegen Politik: Österreich 1848-1938* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2009), 83-151. On women and the CS, see John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: The Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 378-379; John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 69-71; Zachary Barr, "Erziehung: Women, Education, and Christian Socialism, 1907-1914," (Seminar Paper, University of Chicago, 2012).

[57] Agatha Schwartz, *Shifting Voices: Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in fin de siècle Austria and Hungary* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

[58] Gabriella Hauch, *Frau Biedermeier auf den Barrikaden: Frauenleben in der Wiener Revolution 1848* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1990); Gabriella Hauch, *Vom Frauenstandpunkt aus: Frauen im Parlament, 1919-1933* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1995); Johanna Gemacher and Gabriella Hauch, eds., *Frauen- und Geschlechtergesichte des Nationalsozialismus: Fragestellungen, Perspektiven, neue Forschungen* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007); Gabriella Hauch, *Frauen bewegen Politik: Österreich 1848-1938* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2009).

book describes how German nationalists in the Habsburg Monarchy articulated a distinct conception of ideal femininity.[59] Other scholars, such as Katherine David, Judith Szapor, and Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk have written about feminists involved in non-German-speaking nationalist movements in the late imperial period.[60] Finally, Margarete Grandner and Edith Saurer edited a volume on Jewish women's movements in German-speaking Europe.[61]

Feminists, however, were not the only women responsible for gender trouble in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Vienna. As I show in the following chapters, ordinary bourgeois and working-class women were also increasing in visibility at this time. Vienna in the 1890s witnessed the influx of new labor migrants, often young women, from Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia, who looked for work in factories or as domestic servants.[62] During the First World War, many Jewish refugees fled to the city to escape Russian occupation.[63] Just as "the lives of

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[59] Heidrun Zettelbauer, *"Die Liebe sei Euer Heldentum": Geschlecht und Nation in völksichen Vereinen der Habsburgermonarchie* (Frankfrut/Main: Campus, 2005). See also Pieter M. Judson, "The Gendered Politics of German Nationalism in Austria, 1880-1900," *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Centuries*, 1-17.
[60] On women's movements in Galicia and Bukowina, see Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life 1884-1939* (Edmonton: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Iwona Dadej and Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk, "Together and Apart: Polish Women's Rights Activists and the Beginnings of the International Women's Day Around 1911," *Aspasia* 6 (2012): 25-42; Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk, *Die unkämpften Tore zur Gleichberechtigung: Frauenbewegungen in Galizien* (Wien: Lit Verlag, 2015). On women's movements in Bohemia/Moravia, see Katherine David, "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: The First in Austria," *Journal in Women's History* 3, no. 2. (1991): 26-45; Jitka Malečková, "The Importance of Being Nationalist," in *Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East Central Europe*, eds. Iveta Jusová and Jiřina Šiklová (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 46-59. On women's movements in Hungary, see Judith Szapor, *The Hungarian Pocahontas: The Life and Times of Laura Polanyi Stricker, 1882-1956* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2005). On the collaboration between different nationalist women's movements in the Habsburg lands (with an emphasis on feminists in the Balkans), see Vesela Tutavac and Ilse Korotin, eds., *'Wir wollen der Gerechtigkeit und Menschenliebe dienen…' Frauenbildung und Emanzipation in der Habsburger Monarchie—der südslawische Raum und seine Wechselwirkung mit Wien, Prag und Budapest* (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2016).
[61] Margarete Grandner and Edith Saurer, eds., *Geschlecht, Religion und Engagement: Die jüdischen Frauenbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2005).
[62] On fin de siècle migration to Vienna, see Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna: 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); Monika Glettler, "Minority Culture in a Capital City: The Czechs in Vienna at the Turn of the Century," in *Decadence and Innovation: Austro-Hungarian Life and Art at the Turn of the Century*, ed. Robert B. Pynsent (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 49-60.
[63] On WWI refugees to Vienna, see Beatrix Hoffmann-Holter, *'Abreisendmachung.' Jüdische Kriegsflüchtlinge in Wien, 1914-1923* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1995; David Rechter, "Galicia in Vienna: Jewish Refugees in the First World War," *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 113-129.

immigrants, proletarians, and urban pariahs [have] remained virtually out of sight" in much of the literature on fin de siècle Vienna,[64] ordinary women have also been frequently overlooked in the historiography of women in Austria, which is mostly focused on feminisms. The few books that do explore the experiences of ordinary women are usually concerned with the bourgeoisie,[65] sex work,[66] Jews,[67] or the First World War.[68] *Bodies That Shimmer* thus adds to this literature by taking a social and cultural historical approach,[69] and engaging in a cross-class analysis that brings all of the above-

[64] Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin de siècle Vienna* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 1. For other social historical accounts of Vienna, see Geoffrey Drage, *Austria-Hungary* (London: J. Murray, 1909); Roman Sandgruber, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft: Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1982); Ernst Brückmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Wien: Herold, 1985).

[65] On bourgeois women, see *Die Frau im Korsett: Wiener Frauenalltag zwischen Klischee und Wirklichkeit, 1848-1920: 14. April 1848 bis 10. Februar 1985* (Wien: Eigenverlag des Museen der Stadt Wien, 1984); Elke Krasny, *Stadt und Frauen: eine andere Topographie von Wien* (Wien: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus: Metroverlag, 2008).

[66] On sex work in imperial Austria, Keely Stauter-Halsted, "'A Generation of Monsters': Jews, Prostitution, and Racial Purity in the 1892 L'viv White Slavery Trial," *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 25-35; Keely Stauter-Halsted, "Moral Panic and the Sex worker in Partitioned Poland: Middle-Class Respectability in Defense of the Modern Nation," *Slavic Review* 68, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 557-581; Keely Stauter-Halsted, "The Physician and the Fallen Woman: Medicalizing Prostitution in the Polish Lands," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 270-290; Nancy M. Wingfield, "Destination: Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Constantinople; White Slavers' in Late Imperial Austria," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 291-311; Nancy M. Wingfield, "The Enemy Within: Regulating Prostitution and Controlling Venereal Disease in Cisleithanian Austria during the Great War," *Central European History* 46 (2013): 468-498; Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[67] On Austrian Jewish women, see Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Alison Rose, *Jewish Women in Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

[68] On Austrian women on the homefront, see Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31-86, 122-159; Christa Ehrmann-Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014).

[69] In formulating my methodological approach, I drew on the vast literature on women in Germany, specifically, the following books: Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does A Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Jennifer V. Evans, *Life Among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001); Catherine L. Dollard, *The Surplus Woman: Unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

mentioned themes together.[70] Feminists were hardly the only *neue Wienerinnen*, I argue, nor the epitome of new womanhood. Ordinary bourgeois and working-class women, sex workers, as well as Eastern European and Jewish migrants were just as radical.

This becomes particularly apparent during and after the First World War. As Maureen Healy documents, what was once seen as women's work, such as the acquisition and preparation of food, became deeply political with the war, so that ordinary Viennese women became front-line soldiers in an economic war for food. More women also entered the Viennese labor force,[71] so that by 1918, 53.4 percent of it was female.[72] As the demand for unskilled labor grew, and as more men were enlisted to fight on the front, the state came to rely on women, youth, and POWs to continue the war effort.[73] According to an industry report, by 1916, "women were increasingly being used for men's work in the highly-skilled metalworking and ammunition industries, as well as in the food industry and even in chemical factories."[74] In addition, with the establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Labor Force in the Field (*weibliche Hilfskräfte im Felde*) in 1917, between 36,000 to 50,000 women were employed as laboratory assistants, clerical workers, technicians, and

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[70] For other books that do this, see Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Erika Thurner, eds., *Women in Austria* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998); David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes, eds., *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996); Agatha Schwartz, ed., *Gender and Modernity in Central Europe: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Its Legacy* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010).

[71] Although many women had already been employed in industry prior to 1914, what is significant is the shift from homework to factory labor during and after the war. The metal industry is perhaps the best example of this shift: in 1893, only 14 women were employed in metalwork factories whereas in 1924, the number increased to 22,000. See Robert Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change Among Viennese Youth, 1890-1938* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 101. On Austrian women's employment during WWI, see Emmy Freundlich, "Die Frauenarbeit im Krieg," in *Die Regelung der Arbeitsverhältnisse im Kriege*, eds. Ferdinand Hanusch and Emanuel Adler (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1927).

[72] Sigrid Augeneder, *Arbeiterinnen im Ersten Weltkrieg: Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen proletarischer Frauen in Österreich* (Wien: Europaverlag, 1987), 33.

[73] Augeneder, *Arbeiterinnen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 82.

[74] "… die Frauenspersonen in zunehmendem Maße zur Männerarbeit in den hochbeschäftigten Metallwaren- und Munitionsbetrieben sowie in der Nahrungsmittelindustrie und selbst in chemischen Fabriken herangezogen [wurden]." As quoted in Ibid., 87-88.

telephone/telegraph operators until 1918.[75] Christa Ehrmann-Hämmerle notes how women's care work, such as nursing, also became professionalized with the war; in July 1914, Marianne Hainisch proclaimed that, "it is the duty of women to care for the wounded, to take care of invalids, to look after children and elderly parents…"[76] Meanwhile, between 1910 and 1934, the number of women employed in white-collar professions increased from 34,072 to 90,570; the number of women in public service nearly doubled from 23,656 to 40,525.[77]

Austrian women's new status was cemented in 1919, when they were finally granted the right to vote for the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies, as well as stand for office.[78] One year later, eight women deputies (out of 170) were elected to the Constituent Assembly. Social Democrat, Adelheid Popp, rejoiced over these changes, and asserted that, "the sufferings of the war have sharpened the mental capability of women and awakened and strengthened their own political interest… The great time has now begun, in which the word of the women will be heard. "[79]

Popp's assessment was correct: in the 1920s, women certainly did become more vocal, whether in politics, at work, or even, at home. In the wake of the destruction of the war, the newly created Austrian rump state made efforts to address the problems of depopulation, starvation, and venereal disease. In Vienna, which was under the control of the SDAP,[80] this took the form of

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[75] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 204.

[76] "Davon durchdrungen, dass es die Pflicht der Frauen ist, die Verwundeten zu pflegen, die Genesenden in Obhut zu nehmen, für die Kinder und alten Eltern der im Feld stehenden zu sorgen, den Behörden Hilfskräfte zu stellen, bitte ich im Names des Bundes österreichischer Frauenvereine die österreichischen Frauen, die uns stets treu zur Seite standen, sich für den Dienst im Kriegsfalle zu organisieren." In Marianne Hainisch, *Der Bund. Zentralblatt des Bundes österr. Frauenvereine* (1914), as quoted in Christa Ehrmann-Hämmerle, "Die 'Frauenhilfsaktion im Kriege' Weibliche (Selbst-) Mobilisierung und die Wiener Arbeitsstuben," in *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 3.

[77] Edith Rigler, *Frauenleitbild und Frauenarbeit in Österreich: Vom ausgehenden 19 Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1976), 1923.

[78] On Austrian women in parliament, see Gabriella Hauch, *Vom Frauenstandpunkt aus: Frauen im Parlament 1919-1933* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1995).

[79] Adelheid Popp, "Die Frau im neuen Staat" (1918), as quoted in Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 289.

[80] On interwar Vienna, see, for example, Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927-1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in*

increasing public—including women's—access to sexual information via popular literature, advice columns, and public clinics. According to historians Tracie Matysik, Britta McEwen, and Maria Mesner, medical knowledge grew during this period in order to improve sex—not only as a means to a reproductive end, but also as a pleasurable end in itself.[81] Viennese sex reformers and Social Democratic women made demands for the repeal of the anti-abortion legislation in the Austrian Penal Code (Paragraphs 144 and 148), and advocated for the circulation of information on contraception. Although the SDAP ultimately favored birth control over abortion,[82] it nevertheless established a wide range of welfare initiatives for women, children, and families. In the process, Viennese women came to embrace their sensuality, viewing their (hetero)sexuality as a right. In 1923, socialist feminist Therese Schlesinger published the article, "On the Evolution of the Erotic," in which she argued that male jealousy and female shame, rather than essential characteristics, were what hindered women's sexual evolution—an "evolution" that was finally beginning to take place in the bodies of woman.[83]

Given all of these changes, it is no wonder that contemporaries diagnosed the period as one of "sexual crisis." I argue that the city's "feminization" and "sexual crisis" must be reconceived in terms of gender trouble: both feminists and ordinary women were taking on new roles and responsibilities, and in the process, articulating femininity in radically new ways. Rather than just focus on these new roles, however, *Bodies That Shimmer* probes deeper, uncovering the very

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Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture Between Tradition and Modernity* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009).

[81] Maria Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers: Sex Counseling in Austria in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in *Sexuality in Austria*, 48-64; Tracie Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject: Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe, 1890-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Britta McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact, and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900-1934* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

[82] Interestingly enough, abortion was considered less immoral than contraception in the pre-war period because it seemed less premeditated. It was nevertheless still illegal. See Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 21-23.

[83] Therese Schlesinger, "Zur Evolution der Erotik," *Die Unzufriedene* 9, no. 2 (July 6, 1931).

performance of new womanhood itself.

New Women

As the first history of new womanhood in Vienna, this dissertation makes an important contribution to existing literature on the New Woman.[84] The term, "New Woman," first emerged within Saint-Simonian groups in the 1830s, resurfaced in Russia in the 1860s, and became widely used in English-language publications at the end of the nineteenth century.[85] In continental Europe, within the context of the burgeoning women's movements and women's access to higher education,[86] the New Woman appeared in novels, the press, and on the stage, such as Nora in Henri Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, who leaves her husband and children to find herself.[87] The New Woman thus came to symbolize two things: first, rebellion against the proverbial "doll's house" of bourgeois norms, and second, the personification of male anxieties and desires.

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[84] On the New Woman in Europe (pre-war and interwar incarnations), see Atina Grossmann, "The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany," in *Power of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow et al. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983); Deirdre Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women Between the Wars, 1918-1939* (London: Pandora Press, 1989); Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin de siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 63-74; Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Katharina von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Lynne Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-1953* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 1999); Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman of Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Tina O'Toole, *The Irish New Woman* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013); Jill Suzanne Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). On the New Woman outside of Europe, see Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Mona Russel, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004); Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling Under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Dina Lowy, *The Japanese 'New Woman': Images of Gender and Modernity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Charlotte Rich, *Transcending the New Woman: Multiethnic Narratives in the Progressive Era* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Ageeth Sluis, *Deco Body, Deco City: Female Spectacle & Modernity in Mexico City, 1900-1939* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).

[85] Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950*, 188.

[86] In the French case, the emergence of the New Woman was also a response to the declining birthrate and relative stagnation of the French population after 1889.

[87] Henri Ibsen, *A Doll's House* [1879].

Historian Mary Louise Roberts observes that "because of the New Woman's constant reiteration in the press, it was not long before she became reified in the public imagination, assuming a stock appearance, a fixed set of behaviors, and a cultural weight all her own. Bespeckled, bookish, and austere in dress, the New Woman combined a Jane Eyre-like plainness with dandy-ish habits such as cigarette smoking."[88] In Vienna, the imagined New Woman assumed a similar stock appearance. Often depicted as unattractive, the "Man-Woman" (*Mann-Weib*) smoked cigarettes, rode bicycles, and was partnered with an effeminate husband. By the 1920s, she morphed into the emotionally expressive, bobbed flapper (the *neue Wienerin* or *Bubikopf*) shamelessly enjoying a hedonistic existence, until she was replaced by the Viennese Girl (*Wiener Mädel*) of the late 1920s, early 1930s, a nostalgic figure who still enjoyed the finer things in life, but nevertheless aspired to be a mother.

Despite these stock images, however, Roberts argues that new women did exist on the ground. Known as the "frondeuses" in fin de siècle France, these women aspired to "make women visible in all their rich diversity," instead of "render[ing] one true meaning of woman clearer."[89] Following Roberts, this dissertation shifts the discussion from the imagined New Woman to the real new women in Vienna, whose femininities were complex, inconsistent, and diverse. In addition to considering bourgeois women, then, this dissertation also looks to a variety of different new women, including sex workers, migrants, factory workers, and domestic servants. I suggest that new womanhood was not limited to the bourgeoisie; it was performed by bourgeois and working-class women alike, operating—quite radically—as a visible erasure of class difference.

In fact, I argue that new womanhood partially modeled itself after the deviant and working-class femininity of the Habsburg sex worker. My work is thus in dialogue with Jill Suzanne Smith's book, *Berlin Coquette,* which explores the intersections of prostitution and the New German

[88] Roberts, *Disruptive Acts*, 21.
[89] Ibid., 104.

Woman.[90] Additionally, I draw on Susan Glenn's argument in *Female Spectacle*, as well as Ageeth Sluis's book, *Deco Body, Deco City*, to suggest that Vienna's new women also looked to the actor, especially on the silver screen, in their performance of deviant femininity.[91] Both the Habsburg sex workers and the film actor were public women, thereby suggesting that new womanhood sought to make femininity public.[92] And insofar as the most public figure of all was the bourgeois gentleman, Vienna's new women also frequently cited masculinity. New womanhood, then, not only involved the transgression of public/private spheres, but also of binary oppositions such as masculine/feminine, and by extension, mind/body and reason/emotion.

More than simply citational, however, *Bodies That Shimmer* argues that new womanhood constituted a new gender identity.[93] As one Viennese magazine article from 1925 put it, with regard to the *neue Wienerin* or *Bubikopf*: "a new gender [*Geschlecht*] is emerging that wants to be understood in the context of its time."[94] This dissertation attempts to do just that, revealing that Vienna's new women were reconfiguring the very category of Woman, as well as complicating and redefining femininity over and over again.

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[90] Jill Suzanne Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[91] Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Ageeth Sluis, *Deco Body, Deco City: Female Spectacle & Modernity in Mexico City, 1900-1939* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).

[92] For feminist reconsiderations of the separation of public/private spheres, see, for example, Iris Marion Young, "House and Home: Variations on a Theme," in *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 123-145; Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby, eds., *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History: Essays from the 7th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Johanna Meehan, ed., *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Joan B. Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Privates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Susan Gal, "A Semiotics of the Public/Private Distinction," *Differences* no. 13, vol. 1 (2002): 77-95.

[93] In some ways, the word "citational" is misleading as it implies an original referent that is being cited. Following Butler and others, I argue that this is not the case. By the same token, when new womanhood cites masculinity, it cannot be regarded as a copy of masculinity, but as something separate and new.

[94] "Es wächst ein neues Geschlecht heran, dass verstanden will im Rahmen seiner Zeit…" In "Jugend und Alter in der heutigen Zeit," *Illustriertes Familienblat. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 4 (1925): 2.

Theoretical Approach

I: Writing Gender History/Writing Gender

In her essay, "The Evidence of Experience," Joan W. Scott observes that although history seeks to make the past visible, it relies on a number of categories that are denied a past.[95] For example, women's history relies on the category of an essential and unchanging Woman. Even further, *all* history relies on the category of the Individual Subject, as well as the assumption that all individuals have experience: the historian is an individual subject with authoritative experience, whose job it is to examine another subject's experience of the past. Instead, Scott argued that "it ought to be possible for historians… to 'make visible the assignment of subject positions,' not in the sense of capturing the reality of the objects seen, but of trying to understand the operations of the complex and changing discursive processes by which identities are ascribed, resisted, or embraced."[96] It is experience that constructs the (gendered) individual, and not the other way around.

Bodies That Shimmer is heavily indebted to the project of gender history, which seeks to deconstruct gendered categories (such as Woman), reveal their relationship to power, and expose the ways in which they were constructed as normative systems of knowledge over time and place.[97] In this project, I seek to understand how Viennese women became new women over and over again (insofar as the process of gendering and sexing is repetitive and citational) between 1893 and 1931. But even further, I will investigate these experiences as processes of identity construction, that is, as processes of gendering over a period of time.

Though I consider a plethora of different kinds of sources, special attention has been given to ego documents, such as autobiographies, diaries, personal letters, and memoirs, for the very

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[95] Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 778.
[96] Ibid., 792.
[97] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1896): 1053-1075.

reason that they are invested in women's experiences of everyday life—experiences that have often been deemed the less important, "private" counterpart to the "political." And while one aspect of this project seeks to undermine the public/private binary, another attempts to use these life stories to reconstruct the way in which gendered subjectivities were constructed in the first place. To be sure, recent feminist scholarship on autobiography has illuminated the ways in which its practice must be regarded as a performance, rather than an expression, of subjectivity.[98] Monika Bernold suggests that because human life is characterized by language and, as such, has the potential to be reconstructed into a narrative, the narrative is "*an essential part of experience and consciousness*."[99] The very processes of gendered and sexed identity construction thus take place on the pages of autobiography, with the reader bearing witness to this process. According to Carolyn Steedman's work on working-class life stories, the impulse to write autobiography, then, stems less from a desire to express one's inner self, than from an external requirement or convention.[100] Woman-ness did not emanate from an inner essence; it was practiced, performed, articulated, and rearticulated.

II: Embodiment

This dissertation examines the performance of new womanhood by looking to embodiment. Leslie Adelson defines embodiment as the process "of making and doing the work of bodies—of becoming a body in social space."[101] Like experience, embodiment emphasizes the action over the subject; in other words, it is the process of becoming the body that ultimately defines the body. Also of note is Adelson's emphasis on the social; that while flesh and bones do, in fact, exist, it is the

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98 Laura Marcus, *Auto/Biographical Discourses* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
99 Monika Bernold, "Representations of the Beginning: Shaping Gender Identities in Written Life Stories of Women and Men," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Centuries,* 199.
100 Carolyn Steedman, "Enforced Narratives: Stories of another self," in *Feminism and Autobiography: Text, Theories, Methods*, eds. Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury, and Penny Summerfield (New York: Routledge, 2000), 25-39.
101 Leslie A. Adelson, *Making Bodies, Making History: Feminism and German Identity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), xiii.

social context that give them meaning. The body, then, is as much in need of deconstruction as the categories of Woman and Subject. And, indeed, according to British philosopher, Denise Riley, "women only sometimes live in the flesh distinctively as women, as it were, and this is a function of historical categorizations as well as of an individual daily phenomenology."[102]

Individual daily phenomenology. It is in concept that my project differs from Scott's 1991 essay, which reduces everything to discourse.[103] Although Riley acknowledges that the body is a product of history, she nevertheless suggests that women sometimes live in the flesh. Furthermore, insofar as phenomenology is based on the assumption that mind is embodied, becoming a social woman is also tied to embodying her in space[104]—an idea that may, at first, seem reminiscent to Judith Butler's theory of gender performance. And yet, unlike Butler and Scott, who seem to imply that sex, and by extension, the body, is just as discursive as gender, that it ultimately is gender, I draw on this feminist phenomenological position to stress that the technologies of gender must be understood as straddling, as well as blurring, any sort of division between the nature/culture, mind/body, and sex/gender binaries, without reducing one to the other.[105] Elizabeth Grosz draws on the image of the Möbius strip, a ribbon twisted once and then attached end to end, to illustrate the way in which these dualisms are ultimately one and the same. According to Grosz, "the Möbius strip has the advantage of showing the inflection of mind into body and body into mind, the ways in which, through a kind of twisting or inversion, one side becomes another."[106] Alternatively, Toril

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[102] Denise Riley, *Am I that Name? Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 105.
[103] For an excellent critique of Scott's essay, see Thomas C. Holt, "Experience and the Politics of Intellectual Inquiry," in *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion Across the Disciplines*, eds. Chandler, James, Arnold I. Davidson, and Harry D. Harootunian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 386-396.
[104] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald Landes (New York: Routledge, 2001).
[105] Sex is often considered to be "natural," whereas gender is said to be "cultural."
[106] She goes on: "This model also provides a way of problematizing and rethinking the relations between the inside and the outside of the subject, its psychical interior and its corporeal exterior, by showing not their fundamental identity or reducibility but the torsion of the one into the other, the passage, vector, or

Moi's 2001 essay, "What Is a Woman," argues that the concept of the "lived body" best encapsulates this inflection, highlighting the discursive dimensions of "living," as well as the material realities of the "body."[107] Rather than do away with the representative and regulatory altogether, then, I suggest that bodily experiences are a result of individual morphology (physical ability, health, figure, breasts, genitalia etc.), as well as "popular ideas, social pressures, religious convictions and economic conditions."[108] This dissertation thus explores the way women experienced their bodies, on the one hand, and how women's bodies were imagined and regulated, on the other—as these are two sides of the same coin.

Feminist phenomenology has its roots in Simone de Beauvoir's concept of situation, which similarly bridges the nature/culture binary by referring to the relationship between an individual's freedom to choose and those aspects of the world not freely chosen (facticity), such as one's body. In patriarchal society, women's situation is tipped out of balance: their bodies are given priority over their freedom, and their wombs define their woman-ness.[109] According to Beauvoir, the greatest patriarchal myth has rendered woman the embodied Other, deviant from the universal, disembodied male. In a patriarchal world, "humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being," and, therefore, denied transcendence.[110] Thus, from childhood onward, women are socialized to conform to and embody this limited ideal of womanhood, which instills in them a sense of essential difference, inferiority, and immanence. By

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uncontrollable drift of the inside into the outside and the outside into the inside." See Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), xii.

[107] Moi ultimately proposes that we do away with the concept of gender altogether because it sits on the discursive side of the sex/gender binary, and perpetuated binary thinking. See Toril Moi, "What Is a Woman?" in *What Is a Woman and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[108] Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 4.

[109] Beauvoir thus reveals how Merleau-Ponty overlooked the specifically *gendered* dimensions of phenomenology.

[110] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), xxii.

drawing on the Sartrean maxim that "existence precedes essence,"[111] Beauvoir articulated one of the first modern feminist conceptions of gender, namely that "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman."[112] "Games and daydreams orient the little girl toward passivity," Beauvoir observed, "but she is a human being before becoming a woman, and she knows already that to accept herself as a woman is to become resigned and to mutilate herself."[113]

Perhaps in response to the linguistic-cultural turn, feminist scholarship between the late 1980s and 1990s became interested in resurrecting Beauvoir's idea of situation.[114] Iris Marion Young describes the way in which patriarchal society physically handicaps, or "mutilates," women in her collection of essays, *On Female Body Experience*. In her essay, "Throwing Like a Girl," Young examines feminine bodily comportment, manner of moving, and relation to space to suggest that femininity is "a set of structures and conditions that delimit the typical situation of being a woman in a particular society, as well as a typical way in which this situation is lived by the women themselves."[115] Women are socialized to experience their bodies as objects instead of subjects, and their hesitant gestures, isolated movements, and physical immanence are a result of this situation. Susan Bordo reiterates this idea in her book, *Unbearable Weight*, to argue that eating disorders are a result of women's situation, in which they perceive their bodies as burdensome and heavy, in other words, as "unbearable weights." Anorexia, Bordo insists, must be viewed as a self-surveillance practice that forces a woman's body into docility, while also providing her with a sense of (false)

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[111] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (New York: Washington Square Press, 1966).
[112] Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 267.
[113] Ibid., 293.
[114] See Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 368-404.
[115] Iris Marion Young, "Throwing Like a Girl: A Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility, and Spatiality," in *On Female Body Experience*, 31.

empowerment.[116] It is precisely women's individual daily phenomenology—i.e. crossing legs, taking up little space, starving themselves, etc.—that gives definition to their gender.

Recently, Sara Ahmed has taken this approach even further by suggesting that phenomenology is also related to sexuality insofar as queerness is considered a deviant orientation, one that renounces the straight lines of heterosexuality by being orientated towards other queer bodies.[117] Ahmed's preoccupation with queer theory also reveals a more recent shift away from feminist phenomenology and towards a more critical theory-inflected approach to the body (though the two are certainly not unrelated). Indeed, queer theory has eclipsed feminist theory in academic circles and has shifted attention away from women's and men's bodies to more explicitly queer bodies,[118] whether transgender, posthuman, or disabled.[119] Transgender studies has reclaimed abject embodiment as a way to challenge the medical regime's valorization of coherent bodies,[120] especially those subscribing to the male/female binary, thereby locating the source of queer revolution in new embodied possibilities.[121] Much like transgender studies, posthuman studies has also been interested in rethinking incoherent or queer morphologies,[122] questioning the boundaries allegedly separating

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116 Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

117 Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

118 For queer theory, see especially Eve Kosofksy Sedgewick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1990); Judith Butler, "Critically Queer," in *Bodies that Matter*: *On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 169-185; Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Guest Column: What Does Queer Theory Teach Us About X?" *PMLA* 110, no. 3 (May 1995): 343-349; Michael Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

119 Though, arguably, women's bodies are just as queer, given that they are the "other" to the universal male.

120 On abjection, see Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horrors: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

121 For this approach to transgender studies, see especially Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006). For a more recent discussion of transgender embodiment, see Gayle Salamon, "Transposition and Transgenderism in *Phenomenology of Perception*," in *The Question of Gender*, eds. Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2011), 233-254.

122 For an introduction to posthuman studies, see Judith Halberstam and Ira Livingston, eds., *Posthuman Bodies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). For a recent example of posthuman/animal studies in history, see E. Jane Burns and Peggy McCracken, eds., *From Beasts to Souls: Gender and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013).

the human from the nonhuman, especially in the body of the cyborg,[123] to reveal how "nature and culture [or technology] are mutually determining systems of understanding," that is to say, beyond any dualisms.[124] Disability studies is similarly invested in "queering" or combating these dualisms,[125] though much more wary of using the sci-fi language of posthumanity,[126] despite being no less utopian in its investment in creating a built environment that works for all bodies without "normalizing" them.[127] In short, what transgender, posthuman, and disability studies have in common is a reclamation of queer bodies, a utopian vision for these bodies, and finally, much like feminist phenomenology's concept of situation, an investment in understanding the interconnectedness of dualisms, whether male/female, nature/culture, or normal/abnormal.

Feminist phenomenology has also played an important role in the development of affect theory, which has most recently taken academia by storm. Affect theory is similarly invested in combating dualisms, focusing on moments "of *in-between-ness*," especially the potentiality of a body to affect or to be affected.[128] Emotion, for example, is a vital aspect of these moments of in-between-ness, and affect theory is invested in revealing emotion's influence on (in)action and everyday life.[129] But emotion is fundamentally embodied (a point I make in this dissertation), and therefore integral to a body's perpetual becoming, its "ever-processual materiality," so that an investigation of affect

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123 For the foundational text for cyborg feminism, see Donna Haraway, *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
124 Anne Balsamo, "Reading Cyborgs, Writing Feminism: Reading the Body in Contemporary Culture," in *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 17-40.
125 On in the intersection of disability studies and queer theory, see Robert McRuer, *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability* (New York: NYU Press, 2006). On the more recent intersection of disability studies and embodiment, see Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell, "Re-engaging the Body: Disability Studies and the Resistance to Embodiment," *Public Culture* 13, no. 3 (2001): 367-389.
126 For a more recent text in disability studies that both questions these dualisms and challenges posthumanity's preoccupation with fantasy, see Marquard Smith and Joanne Morra, eds., *The Prosthetic Impulse: From a Posthuman Present to a Biocultural Future* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).
127 For an example of disability studies' investment in utopian design, see David Serlin, "Pissing without Pity: Disability, Gender, and the Public Toilet," in *Toilet: Public Restrooms and the Politics of Sharing*, eds. Harvey Molotch and Laura Noren (New York: NYU Press, 2010).
128 Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*, 1.
129 It should be noted, however, that affect theory certainly does not require an engagement with emotion.

must involve an engagement with embodiment.[130] According to this perspective, a study of embodiment must consider sensual and emotive dimensions, as they are fundamentally interrelated. And, indeed, some scholars, such as Patricia Clough, suggest that the affective turn constitutes "a substantive shift in that it returned critical theory and cultural criticism to bodily matter which had been treated in terms of various constructionisms under the influence of post-structuralism and deconstruction."[131] Not surprisingly, even Scott and Butler—perhaps the most vocal advocates of such "constructionisms"—have integrated aspects of affect theory into their recent work. Although committed to continuing her project of rethinking "women's" and "feminist" history, Scott's newest book, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, draws on psychoanalysis to locate the roots of (women's) identity in shared, affective "fantasy echoes."[132] Similarly, in the 2008 documentary, *Examined Life*, Judith Butler describes the body as an "assemblage of capacities, instrumentalities, actions," that is, as potential to affect (or not) and to be (un)affected.[133] These changes, though subtle, are important, and reveal the ways in which the body and embodiment have gained relevance in cultural studies.

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130 For important works on affect, see Brian Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," in *Parables of the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 23-45; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, "Shame in the Cybernetic Fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins," in *Touching Feeling* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 93-122.

131 She goes on: "The turn to affect points instead to a dynamism immanent to bodily matter and mater generally—matter-s capacity for self-organization in being in-formational—which, I want to argue, may be the most provocative and enduring contribution of the affective turn." See Patricia T. Clough, "The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedia and Bodies," *Theory, Culture & Society* 25, no. 1 (2008): 1.

132 Nevertheless, Scott still maintains a fiercely discursive position: "I would say that the path is from sex as the known of physical bodies and so the referent for gender, to sexual difference as a permanent quandary—because ultimately unknowable—for modern subjects and so, again, the impossible reference for gender. Gender is, in other words, not the assignment of roles to physically different bodies, but the *attribution of meaning to something that will always elude definition*" (emphasis mine). See Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 6.

133 See the discussion between Judith Butler and Sunaura Taylor in *Examined Life* directed by Astra Taylor (Canada: Filmswelike, 2008).

A Deviant Chronology

As a history of gender and sexuality, *Bodies That Shimmer* does not follow a traditional chronology that prioritizes national or political events, but rather an alternative, and appropriately, deviant, timeline that considers social, cultural, and even quotidian moments in the past.[134] As Joan Kelly explains in her seminal essay, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?," the task of women's—and by extension gender history—is to call into question accepted schemes of periodization.[135] With this in mind, *Bodies That Shimmer* begins in 1893, when the Austrian women's movement was in full swing, and discussions of "sexual crisis" began to appear in the Viennese cultural landscape, and ends in 1931, the year that the Hollywood talkie, "The Smiling Lieutenant," based on Oscar Straus's operetta, *A Waltz Dream* (*Ein Walzertraum*), was released, featuring a jazzy *neue Wienerin*. Rather than use gender and sexuality as entryways into the history of the Austrian nation state, I focus on these categories for their own sake to tell a "nationally indifferent" history about changing conceptions of Viennese femininity.[136] In other words, while the First Republic does figure in the narrative, the history I am telling does not revolve around the consolidation of an Austrian state.

As such, events that have come to be understood as turning points in the history of Austria acquire new meanings in a narrative about new womanhood. Although I regard the First World War as a significant historical event, I do not think it constituted a radical break with the past for Viennese women; rather, my dissertation argues that it was an event that accelerated changes in gender and sexuality that had already been taking place prior to 1914. I thus agree with Pieter

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[134] In some ways, then, my deviant chronology is also a kind of queer temporality. See "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 13, no. 2-3 (2007): 177-195.

[135] Although historians have since challenged Kelly's essay, in which she argues that women did not have a renaissance, it nevertheless serves as an important contribution to articulating a method for doing women's history. See Joan Kelly, "Did Women have a Renaissance?," in *Women History, and Theory: the Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19-50.

[136] On national indifference, see especially Tara Zahra, "Imagined Non-Communities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69 (Spring 2010): 93-119; Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Judson's assessment that, "the breakup of the empire in October 1918… did not create a radical break with imperial institutions, practices, or legal systems. Nor did Austria-Hungary's disappearance change most people's lives."[137] In addition to examining change over time, then, this dissertation also stresses continuities, tracing the new women of the 1920s back to the Habsburg sex worker. I thus suggest that the history of interwar Vienna must be tied to the history of the fin de siècle, as well as to the Habsburg past.

Finally, instead of viewing history as a progressive loosening of sexual mores with an ultimate telos of sexual liberation, I view it as sporadic or, to borrow from Dagmar Herzog, "syncopated."[138] New womanhood was not necessarily emancipatory, but complex and contradictory. Despite casting aside their corsets and cutting off their hair—acts that have come to be viewed as necessarily emancipatory—Vienna's new women were engaging in a new script of femininity. That is to say, the very performance of new womanhood was just that: a performance that could be learned and reproduced.

The Structure of the Dissertation

Each one of the five chapters of *Bodies That Shimmer* focuses on a different aspect of the embodied performance of Viennese new womanhood: the expansion of movement, greater emotional expression, bodily-discipline, heightened sensuality, and self-medicalization. Further, each chapter title refers to a line from Meisel-Hess's *Fanny Roth*, which I introduced at the beginning of this chapter. The conclusion shifts the focus to a new kind of new woman, who emerged in Vienna in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Overall, the dissertation draws on a variety of different kinds of sources, including archival materials, ego documents, newspapers and magazines, published texts,

[137] Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard, 2016), 387.
[138] Dagmar Herzog, "Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1287-1308.

films, as well as advertisements and caricatures.

I take an intersectional approach and examine the experiences of a wide range of new women, including bourgeois, migrant, and working-class; nevertheless, some of the same (usually bourgeois) women turn up in every chapter. Of the more famous personalities, these include the Viennese socialite and composer, Alma Mahler-Werfel (née Schindler), as well as Viennese women's activist, Rosa Mayreder (née Obermayer). Less well-known women also appear again and again, especially Mathilde Hanzel-Hübner (née Hübner), known to her friends as Tilly. I have generally referred to the women by their first names, in an effort to familiarize them for the reader.

Chapter 1 (" 'Loosened and flowing': The Phenomenology of the Habsburg Sex Worker") locates the roots of Vienna's new women in the fin de siècle Habsburg sex worker. It draws on Iris Marion Young's feminist phenomenology in conjunction with police reports from the Archiv Bundespolizeidirektion in Vienna to identify aspects of what I refer to as the "phenomenology of deviant femininity," which consisted of an active, intentional, continuous, and expansive way of moving. The chapter shows that Vienna's new women cited and performed this deviant phenomenology in their articulation of new womanhood. Further, because many sex workers in Vienna came from the eastern reaches of the Habsburg Empire—from the crownlands of Galicia or Bukowina—the chapter begins with an exploration of deviant femininity on the streets of Czernowitz. In this way, it shows that Viennese new womanhood did not just "originate" in the Habsburg sex worker, but in the orientalized "East."

Part and parcel to the phenomenology of deviant femininity was a greater emotional expressiveness, as modeled by silent film acting. As Chapter 2 (" 'There was a shimmmer'*:* Silent Film Acting and Emotional Expression") elucidates, by regularly attending film screenings at the cinema, as well as actively taking part in celebrity culture by reading film fan magazines and acting guides, Vienna's new women emulated the affected and expressive silent film actors on the silver

screen. By acting like actors, ordinary women learned to act out, performing deviant femininity. This chapter also explores the particularity of the *neue Wienerin*, and suggests that it was precisely her emotional expressiveness, known as her "temperament," that distinguished her from new women in other contexts. Film popularized the *neue Wienerin*-as-type, leading to her consumption and commodification on an international scale.

As new women began to move like sex workers and emote like actors, others appeared to be physically turning into men. Chapter 3 (" 'A petite, modern silhouette': Female Masculinity and the Straight Line") uses a wide range of sources, ranging from diaries to advertisements to newspapers and magazines to argue that women's bodies truly were changing to appear more masculine. As a result of the starvation on the Viennese homefront during the First World War, women's silhouettes became thinner and more linear, thereby conforming to a more "masculine" form. Curiously, after the war, these new women, known as *Bubiköpfe*, engaged in disciplinary cosmetic practices intended to maintain their "line." This chapter draws on J. Halberstam's notion of female masculinity to examine the ways in which deviant femininity can also be understood as citing masculine physicality and comportment (in this case via self-disciplinary acts).

With women appearing more masculine, (hetero)sexuality became a marker of femininity. Chapter 4 (" 'A strange new tenderness'*:* Free Loving Romantics") uses love letters, sex and marriage reform literature, and divorce proceedings to show that the performance of new womanhood was also tied to a heightened sensuality (or "temperament") in the form of expressing, making, and receiving (hetero)sexual love. Fin de siècle male intellectuals often described women—with the exception of sex workers—as being primarily asexual. By contrast, *neue Wienerinnen* demanded sexual fulfillment as a right, and as a means for self-expression. The erotic thus came to be reconceived as an extension of—as opposed to a hindrance to—romantic love.

Finally, Chapter 5 (" 'The first time she ever saw herself': Experiences of Reproductive Embodiment") uses abortion trial records to consider how new womanhood was also tied to a new experience of reproductive embodiment. With the professionalization of medicine and the development of hygiene initiatives, working-class new women came to reassess the fluidity of their bodies as abject and shameful, and in need of containment. Although they became more comfortable and shameless with inspecting their bodies like medical objects, they also came to see their particular female bodies as shameful. Unlike Chapter 1, which explores how working-class women, especially sex workers, influenced the performance of new womanhood, this chapter examines how bourgeois culture conversely affected working-class women.

The Conclusion ("Desperately Seeking *Wiener Mädel*") describes the emergence of a new kind of new women at the end of the 1920s—the buxom and long-haired *Wiener Mädels*. Although these women cited a more conventional Habsburg femininity, I nevertheless argue that they cannot be solely regarded in reactionary terms. It was in their sensuality, especially their pursuit of pleasure, that added a radical element to their gender performance.

CHAPTER 1

"Loosened and Flowing": The Phenomenology of the Habsburg Sex Worker

In a caricature from 1896, Vienna's "Future Women" (*Zukunfts-Frauen*) are shown engaging in activities and occupying spaces that had once belonged exclusively to men.[1] Instead of sharing these public spaces, however, women—not men—control them. In one image, a buxom woman walking on the street spots a male musician across the way and exclaims, "Charming little music student! It appears to me, he only waits for me to address him." As the irritated facial expression of the male student makes apparent, this was hardly the case. For contemporaries, the joke was clear: few women in late nineteenth century Vienna could get away with walking alone on the street without being either addressed or apprehended. This is because within the Viennese cultural imagination, women walking on city streets were, in fact, street walkers—or sex workers. By the same token, within the matriarchy depicted in the caricature, a man walking alone at night was considered equally deviant.

Fig. 2 Selection from "Future Women" caricature, in which a woman addresses a male musician from across the street. From "Zukunfts-Frauen," *Wiener Caricaturen* XVI, no. 19 (10 May 1896): 4-6. AustriaN Newspapers Online (hereafter ANNO)/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

[1] "Ehrbare Annäherung. –Reizender kleiner Musikeleve! Mir scheint, er wartet nur darauf, daß ich ihn anspreche." In "Die Zukunfts-Frauen," *Wiener Caricaturen* XVI, no. 19 (10 May 1896): 4-6.

With the exception of the occasional top hat, monocle, and cane, most of these women of the future—these new women—were curvaceous, modeling feminine clothes and accessories, their long hair tied back into ladylike up-dos. In the image above, the lady is wearing an elegant jacket synched at the waist, with puffed sleeves, gloves, and a fashionable plumed hat. It was not what a woman wore that cast her as deviant, in other words, but rather, how she moved her body and what spaces she moved through.

In this chapter, I suggest that new women's deviance cannot be understood as simply opposed to bourgeois femininity, but rather, as referencing and embodying the active, conspicuous, resilient, and expansive femininity of the sex worker—a femininity, I argue, that came to be more pervasive among women during and after the First World War.[2] To put it simply, after the war, it seemed that every woman was or could be a sex worker precisely because she moved through space like one.

This chapter makes three historiographical interventions in the history of prostitution and sexual deviance. First, scholars of sexuality in East Central Europe have examined how moral panics centered around issues of prostitution reflected greater anxieties about the nation, modernity, among other issues.[3] While this approach is fruitful, it does not explain why prostitution continually became

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[2] For a recent book that examines the intersection of the New Woman (often conflated with the suffragette by the popular imagination) and the sex worker, see Jill Suzanne Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). This chapter draws on Smith's book for inspiration, yet also expands her argument by looking more specifically to gender and the body.

[3] On prostitution and sex-trafficking in the Habsburg Empire, see Keely Stauter-Halsted, "'A Generation of Monsters': Jews, Prostitution, and Racial Purity in the 1892 L'viv White Slavery Trial," *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007): 25-35; Keely Stauter-Halsted, "Moral Panic and the Sex worker in Partitioned Poland: Middle-Class Respectability in Defense of the Modern Nation," *Slavic Review* 68, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 557-581; Keely Stauter-Halsted, "The Physician and the Fallen Woman: Medicalizing Prostitution in the Polish Lands," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 270-290; Nancy M. Wingfield, "Destination: Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Constantinople; White Slavers' in Late Imperial Austria," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 291-311; Nancy M. Wingfield, "The Enemy Within: Regulating Prostitution and Controlling Venereal Disease in Cisleithanian Austria during the Great War," *Central European History* 46 (2013): 468-498; Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

a site onto which anxieties were articulated in the first place, taking the very deviance of prostitution and sex workers for granted. In other words, what was it was about sex workers themselves that was considered deviant in early twentieth century Cisleithania? This chapter attempts to answer this question by looking to sex workers' embodied femininity, arguing that it was not so much the licentious attitude towards sex but their gender performance that cast them as deviant.[4] My second intervention, then, suggests that the historical interest in sexual deviance is somewhat misguided in its fixation on sexuality.[5] As I try to show, an investigation of sexual deviance must include a consideration of gender, as well, especially when the period under investigation viewed sex, gender, and sexuality as fundamentally interrelated, an issue I will return to in Chapter 3. Finally, my third intervention examines deviant femininity by looking to the body, and drawing on feminist theories of phenomenology.

Because most sex workers in Vienna came from the eastern crownlands of the Habsburg Empire, this chapter begins in Czernowitz, Bukowina, in 1900. Using archival material collected at the Archiv Bundespolizeidirektion in Vienna, I examine what signifiers police officers used to apprehend unregistered or "covert" sex workers. After considering superficial signifiers such as dress and language, I suggest that police looked to women's bodies to identify deviant femininity. As the caricature above illustrates, deviant femininity was not necessarily related to clothing, but rather to the movement of bodies through space. Finally, I argue that as more women started appropriating this deviant phenomenology during and after the war, it became a fixture of new womanhood. I will end with a brief consideration of how interwar *Körperkultur* ("body culture"), especially rhythmic gymnastics, drew on this phenomenology, which was believed to have emancipatory effects.

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[4] By "gender performance," I am referring to Judith Butler's notion of performativity, which suggests that gender is a performance of reiterations and citations that constitute the illusion of a subject. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

[5] Here, I am thinking of Keely Stauter-Halsted and Nancy Wingfield, "Introduction: The Construction of Sexual Deviance of Late Imperial Eastern Europe," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (May 2011): 215-224.

First Interlude: Winter in Czernowitz, 1900[6]

On the evening of 11 March 1900, Herr Hofrat Ullmann heard frantic sobs coming from the kitchen. Alarmed, he went into the room and saw one of his young servant girls "completely beside herself, confused and distraught."[7] After several hours of gentle questioning, the fifteen-year-old girl finally revealed what was troubling her. Earlier that day, on her walk home from the market after buying some ham, she was stopped by the police and taken to the city hall, "into a large room, where about fifty battered women were gathered."[8] After some time, the police led her into another room, in which four men forced her onto a table and medically examined her—a procedure that was so traumatic that she "lost consciousness." After she was declared "untouched"—a virgin—she was free to leave.

Fig. 3 Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl may have been walking home from this market square when she got apprehended. Postcard of the *Ringplatz* in Czernowitz around 1900. Ansichtskarten Online (hereafter AKON)/ÖNB.

[6] I refer to the German "Czernowitz" as this was the name of the city in Bukowina, crownland of the Habsburg Empire. Locals, however, may have also referred to it as *Cernăuți*/Chernivtsi. Today, it is known as Chernivtsi, located in Ukraine.

[7] "Er kam heraus und fand das Mädchen ganz ausser sich, wirr und verstört." In Oesterreichisches Staatsarchiv (hereafter OeStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (hereafter AVA), Justiz Ministerium (hereafter JM), Series: Vergehen gegen die öffentliche Sittlichkeit, Box: I A1135, Folder: IK.I/40-1917, Letter to K.u.K. Ministry of Justice, Czernowitz, April 1900.

[8] "Sie sei… von einem Polizeiwachmann ergriffen worden… ins Rathhaus in einen grossen Saal, wo etwa fünfzig Weiber versammelt waren abgestossen. Hier wurde das fünfzehnjähriges Mädchen auf einen Tisch gelegt und verlor darauf die Besinnung. Als sie zu sich kam, hörte sie einen Herren sagen: so lass sie doch endlich nach Hause gehen. Die ärztliche Untersuchung soll festgestellt haben, dass das Mädchen ganz unberührt ist."

Herr Hofrat Ullmann was appalled.[9] He soon learned that his servant girl was not the only young woman arrested that late winter day in Czernowitz. In fact, the police had raided the entire city, and arrested all women whom they suspected of engaging in unregistered prostitution, forcing them to undergo medical examinations to determine whether they were infected with what was commonly, though erroneously, referred to as the women's disease: syphilis.[10] The young girl working for Herr Hofrat Ullmann was no exception.

Deviant Bodies/Sick Bodies

It was around 1900, that the Cisleithanian half of the Habsburg Monarchy made a concerted effort to crack down on covert prostitution, which was practiced by women who failed to register with the police. The regulation of sex workers was first introduced in 1873, the same year that Vienna hosted the World Exhibition, and consisted of the "voluntary" registration of sex workers, the distribution of health books (*Gesundheitsbücher*), and biweekly medical examinations.[11] The system was based on §509 of the criminal code from 1852,[12] which considered prostitution punishable under all circumstances, but left prosecution up to the local police.[13] According to the Ministry of Interior, §509 was ambiguous enough to be interpreted as being tolerant vis-à-vis prostitution, given

[9] He was appalled enough to write a strongly-worded letter to the police department, accusing it of perpetuating a "seltsames Gemisch von Gewaltsamkeit und Unfähigkeit."
[10] Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Sex Worker in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (New York: NYU Press, 1997).
[11] There is some disagreement on the number of medical examinations per week. I found this number here: Archiv Bundespolizeidirektion Wien (hereafter ABpdW), Series: Prostitution u. Mädchenhandel (hereafter P/M), Box: 1907/2, "Referat über Prostitutionswesen," Wien, 8 January 1907.
[12] Though many police arrests often cited §512 St.G, as well, which stated that: "Die Uebertretung der Kuppelei machen sich schuldig diejenigen: a) welche Schanddirnen zur Betreibung ihres unerlaubten Gewerbes bei sich einen ordentlichen Aufenthalt oder sonst Unterschleif geben; b) welche vom Zuführen solcher Personen ein Geschäft machen; c) welche sonst sich zu Unterhändlern in unerlaubten Verständnissen dieser Art gebrauchen lassen."
[13] According to §509 St.G.: "Die Bestrafung derjenigen, die mit ihrem Körper unzüchtiges Gewerbe treiben, ist der Orstpolizei überlassen. Wenn jedoch die Schanddirne durch die Oeffentlichkeit auffalendes Aergernis veranlasst, junge Leute verführt, oder da sie wusste, dass sie mit einer venerischen Krankheit behaftet war, dennoch ihr unzüchtiges Gewerbe fortgesetzt hat, soll dieselbe für diese Uebertretung mit strengen Arreste von 1 bis zu 3 Monaten bestraft werden."

that it was recommended, but not required, for the police to pursue punishment.[14] In other words, although prostitution remained illegal, it was nevertheless tolerated.[15]

With the vagrancy law (*Vagabundengesetz*, R.G.BI 89) of 1885, unregistered or covert prostitutes were forced to endure tougher punishments, including forced labor and imprisonment.[16] Police had the right to arrest any woman suspected of prostitution if she could not provide evidence of either registration or occupation, as well as force her to submit to an internal examination for venereal disease—a practice that continued into the interwar period.[17]

That so many women practiced covert prostitution is telling because it reveals just how problematic the system of regulation was in the first place. The number of registered sex workers hardly corresponded to their much greater, actual number, thereby calling the effectiveness of regulation into question. The reason for this discrepancy is two-fold: on the one hand, police commissioners often neglected to register sex workers in an effort to keep their districts "clean;" on the other hand, many women simply avoided registering with the police, given that registered sex workers, branded as "fallen" or "lost" women, were forced to endure relentless harassment, isolation,[18] even homelessness.[19]

The system, in other words, was not meant to protect female sex workers, but only their male clients. Sex workers were denied worker or legal protections and shunned by their communities. Even further, registration often put them in greater physical danger. After the Ministry

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[14] According to §509 St.G., "Die Bestrafung… ist der Orstpolizei überlassen."
[15] Karin Jusek describes the transition period between 1852 and 1873 in great detail, specifically documenting the ways in which signs of semi-regulation already appeared prior to 1873. See Karin Jusek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1994), 89-100.
[16] Markian Prokopovych, "Prostitution in Vienna in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Trafficking in Women 1924-1926 - The Paul McKinsie Reports for the League of Nations*, eds. Jean-Michel Chaumont, Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, and Paul Servais (United Nations Publications, 2016), 8.
[17] Efforts were made to reform the system around 1911 in Vienna, after which point, police were somewhat more lax about apprehending covert prostitutes. This changed with the war.
[18] Jusek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 100.
[19] According to a report from 1907, the "Wohnungsnot der Prostituierten" resulted, in part, to "zahlreiche Beschwerden für Prostituierte." See ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/2, "Referat über Prostitutionswesen," Wien, 8 January 1907.

of Interior discovered that many sex workers bribed medical doctors to confirm health in their health books, medical examinations were handed over to state physicians—a responsibility that overwhelmed physicians and threatened the maintenance of proper hygienic standards, which, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, became progressively more important over the years.[20] According to one contemporary, it was highly likely that women became infected during these careless medical examinations when physicians neglected to sterilize specula.[21]

What the relationship was—if any—between prostitution and venereal disease is one that Karin Jusek unpacks in her book on prostitution in Vienna. By 1850, shortly after the tumultuous 1848 revolutions, the city's police and medical professionals began drawing causal connections between prostitution and the high rates of syphilis. This narrative of causality became so entrenched in the public's imagination, continuing into the interwar period, that prostitution soon became synonymous with disease, even death. For example, an article from the tabloid, *Die Wiener Halbwelt*, employed particularly sinister language in its description of an imagined sex worker, conjuring up an image of a blood-sucking vampire stalking Vienna's streets at night. The "Venus of Rudolfsheim," the article maintained, is a "repulsive broad" with an "aversion to light." She lurks on dark streets at night, fixes her predatory gaze on "nightly wanderers," and "grabs them by the arm" to draw them into her deathly "net."[22] Another article from the sensationalist *Die Wiener Nacht-Presse* described a sex worker's lips as "poisonous" and her kisses, deadly.[23]

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[20] Jusek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 101.

[21] The contemporary was the Italian Professor Dr. Celli. See Josef Schrank, *Die Regelung der Prostitution vom gewerblich-nationalökonomischen Standpunkte betrachtet* (Wien, 1892), 6.

[22] "In der Sechshauserstrasse zwischen Gürtel und Braunhirschengasse kann man abends nach 11 Uhr ein widerliches Weib auf weiten O Beinen daherstolzieren und den stumpfen Blick der Augen auf die nächtlichen Wanderer richten sehen. Das ist Poldi Schaffranek, genannt, 'Die Venus von Rudolfsheim,' welche hier ihrem lichtscheuen Erwerb nachgeht. Mit rauher Stimme spricht sie die Männer an, fasst sie am Arm, redet auf sie ein. Mit allen ihr zu Gebote stehenden Mittel versucht sie Männer anzulocken, aber ein kurzer Blick in ihr unsagbar hässliches Gesicht genügt und der Gast wendet sich mit Grausen. Was ein verführerischer Blick ihrer tiefliegenden Augen nich vermag, nämlich der 'Poldi' Kunden zu bringen, das ist der Alkohol imstande.

Fig. 4 Scene from *Die Straße* (1923). Eugen Klöpfer, the male protagonist, watches in horror as a street walker transforms into a skeleton. Screen shot taken by author.

Similarly, towards the beginning of the silent film, *Die Straße* (*The Street*), from 1923, the male protagonist, walking under a viaduct, is approached by a sex worker from behind.[24] She passes and cuts in front of him, slinks into a corner, and stands still, looking at us, the film audience, with a knowing smile. The protagonist watches her from the side until, suddenly, her smile turns into a frown, and her body transforms into a skeleton. Although this moment serves to foreshadow the death and destruction that occur later in the film, it also reaffirmed the association between prostitution, disease, and death. The street-walking woman was, in actuality, the walking dead.

Jusek interrogates this narrative of causality, revealing that the spread of syphilis was often knowingly or unknowingly exaggerated, and that prostitution was only one possible cause of disease.[25] And yet, the result of this narrative, aside from shifting the focus away from an infected (mostly male) bourgeoisie to female sex workers, was the elevation of the medical discourse within

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Zum grössten Teil sind es zumeist junge, angeheiterte Burschen, die in ihr Netz gehen…" in " "Poldi Schaffranek, die Rudolfsheimer Haustordirne," *Die Wiener Halbwelt* (October 1926).

[23] "Ich möchte Dich küßen auf Deinen Mund, auf Deine sinnlichen Augen… Im Cafe 'Giselahof'," *Die Wiener Nacht-Presse* no. M009/226 (21 August 1925).

[24] *Die Straße*, directed by Karl Grune (Berlin: Stern-Film, 1923). Viewed at the Filmmuseum Austria on 15 February 2015.

[25] For example, Dr. Massari "hielt die Verbindung von Syphilis und Prostitution für wenig zweckmäßig und obendrein für irreführend, da er in der Prostitution nur eine Quelle, aber sicher nicht die Hauptquelle der Ansteckung sah." In Jusek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen*, 90.

the system of regulation, so that prostitution was an issue not only related to vice (it was placed under the jurisdiction of the vice squad in 1908), but also public health.[26] And if prostitution embodied disease, and if this disease was easily transmittable, then the state, the logic went, had to quarantine it. While this, in part, relates to the implementation of new standards of hygiene, it also explains the reason why the police were so intent on ensuring, first, that all sex workers were registered, and second, that even those who were registered, were inconspicuous. Minimizing sex workers' physical presence, in short, making them as "invisible as possible," was considered essential to maintaining public health.[27]

Partly through medicalization, sexual deviance also became an issue related to the body. It was at this time that many scientists, such as Ernst Mach at the University of Vienna, advocated an approach to natural phenomena that grounded the mind in the body.[28] This, along with the theory of degeneration, which cast the morally disagreeable, or degenerate, in physical terms,[29] the proliferation of cases of neurasthenia,[30] and the growing field of criminology that sought to read criminality on the body, affirmed the discursive link between the moral and the physical—an idea that went against the dualist worldview of the Viennese bourgeoisie, which I will discuss in the following chapters. For these thinkers, the body housed an honorable soul, just as a disease-ridden body hinted at a sickly character.

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[26] Ibid., 97.
[27] "…man sucht die Prostitution möglichst unsichtbar zu machen." In OeSTA, AVA, Ministerium des Innern (hereafter MdI), Series: Mädchenhandel, Prostitution, Box: Teil 2 2121, Letter from Richard von Biernerth-Schmerling to K.u.K. Ministry of the Interior, 1906.
[28] On holistic approaches to science in the German-speaking world, see Anne Harrington, *Reenchanted Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
[29] On degeneration, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[30] On neurasthenia, see Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter, eds., *Cultures of Neurasthenia from Beard to the First World War* (New York: Rodopi, 2001); Andreas Killen, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

This was certainly the case with sex workers, whose "moral degeneration" seemed to manifest itself as venereal disease.[31] And while syphilis or gonorrhea could serve as one indicator of their immoral character, criminologists and doctors also found other physical indicators. The Russian doctor, Pauline Tarnowsky, whose work greatly influenced the Viennese medical profession, claimed that sex workers had distinct, atavistic facial features.[32] Other physicians believed that sex workers' fingerprints showed signs of degeneration.[33] Similarly, representatives of the Society for the Fight Against Venereal Disease (*Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*) argued that, "women who have practiced prostitution for a longer period of time betray a certain disposition [*Habitus*][34]… once this disposition is fixed, then recovery is completely hopeless."[35] If sex workers embodied sexual deviance and vice, their transgressions, contemporaries believed, could be read on their bodies.

To return to Czernowitz 1900: I argue that police identified Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl as a covert sex worker by looking to her body. As historian Judith Walkowitz observes, "In public, a poor woman continually risked the danger of being mistaken for a prostitute; she had to demonstrate unceasingly in her dress, gestures, and movements that she was not a 'low' woman," for the very reason that her dress, gestures, and movements signified her social-sexual position.[36] What had the girl worn on that winter day in Czernowitz? What had been her movements? Answering

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[31] A similar logic was used to accuse the gay community for the spread of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s. See, for example, Michelle Cochrane, *When AIDS Began: San Francisco and the Making of an Epidemic* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
[32] Pauline Tarnosky, *Étude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses* (Paris: 1889).
[33] "Fingerabdrücke bei Prostituierten," *Oesterreischische Kriminal-Zeitung* 1, no. 30 (11 November 1907).
[34] The German word for disposition is *Habitus*, what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu described as learned and *embodied* dispositions for action. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline for a Theory of Practice,* trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[35] "Tatsächlich bemerken wir bei Frauenspersonen, welche längere Zeit die Prostitution ausüben, einen gewissen Habitus, welcher dem Kenner die Beschäftigung des betreffenden Individuums sofort verrät. Ist einmal dieser Habitus fixiert, dann ist auch eine Besserung vollkommen aussichtslos." In "Die Besserung Prostituierter" in ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, "Enquete der Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten," Wien, 30 August 1907.
[36] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 223.

these questions, I suggest, will shed light on what kind of bodies and embodied practices were considered deviant in the sexually-charged milieu of fin de siècle Cisleithania, and its capital, Vienna.

Sex Workers and Domestic Servants

Reporting on the police raid in Czernowitz that March day in 1900, the *Bukowiner Post* observed that police had arrested "every servant girl that they came across on the street."[37] Indeed, in fin de siècle Cisleithania, domestic service and prostitution had much in common. Both were heavily gendered professions occupied by mostly young, working-class, and migrant women.[38] For example, in 1890, more than 91,000 Viennese residents served as domestic servants, and 94 percent of them were women.[39] Like many Viennese sex workers, most domestics came from Bohemia and Moravia, Hungary, Lower and Upper Austria, as well as Galicia and Bukowina, were frequently under the age of thirty,[40] and were often required to remain unmarried.[41] Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl may very well have moved to Vienna after her stint in Czernowitz. In addition, like prostitution, domestic service did not offer a minimum wage, worker protection, health insurance, nor old-age and unemployment benefits. It was common for domestics to take on additional tasks, work around the clock, sleep in kitchens or bathrooms, and subsist off of leftover meals. In both

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37 "Aus dem Gemeinderathe," *Bukowiner Post* VII, no. 969 (15 March 1900): 2.
38 On the gendering of domestic service, see Erna Appelt, "The Gendering of the Service Sector in Late Nineteenth-Century Austria," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth-Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, eds. David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), 115-132. On the gendering of prostitution, see Susan Zimmermann, "'Making a living from disgrace': the politics of prostitution, female poverty and urban gender codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860-1920," in *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, eds. Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 175-196.
39 Andrea Althaus, "Lebensverhältnisse von Dienstmädchen und Hausgehilfinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Mit Kochlöffel und Staubwedel: Erzählungen aus dem Dienstmädchenalltag* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2010), 275.
40 Marina Tichy, *Alltag und Traum. Leben und Lektüre der Wiener Dienstmädchen um die Jahrhundertwende* (Wien: 1984), 24.
41 The common assumption was that domestic servitude offered an alternative to marriage. See Althaus, "Lebensverhältnisse von Dienstmädchen und Hausgehilfinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 280.

cases, then, women were likely to find themselves taken advantage of and abused by their employer or clients.

An article from the socialist *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung* in 1892 argued that it was domestic servants' unusual position of living with the upper classes that effectively isolated them from other working-class women, as well as perpetuated their abuse by their employers.[42] Domestics were "modern slaves," the article maintained, and the question of how to emancipate them became known to contemporaries as the "The Servant Question" (*Dienstbotenfrage*).[43] The article insisted that the emancipation of domestic servants was fundamentally tied to the emancipation of sex workers because the former were often forced to engage in part-time sex work to make ends meet.

To be sure, according to statistics based on a survey from 1906, 44.52 percent of registered sex workers in Vienna were domestic servants.[44] For example, in 1912, a woman apprehended on Praterstraße in Vienna's II district, Leopoldstadt, was identified as Anna Plaschek, a sixteen-year-old chambermaid working on Herzgasse 43/19 in the X district, Favoriten.[45] Given that neither domestic service nor prostitution paid well nor offered any job security, women working in one profession often crossed over into the other. In many cases, then, domestics and sex workers truly were one and the same.[46]

But while prostitution typically occurred on the street, it frequently took place within the bourgeois home, as well. As the *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung* article observed, "Oftentimes the Master…

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[42] Viktoria Kofler, "Zur Dienstbotenfrage," *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* I, no. 6 (18 March 1892): 1-2.
[43] For an example of a sensationalist treatment of the issue, see EK, "Zur Dienstbotenfrage," *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* IX, no. 3 (25 January 1900): 4. For an example of an article that explores solutions (especially regulation), see Dr. Julius Ofner, "Zur Diensbotenfrage," *Dokumente der Frauen* 2, no. 21 (15 January 1900): 580.
[44] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, "Fragebogen. P.B.1075, Betreff: Enquete der Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten," Wien, 30 August 1907.
[45] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1912, Folder: Sittenpolizeiliche Agenden 1912, Meldung: Plaschek Anna, gewerbsmässige Unzucht, Wien, 27 April 1912.
[46] Keely Stauter-Halsted makes this point as well. See Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 54-79.

notices the girl's position and gives her the opportunity to improve her situation with the monetary compensation she receives for satisfying his lust…"[47] In this way, the bourgeois family—and not the brothel—was the "actual hothouse of prostitution." This was a particularly provocative observation insofar as it overturned the public/private foundational myth of the Viennese bourgeoisie: not only was the home a site of "public" economic transaction, in other words, it was also the place of "private" and deviant sex and sexuality.[48]

Illustrations of sexual encounters between Masters and domestics abound in Viennese popular culture. For example, in one scene in Arthur Schnitzler's controversial play, *La Ronde* (*Reigen*), published in 1903 and first performed in Vienna in 1921, the Young Man gently orders his chambermaid, the *Stubenmädchen*, to come closer to him so that he may look at her blouse. When she hesitates, he tells her, matter-of-factly, "Don't make such a face, Marie… I've already seen you in other ways. When I came home last night and got myself water, the door to your room was open… so…"[49] Once she comes closer, the Young Man pulls her towards him, opens her blouse, observes, "You have beautiful white skin, Marie," and kisses her breasts.[50] Although it is clear that the Young Man is seducing the *Stubenmädchen*, the audience is led to believe that it is her blouse, her sweetness, and her sexual availability that seduced him first.

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[47] "… Da kommt es denn nicht selten vor, dass der Herr und eigentliche Geliebter die Situation des Mädchens erkennt und ihr Gelegenheit bietet, indem sie seine Lust befriedigt und sich ihm opfert, sich durch die Spenden, die sie von ihm erhält, ihre Lage zu verbessern, ohne darüber nachzudenken, welche Folgen daraus entspringen."

[48] For an excellent study that deconstructs the Viennese bourgeoisie's public/private distinction, see Deborah Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty*: *Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[49] "Machen Sie keine solche Geschichten, Marie… ich hab' Sie schon anders auch geseh'n. Wie ich neulich in der Nacht nach Haus gekommen bin und mir Wasser geholt hab', da ist die Tür zu ihrem Zimmer offen gewesen…na…" Arthur Schnitzler, *Reigen* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1900] 1989), 36.

[50] "Sie haben eine schöne weiße Haut, Marie." Schnitzler, *Reigen*, 36.

For years, domestic servants occupied a special place in the modern Viennese erotic imagination.[51] Due to the milder censorship laws during Joseph II's reign, the late eighteenth century witnessed the proliferation of paperback books that extolled the charms of the city's *Stubenmädchen*. One such book appeared in 1781, *On the Stubenmädchen in Vienna* (*Über die Stubenmädchen in Wien*), by Johann Rautenstrauch, which described the source of the chambermaid's "dangerous charms" in terms of her coquettish dress and comportment.[52] "She has the most flattering and attractive body; it shows off the shapeliness of her limbs," Rautenstrauch wrote, "in short, she appeals to the eye."[53] The *Stubenmädchen* came to be even more desired than her bourgeois counterparts, whose femininity she exaggerated and mimicked.[54] She was imagined to be so full of sensuality and sentimentality that her gestures seemed to languish, "as if she would melt from so much tenderness and feeling."[55] Once the *Stubenmädchen* became the embodiment of feminine desirability in the Viennese imagination, sex workers began to dress like her by wearing her signature "Bohemian bonnet" (*böhmische Hauben*), while bourgeois women, in a subtle twist of irony, tried to pass as her in order to attend the *Stubenmädchen* ball. As a feminine figure that was imagined to be all body, soft, sensual, and oozing sweetness, the *Stubenmädchen* became synonymous with sex, and it is within this sexual mythology, that the conflation of domestic servants with sex workers partly lies.

Hems, Hats, Hairdos, and Tongues

But how did police identify a domestic servant to begin with? From Otto Schmidt's photograph of the "Chamber Maid," part of his larger series of "Viennese types" (*Wiener Typen*), it

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[51] Hans Heinz Hahnl, "Lust und Frust," in *Wiener Lust: Eine Anthologie österreichischer erotischer Literatur*, ed. Hans Heinz Hahnl (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1989), 7-6.
[52] Johann Rautenstrauch, *Über die Stubenmädchen in Wien* (Wien: 1781).
[53] "Sie ist die vorteilhafteste, die anziehendste, fuer den weiblichen Koerper, sie setzt die Formen aller Gliedmassen in ihr wahres Licht… kurz, sie reizt das Auge."
[54] "…daß sie [die Stubenmädchen] sich weit kostbarer kleiden als ihnen zusteht, daß sie mehr Schminke und wohlriechende Pomade verbrauchen, als ihre Herrschaften…"
[55] "…als ob sie vor lauter Zaertlichkeit und Gefuehl zerschmelzen wollt[e]."

becomes clear that the domestic servant often wore a simple, ankle-length dress with a full skirt and long, cuffed sleeves, an apron, and a small, white bonnet.[56] The uniform changed by 1900, when women's dress included a smaller bustle, an hour-glass silhouette, and fuller sleeves.[57] Working-class dress also featured shorter hemlines to accommodate greater movement and longer strides, as well as sensible heels that allowed for long periods of standing or walking. A caricature from 1908 depicts a domestic wearing a black version of this shorter S-shaped dress, her boot peeking out from beneath her ankle-length apron.[58] Particularly noticeable is her bare head. Whether this is an act of transgression or a true depiction of early twentieth century servant dress is unclear, but as I will explain below, the hat (or lack thereof) came to symbolize the very sexual credibility of a woman.

Fig. 5 Otto Schmidt, "Nr. 13 Stubenmäd'l," (1873). From "Wiener Typen" series. Courtesy of Wien Museum.

[56] For more on Otto Schmidt's "Viennese types," see Wolfgang Kos, ed., *Wiener Typen: Klisches und Wirklichkeit* (Wien: Wien Museum und Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2013), 107-113.
[57] Joan Nunn, *Fashion in Costume, 1200-2000* (Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, 2000).
[58] "Aufmerksame Bedienung," *Die Muskete* 7, no. 162 (5 November 1908): 43.

When sixteen-year-old Paula Rubesch went missing on a January evening in 1907, witnesses reported that she left with only her "house dress" and "without hat or jacket."[59] For police, her bare head was particularly alarming. Working-class women often wore kerchiefs or bonnets when engaged in work, while bourgeois women tended to sport large hats that they would firmly secure in their up-do with a hat needle. According to a 1914 book on hats, "the hat crowns a woman and completes her image."[60] Foregoing a hat was rarely an option if a woman intended to maintain a level of propriety. Not surprisingly, many police reports note that sex workers frequently promenaded "without a hat."[61]

Fig. 6 The Master clarifies, "But Miss, what I am saying is that you should place a hot-water bottle in my bed." The servant girl suggestively asks, "But does it have to be only a hot-water bottle…?" Notice the S-shaped dress, large bust, and bare head. From "Aufmerksame Bedienung," *Die Muskete* 7, no. 162 (5 November 1908): 43. ANNO/ÖNB.

A caricature from 1907 provides an example of this.[62] Three sex workers are seen walking in profile down a street, while their pimps stand in the middle, sternly watching over them. Despite occupying a higher place in the hierarchy, the men with whom the sex workers are associated are

[59] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, Report, Wien, 24 January 1907.
[60] "Eine Kopfbedeckung krönt die Frau und beschließt ihr Bild." In O. Timidior, *Der Hut und seine Geschichte: eine kulturgeschichte Monographie* (Wien: A. Hartleben, 1914), 96.
[61] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1914/2, Report from Alois Hanawik, Wien, 18 September 1913.
[62] "Typen aus der Welt der Wiener Prostitution. Brigittenauer Dirnen und ihre Zuhälter," *Wiener Kriminal Zeitung* 1, no. 20 (2 September 1907): 6.

equally deviant, embodying an effeminate and eccentric masculinity.[63] In the classification scheme of Viennese types, these men were *Pülcher*, "work-shy" *flâneurs* with petty criminal tendencies.[64] The hierarchy between pimps and sex workers becomes particularly tangible when one considers the hats: one pimp wears a checkered cap, while the other sports a wide-brimmed hat that slightly extends over the women's hatless, disheveled heads. And, here, too, one can identify yet another signifier of deviant femininity: an untidy hairdo. A contemporary etiquette book insisted that, "Nothing increases the loveliness of a woman's appearance as much as a nice, even simple, coiffure; nothing is as disruptive as a disheveled woman's head surrounded by fluttering, wild, and loose strands of hair."[65] In the caricature, the sex worker on the left is shown with an unruly lock of hair hanging over her face as if it to obscure her vision. The woman entering the frame on the right can barely see because her eyes are partly covered by a thick fringe. Perhaps Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl had left the house without a hat and bonnet, and as the March wind blew into her face, her hair became "fluttering, wild, and loose."

Fig. 7 Hatless and disheveled sex workers. From "Typen aus der Welt der Wiener Prostitution. Brigittenauer Dirnen und ihre Zuhälter," *Wiener Kriminal Zeitung* 1, no. 20 (2 September 1907): 6.

[63] Although pimps are not dandies per se, they arguably draw on dandy masculinity. On dandyism, see Rhonda K. Garelick, *Rising Star: Dandyism, Gender, and Performance in the Fin de siècle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[64] "Der Pülcher," in Kos, ed., *Wiener Typen*, 316-321.
[65] "Nichts erhöht die Anmut einer weiblichen Erscheinung so sehr, als eine… nette Frisur; umgekehrt aber stört nichts in gleicher Weise, wie ein zerraufter, von wirren und losen Haaren umflatterte Frauenkopf." In Malvine von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 7. Auflage* (Wien: Hartleben, 1922), 17.

In addition to looking a certain way, many servant girls also sounded different. Most domestics in Vienna, especially, were "Bohemian" speakers,[66] and language was frequently used to ascertain a woman's racial and social-sexual position.[67] An eyewitness report from 1907 describes an incident, in which a man mistakenly identified a Bohemian speaker for a sex worker, and "attempted to have sexual intercourse with her, which, despite his promises and money offers, she refused."[68] When another report from the same year announced that eighteen-year-old Marie Schmidt went missing, by way of explanation, it noted that she was a Bohemian speaker.[69] Originally from Prague, Schmidt came to Vienna to find work, and after a brief stint at the brothel managed by Antonie Brady on Bäckerstraße in Vienna's I district, she was found ill and put under the care of the K. u. K. Hospital at Rudolfsstiftung. Once she was released, she was seen waiting at the Bremen harbor, speaking to a shifty character in her Bohemian tongue.

Eastern European languages, as markers of the orientalized "East," were often perceived as loud and vulgar.[70] At one point in Bertha Pappenheim's travel memoirs, for example, she described Galician hospital conditions as a *Jammer*—a German word that can connote either wretchedness or wailing.[71] And, indeed, Eastern European tropes of backwardness included both of these terms, especially the latter, which reflected the racialized stereotype of the vulgar Eastern European who, in

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[66] Domestic servants were often referred to as "Bohemian Bonnets."

[67] I use "speaker" as a way to challenge nationalist narratives that have come to dominate the history of East Central Europe. For more on the role that language played in nationalist projects in the Habsburg Empire, see, for example, Pieter Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[68] Regardless, the police arrested the young woman. See ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, Eyewitness Report, Wien, 22 January 1907.

[69] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, Report: Schmidt Marie, Wien, 8 February 1907.

[70] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[71] "Ich kann nich erzählen, was ich alles sah, und was ich nicht sah, aber ich werde den Jammer dieser Krankenzimmer und Aufenthaltsräume im ganzen Leben nicht vergessen." In Bertha Pappenheim und Dr. Sara Rabinowitz, *Zur Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Galizien: Reise-Eindrücke und Vorschläge zur Besserung der Verhältnisse* (1904), 24.

contrast to the soft-spoken German, "spoke aggressively, loudly, and in an unrefined manner."[72] According to a German-speaking woman traveling through Hermannstadt/Sibiu, "A colorful picture—and such noise! The Romanians, especially, always yelled, and it often resulted in fighting."[73]

Even though Czernowitz was the capital of Bukowina, German was the official language spoken by the city's cultural and political elite. As a working-class woman, a domestic servant, Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl most likely grew up in the countryside speaking Yiddish, Romanian, Ruthenian, and/or Polish, and had come to Czernowitz to find work. It is likely that when she went to the market on 11 March 1900 to buy ham, she used a non-German language to make the purchase, and the police may have taken note.

Towards a Phenomenology of Deviant Femininity

While dress and language both served as important signifiers in assessing whether a woman was engaged in covert prostitution, I would like to probe even further and turn to the main theme of this chapter, by looking to the very body itself and to its relationship to space. To get to the market that March day, Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl had to walk alone through the city at night. She may have strolled across public squares, ambled through dark streets, and stopped to look into shop windows. Much like the "Future Women" caricature at the beginning of this chapter, it was not just what a woman wore and what language she spoke that cast her as deviant, in other words, but also, her bodily comportment and movement through space.

This chapter draws on feminist phenomenology, which argues that if mind is embodied, becoming a social woman is also tied to embodying her in space.[74] Feminist theorist Iris Marion

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[72] "Ein Wort über die Kultur der Stimme," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 2 (1925): 2.

[73] "Ein buntes Bild—und ein Geschrei! Besonders die Rumänen stritten immer, es kam auch zum Raufen Und die vielen Sprachen." In Marie Konheisner in Althaus, "Lebensverhältnisse von Dienstmädchen und Hausgehilfinnen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 152.

Young illustrates this idea by considering feminine bodily comportment, manner of moving, and relation to space to suggest that femininity is "a set of structures and conditions that delimit the typical situation of being a woman in a particular society, as well as a typical way in which this situation is lived by the women themselves."[75] It is women's individual daily phenomenology that gives definition to their femininity.

According to Young, socialized feminine movement manifests itself in three ways: ambiguous transcendence, inhibited intentionality, and discontinuous unity with its surroundings. She draws on Simone de Beauvoir's conception of woman as immanent, existing as an object (in-itself), to first suggest that women's motility exhibits an "ambiguous transcendence." This means that even though a woman's body strives towards transcendence, it is "laden with immanence," so that its every movement is "grasping, manipulating," and forced.[76] In this way, "woman takes herself to be the object of the motion rather than its originator," a thing that is acted upon instead of the source of action.[77] Second, Young discusses feminine movement's "inhibited intentionality" to refer to the hesitancy with which women move towards a projected end. For example, many women approach the task of lifting a heavy object with such tentativeness, that they "fail to summon the full possibilities of their muscular coordination, position, posing, and bearing."[78] Hence, women experience their bodies as objects that must be manipulated and coaxed into acting. Finally, when Young discusses "discontinuous unity," she means the way women tend to localize movement in one part of the body, thereby leaving the rest of the body immobile. Women's bodily comportment is thus bound and restrained, as demonstrated in their narrower gait and stride, and tendency to sit

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[74] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald Landes (New York: Routledge, 2001).
[75] Iris Marion Young, "Throwing Like a Girl: A Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility, and Spatiality," in *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31.
[76] Young, "Throwing Like a Girl," 36.
[77] Ibid., 38-39.
[78] Ibid., 33.

with legs relatively close together. At the root of these three modalities of feminine movement, then, is woman's experience of her body as an object, "a fragile thing, which must be picked up and coaxed into movement, a thing that exists as *looked at and acted upon*."[79]

Although Young's three modalities are based on her observations of normative femininity in contemporary American society, I nevertheless find that aspects of these were also present in fin de siècle Cisleithania. Drawing on etiquette books and women's magazines from the period, I will show that a bourgeois lady's—or *Dame*'s—bodily comportment was expected to be even more passive, frail, and restrained than Young's account suggests. I will then proceed to use the three modalities as reference points to conceptualize the sex worker's embodied femininity, which deviated from the *Dame*'s in fundamental ways, and that, simultaneously, indexed working class and racial categories. I would like to stress that the concept of deviance makes little sense on its own; it gains meaning from it relation to something else. Deviant femininity, then, must be explained in relation to and as a deviation from normative femininity.

The following analysis is based on archival sources that I have chosen to read against the grain. Although most of these documents were written by and for the Vienna Police Department, I am drawing on them with a degree of thoughtful speculation to recover and reconstruct the embodied experience and phenomenology of the sex worker. First, as someone who had to go out in public and locate clients, the sex worker engaged in "transcendence," was active instead of passive, both subject and object of gaze and action. Second, although the sex worker's body was frequently used and abused, she nevertheless maintained resilience and strength, exhibiting a degree of "uninhibited intentionality." Third, she took part in an expansive and "continuous," rather than constricted and discontinuous, form of movement, what I describe below as a kind of *flânerie.* As it

[79] Ibid., 39.

will become apparent, all three modalities are fundamentally interrelated, and tied to space, which I will address last.

A word on agency. Although my analysis aims to take part in the larger historiographical debate that attempts to recover sex workers' agency (hence, I use the term sex worker as opposed to prostitute), it does this without trying to idealize the bleak realities of sex work.[80] The deviant phenomenology in which these women took part was not necessarily done for the sake of self-actualization, but out of structural and professional necessity. Had they not moved expansively through city streets, sex workers would never have located clients to begin with. It was not until bourgeois women appropriated sex workers' deviant femininity, that its phenomenology was understood as incontrovertibly liberating. For this reason, my use of Young's schema may be slightly unorthodox, but nevertheless useful in explaining sex workers' deviance as a function of their embodied femininity.

I: Transcendence, or Exposed and Exposing

According to Malvine von Steinau's widely read etiquette book, a proper *Dame* had to be passive and accommodating, with a "modest" and "attentive" gaze that expressed "pure intentions," and was "friendly without being calculating." In a section devoted entirely to a woman's gaze, von Steinau explained that one of the greatest infractions a woman could make was to have an insistent and aggressive stare, a "peering, lurking gaze that seeks to discern our internal world, and drill through us."[81] By the same token, ball etiquette dictated that a proper lady refrain from asking men to dance, even with her "inviting looks and postures," as this was considered aggressive and a form

[80] For agency and prostitution in Central Europe, see footnote 3.
[81] "Am hässlichsten von allen vielleicht ist ein stechender, lauernder Blick, der unser Inneres zu erforschen, uns zu durchbohren sucht." In Malvine von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage* (Wien: Hartleben, 1878), 32-33.

of *Koketterie*.[82] Instead, she would patiently wait for a gentleman to invite her to dance. A *Dame*, to borrow Young's terminology, was utterly immanent, a passive object that was looked at and summoned, acted upon instead of acting.

By contrast, sex workers actively sought out clients, whether on the street, at night-cafes, bars, even in brothels. They exhibited a degree of "transcendence" when they looked around, identified a client, met his gaze, and negotiated and took part in a sex act, yet another exchange of looking and doing. In other words, sex workers were subjects and objects of both gaze and action. For example, in Arthur Schnitzler's play, *La Ronde* (*Reigen*), the first scene opens with an encounter between a sex worker and a soldier near the Augarten Bridge in the late evening, in which she urges him, "Come, my beautiful angel."[83] Police records suggest that sex workers frequently addressed their clients first.[84]

Sex workers often leaned out of windows to entice clients, a gesture that reveals the way in which they actively looked at and acted upon others, while also providing visual and sexual access to their own bodies.[85] In so doing, these "window whores," as the became known among police officers, breached the threshold between the street and private space, resignifying space so that what was private became public, while the public street became an extension of the brothel.[86] An article from *Das Wiener Nachtleben* described how "window-whores" "sit at the windows and 'wink-up' men between the ages of 13 and 90 who walk by."[87] Insofar as windows are the so-called eyes of a

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[82] Von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage*, 95-96.
[83] "Komm, mein schöner Engel." The soldier then responds, "Ah, ich bin der schöne Engel?" He seems to detect the subtle humor—the gender reversal—in her flirtation. See Schnitzler, *Reigen*, 25.
[84] For example, ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1922 + 1923, Folder: 1922, Letter from O. Rell, Wien, 26 May 1925.
[85] For example, ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1919/5, Letter from Karl Laughofer, Wien, 3 September 1919.
[86] For a seminal text in feminist geography, see Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
[87] "…eine gewisse Kategorie von Frauenzimmern an den Fenstern sitzt und die Vorübergehenden männlichen Geschlechtes zwischen 13 und 90 Jahren 'heraufwinkt'." See "Schändliches Treiben einer 'Koberin' in der Neustiftgasse!," *Das Wiener Nachtleben* (August 1925).

building, window-whores not only took part in looking, but also embodied the very act. A police report from 1906 drew on the language of contagion to suggest that, "it is no wonder that 11 to 14-year-old girls become corrupted," when "across from a playground in Hernals Teichgasse, sex workers sit at the window and look out and walk around the neighborhood at noon."[88] Thus, depravity and disease did not only travel via touch, but also, via a piercing gaze and suggestive wink. Scholars Peter Stallbrass and Allon White confirm this. "The stare of the urban poor themselves was rarely felt as one of deference and respect. On the contrary, it was more frequently seen as an aggressive and humiliating act of physical contact."[89]

But just as sex workers could look out, pedestrians could look in. A 1919 letter to the police department describes that, "due to a lack of curtains, one can look into the apartment" and see how "the ladies lie around in their undergarments all day."[90] Thus, sex workers were not only active via their gaze, but also actively exposed their bodies, making them visible to others' gaze and consumption. This, too, went against the embodied script of proper femininity, which viewed the body as confined to an invisible, private space. As Stefan Zweig recounts in his novel-memoir, "The more a woman was a '*Dame*,' the less recognizable were her natural forms," and by extension, her body.[91] For this reason, von Steinau maintained that all ladies were to avoid clothing that revealed the contours of their figures, as well as their upper arms, collarbones, and cleavage, as this "heightens

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[88] "Gegenüber dem Kinderparke in Hernals Teichgasse, sitzen die Prostituierten beim Fenster und schauen heraus und laufen des Nachmittags dort in der Gegend herum, sodass es kein Wunder ist wenn 11-14 jährige Mädchen hiervon verdorben werden." In ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1906/2, Wien, 16 December 1906.
[89] Peter Stallbrass and Allon White, "The City: the Sewer, the Gaze, and the Contaminating Touch," in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 135.
[90] "…man kann kein Kind zum Fenster lassen da man infolge Fehlen von Vorhängen in die Wohnung hinein sieht" and "die Damen liegen tagsüber im Hemd am Fenster." See ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1919/5, Letter from Karl Laughofer, Wien, 3 September 1919.
[91] "Je mehr eine Frau als 'Dame' wirken sollte, um so weniger durften ihre natürlichen Formen erkennbar sein…" In Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern. Erinnerungen einese Europäers* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1942] 1985), 92.

the *Koketterie* of the outfit."[92] By contrast, as professional coquettes, sex workers were active, exposed and exposing, reversing the gaze and winking first. Their transcendence, then, can be understood as the first aspect of their deviant feminine phenomenology.

II: Uninhibited Intentionality, or Resilient Bodies

According to Zweig, young *Damen* were "like hothouse flowers, raised in the overly warm climate of a green house, protected from every harmful breeze: the artificially cultivated product of a very particular upbringing and culture."[93] Indeed, if masculinity was tied to strength, femininity was analogous to frailty and grace. For this reason, von Steinau warned against sports, which could "pose a threat to feminine grace, insofar as strength is more closely related to masculinity."[94] Instead, proper ladies were to spend their time dancing, learning "ease and grace of movement," so that they could "float inaudibly on their toe tips." When not engaged in dance, *Damen* spent many hours a day seated indoors and perfectly still, perfecting their piano skills, singing and drawing, learning foreign languages, and reading important literary works. Zweig's observation, then, was correct: the *Dame* truly was a hothouse flower, cultivated, fragile, and always on the verge of wilting. According to Young's terminology, she displayed inhibited intentionality, underestimating her physical capacity and strength.

This was certainly not the case for Cisleithanian working-class women, especially sex workers, who were not in a position to distance themselves from their bodies, nor view them as frail. For example, the reality of infection was so great, that registered sex workers were required to

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92 Von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage*, 57-58.
93 "Sie waren mehr Mädchen, als die Mädchen es heute sind, und weniger Frauen, in ihrem Wesen der exotischen Zartheit von Treibhauspflanzen ähnlich, die im Glashaus in einer künstlich überwärmten Atmosphäre und geschützt vor jedem bösen Windhauch aufgezogen werden: das kunstvoll gezüchtete Produkt einer bestimmten Erziehung und Kultur." In Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern*, 99.
94 "… führt aber auch die Gefahr mit sich, die Kraft, die dem männlichen sich nähert, an Stelle der weiblichen Grazie trete[t]…" In Von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage*, 23-24.

undergo medical examinations two times a week. Each doctor saw thirty sex workers, and each full-body examination took five minutes.[95] The women were obliged to come to the examination room in "neat and modest clothing," and keep their voices low. If a sex worker was found ill, she was immediately placed in a hospital for recovery. A 1918 letter to the police department reveals that after being diagnosed with gonorrhea, covert sex worker Rina Perezzoli was rushed to a hospital for the homeless in the XII district, Meidling.[96] According to the letter, Perezzoli was forced to share a room with over thirty other sick women, most of whom were covered in dirt and fleas. The patients often fought and hit each other, which the hospital staff apparently encouraged. Once Perezzoli was released, it is highly likely that she continued to engage in sex work. In other words, even after being sick, battered, and living in filth, she summoned her strength and returned to walking the street at night.

Brothel inspection reports reveal that sex workers' bodies were sometimes physically wounded from rough sexual encounters. In an examination dated April 1912, the doctor observed a large, blue, coin-shaped bruise on Katharina Antolek's left thigh, "ostensibly the result of a visitor's pinching."[97] He also found a smaller bruise on Luise Feiertag's right shoulder blade, which she attributed to a visitor's aggressive bite.[98] A report from May 1914 describes a coin-sized bruise on Marie Diwis's left breast, which the client had given her after violently sucking on her chest.[99] During Hermine Ehrenberger's medical examination in December 1917, the doctor found skin abrasions on her nose and both eyes, possibly due to physical violence such as slapping or punching.[100] From these few examples, it becomes apparent that sex workers' bodies were penetrated, prodded, pinched, sucked, slapped, and punched on a regular basis. And once the sex

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[95] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1907/1, Medical Examination of Sex Workers, Wien, 21 October 1911.
[96] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1918/1, Letter to Police Department, Perezzoli Rina, Wien,18 August 1918.
[97] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1912, Police Report, I Bäckerstrasse 2, Wien, 24 April 1912.
[98] Ibid.
[99] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1906/1, Police Report, I Bäckerstrasse 16, Wien, 28 May 1914.
[100] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1906/2, Police Report, XVI Hippgasse 41, Wien, 12 December 1917.

acts were over, they would wash themselves with warm water, dry their bodies with clean towels, and return to their physically taxing work.

Although we can assume that many of these bruises and wounds resulted from consensual sex acts, others may have resulted from forced violent encounters.[101] For example, during her trip from Vienna to Szentys, Marie Stüdlein recounted how the ship captain repeatedly came into her room, "laid himself on top of [her] again und used his knees to violently force open her tightly closed legs and use her sexually."[102] Stüdlein could still remember the sensation of his "genital member inside of her," as well as the pain that she felt as a result. Once she began to scream, "the man said to her, 'stupid goose, stay quiet, it's nothing,' and then left the cabin." What is striking is that most of Stüdlein's report details her work in Szentys, so that the encounter on the boat seems to be just one detail in a larger narrative. For the police, the real concern did not seem to be rape at all, but the poor conditions that prevented her from doing her work at the brothel in Szentys.

By illuminating instances of illness, pain, and violence, I hoped to show that sex workers, as working-class women, were not in a position to view their bodies as fragile. And even though their bodies were often objectified, used, and abused, they were also the source of resilience and strength, opposite to the delicate, "pruned, shaped, molded, and decorated" body of the bourgeois *Dame*.[103] I do not mean to underestimate the amount of pain and illness that sex workers had to endure, only to highlight that the very nature of their work forced them to summon their physical strength and

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101 Though, of course, the very concept of consent must be historicized.

102 This police report based on a testimonial by Marie Stüdlein describes how on her way to a brothel in Budapest, the ship captain came into her room "legte sich wieder auf die Stüdlein und zwengte mit seinen Knien ihre Beine, die sie fest zusammendrückte, mit Gewalt auseinander und gebrauchte sie geschlechtlich. Sie verspürte deutlich, wie er seinen Geschlechtsteil in den ihren steckte, wodurch sie Schmerzen empfand und zum Schreien began. Der Mann sagte zu ihr, 'Dumme Gans, sind sie ruhig, das macht ja nichts,' und verliess nachdem die Kabine." See ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1912, Letter from Alois Stangler, Wien, 27 February 1912.

103 On women gazing upon their bodies as mere things: "She gazes at it in the mirror, worries about how it looks to others, prunes it, shapes it, molds and decorates it." In Young, "Throwing Like a Girl," 44.

strive towards a degree of "uninhibited intentionality," what I describe as the second aspect of deviant feminine phenomenology.

III: Continuous Movement, or *Flânerie*

In the early nineteenth century, walking became less of a means to an end, and more of a pleasurable and aesthetic end in itself.[104] No longer was it a utilitarian activity, a form of transportation, or a means to improve health. Rather, walking became a ritualistic social practice.[105] In Vienna, ladies and gentlemen would promenade around the Ringstraße, the ring-like boulevard that was built along the city's former city walls, or down Kärnternstraße, the elegant shopping street linking the Opera house to the St. Stephan's Cathedral at the very center of the city.[106] Here, they would stroll with an air of elegance and self-importance, greet friends and acquaintances, stop to look into shop-windows, and continue walking at a leisurely pace.

For *Damen*, especially, walking was a learned art form that could only be enjoyed in the company of gentlemen.[107] A woman walking on the street by herself had to follow a different phenomenological script. The short Pathé Frères film from 1906, makes this difference explicit.[108] At 0:48 of the film, a woman walking alone with a parasol is spotted running across the Ring. Several seconds later, a man and woman are seen crossing the same street in a much more leisurely fashion. This contrast in walking practices is reiterated in another Pathé Frères film, *Wien 1908*, in which men

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[104] Heikki Lempa, *Beyond the Gymnasium: Educating the Middle Class Bodies in Classical Germany* (New York: Lexington Books, 2007), 163-193.
[105] Lempa, *Beyond the Gymnasium*, 176.
[106] Emperor Franz Joseph established the City Expansion Commission in 1857 to demolish Vienna's city walls and begin construction on what would become the architecturally imposing Ringstraße. On the history of the Ringstrasse, see Renate Wagner-Rieger, ed., *Die Wiener Ringstrasse—Bild einer Epoche. Die Erweiterung der inneren Stadt Wien unter Kaiser Franz Joseph* (Wien: H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1980); Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24-115; Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna: Bridge Between Cultures*, trans. Dietlinde Mühlgassner and Craig Reisser (New York: Belhaven Press, 1993), 62-86.
[107] Lempa, *Beyond the Gymnasium*, 180-184.
[108] *Tramway en Vienne*, directed by Pathé Frères (Wien: 1906), http://stadtfilm-wien.at/film/47/.

dominate the bustling street scene from 4:48 to 5:02, with the exception of a few women walking quickly and with intention. In other words, a woman walking by herself had to convey the activity's utilitarian aspect and eschew any evidence of pleasure. According to an etiquette book, she had to "walk quietly and maintain a consistent pace." "One's eyes may not wander, one may not… look in shop windows for too long."[109]

Fig. 8 Film stills from *Tramway en Vienne* (1906). Notice on the left, a woman running across the street, whereas on the right, a woman walks leisurely with her gentleman companion. Screen shots taken by author.

By contrast, female sex workers regularly walked through urban space on their own, which consisted of a slow-paced, and to borrow from Young, "continuous" form of movement—a strolling and sauntering—often within a small radius of several streets. A police report from 1913 reported that sex workers were frequently found walking "in the middle of the street."[110] Other forms of continuous movement included "repeated promenading up and down a street," "lingering on the street in the company of other sex workers, as well as loitering or walking around Night Cafes or bars."[111] According to Zweig, these *Strichmädchen* (street walkers) walked through city streets

[109] Ilse-Dore Tanner, *Gutes Benehmen: Ein Ratgeber in allen Fragen des guten Tones und der feinen Sitten* (Wien: Verlag von W. Vobach & Co., 1923), 27.
[110] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1914/2, Report from Alois Hanawik, Wien, 18 September 1913.
[111] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1908, "Die Prostitution vom sozialen und rechtlichen Standpunkte, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wiener Verhältnisse."

"day and night until the late morning," "endlessly wandering from one corner to another."[112] Thus, street-walking (*am Strich gehen*) indexed bourgeois walking practices insofar as it, too, involved a leisurely pace, a continuous and peripatetic movement, as well as a stopping and looking. Sex workers appropriated male bourgeois walking practices, while at the same time, disavowing feminine propriety.

I would like to draw on Walter Benjamin's conception of the *flâneur*—he who "botanizes the asphalt"—by suggesting that one deviant form of embodied femininity resembled a kind of *flânerie*.[113] Feminist revisions of the *flâneur* have identified its gendered, masculine bias, as well as its reliance on vision, insisting that the figure constitutes the very embodiment of the male gaze.[114] While feminist critics such as Elizabeth Wilson have suggested that women, too, engaged in *flânerie*, especially in modern department stores, other critics have urged for the re-embodiment and re-sensualization of the *flâneur* as a means to destabilize the primacy of vision.[115] I argue that the Cisleithanian street-walker took part in a kind of gendered and classed *flânerie,* and it was not just her active looking, but also the way she continuously moved her entire body through public space, taking up space in the process, that coded her as deviant. To quote Susan Buck-Morss, "prostitution was indeed the female version of *flânerie*… the *flâneur* was simply the name of a man who loitered; but all women who loitered risked being seen as whores."[116] Precisely because of this gendered power imbalance, the sex

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[112] "Bei Tag und Nacht bis tief ins Morgengrauen schleppten sie…," "bei ihrem endlosen Wandern von einer Ecke zu anderen schließlich doch alle denselben unvermeidlichen Weg gingen: den Weg ins Spital." In Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern*, 107.

[113] Walter Benjamin, "The Flâneur," in *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Verso, 1983), 35-66.

[114] For feminist responses to the flâneur, see Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture & Society* 2, no. 3 (1 November 1985): 37-46; Elizabeth Wilson, "The Invisible Flâneur," *New Left Review* 1, no. 191 (January-February 1992): 90-110; Anke Gleber, "Female Flânerie and the *Symphony of the City,*" in *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, ed. Katharina Van Ankum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997): 67-88.

[115] For the resensualization of the flâneur, see Aimee Boutin, "Rethinking the Flânuer: Flânerie and the Senses," *Dix-Neuf* 16, no. 2 (July 2012): 124-132.

[116] Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique,* no. 39 (Autumn 1986): 119.

worker-as-*flâneuse* could never engage in the same kind of pleasure of looking (scopophilia) as the male *flâneur*, nor could her strolling be an end in itself. Even so, her slow saunter was nothing short of radical.

IV: Expansive Space

According to Michel de Certeau, "the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language."[117] The city's network of streets, squares, and alleyways permit only certain kinds of movements and trajectories, and it is up to the pedestrian to "actualize" and subvert them. Hence, de Certeau maintains that, "the walking of passers-by offers a series of turns (tours) and detours that can be compared to 'turns of phrase' or 'stylistic figures'."[118] It is my contention that sex workers' movement through space was, to continue the linguistic metaphor, fluent and stylized, actualizing many of the city's spatial possibilities by walking on streets that were prohibited to them, taking shortcuts through alleyways, and meandering back and forth, up and down, and looping back around. By taking continuous, circuitous, and non-linear paths, sex workers engaged in a subversive "rhetoric of walking," what Allan Pred might refer to as "pedestrian promiscuity,"[119] and Sara Ahmed, as a queer phenomenology.[120] It is the sex worker's relationship to space, as well as her ability to move through it, that constitutes the final aspect of deviant phenomenology. It is also here, that the three modalities discussed above—transcendence, uninhibited intentionality, and continuous movement—converge.

In this section, I will attempt to vividly recount a walk through Vienna's I district, tracing the footsteps of the sex workers who worked there. My intention is to make their sensual experience of

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117 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 97.
118 de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 100.
119 Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 129.
120 Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, and Others* (Durham: Duke Univesrity Press, 2006).

urban space as vivid and palpable as possible to the reader, in an effort to bring their phenomenological everyday experience of the city to life.[121] Using Carolyn Steedman's approach in her book, *Labours Lost*, as inspiration, I took the walk myself, maneuvering through the same narrow streets and over the same cobblestones that these women walked a hundred years ago. As Steedman puts it, "physical activity carries the past," and it was only after walking expansively up and down these streets, that I could begin to imagine what deviant feminine phenomenology looked—and felt—like.[122] Although it is impossible to fully embody past experiences, there are, according to Leora Auslander, nevertheless "certain traits shared by human beings across time and space resulting from our universal embodiedness. Because we are all born small and dependent, grow and mature relatively slowly, and eventually die, and because we exist in three dimensions and possess five senses, we share a relation to the material world."[123] Although the degree of this relation changes over time, it nevertheless persists.

According to a police report from 1916, the sex workers living in Bäckerstraße 16 frequently took daily recreational walks together.[124] The brothel was housed in a powder blue and ivory colored baroque town house, with adorned rectangular windows, and an imposing arched doorway leading into a courtyard. Upon exiting the brothel, the women would gather in front of an ivory-colored stone

Fig. 9 Exterior of the brothel housed in Bäckerstraße 16 (2015). Photograph taken by author.

[121] For a phenomenological and affective approach to the city, see Jennifer V. Evans, *Life among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 46-100.
[122] Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 351.
[123] Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2004): 1019.
[124] ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1906, Police Report, I Bäckergasse 16, Wien, 17 November 1916.

building. If they took a right, they would walk towards the Jesuit church on Universitätsplatz. Although sex workers were technically not allowed to be anywhere near churches, schools, and public buildings, police seemed less likely to enforce these regulations during the First World War. Across the square they would walk, their high heels clicking and clacking across the uneven cobblestone, until they would reach the large, imposing Ringstraße. Here, they would hastily run across the dusty street, swerving around the tramway and winding between horse-drawn carriages.[125] On the other side of the Ring, they would enter the city park, where they would amble along tree-lined paths and continue on to the river. On their return to the brothel, they would meander through narrow streets and dark alleyways: Kumpfgasse, Strobelgasse, Essiggasse, Bäckerstraße.

Fig. 10 Postcard of city park in Vienna. Ledermann, "Wien I, Stadtpartk," (1905). AKON/ÖNB.

[125] Dust was swirled up by traffic and pedestrians, and was a particularly serious problem in the summer. See Peter Payer, *Der Gestank von Wien: Über Kanalgase, Totendünste und andere üble Geruchskulissen* (Wien: Döcker, 1997), 115.

If they took a left from Bäckerstraße 16, they would walk towards the city center through puddles of dirty water and mud and around piles of strong smelling horse manure. Once they reached the end of the street, they might have continued onto Rotenturmstraße, a bustling shopping street. On this crowded street, they would find themselves in "a social hodge-podge… where the banker and the bum, the wholesaler and the whore, the retailer and the rag-picker, the respectable and the disrespectful, the high and the low, the clean and the dirty, flowed and jostled, side-by-side."[126] If they kept walking westward, they would reach the Hoher Markt square, wandering around the market stalls, around the long queues of women waiting for their food rations, past the large baroque Wedding Fountain, and towards Tuchlauben.

Fig. 11 Postcard of Hoher Markt. Ledermann, "Votivdenkmal Maria Vermälhung, Wien I, Hoher Market," (1912). AKON/ÖNB.

[126] Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 129.

Here, the sex workers might take a right onto the dark and winding Kleeblattgasse, meander down its narrow path, loiter in its dark crevices, and lean against its pastel-colored buildings, which were from four to six stories high, tall enough to block sunlight from peering in.[127]

Fig. 12 The dark and winding Kleetblattgasse (2015). Photograph taken by author.

Finally, they would stop at a pub to have a drink. According to a letter of complaint, "The girls enjoy a lot of alcohol. After 7 o'clock, almost all of them are gathered at the bar of the restaurant 'zum Kleeblatt,' and after singing every folk song there is more drinking."[128] As they emptied bottles of Austrian wine, they would raise their voices and sing:

[127] On Kleeblattgasse, see for example, ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1922 + 1923, Folder: 1922, Letter from the Zentraldirektion der Schulen und Kurse der Genossenschaften der Gastwirte und Kaffeesieder in Wien, Wien, 22 January 1924.

[128] "Die Ursache liegt… darin, dass die Mädchen viel Alkohol geniessen. Nach 7h sind sie fast alle im Schankzimmer des Restaurants zum 'Kleeblatt' versammelt, und nach jedem Gesellschaftsgang wird ein getrinken." In ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1922 + 1923, Folder: 1922, Letter to the Sittenamt der Wiener Polizeidirektion, Wien, 25 August 1923.

Ja, ja, der Wein ist gut, [Yes, yes, the wine is good]
I brauch kan neuen Hut, [I don't need a new hat]
I setz den alten auf, [I'll put the old one on]
Bevor i Wasser sauf! [Before I drink water!]
Wo a greans Kranzerl winkt, [There where a little green wreath hangs]
Man Wiener Lieder singt, [One sings Viennese songs]
Hör i der Musi zua [I listen to the music]
Bis in der Fruah! [Until the early morn!]
Hallo! [Hello!][129]

Afterwards, they would return to the street, chat with a fellow sex worker or pimp, and light some cigarettes. Leaning against the cold stone of a building wall, they would wait until a man walked by. "Every gentlemen who passes by is loudly addressed, women are laughed at, and even children are not overlooked."[130] Because the "drunken whores yell, sing, swear, and hit their parasols on the rolling gates," a letter-writer insisted that he could not sleep.[131] At night, he could hear the women having sex with their clients and saying things like, "'don't be scared'—'just stand like this'—'no one will see us' or 'I'll do it French-style'."[132] Sex workers' vocal presence may also be understood as an auditory sauntering: their loud voices transgressed spatial boundaries, from the street through

Fig. 13 Cobble stones on Kleetblattgasse (2015). Photograph taken by author.

[129] According to a contemporary young woman, this was a particularly popular Wienerlied: "Ich habe jetzt immer das Lied im Ohr." See Sammlung Frauennachlässe (hereafter SFn), Series: Christine Wastl, Box: NL 42/II, Folder: Letters from Christl to Franzi Wastl, 1918-1926, Letter, 11 July 1926.
[130] "… jeder vorübergehender Herr wird laut angesprochen, Frauen werden ausgelacht, und auch Kinder werden nicht verschaut."
[131] "Die besofenen Dirnen schreien, singen, schimpfen, und schlagen mit ihren Parasols auf die Rollbalken…"
[132] "—brauchst ka Angst haben"—'stells dich so her'—'da sieht uns niemand' oder 'ich machs dir französische'."

building windows and into the domestic spaces of people's homes.

From Kleeblattgasse, the sex workers might have looped back around, and made their way to the Fleischmarkt. A hat manufacturer, J. Obwerwalder & CIE, accused the increased visibility of sex workers for ruining his business, noting that, "bourgeois women shy away from looking at our shop windows," while sex workers loiter on street corners.[133] In addition to being lined with shops, the Fleischmarkt was also home to a Greek Orthodox Church, suggesting yet again that by the interwar period, sex workers became even more likely to navigate the city as they pleased, strolling by churches, walking through public squares, and moving from one end of the city to the other at all times of the day, engaging in a "promiscuous" rhetoric of walking.

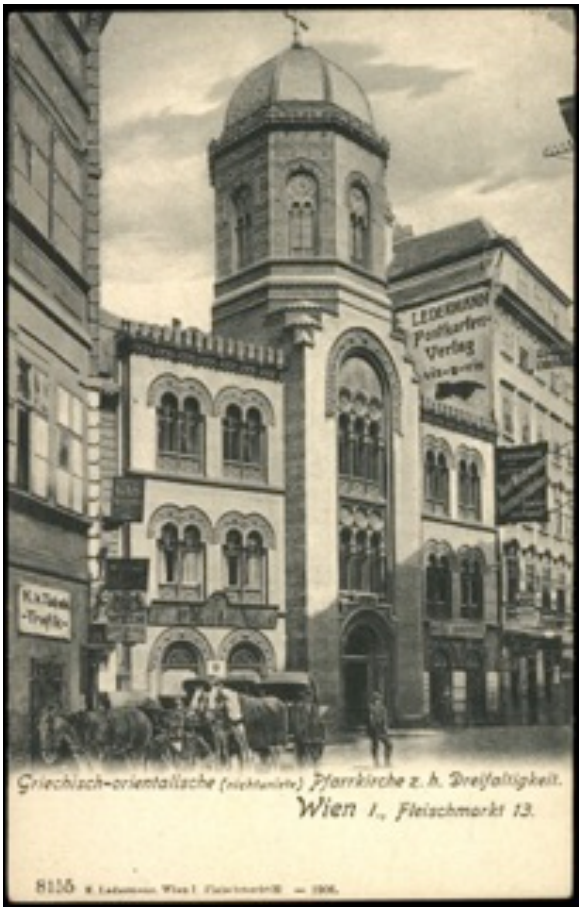

Fig. 14 The Greek-Orthodox Church on the Fleischmarkt. Ledermann, "Griechisch-orientalische Pfarrkirche z. h. Dreifaltigkeit, Wien I., Fleischmarkt 13," (1906). AKON/ÖNB.

[133] "Frauen aus bürgerlichen Kreisen scheuen, unsere Auslagen zu besichtigen." In ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1924/1925, Folder: 1925, Letter for J. Obwerwalder & CIE to the Police Department, Wien, 27 May 1925.

Second Interlude: Autumn in Vienna, 1916

On 18 September 1916, Police Agent Franz Schneider observed two women strolling on Mariahilferstraße, the large shopping street dividing the VI district from the VII in Vienna.[134] The women strolled leisurely, occasionally stopping to look at the colorful displays in shop windows. Police Agent Schneider approached them to ask what they were doing on the street so late in the day. After "an excited exchange of words," he handed them over to a watchman who escorted them to the police station.[135] Like Herr Hofrat Ullmann's servant girl, they had also been mistakenly apprehended. And yet, unlike the servant, they were bourgeois women. The superficial signifiers of prostitution—working-class dress and language—no longer seemed to matter. What mattered was their phenomenology. By strolling through the city at night, these middle-class women referenced the active, conspicuous, resilient, and expansive embodied femininity of the sex worker. Not only were the sex workers of Bäckerstraße 16 taking daily walks together; ordinary bourgeois women were doing the same.

Fig. 15 Postcard of Mariahilferstrasse. Grünspann, "Wien, Mariahilferstrasse," (1913). AKON/ÖNB.

[134] This turned into a scandal, and was reported on extensively by the press. See ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1917, "K.u.K. Polizeidirektion SA Report," Wien, 22 December 1918.
[135] Apparently, the policeman addressed the ladies in the informal "du" and "ihr" instead of the more formal "sie".

Street Walking and Walking the Streets

During the First World War, more Viennese women began to move freely through urban space. Some women turned to street walking to make ends meet.[136] As I will discuss in Chapter 3, conditions on the homefront were so bleak, that it was not uncommon for even bourgeois women to turn to sex work as an extra source of income. By 1920, about 20 percent of sex workers belonged to the middle-class: of the 3,272 covert sex workers, 377 had been state workers, 14 dental technicians and dental assistants, eight were officer's wives, and 571 were "middle-class."[137] A newspaper reported that, "While in the past, the biggest contingent was made up of vagrant servant girls, waitresses or low-paid workers, today the majority consists of clerks and other female office workers, daughters of respected civil servant families, who look for and find employment this way mostly out of necessity, and less out of frivolity or addiction to luxury."[138]

A woman asking for advice in the "Life Problems" column in *Bettauers Wochenschrift* explained that she was poor, cold, and hungry, and so "was forced to be addressed [as a sex worker], just so that [she can] get in bed."[139] Another reader, "Helene," noted that she was deprived of a warm meal for four months,[140] and had been forced to wander through the cold streets of Vienna until she

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136 In 1921, Vienna shuttered its brothels. Thus, even more sex workers were forced to walk on streets to meet clients.

137 Werner Sabitzer, "Geschichte der Prostitution," *Das Magazine des Innenministeriums*, no. 11-12 (2000), http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/bmi_oeffentlichesicherheit/2000/11_12/artikel_12.aspx.

138 "Während früher einmal hauptsächlich vagierende Dienstmädchen, Kellnerinnen oder schlechtenlohnte Arbeiterinnen das größte Kontingent stellten, sind es heute in der Mehrzahl Kontoristinnen und andere weibliche Bureauangestellte, Töchter achtbarer Beamtenfamilien, die zumeist Not, selten aus Leichtsinn oder Sucht nach Luxus auf solchem Wege Erwerb suchen und finden." In "Ein aussichtsloser Kampf. Die Zunahme der weiblichen Prostitution in Wien," *Wiener Sonntags- und Montags Zeitung* 58, no. 14 (5 January 1920): 2-3.

139 "… war gezwungen, mich ansprechen zu lassen, damit ich nur in ein Bette komme." In Ch. E., "Die Mädchenhölle," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 23 (16 October 1924): 16.

140According to police reports, it is certainly true that many women were homeless at the time, sleeping in parks, train stations, or telephone booths. See, for example, ABpdW, Series: P/M, Box: 1924/1925, Folder: P/M 1924, "Erhebungsbericht: Shober, Paula," Bruck a.d. Lth., 26 February 1926.

finally began allowing men to address her, "only to be allowed to lie in bed again."[141] She marveled at the fact that these men did not feel how her "body trembl[ed] with nausea, weakness, shame, and hunger in their arms."[142] This sentiment was widespread, as a caricature from 1920 reveals.[143] A red-haired woman looks coyly at the floor, admitting that she had been forced to turn to sex work. Her friend, leaning against the back of a chair and smoking a cigarette, asks, "But how could you have done that?"[144] And the girl replies, "Oh, he had such a nice warm room."

Fig. 16 Young woman admits to street walking in exchange for a warm bed. From "Unwiderstehlicher Zwang," *Die Muskete* 29, no. 747 (22 January 1920): 132. ANNO/ÖNB.

And yet, even though many women engaged in street walking, even more women, like the ones strolling on Mariahilferstrasse in 1916, were simply walking down streets and taking up space. The documentary film, *Wien 1920*, by the Societè Albert Kahn, confirms this.[145] In comparison to the prewar films, we see many more women walking through city streets, maneuvering around thick

141 "… nur um einmal wieder in einem Bette liegen zu dürfen." In "Helene," "Das grauenhafte Leben," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 28 (20 November 1924): 16.
142 "… dass mein Körper in ihrem Arm vor Ekel, Schwäche, Scham und Hunger zittert."
143 In "Unwiderstehlicher Zwang," *Die Muskete* 29, no. 747 (22 January 1920): 132.
144 "Ja wie hast du denn das tun können?" "Ach, er hat ein so schön geheiztes Zimmer gehabt!"
145 *Wien 1920*, directed by Societè Albert Kahn (Wien: 1920), http://stadtfilm-wien.at/film/26/.

crowds, and pressing up against other people while queuing on market squares. Unlike bourgeois women prior to the war who wore large-brimmed hats and narrow dresses with long, dust-catching trains,[146] by 1920, at least half the women went hatless on the street, and exposed their ankles in order to engage in greater movement.[147]

Indeed, by the mid-1920s, women's fashion magazines included more advertisements for clothing meant to be worn in public spaces, such as at the office or the park. One fashion report from 1924 described the merits of the office dress (*Bürokleidchen*), which was fashionable, comfortable, and practical, all at once.[148] Many fashion illustrations also depicted women modeling clothes while taking their dog for a walk outside.[149] Even etiquette books began addressing a greater range of venues outside of the home and in the city. For example, Ilse-Dore Tanner's *Gutes Benehmen* from 1923 gave *Damen* advice for navigating the street, lecture hall, bar, office, and train car.

Fig. 17 Women modeling clothing "out and about." From "Unterwegs," *Die Dame* 54, no. 19 (June 1927).

At 2:53 in the Societè Albert Kahn film, a hatless woman turns around to smile at the camera while women watch in the background. It is in this small gesture—the active look, the

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146 By 1915, fashion began accommodating more bell-shaped dresses. Regina Forstner, "Die Wiener Damenmode in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges," in *Die Frau im Korsett: Wiener Frauenalltag zwischen Klischee und Wirklichkeit 1848-1920* (Wien: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1984), 68-77.

147 On dress trains and dust, see Eduard Ritter, "Zur Kampf gegen Tuberkulose," *Österreichische Kriminal Zeitung* 1, no. 10 (20 June 1907).

148 Margot, "Von der Mode: Das Bürokleidchen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 18 (11 September 1924).

149 See, for example, the cover of *Die Dame* 53, no. 13 (March 1926); "Modebericht," *Illustriertes Familienblatt: Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 35, no. 20 (1929): 11.

conspicuous display of curiosity, the expansive turn—that the new phenomenology of femininity appears. With the war, Viennese women from all walks of life embodied a deviant femininity that most closely resembled the sex worker's. In some ways, then, the "Future Women" caricature from 1896 was rather prescient: Vienna's new women truly were engaging in activities and occupying spaces that had once belonged exclusively to men.

Fig. 18 A hatless woman turns around to smile at the camera, reversing the viewer's gaze. From *Wien 1920*. Screen shot taken by author.

Coda: "Loosened and flowing"

The images in Alice Bloch's gymnastics manual from 1926, *Harmonious Schooling of the Female Body* (*Harmonische Schulung des Frauenkörpers*), feature nude bobbed women engaging in gymnastics exercises in the great outdoors. Gymnastics was intended to counteract women's weakness, as well as the physical and "spiritual tensions" held by their bodies.[150] With a series of "loosening exercises" (*Lockerungsübungen*), gymnastics would train girls to move more freely and organically, achieving "bodily and spiritual health," as well as the "complete ennoblement [*Veredlung*] of [their] movements and [their] inner person[s]."[151] Rhythmic gymnastics, in particular, with its emphasis on the "violent

[150] "…seelische Verkrämpfungen…" In Alice Bloch, *Harmonische Schulung des Frauenkörpers: Nach gesundheitlichen Richtlinien in Bildern und Merkworten, 2. Auflage* (Stuttgart: Dieck & Co., 1926), 117.
[151] "Zur körperlichen und seelischen Gesundung, zur Veredlung unserer Bewegungen und unseres inneren Menschen!" In Bloch, *Harmonische Schulung des Frauenkörpers*, 117.

aesthetic outflow of natural rhythm,"[152] would provide girls access to the "unrestrained, primal" parts of themselves.[153] As one young woman explained in a magazine article, "the beauty of [rhythmic gymnastics] [is] to completely give myself over to the rhythm of my body, in a light chiffon or a porous cotton jersey or completely naked in the fresh air! Everything constraining falls away, everything hampering [is] loosened: I feel free."[154]

Rhythmic gymnastics, however, not only instructed women how to move their bodies athletically, but also, how to do the more quotidian, such as "stand, walk, and stride."[155] Specifically, the exercises served to counteract the "stiffness" with which many young women, especially *Damen*, were socialized to move and "strut along the street."[156] "Arms and legs developed their true freedom of movement," the woman writer above continued, "I felt how the inner organs were well harmonized [*in rechte Harmonie kamen*], how my breath became freer, how muscles and nerves filled with powerfully pulsating blood, and from this standing I involuntarily started to walk… [with an]

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152 C. Konschitzky, "Warum die Menschen tanzen," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 14 (1913): 150.

153 "Rythmus ist das Ungehemmte, Ursprüngliche, das Naturleben in uns, das wir durch geistig Gewolltes unterdrücken." In Bloch, *Harmonische Schulung des Frauenkörpers*, 117.

154 "Und das gerade ist das Wundervolle: in einem leichten Chifon oder einem durchlässigen Trikot oder ganz nackt in freier Luft mich ganz dem Rhythmus meines Körpers hinzugeben! Alles Beengende fällt ab, alles Hemmende löst sich: ich fühle mich frei." In A.H. Kober, "Erziehung zum Körpergefühl," *Die Dame* 53, no. 25 (September 1926).

155 The interwar fixation on gymnastics was an outgrowth of the fin de siècle temperance movement, which valorized physical activity as an alternative to alcohol consumption. Over the course of the 1920s, the Austrian Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) progressively centralized and politicized gymnastics and sports—most sport organizations merged to form the Workers' Bund for Sport and Body Culture in Austria (*Arbeiterbund für Sport und Körperkultur in Österreich*, ASKÖ) in 1924—and by 1931, 110,000 Viennese residents participated in some kind of physical activity. Unlike so-called bourgeois sports, which socialists criticized as being frivolous for their entertainment value, worker *Körperkultur* (or "body culture") was viewed as furthering the socialist project in two important ways: first, by engaging the Viennese populace in a collective experience (after all, gymnastics were often performed in groups), and second, by fashioning the fit New Men and New Women of a socialist utopia. This latter point is worth emphasizing insofar as it was men and women's *bodies* that became the site for "cultural and educational advancement" in the socialist project. For more on SDAP sports in Vienna, see Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 102-113.

156 "Der Kulturmensch geht in seinem Bestreben, möglichst wenig aufzufallen, so weit, daß er sich in einem Bewegungen ein Mindestmaß auferlegt hat und mit einer gewissen Steifheit auf der Straße einherstolziert." In Bloch, *Harmonische Schulung des Frauenkörpers*, 33.

'upright stride'."[157] These movements were active, resilient, and expansive—in short, aligned with the new phenomenology of femininity. Even further, this phenomenology was no longer deviant; it seemed to have "freeing" effects.

After years of "never actually ha[ving] an awareness of my body," of only being "reminded of [my] physicality" "just when something was wrong," the young woman above came to feel her body for the first time (*Körpergefühl*).[158] Gymnastics thus helped women establish a relationship to their bodies, to feel embodied. And yet, I argue that even moving "naturally" and "freely" involved a certain embodied script—a script that dictated how the body should be loose and flowing.[159] As I will discuss in the next chapter, the performance of new womanhood was, in fact, just that: a performance that could be learned, reproduced, and even discarded.

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[157] "Arme und Beine bekamen ihre richtige Bewegungsfreiheit, ich spürte, wie die inneren Organe in ihre rechte Harmonie kamen, wie mein Atem freier wurde, wie Muskeln und Nerven sich mit kräftig pulsierendem Blute füllten, und von diesem Stehen aus kam ich unwillkürlich in das Gehen: wirklich in jenen berühmten 'aufrechten Gang'…"

[158] "Ich habe nie zuvor eigentlich ein Bewußtsein meines Körpers gehabt. Nur wenn an ihm irgend etwas nicht in Ordnung war, wurde ich unliebsam an meine Körperlichkeit erinnert."

[159] After all, discipline was part and parcel to *Körperkultur*. As Gruber notes, "drill, athletic uniforms, demonstrations of precision, and obedience to team leaders and instructors were accepted early on by the gymnasts, and by the mid-1920s were generalized throughout ASKÖ." This was part of the SDAP's attempt to "counter the image of the disorderly worker." In Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 105.

CHAPTER 2

"There was a shimmer": Silent Film Acting and Emotional Expression

"From the street came a terrifying scream," began a sensationalist 1924 article in the Austrian women's Social Democratic newspaper, *Die Unzufriedene*.[1] Outside, "two guards handcuffed and violently dragged a young, 17-year-old girl across the ground because she was so drunk, that she could hardly walk."[2] In the image accompanying the article, the girl is shown wearing an ankle-length skirt and a loose blouse with the first few buttons undone, her hair is disheveled, and her head is bent in an expression of distress and surrender. A crowd of mostly women and children eagerly watch, their eyes and mouths open in anticipation. In the background is a row of hand-painted signs, from left to right:

Fig. 19 The dangers of cinema. From "Die enstellte Freude," *Die Unzufriedene* 2, no. 19 (10 May 1924): 4. AustriaN Newspapers Online (hereafter ANNO)/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

[1] "Die enstellte Freude," *Die Unzufriedene* 2, no. 19 (10 May 1924): 4.
[2] "Ein fürchterliches Geschrei, das von der Gasse herausdrang, veranlaßte die Frau Heitzer das Fenster zu öfnen. Eben schleiften zwei Wachleute ein junges, etwa 17jähriges Mädchen, das die Hände am Rücken gefesselt hatte, mit Gewalt am Boden, denn es war so betrunken, dass es nicht gehen konnte."

"Rum," "Standing Wine Hall," and, in the biggest letters, "Cinema."[3] Indeed, the main cause of this spectacle, the article ominously reported, was the cinema. "When all these proletarian girls copy their favorite film star, then it often ends this way," that is, in passion, public drunkenness, and arrest.

As film scholar Miriam Hansen observed, in the early twentieth century, "the image of the prostitute was actually used as an epithet for the cinema as a whole."[4] And at a time when more women started to embody the deviant phenomenology of the sex worker (Chapter 1), the article's logic, namely, that more women—working-class and bourgeois—were taking cues from the cinema-cum-prostitute, rings true.[5] In fact, in this chapter, I argue that the *Unzufriedene* article was correct, that film truly was affecting women's behavior. With its expressive and embodied—what I define as theatrical—acting technique, silent film and its accompanying celebrity culture encouraged spectators and fans to physically emulate and copy its actors. Specifically, it exposed audiences to a new emotional vocabulary and emotional expressiveness that inspired audience members, especially women, to act deviantly, and as such, act out. If the sex worker was the first woman to perform deviant femininity, it was the actor who popularized this femininity by bringing it to the silver screen.

I argue that the women taking part in this theatricality by acting and acting out were the new women of interwar Vienna: the *neue Wienerinnen*. This chapter argues that one aspect of the *neue Wienerin*'s greater physicality, her more expansive phenomenology, was a greater emotional

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[3] For a more extensive discussion of this image, see Monika Bernold, "Kino(t)raum: Über den Zusammenhang von Familie, Freizeit und Konsum," *Familie: Arbeitsplatz oder Ort des Glücks? Historische Schnitte ins Private* (Wien: Picus Verlag, 1990), 152.

[4] Miriam Hansen, "Early Silent Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?," *New German Critique*, no. 29 (Spring/Summer 1983): 174.

[5] It is worth mentioning that many performers and actors also worked as sex workers. In 1907, the Austrian Society Against Venereal Disease issued a survey that provided a classification scheme to distinguish between different kinds of covert sex workers. In addition to including domestic servants, the list also featured "chorus girls, dancers, singers, and low-grade actors." See Archiv Bundespolizeidirektion Wien (hereafter ABpdW), Series: Prostitution u. Mädchenhandel (hereafter P/M), Box: 1907/1, "Enquete der Österr. Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten. Zu Fragebogen III lit. b," 30 August 1907.

expressiveness. No longer were emotions hidden beneath the mask of bourgeois respectability; rather, they were physically expressed through the body. And although this expressiveness seemed deviant enough to warrant arrest—as the case above demonstrates—soon enough, it became quite ordinary.

The *neue Wienerin*: *Ein Walzertraum* (1925)

One of the most beloved films set in Vienna was the 1925 adaptation of Oscar Straus's 1907 operetta, *A Waltz Dream* (*Ein Walzertraum*),[6] directed by Ludwig Berger.[7] The plot follows the Habsburg lieutenant, Graf Nik, as he marries the cool Prussian princess, Alix, and is forced to leave his beloved Vienna for the dreary German principality of Flausenthurm. One night, Nik dresses up in commoner clothing and visits a beer garden, where he hears the enchanting Viennese women's violin ensemble, "The Danube Nymphs" (*Die Donau Nixen*), play his favorite waltzes. There, he meets Franzi, the charming and emotive bobbed band-leader, who embodies a new woman with Viennese flare. The contrast between Franzi and Alix—between Vienna and Flausenthurm, between modernity and tradition—is what drives the plot forward, culminating in Alix's transformation. Feeling neglected by Nik, blue-blooded Alix seeks the help of the working-class Franzi to school her in the ways of Viennese charms and modern womanhood. Just when it seems that Nik will run off with Franzi, he comes home to find Alix a new woman. With her bobbed hair, shorter hemline, and her apparent ability to play a Viennese waltz, Alix wins him over, proving that modern womanhood can be learned by even the most conventional of women.

[6] The operetta premiered at the Carltheater in Vienna on 2 March 1907.
[7] *Ein Walzertraum* directed by Ludwig Berger (Berlin: Universum Film, 1925). Viewed at the Filmmuseum Austria on 1 March 2015.

Fig. 20 Franzi and Nik at the beer garden. From "Ein Walzertraum," *Mein Film*, no. 21 (1926): 2. ANNO/ÖNB.

As a film reviewer pointed out, Franzi was a modern articulation of the quintessentially working-class Viennese figure, *das süße Mädchen*, the Sweet Girl.[8] According to the film magazine, "the Sweet Girl is a gentle and dreamy character, whom [Austrian-Jewish writer] Arthur Schnitzler poetically glorified at the fin de siècle, who is the subject of an infinite number of drinking songs, who is as different from similar girl types in other countries as the term 'flirt' is different from the term '*Liebelei*.'"[9] She was so sweet, in fact, that Schnitzler often described her as having a sweet tooth,[10] indulging in full glasses of whipped cream,[11] as well as moist slices of mocha crème cake.[12] Perhaps because of her sweetness, she was not considered a serious love interest, but rather, a good-time girl with charm and personality whose main purpose was to amuse her gentlemen admirers.

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[8] "Ein Walzertraum," *Mein Film*, no. 21 (1926): 2.

[9] "Das 'süße Mädel' ist eine zartverträumte Mädchengestalt, der Arthur Schnitzler um die Jahrhundertwende seine dichterische Gloriole gab, jenes süße Mädel, das in unzähligen weinfröhlichen Liedern besungen wurde, jenes süße Mädel, das von ähnlichen Mädchentypen in anderen Ländern so sehr verschieden war wie etwa die Begriffe 'Flirt' und 'Liebelei,' jene 'sagen' umwobene, echte wienerische, zarte Mädchentype gehört, heute wohl schon der Literatur an. Und aus dieser hat sie der Film geholt…" In Hugo, "Das ist das süße Mädel…!" *Mein Film*, no. 103 (1927): 5.

[10] In German, "to have a sweet tooth" is literally translated as being a snacking-cat (*Naschkatze*). Not surprisingly, a lot of caricatures from this period depict the "süßes Mädchen" with a cat—a pairing that I hope to examine in a future project.

[11] Arthur Schnitzler, *Reigen* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1900] 1989), 59.

[12] Arthur Schnitzler, *Liebelei* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1895] 1989), 110.

Not surprisingly, at the end of *Ein Walzertraum*, it is Franzi who helps Alix win Nik back, realizing that her love was just as fleeting "as a waltz dream."

And yet, the Sweet Girl's sweetness is also what contributed to her emotional expressiveness. After all, according to the *Mein Film* article, she was a woman "with a lot of heart [*mit recht, recht viel Herz*]," and it was this passion that defined her. In the original operetta version of *Ein Walzertraum*, she is described as having *Temperament*, which can be translated as verve and sass ("*Temperament, Temperament, wie die Höll'ein jeder brennt!*"). Thus, even though the Sweet Girl is often denied resolution to her heterosexual desire, serving as a mere narrative prop without any subjectivity, she nevertheless found ways to subvert conventional femininity by expressing her emotions. Beneath the veneer of sweetness, then, was a thoroughly deviant figure.

Insofar as Franzi is a musical performer and public woman, her emotional expressiveness is translated into her musicality, in the way she "embodies the three-four time, the gracefulness of the Viennese Waltz in her movements."[13] Despite the film's lack of audio (though it is worth noting that musical accompaniment was typical at this time), the Viennese waltz is the central motif in the film, and it is Franzi's passionate violin-playing that first attracts Nik. Unlike the more stoic and timid Alix, Franzi is as expressive and effusive as the music she makes, her facial expressions resembling musical notes rising and falling, going from pianissimo to fortissimo, from crescendo to decrescendo. And if the waltz was, according to Moritz Csáky, "a signal for Vienna and the Viennese," Franzi was also the embodiment of the city itself.[14] This is also the case in the original operetta. When Nik first meets Franzi, he says, "What I see is Vienna standing as a person in front of me,"[15] and when he kisses her, it is clear that, "he kissed Vienna…"[16]

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[13] "Man hat gesagt, daß die Wienerin den Dreivierteltakt, die Anmut des Wiener Walzersin ihrer Bewegung hat."

[14] Moritz Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne. Ein kulturhistorischer Essay* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 102.

[15] "Was ich anschaue ist Wien, dass in ihrer Person vor mir steht…"

Given that the operetta was written in 1907, the Vienna that Nik seems to be referring to is the modern capital of the late Habsburg Empire, a city that by the time the film was released in 1925, lost much of its political and cultural relevance. I thus read the film as a nostalgic attempt to conjure up the Vienna of the fin de siècle by taking an iconic Viennese figure, the Sweet Girl, and giving her a modern twist. As the token new woman, Franzi sports a bob and short dresses, and relishes her life as a single woman. But what makes her a *neue Wienerin* is the combination of these modern accouterments with the emotional expressiveness (*Temperament*) and musicality of the Sweet Girl.

But perhaps most importantly, Franzi's modern womanhood is transferable, so that by the end of the film, both the royal Alix and, crucially, the film's audience of Viennese women spectators, also become *neue Wienerinnen.* In addition to telling a delightful story of romance and transformation, the film also contains a pedagogical element that schools its women viewers in the ways of modern Viennese charms. For the ordinary women sitting in Vienna's *Kinos*, watching Alix transform into an emotive *neue Wienerin*, Franzi's lessons were directly applicable, providing a blueprint for modern Viennese womanhood. As I will show below, the blueprint went beyond a film's narrative to the very acting technique itself.

Restrained Vindobona: A History of Emotional Expression

Some twenty years before *Ein Walzertraum* appeared in theaters across Vienna, bourgeois women aspired to be the very opposite of emotionally expressive. Viennese socialite and composer Alma Mahler-Werfel (née Schindler), "hate[d] all outward show of sentiment."[17] On All Souls' Day in 1900, when she accompanied her mother to the Central Cemetery to visit her father's grave, she

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[16] "Da hat er Wien geküßt…"

[17] Alma Mahler-Werfel, "Friday 29 June, Suite 18, 1900," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 297.

"couldn't bring [her]self to stimulate emotion [*mich gewaltsam in ein Gefühl hinein puffen*]." Indeed, if Franzi represented the new Vienna, then Alma represented the stoic and regal Vindobona, the allegorical personification of Vienna that often appeared on the pages of conservative Christian Social Party (CSP) publications such as *Kikeriki*. With long, wavy hair resembling the ankle-length locks of Habsburg Empress Elisabeth, the sword-wielding young beauty was depicted as feminine, virtuous, and, most importantly, composed and level-headed. Often shown as subservient to the CSP leader and mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, Karl Lueger, Vindobona was a hyperbolized characterization of the ideal bourgeois woman, combining hard and soft, power and deference, as well as resilience and fragility. Even her face—the large nose, the pursed lips, the wide forehead, and sculpted eyebrows—brought together elements of strength with elements of softness and beauty, all the while serving as a mask to conceal her emotions.

Fig. 21 The stern Vindobona. From "Vindobonas Schild," *Kikeriki*, no. 27 (4 April 1909): 14. ANNO/ÖNB.

According to historian William M. Reddy, although emotion is a biologically-grounded universal experience, emotional expression varies individually and culturally.[18] Within the "gap

[18] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

between experience and expression," then, "lie[s] the very foundations of the structures of power."[19] That is to say that whether we express an emotion and how we express it—what emotional vocabulary and gestures we draw on—are contingent on our historical time and space, so that even our most "genuine" emotional expressions must be understood as historically situated. Even further, Reddy argues that "emotions constitute a domain of effort for the individual" insofar as they require constant practice.[20] In this way, emotional expression resembles a kind of Butlerian performance, because it is through repetition or practice that they become somatically embodied, constituting a part of our "selves."[21] Expression, I suggest, is the manifestation of emotion through language and the body.

A foundational text in the history of emotions canon, Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process* explained civilization and modernity in terms of emotional restraint and control.[22] And indeed, within the culture of the Viennese bourgeoisie, emotional self-control—or the severing of emotion from expression—was central to their experience of everyday life. A fundamental aspect of a lady's *Erziehung* seemed to involve the separation of an "internal" or "private" emotional life from the dispassionate "outside" and "public" world of interaction.

No matter what a woman may have experienced internally, she would never show it on her face or body. The Viennese Catholic bourgeoisie maintained a Cartesian worldview, in which the mind—and by extension, the soul—was considered to be separate and superior to the body, which was base and in need of manipulation.[23] "Why has God locked our spirit, the soul, in this worthless

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[19] "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 5 (December 2012): 1490.
[20] Ibid.: 1497.
[21] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
[22] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).
[23] Judaism did not maintain such a dualistic worldview.

prison?" Mathilde (Tilly) Hanzel-Hübner (née Hübner) asked in 1902.[24] For her, the lived body—in German, *das Leib*—was a burden that she had to "haul" through life. By contrast, consciousness (*Bewusstsein*) was the soul (*die Seele*), "something that differs from the body [*etwas vom körperlichen Verschiedenes*]." Insofar as emotional expression involved the translation, or transgression, of the interior feelings of the soul into bodily expression, it undermined this dualist logic.

For this reason, the widely-read etiquette book, Malvine von Steinau's *Der gute Ton für Damen*, placed particular emphasis on self-control and restraint, and devoted an entire section to "Facial Expression and Gaze," which were to remain cool and dispassionate. A proper *Dame* avoided grand emotions, expressions, and movements, and yet still managed to avoid coming off as affected and contrived. As I explained in Chapter 1, the *Dame*'s phenomenology was discontinuous, which meant that she had to have her body, the vehicle through which she could express her emotions, "under her rule [*Herrschaf*t]," and "in her power [*Gewalt*]." Even if she experienced deep emotion, a *Dame* was "not allowed to make expressive folds on the forehead nor furrow eyebrows over the nose… [she was] not allowed to press the lips together, especially one over the other…"[25] As a result, her face was like a "mask… behind which thoughts worthy of concealment and flickers of wicked emotion hide."[26]

And yet, I argue that over time, Viennese bourgeois women came to be more emotionally literate and adept at physically expressing their emotions—a change I attribute, in part, to the popularity of cinema during and after the First World War. My first intervention thus takes part in

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[24] "Warum hat Gott unseren Geist, die Seele in dieses nichtswürdige Gefängnis gesperrt?" In Sammlung Frauennachlässe (hereafter SFn), Series: Mathilde Hanzel-Hübner (hereafter MHH), Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1901-1903, 5 May 1902.

[25] "Wir dürfen darum weder die Stirn in schmerzliche Falten legen noch die Augenbrauen über der Nase zusammenziehen und diese selbst gleichsam länger werden lassen, wir dürfen die Lippen nicht zusammen, wohl gar übereinander pressen… Umgekehrt ist ebenso jede forcierte oder ungehemmte Heiterkeit zu vermeiden." In Malvine von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage* (Wien: Hartleben, 1878), 35.

[26] "… Man ist gezwungen, an eine Maske zu denken, hinter welcher verbergenswerte Gedanken oder schlimme Regungen stecken." In Malvine von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 7. Auflage* (Wien: Hartleben, 1922), 28.

the more recent trend in the history of emotions that challenge Elias's thesis, calling his teleological approach to modernity into question, as well as his conception of civilization.[27] This chapter considers the emotional expressiveness of the *neue Wienerinnen* of the 1920s—a vast departure from the impassive Vindobona at the fin de siècle.

My second intervention argues that the emotional landscape of early twentieth century Vienna was far more diverse and nuanced than the historiography suggests. As I discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation, many scholars have painted a picture of fin de siècle Vienna as anxiety- and crisis-ridden,[28] as the site of a "nervous splendor,"[29] and the hotbed of "sexual crisis."[30] The problem with this approach is its myopic preoccupation with intellectual history and dismissal of everyday life. As I will show in this chapter, for many ordinary women on the ground, anxiety was only one of many emotions that they were learning to express in a rapidly modernizing world.

Private Emotion at the Fin de Siècle: Tilly Hübner's Diaries

For many Catholic bourgeois women at the fin de siècle, a carefully cultivated and restrained outer physicality was key to being ladylike. A dualism therefore existed at this time, separating the world of public interaction from the inner and private world of emotion. The diary functioned as a manifestation of this inner world, and therefore an important part of a bourgeois woman's everyday life. For this reason, many women's diaries were adorned with functioning locks and keys as a way to further emphasize this separation between public and private selves. In the following section, I will

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[27] For challenges to Elias's thesis, see, for example, Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821-845; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
[28] For some examples, see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Cultural Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and the Crisis of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin de Siècle Vienna*, trans. Rosemary Morris (New York: Continuum, 1993).
[29] Frederic Morton, *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888-1889* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980).
[30] For a discussion of the "sexual crisis," see Introduction.

explore the diaries of Tilly Hanzel-Hübner, located at the Sammlung Frauennachlässe Archive at the University of Vienna, as a way to examine this inner world in greater detail.

As a teenager in Vienna in the early 1900s, Tilly filled her diaries with declarations of physical and existential pain (*Schmerz*), writing, in verse form: "Where is there space for my tears?/ Where is there room for my pain?/ When will my terrible yearning be put out?/ Unloved, hot heart?"[31] Her diary was the only legitimate space for her "emotional outbursts" (*Gefühlsausgüsse im Tagebuch*),[32] where she could experience her emotions deeply and fully, so that the world "would not know of [her] sorrow in its full glory."[33] When she felt particularly emotional, Tilly's handwriting would shift from Latin into *Kurrentschrift*, a German language cursive, becoming messier, looser, and illegible, so that her body seemed to lose some of its restraint in the process of writing. On 16 September 1909, she wrote in a loose *Kurrent*, "I cannot describe how sad I am sometimes… And also, it seems to me as if, from time to time, something inside of me slowly lets its petals wilt and die."[34] But even this private space of emotion could become too overwhelming, so that Tilly would sometimes write herself into such a frenzy, that she would be forced to stop: "I want to throw myself to the ground and scream… I can't do it any other way, I am becoming hysterical… My infuriation has reached its peak; I am not capable of writing anymore."[35]

At the fin de siècle, the diary functioned as a quasi-confessional space for bourgeois women to express emotion. In a 1906 caricature from the Viennese humor magazine, *Die Muskete*, two

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[31] "Wo ist Platz für meine Thränen?/ Wo ist Raum für meinen Schmerz?/ Wann verstimmt ein banges Sehnen/ Ungeliebtes, heißes Herz?" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1901-1903, 26 September 1903.
[32] SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1901-1903, Ostermontag 1904.
[33] "Denn er soll mein Leid in seiner ganze Grösse nicht ahnen…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 28 May 1908.
[34] "Ich kann nicht beschreiben, wie traurig ich manchmal bin… Und dabei ist es mir, als ob Zeit zur Zeit etwas in mir langsam seine Blätter welken liesse, und stürbe." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 16 September 1909.
[35] "Ich möchte mich zur Erde werfen und schreien… Ich kann nicht anders, ich werde hysterisch… Meine Erregung hat einen Höhepunkt erreicht, ich bin nicht imstande, weiter zu schreiben." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 22 May 1907.

young women sit in a dark sitting room. One asks: "Do you still sometimes blush [*rot werden*], Daisy?" To which the other woman replies, "In society, not anymore. Only during confession."[36] As a proper lady, she only blushes, that is, expresses emotion, in the presence of God. At a time when the Viennese bourgeoisie were devoted to, what John W. Boyer describes as a "theism, often expressed in a belief… in the *Herrgott*, [that] had little to do with institutional Catholicism," and was deeply entrenched in a kind of Biedermeier sentimentalism, confession seemed to sanction emotionalism.[37] Not surprisingly, many diaries contain references to God precisely because his presence legitimized emotion. In other words, by drawing on the idiom of religious piety, bourgeois women could be emotional in a society that eschewed emotion—an idea that I will return to in Chapter 4.

Nevertheless, just as the diary functioned as a subversive space for emotion, it simultaneously served to fuel the disciplinary project of *Damen Erziehung*. On the pages of her diary, a woman either acknowledged its *erzieherisch* purposes, or coaxed and coerced herself back into *Erziehung* so that she could return to the outside world of restraint and propriety. Reflecting on the past year in 1903, Tilly remarked, "The year passed by in worry [*Ärger*], attempts at improvement, small successes; I set myself a nice goal."[38] By observing that her failures and ambitions contributed "to [her] *self-Erziehung* [*Selbsterziehung*]," Tilly recognized that she, herself, was her own disciplinarian, her personal *Erzieherin*. Likewise, on Easter Monday in 1904, she observed, "I have the feeling, that I am truly changing. But it's for the better. I think that in the last days and years, I have become more

[36] "Backfische," *Die Muskete* 2, no. 28 (12 April 1906): 221.
[37] John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Part* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 117.
[38] "Das Jahr verfloss unter Ärger, Besserungsversuchen, kleinen Erfolgen; ein schönes Ziel hab ich mir festgesetzt." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1901-1903, 2 June 1903.

mature."[39] Expressions of wanting to "improve" and become "more mature" abound, and appear to be tied to an impetus to self-discipline. This was particularly crucial, given that she felt her "self" to be "a changeable, just qualitatively consistent I," an "I" that needed to be consolidated and made consistent for the outside world.[40] The goal of diary-writing, then, was not only to express emotion, but ultimately, to overcome it. "I want to be good or, at the very least, always have the will power to do so."[41]

By the same token, when Tilly fell short of self-discipline, when her emotions got the best of her, she berated herself, writing, "I can barely conceive of how I am so unable to control myself; I am so profoundly ashamed of this weakness…"[42] In 1908, she chastised herself for being weak, "Oh shame, you weak woman, how can you cultivate such pity in yourself."[43] Insofar as she was "still too uneducated [*unerzogen*],"[44] her diary also served to further discipline her, to "push back" (*zurück drängen*) the uncouth, so that she could become mistress of her emotions and desires.[45] "I need to gather up my strength… succeed or rapidly sink," she wrote to herself.[46] Diary writing served the dual and somewhat contradictory functions of subverting lady-like composure via emotion, on the one hand, while also cultivating it, on the other. In other words, only by acting out on the page, could a writer "push back" and conform to *Damen*-like restraint.

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[39] "Ich habe das Gefühl, dass ich mich jetzt gewaltig verändere. Aber es ist zum Guten. Ich glaube, dass ich in den letzten Tagen und Jahre reifer geworden bin." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1904: Mein Leben, Lieben u. Leiden, Ostermontag 1904.
[40] "… ein wandelbares, ein nur qualitativ gleiches Ich." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 16 December 1905.
[41] "Ich möchte gut sein und wenigstens immer den Willen dazu haben." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1904: Mein Leben, Lieben u. Leiden, 21 March 1905.
[42] "Ich fasse es kaum, wie ich mich so wenig beherrschen konnte, ich schäme mich unsäglich dieser Schwachheit…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1901-1903, 15 September 1904.
[43] "Oh Schande, Du schwaches Weib, wie kannst Du das Mitleid in Dir so züchten." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 30 October 1908.
[44] SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 29 September 1906.
[45] "… aber ich dränge das Weib in mir zurzück…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 30 December 1908.
[46] "Ich muss mich zusammennehmen… siegen oder rasch untergehen." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary entry in Tagebuch 1905-1910, 7 February 1909.

The New Theatricality: Physical Theater, Pantomime, and Silent Film

For Tilly and other women in her milieu, emotional expression was not only a weakness, but also, a form of theatricality. In a diary entry from 1900, Alma Schindler disparagingly described the expression of emotion as "strik[ing] theatrical poses."[47] Here, she referred to the German idiom, "to make a theater [*ein Theater machen*]," which can be roughly translated as making a fuss or a spectacle. Alma also expressed this idiom in relational terms (*den Leuten vormachen*), thereby underlining the performative element of emotionality: emotions needed both a performer's body through which they could be expressed and an audience to witness this expression. For Alma and women in her milieu, "making a spectacle" belonged exclusively to actors and other public women—and as one etiquette book put it, "one may not follow the example of actors."[48]

By the early twentieth century, theater actors began to deploy a theatricality that was more embodied in its technique. While nineteenth century acting was, according to Alys X. George, "characterized by grandiloquence and exteriority," and "considered primarily a pictorial, declamatory act,"[49] by 1900, it began to privilege the somatic over the cerebral.[50] The contemporary theater director Georg Fuchs even compared this new physical theater to dance, observing that, "the means of expression in dance"—in other words, the parts of the body—"are also the natural means for the actor."[51]

To give an example, according to a review of the play, *Maria Stuart*, performed at the Hofburgtheater in 1895, "one had to marvel at [actor Adele Sandrock's] infinite number of facial

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[47] "… den Leuten ein Theater vormachen." In Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 1 November, Suite 19, 1900," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 337.
[48] "Man darf in dieser Beziehung nicht dem Beispiele der Schauspieler folgen." In Von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 7. Auflage*, 30.
[49] Alys X. George, *Body/Culture: Viennese Modernism and the Physical Aesthetic* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, June 2009), 50.
[50] Ibid., 51.
[51] "Die Ausdrucksmittel des Tanzes sind auch die natürlichen Mittel des Schauspielers." In Georg Fuchs, *Die Schaubühne der Zukunft* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1905), 65-66.

expressions, which she used to show the transition from sorrow to grief, from mild to blazing hate."[52] Several years later in 1904, Sandrock was again praised for her "moving and realistic" role as Marguerite-Adele in *Die Kameliendame* (*Lady of the Camelias*).[53] The reviewer observed that Sandrock "suffered and died… in the most distressing way [*erschütterndster Weise*]" and appeared "captivating as she embraced her beloved Armand in her voluptuous arms."[54] By prying off the mask of bourgeois respectability and rendering a greater spectrum of human emotion, her deeply emotive and embodied performance was deemed "masterful."

Parallel to the development of an aesthetic of gesture within theater was the increasing popularity of pantomime as theatrical genre. Between 1909 and 1911, Hugo von Hofmannsthal collaborated with Viennese dancer Grete Wiesenthal on two pantomimes, *Amor und Psyche* (*Cupid and Psyche*) and *Das fremde Mädchen* (*The Strange Girl*).[55] Writing to Wiesenthal, Hofmannsthal insisted that pantomime would allow for "endless possibilities to unfold your inner self, create from your inner an outer with an endless variety."[56] As opposed to the language of words, "which in reality is generic," the language of the body "is in reality highly personal. The body does not talk to the body, but rather the human whole to the whole."[57] By encouraging the body to express the inner-workings of the mind and soul, pantomime—and the new theatricality more generally—thus challenged the mind-body dualism that was central to the late nineteenth century bourgeois experience. It expanded

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[52] "Man mußte an ihr die unzähligen kleine Züge bewundern, mit denen sie die Uebergänge von Leid zur Größe, von Milde zu lodernden Hasse fand." In "Maria Stuart," *Wiener Salonblatt* XXVI, no. 6 (10 February 1895): 8.
[53] "Theater, Kunst und Musik," *Sport und Salon* 7, no. 5 (10 December 1904): 8.
[54] "… hinreißend, als sie ihren heißgeliebten Armand… in die üppigen Armen schloß."
[55] For an introduction to Grete Wiesenthal and her career in dance, see Reingard Witzmann, ed., *Die neue Körpersprache: Grete Wiesenthal und ihr Tanz* (Wien: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1986).
[56] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, as quoted and translated in Mary Fleischer, *Embodied Texts: Symbolist Playwright-Dancer Collaborations* (New York: Rodopi, 2007), 131.
[57] "Die Sprache der Worte ist scheinbar individuell, in Wahrheit generisch, die des Körpers scheinbar allgemein, in Wahrheit höchst persönlich. Auch redet nicht der Körper zum Körper, sondern das menschliche Ganze zum Ganzen." Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Über die Pantomime," (1911), as quoted in Heinz Hiebler, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal und die Medienkultur der Moderne* (Würzburg: Königshausen u. Neumann, 2003), 437.

the definition of language to the nonverbal, so that the body was more than just a vehicle for language, but also a language unto itself. [58] Indeed, for Hofmannsthal, gestures "are words" that "are translated into a better material [*Materie*]."[59]

Fig. 22 Austrian dancer Grete Wiesenthal (1885-1970). Lantern slide reproduction by Arnold Genthe (1869-1942) of a photograph by the Viennese photographer Rudolf Jobst (1872-1952). From Wikimedia Commons.

Contemporaries observed that pantomime "shared visual affinities with the current silent art cinema"—in both cases, the soul was "made visible" through movement.[60] An article in a film magazine reiterated this: "The film actor must know how to use the language of signs and gestures in the place of words, in order to express the workings of his soul."[61] German expressionist cinema, in particular, "emphasized stylization, abstraction, and theatricality," as well as "character gaze over action," to render a full range of human emotion.[62] Because of the translatability between pantomime and film, *Das fremde Mädchen* was made into a silent film in May 1913, directed by

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[58] George argues that the shift to nonlinguistic forms of expression was related to "Viennese modernists' attempts to make the experiences of modern life communicable." In George, *Body/Culture*, 49.
[59] Hugo von Hofmannsthal as quoted in Hiebler, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal und die Medienkultur der Moderne*, 438.
[60] Reviewer Leonhard Fiedler made this point most explicitly. See Fleischer, *Embodied Texts*, 142.
[61] "Der Filmschauspieler muß es verstehen die Gebärden- und Gestensprache, die ihm an Stelle des Wortes gegeben ist, und allein für den Ausdruck, vor allem seelischer Vorgänge, zur Verfügung steht, so sehr zu konzentrieren, zu mildern und auszuglätten, daß jede Aufdringlichkeit vermieden ist und daß diese Sprache doch verständlich bleibt, verständlich auch dem Geringsten und am wenigsten Intelligenten unter den Zuschauern." In "Jannings in Varieté: Ein Meister der Mimik," *Mein Film*, no. 8 (1926): 9.
[62] Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, Edward Dimendberg, eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1994), 617.

Mauritz Stiller in Stockholm, with Wiesenthal in the title role. At one point in film, as the film's protagonist, the Strange Girl, played by Wiesenthal, dances before a mesmerized male onlooker, "it dawns on her that this man is the first who sees her in her own, her longing and her pain, the gleaming and dark sadness in her soul."[63] Viennese film critics praised the film for its emotive and expressive acting style, attributing its success to the fact that pantomime was "the closest art form to film-dramas."[64]

Silent film thus emerged at the intersection of these two expressive and embodied genres—physical theater and pantomime—and placed an even greater emphasis on what I have come to define as the new theatricality. As film scholar Mary Ann Doane notes, "the absence of voice re-emerges in gestures and the contortions of the face—it is spread over the body of the actor."[65] And indeed, according to American silent film actor, Lillian Gish, the goal of silent film acting was "tell[ing] the story without saying a word," and "mak[ing] the plot apparent."[66] For this reason, the silent film actor had to use her entire body to convey meaning and move the plot forward. The body's movements and gestures also changed depending on the actor's proximity to the camera. A full-shot required Gish "to be almost gymnastic in my technique, my actions." Everything became even more exaggerated, "the lips are drawn down to what would be a ludicrous degree if you could see a close up of them. My eyelids go far beyond what they would in real life if I were really fatigued; and my whole body droops and contracts at least an inch…" By contrast, a close-up entailed more

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63 "… dann aber dämmert in ihr die Erkenntnis, daß dieser Mann der erste ist, der sie in ihr selbst sieht, ihre Sehnsucht und ihren Schmerz, den Glanz und die dunkle Trauer in ihrer Seele." Grete Wiesenthal, as quoted in Gisela Bärbel Schmid, "Das unheimliche Erlebnis eines jungen Elegants in einer merkwürdigen visionären Nacht: Zu Hofmannsthals Pantomime *Das fremde Mädchen*," *Hofmannsthal-Blätter* 34 (Autumn 1986): 50.

64 "Der Film ist darum besonders interessant, weil er kein Drama und keine epische Dichtung, sondern eine Pantomime, als die dem Kino-Drama am nächsten liegende Kunstform zur Darstellung bringt." In "Hugo von Hofmannsthal im Film," *Kinematographische Rundschau*, no. 274 (8 June 1913): 61.

65 Mary Ann Doane, "The Voice in the Cinema: The Articulation of Body and Space," *Yale French Studies*, no. 60 (1980): 33.

66 Helen Day-Mayer, "Documents of Performance: Lillian Gish on Acting on the Silent Screen," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 80-82.

animated facial expressions, but with greater subtlety, replacing "the pictured fatigue of my whole body by moving a fraction of an inch to one side and then being jerked back to motionlessness, while the eyes pile up the drama of utter weariness."

Many film history narratives emphasize the transition from histrionic or theatrical silent film acting to verisimilar realism in the 1910s.[67] As critics have observed, however, these studies "teleologically anticipat[e] 'realistic' film acting,"[68] as well as divide silent film acting into mutually exclusive, theatrical and verisimilar, techniques.[69] Further, and related to this last point, I suggest that these very terms need to be historicized in an effort to avoid anachronism. In early twentieth century Vienna, theatricality served to express what most people could not express, while realism was intent on maintaining expected decorum and restraint. Physical theater, pantomime, and silent film all emphasized the former technique over the latter. As Hofmannsthal put it, the actor is "a person like us, who moves before us, but more freely than we ever dare to move, and yet the purity and freedom of [her] movements express the same thing that we want to express, when we, inhibited and flinching, unload into our inner being."[70] While the films I examine in this chapter were all made in the 1920s, they were far from realist in the early twentieth century sense of the term. Because they placed emphasis on conveying and expressing human emotion, on externalizing the internal, they were profoundly theatrical. Nonetheless, by the late 1920s and early 1930s, "making a spectacle" was no longer considered deviant. Instead, it became so ordinary and quotidian, in short, so real—and by

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[67] For examples of this narrative, see Nicholas Vardac, *Stage to Screen* (New York: B. Blom, 1968); Roberta Pearson, *Eloquent Gestures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
[68] David Mayer, "Acting in Silent film: Which legacy of the theatre?" in *Screening Acting*, ed. Alan Lovell (New York: Routledge, 1999), 11.
[69] Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs, *Theatre to Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88-93.
[70] "Er ist ein Mensch wie wir, der sich vor uns bewegt, aber freier, als wir jemals uns bewegen, und dennoch spricht die Reinheit und Freiheit seiner Gebärden das Gleiche aus, das wir aussprechen wollen, wenn wir gehemmt und zuckend uns innerer Fülle entladen." In Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke in zehn Einzelbanden*, 8:505, as quoted in George, *Body/Culture*, 67.

extension, the maintaining of bourgeois decorum so outmoded and obsolete—that the very definitions of theatricality and realism would undergo another shift.[71]

"Making a Spectacle": *Einmal kommt der Tag* (1924)

Rebecca Swender has observed that in contrast to men film actors, women were more likely to engage in "gestural soliloquies" "for no one but the audience"[72] and with "little functional action."[73] In fact, the purpose of these soliloquies was to directly communicate the emotional arc of the character, to externalize the internal. To explore this, I have chosen to focus on one of the final scenes in the 1924 German film, *Einmal kommt der Tag* (*Husbands or Lovers*),[74] which, according to a poll taken in 1926, was ranked as one of the Viennese public's favorite films.[75]

The film centers around a dissatisfied housewife, Nju, who abandons her doting husband and daughter, as well as the comforts of her bourgeois home, for the thrill and adventure of true love. Nju is ultimately abandoned by her new lover, a lanky and effeminate poet, and the film ends with her jumping off a ledge overlooking Warsaw to her death. I argue that Nju embodies the new woman of the early 1920s, a fiercely independent woman who looked beyond the confines of the home to find true happiness, and who pursued romance at all costs (on how romance became an expression of new womanhood, see Chapter 4). Nju excessively and conspicuously displays emotion, which culminates in a highly theatrical suicide in the center of the city. In the words of Alma, Nju

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[71] It is worth noting that early silent film was diverse. German films were stylistically different from American films, and films after 1917 were more narrative-heavy. What this means is that acting techniques most likely differed according to time and geography. And yet, I suggest that despite these nuances, an emphasis on theatricality was nevertheless present in all silent films prior to the introduction of talkies in the late 1920s.
[72] Rebecca Swender, "The Problem of the Divo: New Models for Analyzing Silent-Film Performance," *Journal of Film and Video* 58, no. ½ (Spring/Summer 2006): 10.
[73] Ibid., 11.
[74] The film's title was different in Germany (*Nju—eine unverstandene Frau*). *Einmal kommt der Tag…!* directed by Paul Czinner (Berlin: Elisabeth Bergner Poetic Film Co., 1924), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4CTcgvnu2sQ.
[75] Ranked number five in "Welchen Film wollen Sie wieder sehen?" *Mein Film*, no. 24 (1926): 6.

"made a spectacle," and because of this, she actively eschewed bourgeois conventions, thus performing new womanhood.

Towards the end of the film, after Nju's lover scolds her for crying, and decisively leaves the boarding house that she is staying in after leaving her husband, she engages in a very moving gestural soliloquy. The scene begins with actor Elisabeth Bergner facing the camera, her head sullenly bent. In the next shot, we see her shuffling slowly and aimlessly to the door and then through the entire room, around its perimeter, and then towards a small table, where she picks up a photograph of her lover, and presses the frame against her chest, in a gesture that conveys intimacy and love. Again, she limps around the room, pausing to look down at the photograph, until she places it on the ground and sits down across from it. In the next shot, we see her lying against the foot of the bed, her eyes peering out in front of her, while her head nods ever so slightly. She is in despair. Suddenly, as if she finally found a remedy for her grief, she moves her body upright and looks upward. She stands up, but the room begins to spin, and as we see her stumbling from side to side and in different directions, the audience also experiences the fluctuation through her eyes, so that we, too, feel nauseated. Finally, she collapses to the ground, her body limp, lifeless, and as she makes one last effort to pick herself up, she collapses again, anticipating her eventual suicide at the end of the film. Bergner's facial expression and body serve as the vehicles through which she expresses the emotional arc of her character, Nju: first, the sadness of being left alone; second, the love she feels towards her lover; third, the despair of losing him; fourth, determination to win him back; and finally, her abandonment of hope and will to live.

Fig. 23 Nju/Elisabeth Bergner's gestural soliloquy in *Einmal kommt der Tag* (1924). Screen shots taken by author.

Historian Susan A. Glenn argues that women theater actors and comics may be regarded as the very first new women; it was through their dynamic, emotive, and spectacular performances that they "demonstrated and encouraged new ways of acting female" and "acting out."[76] In fact, actors "helped make unorthodox female behavior more attractive and enjoyable than the nineteenth century political radicals had been able to do and, as a consequence, helped give new views of women wider acceptance."[77] I would like to extend Glenn's argument to women film actors, and suggest that the very theatricality of silent film acting, especially women actors' gestural soliloquies, must be viewed as a performance of new womanhood. Further, the very figure of the new woman became so pervasive in silent film, that the woman actor would sometimes doubly embody her: first,

[76] Susan A. Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 6.
[77] Ibid., 5-6.

as an actor, and second, as the character. In the case of *Einmal kommt der Tag*, Bergner gave the emotive performance of a new woman, but also, played the role of Nju, a new woman acting out.

Early Cinema in Vienna

Early cinema in Vienna was originally conceived of as a form of popular entertainment, what film scholar Anton Kaes describes as an "unchecked" public attraction found at the local amusement park or circus that, "unlike bourgeois art, did *not* have to legitimize its practical and pleasurable character with a claim to some everlasting, eternal value."[78] Indeed, it was at Vienna's historic amusement park, the Prater, which would shortly become home to the city's iconic Ferris wheel, that Thomas Edison's film, *A Barroom Scene* (1894), was first shown in 1895.[79] The film became such a sensation that fifteen Edison kinetoscopes were installed in a special viewing hall on park grounds several months later. And perhaps because cinema was only seen as a fleeting public spectacle, the first Viennese cinema house was established in a wax museum, the site of mass entertainment, par excellence.[80]

Apart from the established cinema in the Prater, most films prior to 1906-1907 were shown in so-called *Wanderkinos*, traveling cinemas that erected tents on the outskirts of Vienna, primarily in working-class districts. The peripatetic quality of these cinemas, their distance from the city center, and the spectacularized films shown in their theaters, set them apart from highbrow establishments,

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78 Anton Kaes, "The Debate about Cinema: Charting a Controversy (1909-1929)," *New German Critique*, no. 40 (Winter 1987): 14.

79 There is some confusion as to when the first film was shown to the Viennese public. According to film-expert, Robert von Dassanowsky, it was at the Prater in 1895. An article in the *Kinematographische Rundschau* suggests that it was in April 1896, on the Kärntnerstrasse. See "Die Entwicklung der Kinematographie in Wien und in Oesterreich," *Kinematographische Rundschau*, no. 99 (January 1910); Robert von Dassanowsky, *Austrian Cinema: A History* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2005), 7.

80 Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89-148.

such as the theater and the opera, which catered to the refined tastes of the educated bourgeoisie.[81] Indeed, it is worth noting that until 1912, Viennese cinemas were legally grouped with circuses and other "wandering" establishments, and thus placed under the jurisdiction of the Vagabond and Showman Law (*Vagabunden- und Schaustellergesetz*) of 1836.[82] To return to Miriam Hansen's observation at the beginning of this chapter, the sex worker and the cinema truly did have much in common: both were spectacular, both were lowbrow, and both were "wanderers."

Much changed with the professionalization of the film industry between 1905 and 1907, which included the erection of permanent cinemas in cities, the introduction of rental companies as a third party between filmmakers and cinema-owners, and the establishment of various film organizations.[83] Between 1911 and 1914, Vienna experienced a veritable cinema boom, with permanent theaters opening even in the outer districts of the city, especially Ottakring and Neulerchenfeld.[84] This explosion continued into the First World War, and even with the ban on international—with the exception of German—films in 1917, the Viennese public continued to attend film screenings regularly.[85] A Viennese household journal from 1918 confirms this, citing that "Film" and "Kino" were among the well-situated Kling family's most common monthly household expenses.[86] Moreover, the accessibility—by 1926, for example, there were cinemas in every Viennese district—cheap ticket prices, and informality of the venue, made it possible for anyone in Vienna to enjoy this new form of popular entertainment.

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[81] It is worth noting that other forms of popular entertainment existed at this time, such as the circus, wax museum, amusement park (such as the Prater), and cabaret.
[82] The law stated: "Besitzer von Zirkussen, Kinematographen, wandernde Künstler und ähnliches Gesindel in Hinkunft die Aktionsbewiligung der K.u.K. Polizeihofstelle in Wien vorzuweisen haben, widrigenfalls sie mit 25 Stockhieben bestraft werden." Thus, licenses needed to be obtained. See Werner Michael Schwarz, *Kino und Kinos in Wien: Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte bis 1934* (Wien: Verlag Turia & Kant, 1992), 26.
[83] The *Verband österreichischen Kinobesitzer* was founded in 1907 and the *Kinoindustrieller Verband* was founded in 1911.
[84] Schwarz, *Kino und Kinos in Wien*, 69.
[85] Ibid., 34.
[86] SFn, Series: Frau Maria Siess verh. Kling (hereafter MSK), Box: NL: 32 II, Haushaltsbuch, 1918.

And yet, as film began to encroach upon the realm of literature and theater, often via filmic adaptations, it could no longer remain at the periphery; it became, in other words, a central threat to bourgeois conceptions of high culture, or *Kultur*.[87] As a result, conservatives and moralists decried film as a toxic strain of "non-culture."[88] According to an article from the tabloid, *Oesterreichische Kriminal-Zeitung*, in 1907, the experience of watching film had mind-altering effects; it was akin to "breathing a poisonous smell," which wafts through the theater as "miasmas of moral neglect, so that a year's worth of *erzieherischer* activity on moral purity and strength… is destroyed here within a few minutes…"[89] By 1911, the Organization Against Smut, Trash, and Immorality (*Warte gegen Schund, Schmutz und Unsittlichkeit*), was established, while a newspaper devoted solely to the issue, *Österreichs Reichswehr*, was founded two years later. Led by state-run associations, school groups, educational clubs (*Deutsch-Österreichische Volksbildungsverein*), youth welfare organizations (*Jugendfürsorge*), and Christian charities, the anti-vice movement found support from a diverse number of people who provided it with enough ammunition to engage in a fin de siècle *Kulturkampf* that would extend well into the interwar period.[90]

Meanwhile, the Austrian Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) condemned film as being the very embodiment of bourgeois culture and capitalism. The socialist women's newspaper, *Die Unzufriedene*, for example, insisted that the film industry "serves the capitalist social order first, by

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[87] For a discussion of the incursion of film into the German literary domain at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Kaes, "The Debate about Cinema: Charting a Controversy (1909-1929)," 7-33.
[88] "Edison is the slaughterer's cry of a culture-murdering era. The battle cry of non-culture." Franz Pfemfert, *Die Aktion* (1911), as quoted in Kaes, "The Debate about Cinema: Charting a Controversy (1909-1929)," 16.
[89] "…unschuldige Kinder, halbreife Knaben und Mädchen werden durch 'pikante und sensationelle Szenen' vergiftet, Kinder, denen im Hause der Eltern ängstlich alles Schändliche und Unreine verborgen wird, atmen den giftigen Hauch dieser mit den Miasmen der sittlichen Verwahrlosung geschwängerten Räume ein und was Jahre erzieherischer Tätigkeit an sittlicher Reinheit an Moral und strenger, ernster Lebensauffassung aufgebaut haben, wird hier in wenigen Minuten niederrissen, um die Kassen einiger skrupelloser Geldmacher zu füllen." In "Die Kinematographentheater-Seuche," *Oesterreischische Kriminal-Zeitung* 1, no. 37 (30 December 1907).
[90] Marianne Fischer, *Erotische Literatur vor Gericht: Der Schmutzliteraturkampf in Wien des beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Braumüller, 2003), 25.

focusing on industry, and only once that is satisfied, education, enlightenment, and *Erziehung*."[91] And like conservatives, the SDAP equated the cinema with vice, as the introduction to this chapter reveals. Although the Party's stance vis-à-vis film became more positive by the mid-1920s, especially with the success of Soviet film, *Battleship Potemkin* in 1925,[92] the party nevertheless continued urging workers to spend their leisure time engaging in sports in the great outdoors, and refrain from spending their hard-earned money on unnecessary luxuries such as the cinema.[93]

Despite these radically different assessments of whether film was the disavowal or embodiment of bourgeois *Kultur*, both the SDAP and conservatives nevertheless agreed on one thing: film had dangerous effects, especially for women, and needed to be reformed or completely eradicated. According to a Viennese medical doctor, the cinema could negatively affect a woman's body and soul: "Popular attractions, bad books, temptation through ill-mannered, happy-go-lucky friends, dance, theater, and cinema offer a young girl's soul so many provocations, that bad passions could easily be kindled."[94] Film seemed to have a dangerously intoxicating (*Rausch*) effect on women, inciting bad passions to emerge.

I argue that the anxiety around film—which culminated in an anxiety-fueled *Kino-Debatte* (cinema debate)[95]—was not an overreaction. Although I have discussed the radical nature of the new medium elsewhere, in the following sections, I will explore the effects that silent film and its

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91 "… dient im Sinne dieser kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung zuerst dem Gewerb und dann wenn dieser gesattet ist, der Bildung, Aufklärung, Erziehung." In Hans Miemer, "Wir und das Kino," *Die Unzufriedene* 2, no. 26 (28 June 1924): 7.

92 Alice X. George, "Hollywood on the Danube? Vienna and Austrian Silent Film of the 1920s," in *Interwar Vienna: Culture Between Tradition and Modernity*, eds. Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 149-151.

93 For a discussion of this, see Bernold, "Kino(t)raum: Über den Zusammenhang von Familie, Freizeit und Konsum," 146.

94 "Schaustellungen, schlechte Bücher, Verführung durch unanständige, leichtlebige Freundinnen und Freunde, Tanz, Theater und Kino bieten heute der Seele des jungen Mädchens so viel Aufreizungen, daß mit Leichtigkeit böse Leidenschaften entfacht werden können." In Rudolf Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe! Eine ärztliche Aufklärungsschrift über alles Wissenswerte im Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben des Weibes* (Wien: 1921), 37.

95 Anton Kaes, ed., *Kino-Debatte: Texte zm Verhältnis von Literatur und Film 1909-1929* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978).

theatrical acting technique had on its women spectators.[96] Although the cinema encouraged women to leave the home and go out on the street, even more radically, films themselves offered women spectators new ways of performing femininity by experiencing and expressing their passions.

Female Fantasies: *Varieté* (1926)

If the situation during wartime provided the impetus for women to go outside and walk expansively through Viennese streets, then it is no surprise that they would find their way into the dark, intimate rooms of the *Kinotheater*. At the cinema, they would sit for long stretches of time, rubbing elbows with men and women from different classes and social groups, gawking at the silver screen shimmering before them. Here they would watch as Franzi played the violin, sigh as Nju dropped to her death, and smile as Alix transformed into a new woman.

Women made up one of the largest demographics of early cinema-goers, and according to a sociological report from 1914, bourgeois women "go to the cinema even more frequently than working women."[97] This was also the case in Vienna. According to historian Monika Bernold, "since its emergence at the beginning of the 20th century, the cinema… was a phenomenon largely supported by women. Women were present on the screen and in the theaters as pictures and consumers of pictures."[98] In this section, I would like to interrogate the very nature of women's spectatorship, as well as cinematic space, in an effort to explore the effects that film, especially its theatrical acting technique, had on its women viewers.

Women's spectatorship is a central motif in the film, *Varieté* (*Variety*), directed by E.A. Dupont,[99] which was screened at a number of different cinemas in Vienna in 1926, including both

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[96] Katya Motyl, "Looking Obscene/ Obscene Ways of Looking: Early Cinema and the Emergence of the Modern Viennese Observer," (Seminar Paper, University of Chicago, 2012).
[97] Emilie Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kinos* (1914), as quoted in Schwarz, *Kino und Kinos in Wien*, 109.
[98] Bernold, "Kino(t)raum: Über den Zusammenhang von Familie, Freizeit und Konsum," 137.
[99] *Varieté*, directed by E.A. Dupont (Berlin: Universum Film, 1925).

inner and outer working-class and bourgeois districts.[100] The film follows the tragic tale of a husband and wife trapeze act, played by Emil Jannings and Lya de Putti, respectively.[101] During a trapeze scene towards the beginning of the film, the camera pans across the faces of members of the audience, including men and women, young and old, as they look up with expressions of excitement, fear, and exhilaration. One woman in the audience stares up at the trapeze artists, while she stuffs her mouth full of sausages,[102] while another woman readjusts her opera glasses with an expression of pleasure and delight. But it is not until the camera focuses on a woman lustfully fixing her gaze on someone who, in the next shot, turns out to be a male member of the trapeze act, that the subversive quality of women's spectatorship—that despite being embedded in a patriarchal structure, it can nevertheless contain pleasure—becomes most apparent.[103] Soon, the entire frame is covered in a sea of peering eyes, so that the spectators in the audience are reduced to the body part doing the looking. As viewers watching the film, we, too, become aware of our subjectivity.

Fig. 24 A woman spectator smiling gleefully in *Varieté* (1926). Screen shot taken by author.

[100] In February to March 1926, for example, the film was screened in cinemas located in the V, VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XX districts, ensuring both a working-class and more bourgeois audience. For film listings, see *Mein Film*, no. 9 (1926): 9-14.
[101] It is worth noting that Lya de Putti's character, Bertha-Marie, was a particular kind of new woman—a femme fatale, vamp who cuckolded her husband. For an analysis of Bertha-Marie's femininity in both American and German versions of *Varieté*, see Richard W. McCormick, *Gender and Sex in Weimar Modernity* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 72-86.
[102] It is tempting to read this moment through a Freudian lens…
[103] On the subversive quality of women's visual pleasure, especially vis-à-vis male actors, see, for example, Miriam Hansen, "Pleasure, Ambivalence, Identification: Valentino and Female Spectatorship," *Cinema Journal* 25, no. 4 (Summer 1986): 6-32.

But women spectators not only experienced pleasure and desire when watching film. An article in a film magazine put it this way: "When one watches a film, you become the hero or heroine. You laugh and cry when they laugh and cry. You suffer the torment of despair the way they do. When, in the end, a battle triumph crowns the hero, you feel the triumph, too."[104] Actor Lya de Putti insisted that, "Every person who has once seen me on the screen will recognize me in a new role. He [the spectator] will—at least I hope—live through the character that I play, will laugh and cry with me and will feel my face under the makeup and behind the role."[105] Film-spectatorship, then, was not just passive and voyeuristic, but also deeply experiential and affective, with audience members "living through the characters," feeling and even physically expressing—in the form of a smile, frown, or tears—the characters', and by extension the actors', emotions. In phenomenological terms, this active looking resembled the "transcendence" of the sex worker, which I described in the previous chapter.

Writing in response to feminist film theorist Mary Doane, whose "female spectator-consumer" solely engages in a passive process of self-commodification, Lori Landay suggests that women's spectatorship, while also consumerist, could also be "embodied and productive."[106] "There is a ludic embodiment of femininity that transcends the limited subjectivity of self-commodification," she argues, "and encourages the flapper spectator to imagine and emulate a playful subjectivity that is not simply enslaved to commodity culture."[107] As I showed above, it was

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[104] "Wenn man einen Film sieht, so bist du der Held oder die Heldin. Du lachst und weinst, wenn sie lachen und weinen. Du leidest die Qualen der Verzweiflung wie sie es tun. Wenn zuletzt ein Triumph den Kampf des Helden krönt, so fühlst du den Triumph mit." In H.W.S., "Was macht Kinonarren aus uns?" *Mein Film*, no. 91 (1927): 7.

[105] "Jeder, der mich auf der Leinwand einmal gesehen hat, wird mich in allen neuen Rollen wiedererkennen. Er wird—wie ich stets hoffe—mit der von mir dargestellten Figur leben, wird mit mir lachen und weinen und wird doch stets mein Gesicht under der Schminke und mich hinter der Rolle verspüren." In Lya de Putti, "Die individuelle Maske," *Mein Film*, no. 97 (1927): 3.

[106] Lori Landay, "The Flapper Film: Comedy, Dance, and Jazz Age Kinaesthetics," in *A Feminist Reader in Early Cinema*, eds. Jennifer M. Bean and Diane Negra (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 226.

[107] Ibid., 222.

precisely because silent film acting was theatrical, emphasizing "bodily comportment, gestures, facial expressions, and actions,"[108] that films encouraged female spectators to emulate the characters and actors—the new women—shimmering before them. Spectatorship did not just involve passive desire and consumption, but also active identification and embodiment. In the words of John Crary, it encompassed a "corporeality of vision."[109]

In some ways, then, the experience of watching a film was very similar to what film-skeptics accused it of being, namely, intoxicating—insofar as the state of intoxication refers to a kind of emotional and physical exhilaration. Film fans even referred to themselves as *Filmschwärmerinnen*, with the word *Schwärmerei* referring to the highly emotional states of passion and rapture. In a short story by Viennese Jewish writer, Else Feldmann, a woman at the cinema is described in similar terms, as gazing with "half-closed eyes," as if she were "hypnotized."[110] Likewise, a newspaper serial described the experience of watching a film as producing noticeable physiological effects of "slightly opened lips, hungry eyes, and quick deep breaths."[111] There was an almost erotic quality to the experience of watching film, and as another article put it, a *Filmschwärmerin* "felt her soul gripped by the artistic force and depth of this masterpiece and carried away, like a thunderous surge… it was intoxicating [*wie ein Rausch*]."[112] The experience of emotional and physical exhilaration was so strong,

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[108] Ibid., 225.

[109] Crary identifies a shift that took place in the 1820s and 1830s, from the "disembodied vision" of the camera obscura to a new "corporeality of vision." With science and medicine placing a new emphasis on the human body, vision came to be seen as subjective and embodied. He thus takes a Foucauldian approach, arguing that it was a shift in discourse that produced the modern observer in the late nineteenth century. See Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990).

[110] "Das Mädchen stand einen Augeblick im Lichtschein der Reklamen—von grünen, gelben, roten Strahlen übergossen—unbeweglich, starr, mit halbgeschlossenen Augen wie eine Hypnotisierte." In Else Feldmann, "Vor dem Kino," in *Bubikopf: Aufbruch in den Zwanzigern: Texte von Frauen*, ed. Anna Rheinsberg (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1988), 56-59.

[111] "Mit leicht geöffneten Lippen, hungrigen Augen und fliegendem Atem verfolgte sie die Bilder auf der Leinwand, die sie in eine andere Welt entführten." In "Hollywood—der Hafen der verlorenen Mädchen (fortsetz.)," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 17 (1927), vi.

[112] "Sie fühlte ihre Seele von der künstlerischen Kraft und Tiefe dieses Meisterwerkes gepackt und fortgerissen… Es war wie ein Rausch." In "Das Glück der Brigitte Helm," *Mein Film*, no. 1 (1926), 8.

in fact, that this very woman ended up writing a letter to the film director, Fritz Lang, expressing her "burning desire to take part in such an impressive artwork," taking her affective identification with the film character/actor to the logical conclusion by offering to *become* her. This woman, the article reported, was Brigitte Helm, the actor who would go on to play Maria in Lang's famous science-fiction masterpiece, *Metropolis* (1927). Thus, in addition to being intoxicating, films also fueled feelings of desire and aspiration—in short, of all-consuming fantasy—in women spectators. No longer could subject be separated from object, spectator from film, outside from inside. According to Vivian Sobchak, "There are always two embodied acts of vision at work in the theater, two embodied views constituting the intelligibility and significance of the film experience. The film's vision and my own… meet in the sharing of a world and constitute an experience that is not only intrasubjectively dialectical, but also intersubjectively dialogical."[113]

The sensual space of the *Kinotheater* also played an important role in shaping the cinematic experience and furthering spectators' all-consuming fantasy. As one contemporary commented as early as 1911,

> Even the external furnishings of the *Kinematographentheater* have considerably improved in the last years. In some ways, [the theater] has virtually become luxurious. The entryway is watched over by a self-important doorman, who comes close to possessing the [same] detached dignity of a doorman in a grand hotel. The lobby and theater hall in the bigger *Kinematographentheaters* are mostly… white and gold… [And] one sits on soft cushions, almost like in the orchestra of a fashionable theater. All of this contributes to a sense of comfort and luxury… and partly explains the remarkable attraction the *Kinematographentheater* has on both young and old, rich and poor.[114]

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[113] Vivian Sobchack, "Phenomenology and the Film Experience," in *Viewing Positions: Ways of Seeing Film*, ed. Linda Williams (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 53.

[114] "Auch die äußere Austattung der Kinematographentheater hat sich in den letzten Jahren erheblich verbessert. Zum Teil ist sie fast luxuriös geworden. Der Eingang wird von einem gewichtigen Portier behütet, der fast die unnahbare Würde des Portiers eines großen Hotels besitzt. Eintrittshalle und Vorstellungssaal sind bei den größeren Kinematographentheatern vielfach in Weiß und Gold gehalten. Mindestens auf den ersten Plätzen sitzt man auf weichen Kissen, fast wie im Parkett eines vornehmen Theaters. Alles das kommt dem Sinn für äußeres Behagen und für Luxus, der in unserer Zeit so bemerkenswerte Fortschritte gemacht hat, schmeichelnd entgegen und erklärt zum Teil die merkwürdige Anziehungskraft, welche die Kinematographentheater auf alt und jung, auf reich und arm ausüben." In Ernst Schultze, *Der Kinematograph als Bildungsmittel: Eine kulturpolitische Untersuchung* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911), 17.

In addition, unlike most public spaces, the cinema was completely dark, with the exception of the bright light flickering at the front of the room. In this darkness, reminiscent of a bedroom at night, a member of the audience would have a difficult time discerning whom she was sitting next to, in front or behind of, and it was this mystery that allowed for the further intoxication (the *Rausch*) of the cinematic experience. The only thing an audience member could discern was the gentle tapping of her neighbor's foot, the sleek bob of the figure in front of her, and the perfumed scent of the person behind her. Who they were, she did not know. Further, the music accompanying silent film screenings—at first, in the form of a gramophone or piano, and by the interwar period, as an orchestra or organ—transformed a primarily visual experience into an aural one.[115] And given the emotive valences of music, the cinematic fantasy became even more intoxicating for the audience. Sitting in comfortable plush seats in a luxurious setting, surrounded by darkness, resonant music, and the vibrations and scents of strangers, film spectators engaged in a titillating multi-sensory experience.

[115] On music in Viennese cinemas, see Schwarz, *Kino und Kinos in Wien*, 152-155.

Fig. 25 The multi-sensory experience of the movie theater. Clockwise from left to right: "This isn't bad! Here someone's being killed and the music plays a waltz."; "If you step on my foot one more time, you're gonna get it like [the guy] on the screen!"; -"Hey! Spitting is not allowed here." -"But don't you see, I'm just blowin' my nose."; -"I thought, I'd die during the comedy." -"Why, from laughing?" -"Nah, from the stench!"; "Today, Peperl, we're goin' to the movies; today it's only for grownups!"; -"I liked the second act." -"I didn't, my bag got stolen." From "'s Kino!" *Die Muskete* 29, no. 735 (30 October 1919): 37. ANNO/ÖNB.

To return to *Varieté*, when Emil Janning's character, Boss, kills his wife's lover and walks away from her, Bertha-Marie's reaction becomes so emotionally palpable to the viewer, that it is difficult not to experience her pain and shattering despair. After she hunches over, paralyzed with shock, Bertha-Marie stumbles after Boss down a hallway and stairs. Her eyes bulge and she pulls her hair, and when he ignores her, she stops in her tracks and, in a truly gut-wrenching shot, gives a silent howl. She throws herself at him, clinging on to his body as he slowly moves forward until her entire body is being dragged across the floor and she tumbles, head-first, down the stairs. As the Viennese audience, sitting in the dark and crowded *Kinotheater*, watched Bertha-Marie howl and cry to the deep sounds of an organ, they may very well have felt intoxicated by her emotions, actively living through her.

Fig. 26 Bertha-Marie falls apart in *Varieté* (1926). Screen shots taken by author.

Emotional Literacy and Expression: Film-Acting Guides

In 1926, the Viennese film fan magazine, *Mein Film*, announced a competition for "aspiring film actresses."[116] The magazine urged its readers to consider which "film star type" they most closely resembled. Did readers look like the "adorable film teenager," Mary Pickford? Or "the hot-blooded and coquettish woman in film," Lya de Putti? Or, perhaps, "the beautiful film actress with

[116] "Welchem Filmstar-Typ entspricht ihr aussehen? Ein Ausschreiben für Filmaspirantinnen," *Mein Film*, no. 5 (1926): 4.

the lively 'Viennese face' [*Wiener G'sichtel*]," Liane Haid? Celebrity look-alike contests were popular in the 1920s, and contributed to the emergence of a celebrity fan culture that took hold of Europe and Vienna alike,[117] providing "innumerable reference points and role models for recognition, belonging and emulation."[118]

In particular, the emulation of an actor involved imitating the bodily and facial expressions of the actor, so that fans could learn how to "make a theater" on their own and outside of the confines of the cinema. This becomes most apparent by the mid-1920s, when women's newspapers and film magazines began publishing film-acting guides for fans.[119] In one guide from 1926, American film actress, Lillian Rich, provided a lesson in "the language of hands" to convey anger, shock, contemplation, indifference, alarm, anticipation, suspicion, horror, and irritation. "It is fundamental to the film actress to use her hands in a skillful way in order to convey meaningful expressions [*Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten*]," Rich insisted. "I first concentrate my thoughts on the feeling that I need to express. Already as I think about the feeling, my hand begins to find its most expressive movement…"[120]

A similar acting guide appeared on the pages of *Bettauers Wochenschrift* a year later, "Become an Actor in 8 Lessons," this time with a mustachioed man demonstrating anticipation, shame, passion, disappointment, embarrassment, joy, worry, and rage using only his face, hands, and hat, while the rest of his body remained concealed to the reader.[121] The implication was that facial

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117 For example, "Welchem Filmstar sehen sie ähnlich? Unsere Presifrage," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 50 (1926): 20.

118 Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 109.

119 For a discussion of a similar phenomenon in the form of photographic fiction in Japanese women's magazines, see Sara Frederick, "Novels to See/Movies to Read: Photographic Fiction in Japanese Women's Magazines," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 18, no. 3 (*2010*): 727-769.

120 "Es ist Sache der Filmschauspielerln, sich ihrer Hände geschickt zu bedienen, um so bedeutende Ausdruckmöglichkeiten zu erreichen. Ich konzentriere also vorerst meine Gedanken auf das Gefühl, das ich zum Ausdruck bringen soll. Noch während des Gedankens findet die Hand schon von selbst die ausdruckreichste Bewegung." In Lillian Rich, "Die Sprache der Hände," *Mein Film*, no. 12 (1926): 13.

121 "In 8 Lektionen Filmschauspieler," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 17 (1927): 7.

expressions—which relied on the eyes, mouth, and head position—and hand gestures were fundamental to the silent actor's, and by extension, film fan's, tool kit. Not surprisingly, the gossip-filled pages of *Mein Film* often emphasized that film actors did not necessarily have to be "beautiful."


NR. 12 Mein Film SEITE 13

Die Sprache der Hände

Lillian Rich, der bekannte amerikanische Filmstar, erzählt hier, wie sie es gelernt hat, ihre Hände richtig zu gebrauchen. Das ist für alle jene, die der Filmkarriere langsam zustreben, sehr wichtig. Denn es beweist, wie fein ausgearbeitet die Bewegung des gesamten Körpers des Filmdarstellers sein muß, wenn er alle mimischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten finden soll. Lillian Rich sagt:

Es ist Sache der Filmschauspielerin, sich ihrer Hände geschickt zu bedienen, um so bedeutende Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten zu erreichen. Ich konzentriere also vorerst meine Gedanken auf das Gefühl, das ich zum Ausdruck bringen soll. Noch während des

Gedankens findet die Hand schon von selbst die ausdrucksreichste Bewegung. Stets werden lebhafte Menschen ihre Gedanken durch Gesten ihrer Hände betonen. Der Redner kennt dieses Geheimnis schon seit jeher. Gesten, die mit den Fingern gemacht werden, sind am aus-

drucksvollsten und charakterisieren das Geistige einer Rede am besten. Gesten der Handfläche sind gewöhnlicher. Gesten der Faust sind unverkäuflich plump, sie sind ausgesprochen körperlich und entbehren jedweder Feinheit.

Fig. 27 Learning how to act. From Lillian Rich, "Die Sprache der Hände," *Mein Film*, no. 12 (1926): 13. ANNO/ÖNB.

What mattered most were an actor's "interesting features" and her "soulful gaze and delicately expressed movements of the body and limbs."[122] The pedagogical function of these film-acting guides is worth emphasizing. We can imagine hundreds of fans using the guides as reference as they attempted to imitate facial expressions in front of bathroom and bedroom mirrors. One 1922 film-acting guide, *Mimic in Film* (*Mimik im Film*), described mirror-use as a "fundamental condition" (*Grundbedingung*) in the training process, as it allowed fans—or "acting students"—to watch themselves as they performed exercises in which they manipulated their eyes, eyebrows, forehead, mouth, nose, and tongue into different expressions.[123] The purpose of this was to train "individual muscle functions, to clearly define each, and to expand the expressive richness [*Ausdrucksreichtum*] of the face."[124] For example, the section on the eyes contained seven exercises on how to widen, narrow, roll, and close them, making specific reference to the irises, eyelids, and outer eye corners.[125] Done in conjunction with the eyebrows, these exercises would teach students how to become fluent in the very subtle and powerful "language of the eyes" (*Augensprache*), which allowed for greater theatricality. After imitating these expressions at home and on the street, film fans, I argue, learned how to become more emotionally literate and expressive in everyday life.

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122 "Welchem Filmstar-Typ entspricht Ihr Aussehen?" *Mein Film*, no. 1 (1926): 7-8.
123 Oskar Diehl, *Mimik im Film: Leitfaden für den praktischen Unterricht in der Filmschauspielkunst* (München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1922).
124 "Im Unterricht handelt es sich, wie schon bemerkt, lediglich darum, die Ausdrücke durch eine sinngemäße Ausbildung der einzelnen Muskelfunktionen überhaupt zu ermöglichen, im einzelnen scharf abzugrenzen und den Ausdrucksreichtum der Gesichtsmimik zu erweitern." In Ibid., 14.
125 Ibid., 14-16.

Femme Fatale and *Neue Wienerin*: *Rund um die Ehe* (1924)

By the mid-1920s, as more Viennese women began to perform new womanhood, it became increasingly important to make a distinction between different kinds of new women—an issue I will return to in the Conclusion of this dissertation. One way to do this was to assign certain emotional expressions to specific characters in films. In the following section, I will draw on the above-mentioned film-acting guides in conjunction with the popular 1924 film, *Rund um die Ehe* (*The Marriage Circle*), a romantic comedy directed by German-Jewish émigré Ernst Lubitsch and set in Vienna,[126] to identify these expressions in greater detail.[127] What is interesting about *Rund um die Ehe* is that it features two very different kinds of new women: a foreign femme fatale, Mizzi Stock, and a charming *neue Wienerin*, Charlotte Braun. Although the two women are good friends at the beginning of the film, it is soon revealed that Mizzi has her eyes set on Charlotte's husband, the psychiatrist Franz Braun. Nevertheless, despite the betrayal, the film ends on a happy note, as Charlotte reconnects with her husband, and Mizzi finds love with Franz's practice partner, Gustav Mueller. In choosing a sexually available Viennese love interest, the foreign femme fatale is reformed and made over into a *neue Wienerin*, making her a legitimate character for film spectators to emulate.

Fig. 28 Mizzi models anticipation. From *Rund um die Ehe* (1924). Screen shot taken by author.

According to one of the guides, anticipation (*in Erwartung*), required "a half-opened mouth, the holding of breath," and "glistening moist eyes." A more sinister version of anticipation (*Vorgefühl*) is depicted in the "Language of the Hands" article, with Rich cradling her chin in her

[126] *The Marriage Circle*, directed by Ernst Lubitsch (Hollywood: Warner Bros., 1924), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnPXRPyHdIQ.
[127] Ranked number six in "Welchen Fim wollen Sie wieder sehen?" *Mein Film*, no. 24 (1926): 6.

hands, her eyes round and her pupils turned upward. In one scene in *Rund um die Ehe*, when Mizzi expects the arrival of Franz, she expresses anticipation in a similar way. Her mouth is half-open, and as she breathes heavily and visibly—her chest heaving up and down—her eyes widen. Women film spectators may have marveled at actress Marie Prevost's perfect pout and piercing gaze, only to realize that they were also enamored by the ways she used her mouth and eyes to convey such feeling and expression. Even more radical, perhaps, was that a woman dared to express anticipation in the first place, instead of maintaining the cool, calm, and collected mask of bourgeois respectability. And yet, given that Mizzi was a femme fatale, that is to say, the most deviant of new women, women spectators also learned to be wary of expressing anticipation or excitement lest they come to be seen as dangerous.

Fig. 29 Mizzi expresses passion for Franz. From *Rund um die Ehe* (1924). Screen shot taken by author.

Passion (*Leidenschaft*), which "Become an Actor in 8 Lessons" considered an "essential expression" for both an actor's "professional and private life," involved subtlety, with the actor appearing transfixed by something before him, a slight smile on his face. In many moments in the film, Mizzi stares longingly at Franz, smiling lustfully, and anxiously biting her lower lip. She often slinks towards him, nuzzling her body against his, and draping her arms around Franz's shoulders provocatively. As it becomes apparent in the film, her passion remains unrequited, but unlike Franzi, Nju, and Bertha-Marie, Mizzi ultimately finds someone else with whom to become infatuated. Non-marital passion and lust (with the exception of the *Rausch* experienced at the movies) are synonymous with the femme fatale, whose desire seems insatiable. It is only satisfied once Mizzi gives up her immoral pursuit of Franz, and finds a lover in Gustav.

In "Language of the Hands," Rich expresses irritation (*Unwille*) with her head cocked to the side, brows furrowed, and hands on her hips. In the film, Mizzi similarly expresses irritation as she exasperatingly tries to get her husband's attention while he ignores her during his morning exercises. After he finally dismisses her request, she puts her hand to her waist and, with a stern look in her eyes, scolds him. For Viennese women, watching a wife visibly scold her husband and take a stand, rather than appear docile, would have been a novelty. But given that it was Mizzi who expressed it—and not the *neue Wienerin*, Charlotte Braun—irritation was implicitly marked as a more deviant emotion for a woman to express.

Fig. 30 Mizzi expresses irritation with her husband. From *Rund um die Ehe* (1924). Screen shot taken by author.

According to "Become an Actor in 8 Lessons," an actor conveyed horror (*Entsetzen*) by lifting the eyebrows, moving the torso back, and placing both hands on either the head or the chest. When Charlotte, Franz's wife, suspects him of being unfaithful, she expresses, first horror, and then despair. In one scene, the lovesick Charlotte takes part in a gestural soliloquy, stumbling from one end of the bedroom to the other as Franz follows her, pleading that she trust him. With a blank look in her eyes, she drops into a chaise longue and, as Franz moves closer, she closes her eyes, lifts her eyebrows, and brings her hands to either side of her head, in an effort to protect herself by no longer listening to him. The expression is expansive and dramatic, and related to the very

Fig. 31 Charlotte is horrified after she suspects that Franz was unfaithful. From *Rund um die Ehe* (1924). Screen shot taken by author.

phenomenology of deviant femininity that I discussed in the previous chapter. That Charlotte expresses horror and despair instead of Mizzi, however, is telling insofar as it reveals that her character is endowed with a level of depth that the femme fatale could never possess.

Finally, an actor expressed rage (*Wut*), "the most primitive emotional expression," with a "shaky arm, flared nostrils, sparkling [*funkelnde*] eyes." Revealingly, neither the film nor "The Language of the Hands" guide features a woman expressing rage. Although Charlotte expresses anger by narrowing her eyes and lowering the corners of her mouth into a tight frown, she never succumbs to a violent tantrum. Likewise, in the guide, Rich conveys quarrelsomeness (*Streitsucht*) instead of rage by making a similar expression on her face, and bunching her hands into fists. Thus, while the *neue Wienerin* also expressed anger, the implication was that it would never be as violent and destructive as a man's. Meanwhile, a femme fatale was too shallow to express anger to begin with. Nevertheless, that both film and guide showed a woman expressing anger was already quite subversive, especially because *Damen* were instructed to refrain from getting angry altogether, lest they look "like wild animals in a cage."[128]

Fig. 32 Charlotte is angry and disgusted with Mizzi. From *Rund um die Ehe* (1924). Screen shot taken by author.

In all these cases, the emotional literacy and expressiveness was part of an increased theatricality that tore off the mask of bourgeois respectability and convention. It was a theatricality that expressed instead of concealed, using the body as a medium through which to manifest emotion. With the intoxicating effects of film, as well as the pedagogical function of celebrity culture, soon enough, Viennese women from all walks of life found ways to act and act out. Instead

[128] "Eben so peinlich ist das… Blinzeln und Blinken mit den Augen, die unruhige Bewegung der Augensterne, die in ihren Höhlen—wie wilden Thieren in ihrem Käfig—immer von einem Ende zum anderen gehen." In Von Steinau, *Der gute Ton für Damen: 7. Auflage*, 32-33.

of thinking of mass culture as mere entertainment, I argue, along with Mary Louise Roberts, that it must be reconceived as profoundly radical, as something that subverted rather than diverted.[129]

Coda: "There was a shimmer." *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931)

In 1931, *Ein Walzertraum* was remade into *The Smiling Lieutenant*, a Hollywood talkie directed by Ernst Lubitsch, and starring Claudette Colbert and Maurice Chevalier.[130] Unlike the 1925 version, Lieutenant Nik meets Franzi at the very beginning of the film before his marriage to the princess of Flausenthurm. Only after Nik smiles and winks at Franzi during an imperial parade, does he meet the princess, who believes his smile and wink to have been directed at her. During their tense meeting, the naïve princess asks Nik, "When you smiled at me, you also did something else… something with your eyes… What does it mean?" And Nik responds, "When we like somebody, we smile but when we want to do something about it, we wink." At that, the princess leaves the room and as she opens the door, she turns around, looks at Nik, and winks at him. I read this scene as a meta-moment that exposes the very mechanics of film spectatorship: just as the princess learns to express desire through the physical act of winking, so, too, does the film's audience become more emotionally literate and expressive. It is this very wink—the closing of the eyelid over the eye—that serves as the first step towards modern womanhood.

Similar to the 1925 version, music plays an important role in the film. In fact, it is Nik and Franzi's mutual love of music-making—she on the violin and he, on the piano—that first ignites their passion. The film's music, however, is different from Straus's original score, and it is jazz and

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[129] In *Disruptive Acts*, Mary Louise Roberts attempts to bridge the fin de siècle and belle époque narratives by "emphasiz[ing] crucial links between the era's cultural crisis and its penchant for performance." She does so "by construing such theatricality as a form of subversion rather than mere diversion, and therefore, as a cause of cultural crisis itself." See Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin de Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

[130] *The Smiling Lieutenant*, directed by Ernst Lubitsch (Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, 1931), http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x24084w_the-smiling-lieutenant-1931-feature_shortfilms

ragtime, rather than the Viennese waltz, that signify modernity. For example, when Franzi makes the princess over into a new woman, she does so by transforming her wardrobe, but also, most importantly, encouraging her to "choose snappy music." After looking through the princess's piano music—"Etude for Five Fingers, Cloister Bells, Maiden's Prayer"—Franzi demands that she show her underwear. After the audience gets a shot of the princess's billowy bloomers, Franzi observers that they look like "cloister bells." She then pulls up her own skirt, exposing her lacey slip, and coyly remarks, "That's the kind of music you should play." At the piano, Franzi begins to sing, "Jazz up your lingerie, just like a melody! Be happy! Choose snappy music to wear!" Music becomes a metaphor for lingerie, clothing, and importantly, modern femininity.

Fig. 33 The princess as *neue Wienerin*. From *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931). Screen shot taken by author.

With its use of improvisation, syncopation, and polyrhythms, jazz is arguably more emotionally expressive than the more predictable and rhythmic Viennese waltz. As an advertisement for Odol from 1927 put it: while the waltz was "an anachronism," surrounded by the "scent of lavender from grandmother's youth," jazz was "a return to the primitive, rousing, ecstatic."[131] When

[131] "Charleston oder Walzer? Das ist heute eine Frage von 'welterschütternder' Bedeutung. Der gute alte Walzer bietet gewiß eine dankbare Gelegenheit, Grazie, Hingebung oder verhaltene Innigkeit zu zeigen. Aber wir empfinden ihn als Anachronismus, er ist wie umhaucht von Lavendelduft aus Großmutters Jugendzeit.

the princess finally adopts new womanhood, she abandons her conventional piano music and takes to vigorously playing ragtime on the piano while nonchalantly smoking a cigarette out of the corner of her mouth. She is buoyant in her playing, her face expressive and shimmering. The very particular emotional expressiveness of the *neue Wienerin* was thus rendered more universal, becoming accessible to an international audience of intoxicated women spectators.

Ihm gegenüber hat der Charleston ein leichtes Spiel, er ist Rückkehr zum Primitiven, aufrüttelnd, ekstatisch…" In "Odol," *Die Dame* 54, no. 15 (April 1927).

CHAPTER 3

"A petite, modern silhouette": Female Masculinity and the Straight Line

In 1913, one year before the outbreak of the First World War, a women's magazine ran a seemingly innocuous advertisement for Viennese Imperial Fig Coffee, a coffee-substitute that would become widely consumed during the war.[1] Instead of depicting a doe-eyed housewife serenely sipping on a steaming cup of coffee, the advertisement illustrated a chaotic scene of unruly women being rounded up by the police. Two gentlemen stand on the sidelines, wondering, "How is it that suffragettes behave in such an unwomanly manner?"[2] The answer, it turns out, is related to their "manly" nutrition: "they drink strong tea, whiskey, eat hot and spicy food, all of which is not suited for their female body, thereby becoming nervous, angry, eccentric."[3] According to the advertisement, the suffragettes' "unwomanly" and deviant mannerisms were rooted in an improperly nourished body. By the same token, the body was key to their salvation. "If they would drink the Imperial Fig Coffee prepared by the Austrian and Viennese housewife," the advertisement proclaimed, "then they, too, would be kind and good-natured *Damen*.[4]"

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[1] "Imperial-Feigen-Kaffee," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 1 (1913): 14.
[2] "Wie kommet es, daß diese Suffragetten sich gar so unweiblich benehmen?"
[3] "Ganz einfach, sie ahmen die Lebensweise der Männer, speziell in der Ernährung nach, sie trinken starken Tee, Whiskey, essen mit scharfen Saucen gewürzte Speisen, was alles ihrem weiblichen Körper nicht angepaßt ist und werden darum nervös, bös, exzentrisch…"
[4] "Würden sie wie die österreichische und Wiener Hausfrau ihren Kaffee trinken, zubereitet mit Imperial-Feigen-Kaffee mit der Krone, so wären sie ebenfalls die liebenswürdigsten, gutmütigsten Damen."


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Imperial-Feigen-Kaffee mit der Krone ist die Würze des weltberühmten Wiener Kaffees.

Fig. 34 Women behaving badly. From "Imperial-Feigen-Kaffee," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 1 (1913): 14. AustriaN Newspapers Online (hereafter ANNO)/Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

The advertisement tapped into a popular anxiety from the period, namely, that as women started to "act out" (Chapter 2), their bodies would grow "unwomanly," and by extension, more "manly." This view was perhaps most clearly articulated by Otto Weininger, author of the controversial book, *Sex & Character* (*Geschlecht und Carakater*), published in 1903. "To the first glance of an expert, [emancipated women] reveal some of the anatomical characteristics of the male," wrote Weininger, "some external bodily resemblance to a man."[5] He continued,

> George Eliot had a broad, massive forehead; her movements, like her expression, were quick and decided, and lacked all womanly grace. The face of Lavinia Fontana was intellectual and decided, very rarely charming; whilst that of Rachel Ruysch was almost wholly masculine. The biography of that original poetess, Anette von Droste-Hülshoff [sic], speaks of her wiry, unwomanly frame, and of her face as being masculine, and recalling that of Dante. The authoress and mathematician, Sonia Kowalevska [sic], like Sappho, had an abnormally scanty growth of hair.[6]

The Viennese media also fixated on the New Woman's "manly" appearance, often referring to her as a "Man-Woman" (*Mannweib*) or "Amazon." A satirical article from 1908, for example, described her as having been born "ugly" and "wraithlike"—both words associated with female

[5] Otto Weininger, *Sex & Character, 6. Edition* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, [1903] 1906), 65.
[6] Ibid., 68.

masculinity[7] —and with a domineering personality.[8] Other times, she was shown having a stockier build with a "coarse [*derb*] beauty," wearing "mostly *Loden* coats and old felt hats, and every once and a while also her husband's boots."[9] In her masculine attire, the Man-Woman lived off of cigarettes,[10] and took part in drunken brawls.[11]

Fig. 35 The Bluestocking. From "Frauen: Der Blaustrumpf," *Figaro* 52, no. 15 (11 April 1908): 232. ANNO/ÖNB.

Fig. 36 The Man-Woman. From "Frauen: Das Mannweib," *Figaro* 52, no. 15 (11 April 1908): 232. ANNO/ÖNB.

For Weininger, the reason why the new woman looked like a man was because she was, in fact, partly male. Weininger held the view that every human body was made up of a unique composition of male and female cells. "Living beings cannot be described bluntly as of one sex or

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[7] J. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).
[8] Luzifer, "Frauen. Eine naturgeschichtliche Studie," *Figaro* 52, no. 15 (11 April 1908): 8.
[9] "In ihrer derben Schönheit verschmäht sie hohnlächelnd alle Künsteleien der Schneidern, sondern trägt zumeist Lodenmäntel und alte Filzhüte, mitunter auch die Stiefel ihres Mannes."
[10] "In sehr vielen Fällen ist das starke Rauchen ein Zeichen dafür, dass die Frau mit ihrer Geschlechtsrolle unzufrieden ist…" In Dr. R. Hofstätter, *Die rauchende Frau: Eine klinische psychologische und soziale Studie* (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky AG, 1924), 190.
[11] "Die Naturgeschichte der Fau," *Die Muskete* 38, no. 12 (1 July 1924): 6.

the other," he insisted. "The real world from the point of view of sex may be regarded as swaying between two points, no actual individual being at either point, but somewhere between the two."[12] As such, "there exist all sorts of intermediate conditions between male and female—sexual transitional forms."[13] A masculine woman, despite being endowed with female genitalia, possessed a greater number of male than female cells. Weininger thus looked beyond sexual organs to the very cells of the body to determine sex, and by extension gender—because for Weininger, sex and gender expression were one and the same.

Others argued that it was modernity itself that made women's bodies more masculine—an idea that clearly informed the Imperial Fig Coffee advertisement above. "The nervousness of the modern period has blurred woman's natural predispositions," observed Dr. O. Janetschek in his 1922 book, *Weib und Genuß* (*Woman and Pleasure*).[14] More specifically, it was "the masculine strain of the modern social order [that] has partly de-feminized the female sex." According to this view, women naturally exhibited feminine bodily characteristics, but it was the very particular historical moment—"modernity"— that led to gender trouble and "sexual crisis." As women entered the workforce, this idea became more popular. A headline from 1913 provocatively asked whether "women's hands are getting bigger" due to their increased participation in manual labor.[15] Another article observed that, "Sport and strong doings at home and career have reshaped women's hands. The ideal is no longer the insubstantial, soulless, carefully shrouded and well-tended women's

[12] Weininger, *Sex & Character, 6. Edition*, 9.
[13] Ibid., 7.
[14] "Die Nervosität der modernen Zeit hat diese natürliche Anlage des Weibes verwischt, der maskuline Zug der modernen Gesellschaftsordnung hat das weibliche Geschlecht einigermaßen entweiblicht und hat durch widernatürliche Aufpeitschung der Sinne das Weib auch außerhalb der normalen Empfängniszeit zum Geschlechtsverkehre geneigt gemacht." In Dr. O. Janetschek, *Weib und Genuß: Für reife Menschen* (Wien: Anzengruber-Verlag, 1922), 70.
[15] "Werden die Frauenhände grösser?" *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 19, no. 17 (1913): 181.

hand."[16] According to gynecologist Carl Heinrich Stratz, women's bodies had also become increasingly "square, their facial expressions sharp and severe, and their figure and movements masculinized."[17] Likewise, during the war, women's participation in the Auxiliary Labor Force was thought to pose a threat to their 'nature': not only did their presence in a military context call their femininity into question, but also, their future as mothers and homemakers.[18]

What is interesting is that in addition to being characterized as masculine, modernity came to be gendered as feminine. In fact, the very modern "nervousness" that Janetschek referred to was ultimately related to a hysterical and deep emotionalism—in short, an unruly, destructive, but also generative, femininity. As I discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation, the "nervous splendor" that was the fin de siècle milieu could be read as having feminizing effects that threatened the bastions of the liberal masculine social order.[19] Not only was this a period of alleged "sexual crisis," in other words; it also came to be defined by a "crisis of masculinity."[20] In his book, *Modernity and Crises of Identity*, scholar Jacques Le Rider painted a picture of fin de siècle Vienna as being so inundated by feminine irrationalism that the very notion of the individual (male) subject—arguably, a liberal idea—came under assault.[21] While this interpretation did not deny the existence of the masculine new woman, its focus was more on the effects of modernity on men.

If Weininger attributed women's masculine appearance to the presence of male cells in their bodies, for other contemporaries such as Stratz, it was a product of the "masculinizing" forces of

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[16] "Sport und kräftigeres Schaffen im Haus und Beruf haben die Frauenhände umgeformt. Ihr Ideal ist nicht mehr die wesenlose, seelenlose, sorgfärtig verhültte und gepflegte Hand." In "Frauenhände," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 32, no. 15 (1926): 4.
[17] Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 70.
[18] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 205.
[19] Frederic Morton, *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888-1889* (New York: Penguin, 1980). For more on this topic, see Introduction.
[20] Historians have been more likely to portray the fin de siècle as a "crisis of masculinity" instead of a "crisis of femininity." I find this interesting.
[21] Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity. Culture and Society in Fin de Siecle Vienna,* trans. Rosemary Morris (New York: Continnuum, 1993).

modernity. And yet, despite disagreeing on the causes of female masculinity, they agreed on one thing: that women's bodies appeared more masculine. Although much of this rhetoric was grounded in misogyny and anti-feminism, in this chapter, I would like to suggest that it was also partly rooted in reality.[22] In the following pages, I will argue that due to the starvation on the Viennese homefront during the First World War, as well as the emerging cosmetics industry, women's bodies truly were changing. Specifically, I examine how women's silhouettes changed from curvaceous to linear—what Weininger referred to as the "wiry frame"—a change that, given the associations between the straight line and masculinity, constituted the articulation of female masculinity. I thus partially challenge Christa Ehrmann-Hämmerle's contention that gender differences increased in the interwar; while this certainly was the case towards the end of the 1920s (see Conclusion), the years directly following the war were characterized by the decrease—even an erasure—of gender differences, at least in terms of appearance.[23]

In this chapter, I draw on J. Halberstam's concept of female masculinity to suggest that Viennese masculinity became legible once it left the male bourgeois body and appeared on the bodies of Vienna's new women. Insofar as male masculinity has conventionally been understood as "non-performative" and dependent "on a relatively stable notion of the realness and the naturalness of both the male body and its signifying effects," women's linear silhouettes came to be construed as particularly deviant.[24] In short, new women's bodies seemed to be turning more masculine. Moreover, despite looking like men, these women still desired men, performing a heterosexuality that seemed at odds with their subversive gender expressions.

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[22] On anti-feminism at the fin de siècle, see Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 182-212.
[23] Christa Ehrmann-Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014).
[24] Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 234.

Gender Aesthetics

According to historian Michael Hau, Central European aesthetic norms had long been based on the art of antiquity.[25] Even Alma Mahler-Werfel (née Schindler) insisted that the question of beauty "can *only* be resolved in Rome, where you see all those exquisite marble figures, the Capitoline Venus and many, many others—then the Apollo of Belvedere, Hermes and the knife-sharpener."[26] In 1854, German professor Adolf Zeising even developed a scientific doctrine, known as the "golden proportion,"[27] to evaluate bodily aesthetics in *Neue Lehre von den Proportionen des menschlichen Körpers* (*New Study of the Proportions of the Human Body*), in which he contended that an ideal man's body was linear with narrow hips and wide shoulders, whereas the ideal woman's body was the opposite, rounded, endowed with wide hips and narrow shoulders.[28] These physical ideals extended into the twentieth century, though they came to be reframed as "normal," which, importantly, did not correspond to the average. A marriage advice book from 1920, for instance, contained images of the "normal male figure" and "normal female figure," which directly corresponded to Zeising's ideals.[29] If the male was all muscle, hard and angular, the woman's body was soft, fleshy, and Botticellian, with thick, curly hair extending to her smooth thighs. Even further, the images also revealed opposing gender roles. "Normal man" appeared to be standing on a pedestal—in public—staring intently at his flexed bicep. By contrast, "normal woman" remained indoors, standing modestly with her thighs pressed together, her hips seductively thrust to one side, while she gazed at her reflection in a hand-held mirror.

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[25] Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 33.
[26] Alma Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 6 July, Suite 12, 1899," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 160-161.
[27] The "golden proportion" can be defined as "the division of a line such that the length of the shorter portion of the line relates to the longer portion in the same way that the longer portion relates to the line as a whole." Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 65-66
[28] Ibid., 65-67.
[29] Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), 130.

Fig. 37 The curvaceous and buxom "Normal Woman." From "Normale weibliche Figur," in Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), Tafel II.

Fig. 38 The muscular and linear "Normal Man." From "Normale männliche Figur," in Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), Tafel I.

Because the ideal woman's body was curved, "[female] ugliness," according to an article in a woman's magazine, "usually comes from angular and straight lines."[30] Older women were considered to be especially "grotesque" precisely because they developed "sharp lines around the mouth, eyes, and nose."[31] An ugly woman was usually depicted with small and sagging breasts, angular features, narrow hips, wide shoulders, and pronounced muscles—in short, with a masculine

[30] "Hässlichkeit kommt meist von eckigen und geraden Linien her." In "Grazie für jede Frau," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 2 (1925): 3.
[31] "Das graue und dünne Haar, die ersten Runzeln oder scharfe Linien um Mund, Augen und Nase, es sind Feinde, gegen die man ankämpfen muss…" In "Das gefährliche Alter," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 19 (1925): 3-4.

figure.[32] As Hau notes, it is curious that "male proportions in women [were] ugly and degenerate, when these same proportions represented timeless aesthetic norms for men."[33] The reason for this, he argues, is that many intellectuals regarded beauty as an expression of a "gender-specific telos," so that women's wide hips signaled their gender-specific capacity to bear children. This idea was widespread; even Alma insisted that, "a person is beautiful if every part of their body performs the functions of which it was intended."[34] In other words, a woman with a linear silhouette and narrow hips was not only ugly, she looked "masculine," which called her "female function" into question.

Proper functioning was a cornerstone of good health, so that beauty also came to signify the mental and physical health of an individual. According to F. König's health guide from 1910, *Ratgeber in gesunden und kranken Tagen* (*Adviser for Healthy and Sick Days*), "In the same way in which beauty bears the stamp of a perfect harmony of all physical, mental, and spiritual functions, ugliness is the expression of all disharmony of all physical, mental, and spiritual disturbances. Who could doubt that our comparative pictures," he continued, "[show] that what we call beautiful and ugly can also be termed healthy and sick?"[35] Thus, ugliness referred to more than just aesthetics: it was a sign of poor health, mental illness, and, for many fin de siècle contemporaries, degeneration. For those contemporaries who viewed female masculinity as contingent to modernity, the linear and angular female form was often viewed as an expression of poor health. Similarly, the masculine bodies of the suffragettes in the Imperial Fig Coffee advertisement above was a result of poor nutrition.

As Sabine Wieber explains, the new linear figure became particularly ubiquitous in naturalist and modernist art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Often depicted as having "an alluringly translucent complexion, cool to the touch, very slender and frail," this figure—

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[32] By the same token, "feminized" men were also considered ugly.
[33] Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 67.
[34] Alma Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 6 July, Suite 12, 1899," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 160-161.
[35] F. König, *Ratgeber in gesunden und kranken Tagen* (1910), as translated and quoted in Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 64-65.

what Wieber terms as the "femme fragile"—came to represent a challenge to absolute beauty.[36] Gustav Klimt's painting, *The Three Ages of Woman* (1905), for example, reveals this most pointedly: although the youthful femme fragile is still blessed with smooth, white skin and rosy cheeks, her body—ranging from her long legs to her pointy elbows to her vast height—resembles, at least in form, the hard-lined body of the old woman bowing her head towards her. And in addition to referencing old age, the young woman's slender body recalls the linear male figure. Is she beautiful? Is she ugly? For Klimt, she represented a new kind of beauty, but for many contemporaries, she was a symbol of modern illness and degeneration.

Fig. 39 Gustav Klimt, *Die drei Lebensalter der Frau* (1905). Public Domain. From Wikimedia Commons.

In response to the growing presence of the linear female form in art and literature, physiology professor emeritus of the University of Vienna Ernst Brücke wrote a defense of traditional notions of beauty in 1891, *Schönheit und Fehler der menschlichen Gestalt* (*Beauty and Defects of the Human Form*). Challenging artists who copy "everything, the beautiful and the ugly," Brücke insisted that, "the artist should know the errors of the human form, just like the horse-racer knows the

[36] Sabine Wieber, "Sculpting the Sanatorium: Nervous Bodies and Femmes Fragiles in Vienna, 1900," in *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature & Culture* 27 (2011): 69.

errors of the horse's form. He does not, therefore, need to be monotonous, not to imitate his forms according to a conventional scheme, he can look for beauty in its many manifestations."[37] Brücke's passionate plea for beautiful art—and the return to the curvaceous female form—revealed his commitment to art's power, but also to the conventional feminine silhouette.

The "Masculine" Line: Changes in Women's Fashion

Modernist artists, however, were not the only ones to challenge woman's silhouette; by the early twentieth century, fashion designers became increasingly invested in a more linear and "boyish" figure. In 1908, French fashion designer, Paul Poiret, heralded a new body type "with smaller breasts, slimmer hips, and long legs."[38] Poiret became a household name in Vienna when he visited the imperial city three years later and gave several talks at the Urania.[39] As one Viennese newspaper reported, his visit prompted a "Poiret-Sensation": a week after his departure, "women talked only about Poiret, men got angry about Poiret, all newspapers in Vienna had more space for him and his exhibitions than for important political events."[40] Poiret's designs featured a raised empire waist and a longer hemline, placing emphasis on a "very particular, slim, preferably tall figure."[41]

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[37] "… der Künstler soll die Fehler in der menschlichen Gestalt kennen, wie der Pferdekenner die Fehler in der Gestalt des Pferdes kennt. Er braucht deshalb nicht einförmig zu werden, nicht seine Gestalten einem konventionellen Schema nachzubilden, er kann die Schönheit in ihrem verschiedenen Erscheinungsweisen aufsuchen." In Ernst Brücke, *Schönheit und Fehler der menschlichen Gestalt* (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1891), 3.
[38] Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 227.
[39] "Poiret in Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 271 (27 November 1911): 3.
[40] "Vier Tage lang hat die Poiret-Sensation gedauert, aber sie warf ihre Schatten voraus und ließ ihre Spuren zurück. Eine ganze Woche hindurch sprachen alle Frauen nur von Poiret, ärgerten sich alle Männer über Poiret, hatten alle Zeitungen in Wien mehr Raum für ihn und seine Vorstellungen, als für die wichigsten Ereignisse der Politik." In "Der Poiret-Rummel," *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung* XXI, no. 11 (10 December 1911): 267.
[41] "… seine Kleider zeigen alle mehr oder minder dieselbe Gründidee, sie sind alle für ganz bestimmte, schlanke, möglichst große Figuren gedacht…"

Fig. 40 Poiret's linear fashion designs. From "Der Poiret Rummel," *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung* XXI, no. 11 (10 December 1911): 267. ANNO/ÖNB.

The slim and linear figure of Poiret's designs was a departure from the fin de siècle figure, which was more hourglass in shape with a full bust.[42] One reason for the bigger bust at the fin de siècle was the development of the straight-front corset, which "pushed the stomach in and threw the bust forward," so that the waist "became less of a focal point," and the silhouette was more S-shaped.[43] And despite the fact that dress concealed legs and thighs, these were also expected to be "ample" with "pale pink roundness."[44] The drawn models that graced the fashion pages in the 1910s epitomized this curvaceous, almost matronly appearance in their frilly blouses and large hats: they are endowed with large "mono-bosoms," their faces are round, their cheeks flushed. The models' expressions were drawn to appear forthcoming, their eyes often looking directly at the reader in greeting, their lips curled up into a warm smile.

[42] The fin de siècle figure differed slightly from the nineteenth century figure, which had a smaller waist and bosom, and more pronounced hips. See Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 218
[43] Ibid., 220.
[44] As quoted in Ibid., 222.

Fig. 41 Curvaceous and smiling models from the 1910s. From *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 27 (1913): 265. ANNO/ÖNB.

Despite the introduction of Poiret's linear silhouette, it was not until the final years of the war that it became pervasive in Vienna. Indeed, the silhouette underwent several changes during the war. In the summer of 1914, women's fashion no longer modeled itself after Paris (the saying, "Away from Paris" [*Los von Paris*] was common at this time[45]), and a particular Viennese fashion emerged, first, in the form of the *Wiener Jackenkleid*, "a simple, but elegant creation out of fabric in dark green, dark gray, black or dark brown," reminiscent of tracht,[46] and then, in 1915, in the form of the bell-shaped *neues Wiener Kleid*.[47] Two years later, the voluminous "Tonne-Skirt" appeared, becoming the subject of much ridicule. As a caricature put it, "The fabric reserves are getting tight; the *Dame*'s skirt grows rather than shrinks."[48] Due to its many layers of "war crinoline," the "Tonne-Skirt" was apparently so wide that in one satirical image, a woman conductor was depicted pushing the mostly male train passengers to the car's peripheries with her skirt. Towards the end of the war,

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45 Regina Forstner, "Die Wiener Damenmode in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges," *Die Frau im Korsett: Wiener Frauenalltag* (Wien: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1985), 75.

46 "… einer einfachen, aber eleganten Kreation aus Tuch in Dunkelgrün, Dunkelgrau, Schwarz oder Dunkelbraun." In Ibid., 75.

47 "Hauptmerkmal dieses Kleides war der taillenlose Schnitt und der glockig nach unten fallende Rock." In Ibid., 76.

48 "Die Stoffvorräte werden knapp; der Damenrock nimmt zu, statt ab." In "Der weite Rock und so weiter," *Die Muskete* 22, no. 551 (20 April 1916): 21.

the bell-shaped silhouette was replaced by the straight and loose "barrel" line, which would become the dominant silhouette for the next decade.[49]

Fig. 42 The tonne skirt. From "Der weite Rock und so weiter," *Die Muskete* 22, no. 551 (20 April 1916): 21. ANNO/ÖNB.

According to historian Valerie Steele, 1920s fashion "minimized the breasts, which were associated with the mature woman and the mother," emphasizing instead, "'long,' 'straight,' 'shapely' legs."[50] The dress line was tubular, with a lowered waistline and a shorter hemline to expose a woman's calves and ankles. "One doesn't want to see an excessively short dress," one article stated, "if the legs are not completely thin and perfectly grown."[51] Although the corset was cast aside, it was soon replaced with the girdle, which served to slim down women's buttocks, hips, and thighs, rather than cinch the waist.[52] The brassiere, too, deemphasized rather than accentuated the breasts, contributing to the lengthening of the silhouette.[53] Other contouring devices soon flooded the

[49] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 234-235.
[50] Ibid., 239.
[51] "Nicht sehen möchte man das übermässig kurze Kleid, wenn die Beine nicht ganz schlank und tadellos gewachsen sind." In Favorit, "Was man an der Frau nicht sehen möchte!" *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 31 (1926): 2.
[52] Charlotte Delroy, "Brassieres, Girdles, Waspies, and Cami-Panties Since 1900," *Fashioning the Body: An intimate History of the Silhouette*, ed. Denis Bruna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 229-241.
[53] Ibid., 232.

market; the "Diva-Gummi-Fesselformer," for example, promised to "shape the thighs [to appear] slim."

Fig. 43 Advertisement for Diva-Gummi-Fesselformer. From *Osterreichische Illustrierte Zeitung* 37, no. 40 (2 October 1927): 20. ANNO/ÖNB.

Fashion models were also depicted differently: as a magazine put it, if the "fashion model from the early 20th century," had "pleasant curves," the model from 1925 was, conversely, characterized by "slimness, thinness and angularity."[54] In addition, their facial expressions were often aloof, their gaze looking away from the reader, their mouths only hinting at a smile. Over time, with the introduction of the bell-like cloche hat, which was worn low over the eyebrows and eyes, women were forced to walk with their head cocked upward to see, thereby giving the impression that they were even taller, slimmer, and, importantly, cockier. Similarly, the bobbed haircut—known, revealingly, as a *Bubikopf* or "little boy's head"—also exposed and emphasized the neck, adding even greater height to the linear silhouette. The trend became so widespread that many bobbed women

[54] "Das eine zeigt eine Modegestalt aus dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, die überall die angenehmen Rundungen hat, welche durch alle Zeiten hin als der schönste Schmuck des weiblichen Geschlechts betrachtet wurden, und daneben eine Pariserin des Jahres 1925, deren Schlankheit Magerkeit und Eckigkeit nicht mehr überboten werden können." In "Die männliche Linie der Frau. Das Diktat der Pariser Mode," *Neues Wiener Journal* 33, 11.272 (8 April 1925): 6.

even referred to themselves as *Bubiköpfe*. Personal ads, for instance, often featured "elegant, pretty *Bubiköpfe*" or "a black *Bubikopf*" or "pretty, blonde *Bubiköpfe*" looking to have a good time.[55] A haircut thus came to be a matter of identification, a way for women to signal their allegiance to female masculinity and ultimately, emancipation.

Fig. 44 Angular and linear silhouettes. From "Album Blouses Nouvelles," *Wiener Blusenmodelle*, no. 89 (1924): 2. ANNO/ÖNB.

[55] See, for example, "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 16 (1926): 20-21; "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 39 (1926): 19-21.

While Steele suggests that this new silhouette "was not so much 'boyish' as *youthful*," I argue that it was both—after all, boyishness is masculine and youthful.[56] On the one hand, if corpulence was associated with the figure of the matron, then slimness was the property of the young girl—a sign of youth, "elasticity and joie-de-vivre!"[57] On the other hand, as I showed above, the linear silhouette also conformed to what was imagined to be the "normal" and youthful male body. Indeed, as an article put it, "the first step towards de-feminization [is] the slim boyish girl."[58] Fashion magazines often referred to "the masculine line [*die männliche Linie*],"[59] so that for many contemporaries, the new fashion constituted what historian Mary Louise Roberts has referred to as a "visual erasure of sexual difference."[60]

This, however, begs the question: what is masculine about the linear silhouette in the first place? If masculinity has historically been associated with mind, and femininity with body, then the lack of body in the form of the linear silhouette would also be considered masculine.[61] Moreover, as Susan Bordo explains, "as the body itself is dominantly imagined within the West as belonging to the 'nature' side of a nature/culture duality, the more body one

Fig. 45 Model with cloche hat. From *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Hauslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 19 (1925): 7. ANNO/ÖNB.

[56] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 239.
[57] "Schlankheit ist Jugend, ist Elastizität und Lebensfreude!" In Dr. med. Anne Bernfeld, "Nähre dich redlich, aber nicht schädlich!" *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 2 (1926): 17.
[58] "… die erste Stufe zur Entweiblichung, das schlanke Knabenhafte Girl." In "Der Triumph der Fülle," *Wiener Montagblatt* 22, no. 828 (5 November 1928): 4.
[59] For example, Willy Ungar, "Reiches Modenbericht," *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 16, no. 14 (6 April 1925): 8.
[60] Mary Louise Roberts, "Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (June 1993): 670.
[61] Simone de Beauvor, in particular, makes this point. See Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

has had, the more uncultured and uncivilized one has been expected to be."[62] Bodily curves, and "protuberances" such as hips and breasts, therefore represented an excess of nature and flesh, the uncivilized and uncouth.[63]

On an even more abstract level, however, the line's straightness and directionality may also be viewed as an expression of masculinity itself: as Sara Ahmed puts it, they connote being "in line" and "not deviating at any point."[64] And insofar as male masculinity is hardly a deviation, but rather, the universal reference point to which everything is compared, it is very much in line. By contrast, as a deviation from the straight line, the curved line represents woman, man's eternal Other.

Finally, linearity also represents a single focus, an emphasis on one direction over many. For French feminist Luce Irigaray, it is precisely this oneness that defines masculinity: "Let's leave *one* to [men]: their oneness, with its prerogatives, its domination, its solipsism: like the sun's."[65] Women, meanwhile, are defined by their multiplicity and fluidity: "We—you/I—are neither open nor closed. We never separate simply: a single word cannot be pronounced, produced, uttered by our mouths."[66] Given that the curved line meanders, winds, and ambles, resembling the fluid movement of an ocean wave, it references this femininity, this plurality—an idea that I discussed in relation to walking trajectories in Chapter 1. The masculine line, meanwhile, maintains its steadfast and singular focus and direction.

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[62] Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2003), 195.
[63] Alma Mahler-Werfel refers to these as "unattractive protuberances." In Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 6 July, Suite 12, 1899," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 160-161.
[64] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 16.
[65] Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One,* trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 207.
[66] Ibid., 209.

New Women/New Bodies

For Steele, "It was not so much that women's actual faces and bodies had changed significantly… but rather that, as the [female] ideal evolved, women tried to approximate it."[67] I would like to challenge this contention and suggest that women's bodies truly were changing, and that the female ideal came to approximate the reality, and not vice versa. This happened in two ways: first, due to the starvation during the First World War, and second, because of the cosmetics and fitness industries.

First, as Maureen Healy argues, Vienna's provisioning crisis on the homefront must be understood as a second war, one whose soldiers were women and children. And like the soldiers on the front, the soldiers on the homefront suffered from battle scars on their bodies: after years of food shortages and standing on queues, women's bodies were becoming weak and emaciated, and as they lost kilogram after kilogram, they grew more aware of their very particular shrunken embodiment. If "the experience of war in Vienna was not a coming together, but a falling apart," then women's bodies, too, were falling apart until all that was left was a very thin line.[68]

Second, despite the discomfort and harmful effects of physical emaciation, many women nevertheless aspired to maintain a slim silhouette after the war. The nascent cosmetics industry, and societal emphasis on physical fitness and sport, provided Viennese citizens with a plethora of products, exercises, and other self-disciplinary activities that allowed for easy weight loss management. The soft, fleshy, curvaceous body of the fin de siècle was replaced by the hard, thin, and linear body of the *Bubikopf*, a body that looked more masculine than feminine. And while this body managed to subvert gender aesthetics—not only did male masculinity seem to exist, but also female masculinity—it soon came to represent just another kind of femininity.

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[67] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 224.
[68] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 4.

I: On the Homefront: Starving Bodies

Georg Wilhelm Pabst's 1925 film, *Die freudlose Gasse* (*The Joyless Street*), based on Hugo Bettauer's novel of the same title, opens with a scene on the fictional Melchiorgasse in the VII district, Neubau, as people, mostly women, are seen queuing in front of the butcher shop, falling over from starvation, and ultimately resorting to morally ambivalent behavior to satisfy their need to eat.[69] Compared to other European capitals, Vienna's food scarcity was more severe during the First World War, with the first ration cards issued as early as April 1915, for flour and bread.[70] In 1916, the rationing of sugar, milk, coffee, and lard was introduced; in 1917, of potatoes and marmalade, and in 1918, of meat.[71] Rations also declined over the course of the war: for example, in 1916, a resident was allotted 17.1 grams (153.9 calories) of lard per day, whereas by the end of the war, the ration of lard consisted of 5.7 grams (51.3 calories).[72] Likewise, in 1916, a ration of milk equaled 1/8 liter per day, but by 1918, no residents were allotted dairy products anymore, with the exception of the "dairy privileged," such as nursing mothers.[73]

The main duty of the Viennese *Hausfrau* was to ensure that "despite shortages her family is still well-nourished."[74] In fact, "every piece of bread and every pound of flour is one piece of ammunition in the economic struggle for survival that… should help towards victory."[75] Newly published wartime cookbooks promised to help housewives make the most of their limited food

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[69] *Die freudlose Gasse*, directed by Georg Wilhelm Pabst (Berlin: Sofar-Film-Produktion, 1925). Viewed at the Filmmuseum Austria on 7 March 2015.
[70] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 43.
[71] In Paris, only two products were rationed: sugar, in 1917, and bread, in 1918. In London, ration cards were not implemented until February 1918. Finally, compared to Berlin, which was also undergoing a food crisis, Viennese rations were even smaller. See Ibid., 44.
[72] Figures taken from Table 1.2 in Ibid., 45.
[73] Ibid., 47.
[74] "… ihre Familie trotz der Knappheit noch gut ernährt." In "Kriegssparsamkeit. Wie die Hausfrau richtig spart," *Neuigkeits Welt-Blatt* 42, no. 54 (7 March 1915): 11.
[75] "Jedes Stück Brot und jedes Pfund Mehl ist ein Stück Munition im wirtschaftlichen Daseinskampf dass eine Bestimmung erfüllen, das heißt mithelfen soll zum Sieg."

supplies.[76] As an advertisement for Dr. J. Marcuse and Bernardine Wörner's *The Meatfree Kitchen* (*Die Fleischlose Küche*) put it, "every thrifty *Hausfrau* now uses" this "practical cookbook," consisting of "1400 inexpensive, healthy, and tasty vegetarian recipes."[77] Gisela Urban's cookbook, *Unsere Kriegskost* (*Our War Fare*), which was tested and approved by the K.u.K. Ministry of Interior, recommended that Viennese residents put aside two "meatless" days a week, reduce use of fats and dairy, as well as make use of different kinds of non-wheat flour, such as potato-, rice-, corn-, oat-, and tapioca flour.[78] Recipes included cabbage soup with oatmeal, yellow beat cake, noodles with potatoes, vegetable schnitzels, "war dumplings" (*Kriegsknödel*), and non-wheat flour based pastries (*Mehlspeisen*). Dumplings, noodles, potatoes, and cabbage made up a large portion of the Viennese wartime diet. "One lives off of black noodles [noodles made from coarsely ground flour], potatoes, wheat that one grinds in dumpling form, everything prepared with the smallest amount of fat," Viennese feminist Rosa Mayreder wrote in her diary in 1918.[79]

Even though the new "wartime cuisine" (*Kriegkost*) was said to be both healthy and tasty, the press often satirized its blandness. In a caricature from 1917, for instance, a housewife complains that despite using a recipe, her cabbage pie was nevertheless unsavory. In a burst of inspiration, her servant suggests that they pour chocolate over it, and make it a "war cake."[80] The message was clear: despite looking like one thing (in this case, a dessert), wartime cuisine concealed a bland—and predictable—filling (cabbage).

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[76] On cookbooks, see Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 37.
[77] "Die Fleischlose Küche," *Beiblatt der Muskete* 21, no. 527 (4 Novembuer 1915): i.
[78] Gisela Urban, *Unsere Kriegskost: 290 erprobte österreichische Kriegskochrezepte, unter Berücksichtigung der kriegswirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse und Forderung neu zusammengestellt* (Wien: Verlag der St. Stefan Wiener Verlags, 1916).
[79] "… man lebt von schwarzen Nudeln, Erdäpfeln, selbstgemahlenen Weizen in Nockerlform, alles mit einem Mindestmass von Fett zubereitet…" In Rosa Mayreder, "15. November 1918," in *Tagebücher, 1873-1937,* ed. Harriet Anderson (Frankfurt/Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 185.
[80] "Kriegskost," *Die Muskete* 13, no. 595 (22 February 1917): 164.

Fig. 46 The lady of the house exclaims, "Oh God, Oh God! But I followed the recipe to a tee, and the cabbage pie is still disgusting." The servant replies, "Doesn't matter, Madame, we'll cover it in chocolate and serve it as a war cake." From "Kriegskost," *Die Muskete* 13, no. 595 (22 February 1917): 164. ANNO/ÖNB.

But the taste and look of cabbage was only part of the problem; many Viennese residents did not have access to basic foodstuffs, including cabbage, to begin with, meaning that the very *existence* of wartime cuisine was more myth than reality. Indeed, rations, though allotted, were hardly guaranteed. Potatoes, for example, were not rationed until 1917, and yet, a year earlier, Mathilde (Tilly) Hanzel-Hübner (née Hübner) noted in her diary, "now it's the 4th week without potatoes."[81] While the import of food products to Vienna declined during the war, the population was growing, especially with the influx of refugees.[82] Thus, many Viennese residents often left the market stalls

[81] "Lauter niedrige Kleinigkeiten, die an uns fressen… z.B. daß jetzt die 4. Woche ohne Erdäpfel ist, daß Schokolade über 2 K kostet, daß der Zucker nur in kg Mengen zu haben ist." In Sammlung Frauennachlässe (hereafter SFn), Series: Mathilde Hanzel-Hübner (hereafter MHH), Box: NL I/4d/III, Letter from Mathilde Hanzel to Ottokar Hanzel, 15 March 1916.
[82] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 46.

empty handed. According to Healy, of the approximately 350,000 people waiting in 1,100 lines on a typical day in 1917, about 47,000 left without a loaf of bread,[83] often leading to food riots.[84] "There is such fat scarcity," Tilly wrote in 1916, "that people are ripping each other's clothes at the butcher's"[85]—a scene reminiscent of *Die freudlose Gasse*. Indeed, even after the war, the Viennese population was still starving. In November 1919, twenty-one-year-old Christine (or Christl) Wastl, the eldest daughter of a Viennese bourgeois *Beamten* family, wrote to her sister, Franziska (Franzi), "For us, it's not going well with food, nor with the heat and clothing, which are also limited…"[86]

As a result of growing food shortages, Viennese residents suffered from acute hunger and starvation, which often manifested itself in considerable weight loss. According to the educational film, *The Misery of Children in Vienna, 1919* (*Das Kinderelend in Wien, 1919*), children were growing thinner and shorter.[87] The film compared school children at a city elementary school in 1914 to the ones from 1919 and found that a typical eleven-year-old girl in 1914 was 38 kilograms (approx. 84 pounds) and 132 centimeters tall, whereas the typical eleven-year-old girl in 1919 was 23 kilograms (approx. 51 pounds) and 122 centimeters tall. Writing to her husband in 1917, Tilly observed that, "Since yesterday, I started to wash my entire body with lukewarm water every morning. I see that I

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[83] Ibid., 82.
[84] On food riots, see Ibid., 81-82.
[85] "Es ist solcher Fettenmangel, daß sich beim Selcher die Leute einander die Kleider zerreißen. Butter noch immer 8.8 K." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/4d/III, Letter from Mathilde Hanzel to Ottokar Hanzel, 15 March 1916.
[86] "Uns geht es mit den Lebensmitteln sehr schlecht, ebenso mit Beheizung und Beleuchtung, die auch beschränkt ist u. bedroht wird, gesperrt zu werden." In SFn, Series: Christine Wastl (hereafter CW), Box: NL 42/II, Letter from Christl Wastl to Franzi Wastl, 22 November 1919.
[87] "Das Kinderelend in Wien, 1919" in *Österreich Box, 1896-1995*, Disc 1: Das Ende der Donaumonarchie, 1896-1918, Filmarchiv Austria.

am skinny [*mager*]."[88] Rosa Mayreder also lost a considerable amount of weight during the war, in 1918 noting that, "I have lost 19 Kilos [approx. 41 pounds] in two years."[89]

With the physical body changing so dramatically in such a brief period of time, it is conceivable that women became more attuned to their embodiment. "I think that it depends on how one *feels*," Tilly insisted after noticing her weight loss, "not just how one's body looks."[90] What, then, was the embodied experience of such dramatic weight loss? What was the physical experience of acute hunger? If the symptoms of hunger are any indication, we can imagine that many people experienced increased physical weakness, fatigue, dryness of hair and skin, irritability, and delirium. In one scene in *Die freudlose Gasse*, Grete Rumfort, played by Greta Garbo, stands on a queue at the butcher's shop, wearily resting her head against a stone building, while she shuts her eyes in an attempt to get some rest. After eating only vegetable stew for days—about which her younger sister, Marianne, complains in the previous scene—Grete is visibly hungry and fatigued, carrying her body with great discomfort and effort. With the mass starvation on the homefront, Viennese women were forced to exhibit a degree of resilience, what I refer to as uninhibited intentionally in Chapter 1, part of the phenomenology of deviant femininity.

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[88] "Gestern began ich damit, mich morgens am ganzen Körper lauwarm zu waschen. Ich sehe, dass ich mager bin…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/4e/V, Letter from Mathilde Hanzel to Ottokar Hanzel, No. 65, 5 May 1917.

[89] "Vielleicht ist das eine Folge der Unterernährung; ich habe in zwei Jahren 19 Kilo abgenommen." In Mayreder, "15. November 1918," in *Tagebücher, 1873-1937,* 185.

[90] Emphasis mine. "… aber ich denke, es kommt auch darauf an, wie man sich fühlt, nicht bloss, wie man am Körper aussieht." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/4e/V, Letter from Mathilde Hanzel to Ottokar Hanzel, No. 65, 5 May 1917.

Fig. 47 Grete Rumfort looks fatigued as she stands on a queue. From *Die freudlose Gasse* (1925). Screen shot taken by author.

Moreover, although the slim silhouette had already become fashionable prior to the war, the extreme weight loss of the war years made this silhouette even more pervasive. As Viennese women lost weight, their faces became narrower, their limbs, more angular, their hair, thinner—physical attributes that, ultimately, mirrored the slim figure of Poiret's very particular prewar designs. If anything, the war simply took Poiret's figure to the logical conclusion, making her even slimmer than she was before. And similarly, it is possible that fashion designers took note. Thus, even though causality must be treated with skepticism, it is nevertheless important to consider the parallels that emerged between women on the ground and their representations on the pages of fashion magazines.

Ultimately, I argue that the First World War was less of a turning point for women and more of a catalyst.[91] As I discussed in the Introduction, what the war did was accelerat*e* changes that had already been taking place earlier in the century—in this case, the slimming of women's silhouettes—so that the interwar period must be understood as a continuation of the fin de siècle. By the same token, if the fin de siècle sex worker was the ur-new woman, then the 1920s *Bubikopf* was her later incarnation. What perhaps most distinguished the fin de siècle sex worker from her 1920s

[91] Mary Louise Roberts makes this point, as well, with regard to France. See Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

counterpart was that she was far more feared; by contrast, the interwar *Bubikopf*, though still reviled in some circles, also came to be normalized (see Chapter 2), at least, until the end of the decade when a new kind of new woman appeared, the subject of the Conclusion to this dissertation.

II: The Beauty Industry: Slim Bodies

In March 1902, the feminist newspaper, *Dokumente der Frauen*, ran a report on the negative effects of the corset on the body. According to Dr. C. Breus, "The breasts and individual organs can be deformed as a result [of wearing a corset], [and] breathing, blood circulation, and digestion suffer."[92] As a result, gynecologist Friedrich Schauta explained that women's "poor capacity in regard to the physical can be largely traced back to the premature 'armouring' [*Umpanzerung*] of her respiratory and circulations organs."[93] Going without a corset, then, provided women with the ability to breathe deeply, eat regularly, and move freely, as well as feel comfortable (the experience of *Bequemlichkeit* in clothing had already been introduced to women via spa and travel clothing because "in the season of big trips and mountain excursions, women have it more than necessary to wear comfortable clothes and faultless corsets in order to preserve easy comfort and graceful elasticity of forms."[94]). And yet, I do not view the shift to a less constricting style of dress and thinness as incontrovertibly liberating; rather, it involved a shift in disciplinary practices. As Steele argues: "the change from the admiration for the ample, mature body to that of the slim, young, active body

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92 "Der Brustkorb und einzelne Organe können dadurch deformiert werden, Athmung, Blutcirculation und Verdauung leiden darunter." In Dr. Breus, "Gutachten von Ärzten über das Miedertragen," *Dokumente der Frauen* 6, no. 23 (1 March 1902): 668.

93 "… mangelhafte Leistungsfähigkeit in körperlicher Hinsicht zum grossen Theil auf die frühzeitige Umpanzerung ihrer Respirations- und Circulationsorgane zurückführen ist." In Dr. Friedrich Schauta,"Gutachten von Ärzten über das Miedertragen," *Dokumente der Frauen* 6, no. 23 (1 March 1902): 675.

94 "In der Saison der großen Reisen und Gebirgsausflüge haben es die Damen mehr als je notwendig, bequeme Kleider und tadellose Corsets zu tragen, um leichte Beweglichkeit und graziöse Elastizität der Formen zu bewahren." In *Wiener Salonblatt* 23, no. 37 (11 September 1892): 8.

meant partly that the corset was internalized in the form of dieting, while the need to look young fed the growing beauty industry."[95]

To be sure, despite the starvation that had taken place during the war, by the early to mid 1920s, corpulence was no longer deemed beautiful; rather, it was "a lurking enemy that threatens every woman."[96] One article in the Viennese weekly, *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt*, identified 1923 as the start of the slimness obsession, perhaps because the date marked the end of wartime food shortages: "the entire being and striving of ladies… is focused on the very slim, narrow, straight line."[97] Hence, "a plump face, voluptuous breasts, a solid tummy, too wide hips with respectable girth… that is the nightmare, equally feared by the teenage girl [*Backfisch*] as well as the grandmother…"[98] According to physician Dr. Anne Bernfeld, fatness was, quite simply, "unmodern."[99] To be sure, in the context of modern industrialization, in which rationalizing the body to increase efficiency was key, corpulence was modernity's antithesis.[100] For the new woman—the *modern* woman—achieving and maintaining a "slim line" was thus central to her very identity. Through slimness, she was able to model the modernity that she stood for; her politics were thus written on her body.

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[95] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 241.
[96] "… ein lauernder Feind der jede Frau bedroht." In "Diagonal-Doppelroller," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 45 (1926): 0, 19.
[97] "… das ganze Sinnen und Trachten der Damenwelt—und in letzter Zeit auch der Herrenwelt—ist auf die überschlanke, schmale, gerade Linie gerichtet." In "Lebensgefährliche Abmagerunskuren. Vom Schlachtfeld der schlanken Linie," *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 19, no. 35 (27 August 1928): 5.
[98] "Ein molliges Gesicht, ein üppiger Busen, ein solides Baüchlein, zu breite Hüften mit respektablem Umfang nach allen Weltrichtungen: das ist das Schreckgespenst, in gleicher Weise gefürchtet vom Backfisch wie von der Großmutter." In "Lebensgefährliche Abmagerungskuren. Vom Schlachtfeld der schlanken Linie," *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 19, no. 35 (27 August 1928): 5.
[99] "Dicksein ist unmodern!" In Dr. med. Anne Bernfeld, "Nähre dich redlich, aber nicht schädlich!" *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 2 (1926): 17.
[100] On the rationalization of the body to increase efficiency and labor power, see Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

As a result, "all curves are painstakingly monitored [*überwacht*]."[101] The word *überwachen* is revealing because it gestures towards the self-disciplinary aspect of maintaining a slim silhouette. "Even the thinnest [woman] is not safe from [the threat of corpulence] and must [take preventative measures]."[102] In fact, it was precisely because slimness required disciplinarity, that it was considered to be even more masculine. As historian Annelie Ramsbrock notes, "Since producing a slender figure usually demanded of women a high degree of discipline and motivation, its attainment betokened rational behavior and mental firmness. Corpulence, by contrast, was thought to reveal insufficient rationality and self-control."[103] Insofar as reason has historically been gendered masculine, the rational disciplining of the body can thus be understood as a masculine act. Moreover, as Susan Bordo observes, the lean and firm body is related to the contained body: "the ideal here is of a body that is absolutely tight, contained, 'bolted down,' firm: in other words, a body that is protected against eruption from within, whose internal processes are under control."[104] Especially given the discursive association between woman, body, and nature, the excess of body in the form of flab can be read as unruly nature threatening to destabilize the very foundation of rational civilization. But even more generally, excess connotes rampant desire and the lack of willpower—in short, the violent assault of femininity on reason.

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[101] "… alle Rundungen werden peinlich überwacht."
[102] "Auch die Schlankste ist vor ihm nicht sicher und muß vorbeugen." In "Diagonal-Doppelroller," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 45 (1926): 0, 19.
[103] Annelie Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty: Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750-1930*, trans. David Burnett (Washington D.C.: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 124.
[104] Bordo, *Unbearable Weight*, 190.

Fig. 48 Diagonal-Doppelroller Advertisement. From "Diagonal-Doppelroller," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 45 (1926): 19.

Dieting was perhaps the most straightforward disciplinary act to achieve weight loss. Given the mass starvation on the homefront during the First World War, many physicians advised women to pursue "healthier" forms of weight loss. "Starvation! That is helps, we learned during the war, but [we] also experienced the terrible results of undernourishment."[105] In addition to cutting back on "desserts, sweet baked goods, sweets, fatty meals and so on,"[106] experts recommended everything from the increased consumption of fruit and boiled vegetables (with only a dollop of melted butter

[105] "Hungern! Dass es hilft, haben wir im Krieg erfahren, aber auch die schlimmen Folgen der Unterernährung erlebt." In "Schlank," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 8 (1925): 1

[106] "Mehlspeisen, süßes Gebäck, Zucker, fettreiche Speisen und so weiter…" In "Lebensgefährliche Abmagerunskuren. Vom Schlachtfeld der schlanken Linie," *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 19, no. 35 (27 August 1928): 5.

and breadcrumbs) to milk-based diets to meals consisting of raw carrots.[107] One doctor prescribed, "only tea with dry Zwieback, lean, juice-free and fat-free meat and a bit of boiled vegetables."[108] A number of sanatoriums offered weight loss by means of monitored dieting programs (*Abmagerungskuren*) that spanned several weeks.[109] Nevertheless, some women took part in "deadly" diets despite warnings from experts.[110] As the women's newspaper, *Die Unzufriedene*, pointed out, the irony was that "despite there being enough food, shop windows full of the most delightful things that are just waiting to be bought and eaten," women were still starving.[111]

In addition, disciplined body work over a sustained period of time was also considered crucial to any weight loss program. This included regular body massages with devices such as the "Diagonal-Doppelroller," which promised to increase blood circulation and reduce fat. Sold at M.E. Mayer in Vienna's I district, its advertisement featured three women standing over the logo in high heels and short-shorts attentively massaging their thighs, stomach, and buttocks. Resembling a rolling pin, the double roller was particularly easy to use for women who had much experience rolling dough and making cookies in their kitchens. Not only did the product establish a discursive link between cooking and cosmetics, but even further, woman's skin seemed to become an extension of cookie dough: with enough massaging, the skin could be rolled into something firm, compact, and contained.

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[107] "Mohrrüben machen schlank!" *Der Filmbote. Zeitschrift für alle Zweige der Kinematographie* 9, no. 33 (14 August 1926): 22.
[108] "Nur Tee mit trockenem Zwieback, mageres, saft- und fettloses Fleisch und etwas wassergekochtes Gemüse." In Luise Kernbichler, "Hungernde Frauen," *Die Unzufriedene* 4, no. 51 (18 December 1926): 3.
[109] Hau, 14. On *Kurorts* in Central Europe, see Jill Steward, "The spa towns of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the growth of tourist culture: 1860-1914," in *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Urban Cultural Life in the Mirror of Art, Health and Tourism*, eds. P. Borsay, G. Hirschfelder, R.-E. Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 87-126; Susan Anderson and Bruce Tabb, eds., *Water, Leisure, and Culture: European Historical Perspectives* (New York: Berg, 2002); Alison F. Frank, "The Air Cure Town: Commodifying Mountain Air in Alpine Central Europe," *Central European History* 45, no. 2 (June 2012): 185-207.
[110] "Lebensgefährliche Abmagerunskuren. Vom Schlachtfeld der schlanken Linie," *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 19, no. 35 (27 August 1928): 5.
[111] "… trotzdem es Lebensmittel genug gibt, die Geschäftsauslagen voll der herrlichsten Dinge sind, die nur darauf warten, gekauft und verspeist zu werden." In Luise Kernbichler, "Hungernde Frauen," *Die Unzufriedene* 4, no. 51 (18 December 1926): 3.

If softness was related to the curvaceous body, then firmness corresponded to the line. Hence, gymnastics and physical exercises—both part and parcel to what Erik N. Jensen terms the "somatic revolution," and which I briefly touched on at the end of Chapter 1—touted having not only slimming, but also firming effects.[112] Through vigorous discipline and athleticism, one could achieve "a leaner, more muscular body composed not of fat but of 'firm healthy flesh'."[113] According to one physician, Dr. Zenthner, droopy breasts and hanging bellies in a woman were a result of sitting "crouched over books, needlework, over the drawing board or type writer, over the piano or the ledger," and could only be combatted with movement.[114] Zenthner thus developed sixteen barre exercise whose purpose it was to strengthen and firm arms, back, breasts, stomach, and legs. After a gymnastics session, she advised women to take showers, get a rub down with gel in order to make the skin firmer and "elastic," and then take a nap. By 1925, there were around 1,050 sports clubs in Austria, with approximately 80,000 members regularly engaging in physical sports, such as gymnastics, fencing, hand ball, hockey, track and field athletics, and bicycling.[115] Women were especially encouraged to join; in 1925, for example, the Austrian National Association of Body Sports (*Österreichischer Hauptverband für Körpersport*) organized a women's sports festival, in which 600 women participated and performed various sporting exercises. Austrian writer, Vicki Baum,

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[112] Erik N. Jensen, *Body By Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[113] Hau, 14.

[114] Aber dann, gerade wenn der Körper sich zu entwickeln beginnt, müssen unsere Mädchen über Bücher, Handarbeiten, über das Zeichenbrett oder die Schreibmaschine, über das Klavier oder Geschäftsbücher gebückt sitzen, und es ist slebstverständlich, daß sich der Rücken krümmt, die Schulterblätter herausgedrängt werden, die Brust aber eingeengt wird. Dadurch wird die Brust- und Bauchhaut zu weit, die Muskulatur schlaff und so entstehen Hängebrüste und Hängebäuche." In Truida, "Wie werde ich wieder jung und schön?" *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 22 (9 October 1924).

[115] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (hereafter OeStA), Allgemein Verwaltungsarchiv (hereafter AVA), Unterrichts Ministerium (hereafter UM), Series: Körpersport, 1924-1927, Box: 142, "Hauptverband für Körpersport: Tätigkeitsbericht," 1925.

observed, "Muscles are desired on us, [whereas] flab is pityingly laughed at."[116]

Fig. 49 Barre exercises to firm up the body. From Truida, "Wie werde ich wieder jung und schön?" *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 22 (9 October 1924).

Jensen argues that "a confident athleticism stood at the center of new women's self-presentation."[117] Nineteen-year-old new woman, Lilli Weber-Wehle, kept a "Sunday Diary" (*Sonntagsbuch*), bound in a dark green fabric with cherries and flowers printed on it, in which she documented her athleticism, such as Sunday hikes and excursions. At the Hohe Wand, she described "clambering up a gigantic boulder to prove [her] heroism."[118] "As a young, healthy, and joyful" woman, she was eager to "put [her] strength to the test and climb and clamber."[119] On the Rax mountain, Lilli watched as her husband "groaned and moaned" while she "already clamber[ed] up

116 "Muskeln sind an uns erwünscht, Speckansätze werden mitleidig belächelt." In Vicki Baum, "Die Mütter von morgen—die Backfische von heute," in *Bubikopf: Aufbruch in den Zwanzigern: Texte von Frauen*, ed. Anna Rheinsberg (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1988), 31-35.
117 Jensen, 8. On the self-disciplining of "docile bodies," see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135-169.
118 "Ich kraxle auf einen riesiegen Steinblock um meine Heldenhaftigkeit zu beweisen!" In SFn, Series: Lilli Weber-Wehle (hereafter LWW), Box: NL 21/13, Sonntagsbuch, "Die Hohe Wand," 19 Oktober 1913.
118 Healy, 46.
119 "Aber wir wollen es ja gar nicht bequem haben, wir wollen unsere Kraft erproben und klettern und kraxeln, denn wir sind jung, gesund und lustig." In SFn, LWW, Box: NL 21/13, Sonntagsbuch, "Die Rax," 31 Oktober 1913.

ahead [of him]."[120] "For me, it's no different from the ladder climbing [*Leitersteigen*] during gym class. Right foot, right hand, left foot, left hand…"

By the mid-1920s, it seemed that "today more than ever, the maintenance and care of the body occupies the thoughts of [most] people."[121] A newspaper article insisted that, for modern women, especially, "physical and spiritual health have become a lot more important than for women during the prewar period."[122] Precisely because the war years "fatigued the body" and affected the nerves, women's exercise was seen as a means to revitalize the body after the war. "The goal," according to the *Hauptverband für Körpersport*, was to cultivate "the body as a cultural treasure [*Kulturfaktor*] of high value."[123]

According to feminist philosopher, Sandra Lee Bartky, the discourse that regulates body size is part of the "fashion beauty complex," an internalized panopticon that produces and maintains the docility of women's bodies.[124] Arguably, interwar Vienna's slimness obsession was part and parcel to this fashion beauty complex, with women engaging in new disciplinary practices ranging from diet to body work to athletics. And yet, like all self-policing subjects, the *Bubiköpfe* possessed a false-consciousness: by framing slimness in terms of liberation, Viennese women—and contemporaries—convinced themselves that the linear silhouette truly was evidence of emancipation. Despite abandoning the corset, choosing their own diets, and doing exercises in the nude and the great

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120 "Dem Burschi grauts. Er achzt und stöhnt. Aber ich kraxle schon voraus. Mir ists nicht anders als das Leitersteigen in der Turnstunde. Rechter Fuss, rechte Hand, linker Fuss, linke Hand…" In SFn, LWW, Box: NL 21/13, Sonntagsbuch, "Die Rax," 31 Oktober 1913.
121 "… die Erhaltung and Pflege des Körpers beschäftigt heute mehr als je die Gedanken der Menschen." In "Die Jugend des Körpers," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 16 (1925): 4.
122 "Körperliche und geistige Gesundheit sind unseren modernen Frauen noch viel notwendiger geworden als den Frauen der Vorkriegszeit." In "Gymnastische Uebungen für Frauen und Mädchen," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 31, no. 3 (1925): 1-2.
123 "Das Ziel… liegt darin, der Pflege der Leibesübungen als einen Kulturfaktor von hohem Werte Geltung zu verschaffen." In OeStA, AVA, UM, Series: Körpersport, 1924-1927, Box: 142, "Hauptverband für Körpersport: Tätigkeitsbericht," 1925.
124 Sandra Lee Bartky, *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

outdoors, women's bodies were nevertheless subject to a variety of disciplinary practices. Ultimately, female masculinity was not laden with the same power as male masculinity.

Coda: "A petite, modern silhouette"

For many fin de siècle contemporaries, a masculine-presenting person was seen as being necessarily attracted to a feminine-presenting person; by the same token, a feminine-presenting person would necessarily be attracted to a masculine-presenting person. Thus, in popular culture, the figure of the "masculine" New Woman was often portrayed as partnered to a deferential and meek—in short, effeminate—husband: "a strong man, for example, becomes weak by her side, but a weaker man becomes even weaker next to her."[125] "She says to him, 'Hold your tongue!' smokes his cigars, and drinks his good schnapps. [If] she is in the mood for tenderness, she grabs him by the collar and he must want [it], whether he wants [it] or not."[126] Alternatively, the New Woman was often described as cultivating relationships with a more feminine woman.[127]

According to Weininger, the reason for this was biological: sexual organs and cells not only determined how an individual would look and act, but also whom they would desire. Thus, he not only grounded gender in physical sex, but also connected it to sexual desire. The law of attraction was such that, "For true sexual union it is necessary that there come together a complete male (M) and a complete female (F), even although in different cases the M and F are distributed between the

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125 "Interessant ist ihr psychologischer Einfluß auf das andere Geschlecht. Ein starker Mann zum Beispiel wird an ihrer Seite schwach, aber ein schwacher Mann wird neben ihr noch schwächer."
126 "Sie sagt ihm: 'Halt's Maul!' raucht ihm seine Zigarren und trinkt ihm seinen Schnaps weg. Hat sie Anwandlungen von Zärtlichkeit, so packt sie ihn beim Kragen und er muß dann wollen, ob er will oder nicht." In Luzifer, "Frauen. Eine naturgeschichtliche Studie," *Figaro* 52, no. 15 (11 April 1908): 8.
127 Though how contemporaries would categorize these more feminine women is unclear. This is ultimately tied to femme invisibility in historical scholarship. For a discussion of this issue, see Lauren Gutterman, ed., "Femme Histories Roundtable – Part I," *NOTCHES: (re)marks on the history of sexuality* (16 February 2017), http://notchesblog.com/2017/02/16/femme-histories-roundtable-part-i/; Lauren Gutterman, ed., "Femme Histories Roundtable – Part II," *NOTCHES: (re)marks on the history of sexuality* (23 February 2017), http://notchesblog.com/2017/02/23/femme-histories-roundtable-part-ii/.

two individuals in different proportions."[128] For example, if an individual was ¾ male and ¼ female, then their sexual companion would be a person that was ¼ male and ¾ female.[129] Curiously, homosexual inclinations did not exist for Weininger because a same-sex partnership was still based on the heterosexual attraction of male and female elements.[130] In this way, he subscribed to a worldview grounded in what Adrienne Rich terms compulsory heterosexuality.[131]

Weininger's idea that gender determines sexual desire had already been articulated several years earlier. In *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), Richard von Krafft-Ebing argued that same-sex attraction was related to an "inverted" gender identity, so that sexual desire was inextricably linked to gender performance. Thus, an invert was a woman who not only looked and behaved like a man, but also desired women.[132] According to Krafft-Ebing, female gender inversion existed on a continuum, from least to most degenerate: first, the reversal of a woman's sexual feelings toward another woman; second, defemination, or the appearance of "masculine" psychic characteristics in a woman; third, transitory sexual metamorphosis, or the emergence of the physical sensation of masculinity in a woman; and fourth, sexually paranoic metamorphosis, the "delusion" of belonging to the opposite sex.[133] What is worth noting is that in all of these cases, the female is, in fact, wholly female (hence, in the fourth stage, she is considered "delusional" for thinking she belongs to the opposite sex)—a radical departure from Weininger's more nuanced—but also more heterosexual—view.

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128 Weininger, *Sex & Character, 6. Edition*, 29.
129 Example given in Ibid., 30.
130 It is unclear what Weininger would have made of a partnership between two equally womanly women. He may have argued that such an attraction was impossible.
131 Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Blood, Bread, and Poetry* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1994), 23-75.
132 Krafft-Ebing differentiated between congenital and acquired inversion types.
133 This same schema could also be applied to male inverts. See Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Pscyhiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 48.

Interestingly, writing about female sexuality several decades after Krafft-Ebing and Weininger, Sigmund Freud still viewed gender as determining desire. A masculine woman was a homosexual woman with unresolved penis envy, preventing her from embracing her "natural" femininity and heterosexuality. For Freud, then, female masculinity and homosexuality were not degenerate, but rather, products of stunted psychosexual development.[134]

The *Bubikopf* was radical for having a petite, modern silhouette: a female body that conformed to a masculine "line." But what made her even more subversive was her sexuality: despite her masculine appearance, she often desired men. In other words, female masculinity did not occlude the possibility for heterosexual desire, as thinkers such as Weininger and Krafft-Ebing believed. Even further, as women appeared more linear, they seemed to become *more actively* straight—or heterosexual—as well. I would like to suggest that it was precisely because women's bodies started looking more "masculine" that heterosexuality became another way for women to demonstrate their femininity.[135] In the next chapter, I will explore how new womanhood, especially within marriage, came to be articulated through a full-fledged and active heterosexuality. Despite looking "masculine," Vienna's new women insisted that they were women, through and through.

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[134] See Sigmund Freud, "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes" [1925], "Female Sexuality" [1932] "Femininity" [1933], *Freud on Women: A Reader*, ed. Elisabeth Young-Bruehl (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990).

[135] I am indebted to George Chauncey's *Gay New York* for helping me formulate this argument. As Chauncey puts it, "Heterosexuality became even more important to middle-class men because it provided them with a new, more positive way to demonstrate their manhood." I think a similar thing occurred for women in 1920s Vienna; to reframe Chauncey's idea, heterosexuality became more important to new women because it provided them with a new way to perform their femininity, lest they be categorized as queer. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 116-117.

CHAPTER 4

"A strange new tenderness": Free Loving Romantics

"As a 24-year-old married woman, I still madly long for the romantic hero of my girlish dreams," Hilde R. wrote in her letter to *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, a sex reform newspaper, in 1926.[1] "Our marriage is so cold," she continued, "that when I look more closely, [I notice] that my heart is frozen. No tenderness, no passion!"[2] For this reason, Hilde R. turned to romance novels to find solace. "I devour Courths-Mahler novels,[3] imagine myself to be the heroine."[4]

Fig. 50 A woman daydreaming with a cigarette and a novel: "And this is what my brother reads in secret?" From "Darüber hinaus," *Die Muskete* 1, no. 24 (15 March 1906): 192. AustriaN Newspapers Onlines (hereafter ANNO), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

[1] "Als 24jährige verheiratete Frau sehne ich mich noch wahnsinnig nach dem Romanhelden meiner Mädchenträume." In Hilde R., "Courths-Mahler," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 17 (1926): 17.
[2] "Unsere Ehe ist kalt, dass mir bei näherer Betrachtung das Herz gefriert. Keine Zärtlichkeit, keine Leidenschaft!"
[3] Hedwig Courths-Mahler (1867-1950) published over two hundred romance novels, with titles ranging from, *Die wilde Ursula* (1912), *Die ungeliebte Frau* (1918), *Die Flucht vor der Ehe* (1934).
[4] "Ich verschlinge Courths-Mahler Romane, träume mich an Stelle der Heldin…"

Hilde R. was not the only woman dreaming of romance in interwar Vienna. "There is a real hunger for happiness in me," a woman wrote in 1924, "and it would be so easy to satisfy with loving, kind words. Why does my husband not have them for me?"[5] Another married woman, Thilde, asked, "Does love end when one is married?"[6] Her husband "surely also loves me very much, but in his own way, and it is poor in tenderness, for which I truly long."[7] "Sometimes I am truly jealous of our child," Thilde admitted, "when he heaps it with tenderness."[8]

While many women longed to be the romantic heroines of their own lives, others chose to become them, igniting their cold marriages with passion and tenderness. As I discussed in Chapter 2, with the popularization of silent film, more women became adept at expressing emotions through the body. Notably, film actors exposed women to the gestural language of love as they mimed a lover's "look, filled with tenderness or longing—the trembling of a mouth in restrained movement—the melody of soft and timid gestures," culminating in a deeply sensual kiss.[9] In this chapter, I would like to expand this argument by suggesting that the marriage and sex reform movements also played an important role in this project. I argue that as the Vienna's new women became fluent in the gestures of emotions, they also became invested in

Fig. 51"The Ideal Kiss" at the movies. From "Der ideale Kuß," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 6 (1927).

[5] "In mir ist ein wahrer Glückshunger und er wäre so leicht zu stillen, mit lieben, guten Worten. Warum hat mein Mann sie nicht für mich?" In "Der schlechte Ehemann," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 2 (22 May 1924): 13.
[6] "Oder hört die Liebe auf, wenn man verheiratet ist?" In Thilde, "Der 'Gott'," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 29 (1925): 22.
[7] "… er liebt mich ganz bestimmt auch sehr, aber auf seine Art, und die ist arm an Zärtlichkeiten, nach denen ich mich so sehne."
[8] "Manchmal bin ich wahrhaft auf das Kind eifersüchtig, wenn er es mit Zärtlichkeit überschüttet…"
[9] "… ein Blick, beladen mit Zärtlichkeit oder Sehnsucht—das Zittern eines Mundes in verhaltener Bewegung—die Melodie sanfter und scheuer Gesten…" In Kete Wilheim, "Liebe ohne Worte," *Mein Film,* no. 77 (1927): 7-8.

expressing, making, and receiving love. Even further, as I hinted in Chapter 3, as *Bubiköpfe* became more visibly masculine with their bobbed hair and linear silhouettes, active heterosexuality became an important means to assert their new womanhood.

This chapter will contribute to existing literature on the marriage and sex reform movements, in particular Britta McEwen's book on sexual knowledge in Vienna, by focusing on women themselves, and how they articulated and experienced marital love over time.[10] After providing a brief sketch of the late nineteenth century idea of free love, I will draw on Viennese women's diaries and letters to consider how fin de siècle Catholic bourgeois culture fostered a mind-body dualism that cast love as separate from lust. An ideal marriage maintained this separation, privileging holy love, while condemning lust. Next, I will examine how the marriage and sex reform movements, which fundamentally overlapped, recast marriage as a romantic institution in which love and lust became intertwined. In fact, I will show that by rethinking the erotic as an extension, that is to say, as an expression of love, romance became morally acceptable so that bourgeois marriage, and not the brothel, became the site of non-reproductive sex and pleasure. I will therefore argue that marriage itself changed into an institution that was more heterosexual and monogamous than before. Finally, using divorce proceedings from the late 1920s, I will show how Viennese women no longer just pined after romantic love in their marriages; they demanded it. No longer was sensuality the property of the women of the night; it became a fixture of new womanhood.

[10] Britta McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900-1934* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

Free Love: (New) Women's Right to Love

On 30 September 1895, socialist feminist Adelheid Popp sat on trial for publishing an article in the *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung* that was said to disparage (*herabwürdigen*) the institution of marriage.[11] The article in question, "Woman and Property," discussed the necessity for women to be self-sufficient with or without a husband, and insisted on the importance of "free love" (*freie Liebe*), the idea that a heterosexual couple should be free to marry out of love. Only through self-sufficiency, could both parties follow their hearts and freely enter a marital union that was based on true love. At the root of the concept of free love was an effort to reform marital love into a romantic institution, "without force" and based on "inner conviction," as opposed to obligation and necessity.[12]

It was precisely this idea of free love that was scrutinized at the trial. The prosecutor accused the article of portraying the institution of marriage as "something unnatural and preaches that people should turn away from marriage and that they should even go out with several men."[13] Popp denied the charge, maintaining that the article did not challenge the institution of marriage per se, but rather "every marriage that is not based in personal affection; every marriage that… is entered into only out of egotistical reasons and for the woman, because she will not get on well by herself and therefore is dependent on it."[14] For the court, free love connoted freedom from marital obligations, and called to mind anarchy, polygamy, and immorality; for Popp, it implied freedom to choose marital love, which brought with it greater stability, monogamy, and morality.

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[11] *Freie Liebe und bürgerliche Ehe. Schwurgerichtsverhandlung gegen die Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung durchgeführt bei dem k.k. Landes- und Schwurgerichte in Wien am 30. September 1895* (Wien: Verlag der Ersten Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1895).

[12] As quoted by Adelheid Popp in *Freie Liebe und bürgerliche Ehe*, 8.

[13] "…etwas Naturwidriges und predigt den Leuten, daß sie sich von der Ehe abwenden sollen, dass sie sogar sich mit mehreren Männern abgeben sollen." As quoted by Staatsanwalt in Ibid., 10.

[14] "…jene Ehe, welche nicht der persönlichen Zuneigung entstammt; jene Ehe, welche… nur aus egoistischen Motiven und von der Frau häufig nur deshalb geschlossen wird, weil sie alleinstehend nicht ihr Fortkommen findet und darauf angewiesen ist." As quoted by Adelheid Popp in Ibid., 6.

Fig. 52 The court's definition of free love: "What have you decided on, Emmy? Marriage or Free Love?" - "First marriage - then free love." From "Kompromiß," *Wiener Caricaturen* XXXI, no. 24, (11 June 1911): 3. ANNO/ÖNB.

The idea of free love had originally appeared half a century earlier in 1830s Paris, when Saint-Simonian and Fourierist groups demanded that men and women only enter into partnerships based on "sexual or emotional inclination" rather than socio-economic pressure or necessity.[15] The goal was to shift authority over the marriage from the church and state to the couple, so that entering and exiting a union could be done freely by the partners and without a third party. For utopian movements, this kind of independence was necessary and part of the goal of societal regeneration.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of free love reappeared within Central Europe's radical women's movement. Established in 1893, the General Austrian Women's Association (*Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein*, AÖF) was committed to a feminist politics centered on free love. "The women's movement," the AÖF declared in 1897, "is the bearer of new moral ideals, and it expects women's entry into public life to bring the moral regeneration of

[15] Karen Offen, *European Feminisms: 1700-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 99.

civilized humanity."[16] Thus, while the more conservative League of Austrian Women's Associations (*Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine,* BÖF) argued that prostitution could only be abolished if men became more sexually disciplined, Auguste Fickert's AÖF feminists maintained that the solution lay in a more liberal and sexually free society. Thus, when the city government planned to introduce legal brothels in 1892, the AÖF sent a petition in protest, insisting that prostitution was the result of social and moral restrictions on premarital sex and that the only way to combat prostitution was to allow women and men to live together before marriage—in short, to cultivate a society in which free love was not only possible, but actively encouraged.[17]

Similarly, Helene Stöcker's League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform (*Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform*), established in the German Reich in 1904 and in Austria in 1907, advocated for free love as part of its feminist New Ethics.[18] According to Stöcker, "the modern woman," was "born to love with every fiber of her being, with mind, heart, and sense, with every nerve," and it was precisely this quality that made her free.[19] Despite looking masculine (Chapter 3), the modern woman did not strive to be like men; she was committed to being different from them, and as such, take part in a "higher" ethics that would revolutionize society. "Above all," Stöcker wrote in 1901, "we must be grateful to [Nietzsche] for replacing the old life-denying ascetic morality of the Church Fathers, who saw in sexual love something sinful and in women something lowly and impure, with his proved, life-affirming morality, which frees human beings from its guilty conscience and sanctifies their love."[20] The modern woman thus asserted her personhood, her very

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[16] AÖF (1897), as quoted in Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin de siècle Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 10.
[17] Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 33.
[18] Tracie Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject: Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe, 1890-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 69.
[19] Helene Stöcker, "Die modern Frau," *Die Liebe und die Frauen* (1906), as quoted in Ibid., 69.
[20] Helene Stöcker as quoted in Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933* (Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1976), 119.

womanhood, not through reason—which was based on "masculine subjective opinion"—but through actively loving another.[21] New womanhood, I argue, was thus tied to a vibrant, full-fledged (hetero)sexuality.

For social democrats such as Popp committed to creating a new "socialized humanity," the free love idea resonated.[22] Although they did not take a Nietzschean approach in their political project, they were also vocal in their commitment to revolution, and tearing down bourgeois culture—and its marriage—along with it.[23] For example, sex reformer Johann Ferch, whom we will meet later in this chapter, argued that free love was related to "break[ing] free from the slavish chains of bourgeois marriage,"[24] and thus "tied to the victory of the proletariat" over bourgeois morality.[25] Helene Bauer promised that socialist marriage would take the place of bourgeois marriage as "an erotic-comradely relationship of equals."[26]

For advocates of free love, the Austrian marriage law, which declared the insolubility of Catholic marriages until death (§111),[27] was an obstacle to love, and by extension, a barrier to women's assertion of personhood.[28] Catholics were limited to separation *a thoro et mensa* (*Trennung von*

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21 Helene Stöcker, "Männer-oder Frauenkult?" *Illustriertes Familienblat. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* no. 8 (1913): 85-86.
22 Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927-1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
23 For a discussion of the influence of Nietzschean ideas on Central European feminists, see Carol Diethe, *Nietzsche's Women: Beyond the Whip* (New York: de Gruyter, 1996).
24 "Die bürgerliche Ehe ist die Vereinigung der Geschlechter, deren Bund vollständig durchtränkt ist von den Moralwerten der herrschenden Gesellschaftsordnung und überwiegend wirtschaftlich günstiger begründet ist. Die Abreiterehe ist die Vereinigung der Geschlechter der abreitenden Klasse auf dem geistigen Boden einer Weltanschauung… Die Arbeiterehe had die Sklavenfesseln der bürgerlichen Ehe gesprengt…" In Johann Ferch, *Liebe und Ehe in der arbeitenden Klasse* (Oranienburg: Orania-Verlag, 1913), 12.
25 Ibid., 22.
26 Helene Bauer, "Ehe und soziale Schichtung," *Der Kampf* 20, no. 7 (July 1927): 319-32. As quoted in Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 150.
27 E. Tilsch, "Austrian Divorce Law," *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* 12, no. 1 (1911): 44-51.
28 Ten years after Popp's trial, a public investigative society, the *Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft*, held a symposium on the question of marriage reform, which many participants declared was a women's issue. See *Mitteilungen der Kulturpolitischen Gesellschaft: Protokolle der Enquete betreffend die Reform des österreichischen Eherechts (vom 27. Jänner bis 24. Februar 1905) unter dem Vorsitze des Hofrat Dr. Karl von Pelser-Fürnberg* (Wien: Verlag Kulturpolitische

Tisch und Bett), which gave a married couple legal permission to live separately, but not remarry. As Stöcker put it, "With what right does one want to prevent these women, if they are healthy and full of life [*lebensfrisch*], from taking part in the joys of love. Does not every human child have a right to love and happiness?" She continued, "Is not a free union based on fidelity and love morally superior to one that is legally bound and only held together due to force and fear of the public?"[29] The right to divorce, then, was not based on an anarchic worldview in which heterosexual marriage would decline, as some critics seemed to suggest; rather, I argue that it came from an ethical impulse to *improve* the state of affairs by basing marital unions—and heterosexuality, more generally—on true love.

In *Reforming the Moral Subject*, historian Tracie Matysik argues that by the early twentieth century, Central Europe became the site of a multi-vocal and multi-faceted ethics reform movement, which was grounded in the belief that "private" issues such as sexuality could revitalize humanity. Free love was grounded in this new faith in sexuality. Far from viewing this historic moment as symptomatic of a "sexual crisis," ethics reform interlocutors—whether intellectuals, feminists, socialists, or social reformers—believed it to be generative and transformative. There was a "productivity [in] that instability," Matysik argues.[30] In the following pages, I will draw on Matysik's argument to explore how the alleged "crisis" of bourgeois marriage produced the romantic marriage, in which Vienna's new women articulated their full-fledged humanity by loving and being loved "with every fiber of their being.

Gesellschaft, 1905). For an analysis of this symposium, see John W. Boyer, "Freud, Marriage, and Late Viennese Liberalism: A Commentary from 1905," *The Journal of Modern History* 50, no. 1 (March 1978): 72-102.

[29] "Mit welchem Rechte wolle man diesen Frauen, wenn sie gesund und lebensfrisch sind, verwehren, an den Freuden der Liebe teilzunehmen. Habe nicht jedes Menschenkind ein Recht auf Liebe und Freude? Sei nicht eine auf Treue und Liebe gegründete freie Verbindung moralischer als eine gesetzlich geschlossene, die nur den Zwang und die Angst vor der Oeffentlichkeit zusammenhält?" In Helene Stöcker, "Die Gefahren der Freiheit in Liebe und Ehe," *Illustriertes Familienblat. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 39 (1913): 370, 374.

[30] Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject*, 14.

Bourgeois Marriage: Pure Love/Impure Lust

For many bourgeois women at the fin de siècle, love was something holy and pure, emanating from God. In a revealing love letter to her beau, Alfred Fröhnert, the daughter of post office official, Marie Landa, explained that, "What has come to pass is not just passion… it is a heartfelt and indelible affection based on the greatest respect, which the good Lord alone gives to people."[31] Not only did she emphasize that her feelings were rooted in deep respect (*Hochachtung*), but even further, she provided evidence of her love's purity by connecting it to God's grace. "The good Virgin Mary alone was responsible for putting you in my path… [She] wanted it this way."[32] As such, Marie maintained that, "I no longer want to be ashamed of my feeling, which is not even a sin!"[33] Because her love was God's will—as opposed to her own—it did not warrant any shame. In fact, it was an indication that Marie and Alfred were meant to marry, which they did in 1906.

The association between love and holiness was echoed by Tilde Mell, who, in a letter from 1904, described love as "a feeling" that is "wonderfully beautiful" and "unquestionably holy," the purpose of which was to bring two people together, "so that they gift themselves to each other for their entire lives."[34] Notably absent from this description is any mention of physical intimacy or sensuality. For devout or nominally Catholic women, lust was one of the seven deadly sins that could cut them off from God's grace. Love, by contrast, was the very embodiment of God's grace and thus had to be protected from any "filth"—including lust—that might tarnish it. For this

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[31] "Es ist ja nicht eine Leidenschaft, die vorüber geht… es ist das die auf der grösten Hochachtung basierende, innige und unauslöschliche Neigung, die mir der liebe Gott allein dem Menschen gibt." In Sammlung Frauennachlässe (hereafter SFn), Series: Marie Theresia Fröhnert (hereafter MTF), Box: NL 80, Marie Landa to Alfred Fröhnert, 8 August 1904.
[32] "Die liebe Gottesmutter selbst hat sie mir in den Weg geführt… die Mutter Gottes wollte es so."
[33] "Ich konnte nicht anders… ich will mich daher eines Gefühles nicht mehr schämen, das ja keine Sünde ist."
[34] "… damit sie sich für das ganze Leben einander schenken." In SFn, Series: Mathilde Hanzel-Hübner (hereafter MHH), Box: NL I/2b, Tilde Mell to Mathilde Hübner, 21 January 1904.

reason, marriage was meant to be, according to a Catholic marriage advice text, "a form of purity, because Christian married people deny themselves all forbidden forms of sexual enjoyments."[35]

Passion (*Leidenschaft*) and lust thus belonged to prostitutes and other "impure" women (see discussion of the femme fatale in Chapter 2). Reflecting on her recently ended relationship, Mathilde (Tilly) Hanzel-Hübner (née Hübner) observed that, "Today it became clear to me that I sold my love with the first friendly kiss that I allowed him."[36] Because she had granted her former beau permission to kiss her—to engage in a sensual act—Tilly reprimanded herself for having "sold her love" like a prostitute. "I consider those people morally degenerate who are unable to repress their sexual drive," she wrote, "and who do not want to have offspring."[37] In addition to being a sin, lust was also immoral for lacking the "higher purpose" of procreation. Sex could only be a means to an end, and not an end in itself. "Ideally," Tilly wrote, "I would be the wife of a man who understands me as much as possible, and who is committed to having children." Indeed, "that is the only thing that the living body [*Leib*] demands."[38] For the Catholic bourgeoisie, lust had no place in a marriage, which was built on holy love alone.

In addition to being associated with prostitution, lust was also considered a masculine quality. "Sensual love exists almost only in men," observed a newspaper article, "born from animal nature."[39] Women's rights activist Rosa Mayreder wondered whether "there is a primitive masculine

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[35] Michael Glatterer, *Im Glaubenslicht. Christliche Gedanken über das Geschlechtsleben* (1927), as quoted in McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 107.

[36] "Heute ist es mir klar geworden, dass ich mit dem 1. Freundschaftskuss, dem ich ihm erlaubte, ihm meine Liebe verkaufte." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904, 18 March 1904.

[37] "Ich halte jene Menschen für sittlich degeneriert, die den sexuellen Trieb nicht unterdrücken können und dabei… die Zeugung der Nachkommenschaft nicht wollen." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904, 17 April 1904.

[38] "Mein Ideal wäre das Weib eines Mannes zu werden, der mich /möglichst/ vollkommen begreift… das uns beide gleicher Wille, gleiche Sehnsucht bewegt, nämlich, dass wir beide unserem Leibe gerecht werden wollen durch die Fortpflanzung… Das ist jenes, was der Leib verlangt." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NLIIIC/4, Diary 1904, 20 October 1904.

[39] "Die sinnliche Liebe findet sich fast immer nur bei Männern…" In Paul Mantegazza, "Die Arten der Liebe," *Wir beide: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Erotik,* no. 3 (1925): 6.

ur-drive that sees women as prey…"[40] Tilly reiterated this idea in her diary in 1904: "A man has 10 times as much sensuality as a woman. But instead of elevating themselves to humans, they… become animals."[41] And yet, a month later, once Tilly realized that she was "10 times more passionate than [her beau]," she feared, "now I am too masculine, full of passion, full of egoism, and hedonism."[42] Rather than reassess her conceptions of male and female sexualities, she convinced herself that her sexual desire was evidence of her abnormal and manly nature.

Arguably, it was because lust was viewed as an innate masculine quality, and as distinct from love, that husbands' philandering and brothel-visits were silently condoned. Although the Catholic Church was committed to the abolition of prostitution, and called for a return to chastity,[43] many people, even Catholics, disregarded this view in practice. In fact, for many Viennese residents, men's lust indicated that prostitution was a necessary evil, which could be controlled through hygienic measures and compulsory medical examinations (Chapter 1). Further, given that lust was understood as sullying marriage, the existence of prostitution allowed husbands to take their "sexual energy" elsewhere, lest they taint the marriage bed. I thus argue that marital fidelity meant something quite different for bourgeois couples at this time: it was about preserving the holiness of the marriage union by eschewing lust completely. In this case, love was not only separate from lust; it was

[40] "Vielleicht ist es nun wirklich die mir gegenüber gehemmte sexuelle Prärogative, der primitive männliche Urtrieb, der im Weib die Beute sucht, was bei Lino diese rätselhaften Vorgänge bewirkt." In Rosa Mayreder, "1 March 1914," in *Tagebücher, 1873-1937*, trans. Harriet Anderson (Frankfurt/Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 140-141.
[41] "… daß ein Mann 10mal mehr Sinnlichkeit besitzt als ein Weib. Aber statt sich zum Menschen zu erheben, mißbrauchen sie ihren brennenden Reichtum und werden Tiere." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904, 6 January 1904.
[42] "Jetzt lebe ich noch zu männlich, voll Leidenschaft, voll Egoismus und Genusssucht." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC, 4, Diary 1904, 1 February 1904.
[43] Anderson, *Utopian Feminism*, 93.

opposed to it. Austrian philosopher Otto Weininger echoed this sentiment. For him, sexuality was the antithesis to love, so that celibacy was the ideal towards which everyone should strive.[44]

In a revealing diary entry from 1900, Alma Mahler-Werfel (née Schindler) recounted a conversation with a friend, Louise. In response to Alma's probing about French kissing, Louise responded, "But Almschi, how do you know that? You're talking of erotic kisses. Married couples, once they've cooled off, don't do that anymore."[45] That is to say, a marital union was understood to be devoid of romantic love and hardly erotic. Likewise, Tilly defined marriage as "the harmony [*Sympathie*] of thoughts and feelings over a lifetime—[while] the harmony of the sexes dies."[46] Even Arthur Schnitzler made mention of this in his controversial play, *La Ronde*, when it was revealed that the Young Woman and Husband had been married for five years, but only had sex ten to twelve times.[47] A "celibate" marriage—with the exception of reproductive of sex—was the Catholic bourgeoisie's ideal.

Frigid *Erziehung*

Three years after describing love as "holy," Tilde wrote again to Tilly in 1907, remarking instead that it was the union of spiritual and bodily intimacy. The reason why the latter was considered "indecent" (*unanständig*), however, was because of women's upbringing, or *Erziehung*.[48] "Our senses are cultivated in such a way that every sexual stimulus seems like a sin." She clarified,

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[44] Ellinor Melander, "Toward the Sexual and Economic Emancipation of Women: The Philosophy of Grete Meisel-Hess," *History of European Ideas* 14, no. 5 (1992): 698.
[45] Alma Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 27 December, Suite 20, 1900," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 360-361.
[46] "Ehe nenne ich die Sympathie der Gedanken und Gefühle durchs ganze Leben hindurch—Die Sympathie der Geschlechter erstirbt." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1901-1903, 13 December 1903.
[47] Arthur Schnitzler, *Reigen* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1900] 1989), 51.
[48] SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/2b, Letter from Tilde Mell to Mathilde Hübner, 14 August 1907.

"On my part, I definitely do not want to put sensual love in first place, but it irritates me when I notice how much… we don't see, and then how… we are left with disgust."[49]

Most bourgeois women considered sensuality to be profane, so that a "kiss is seen as a deadly sin and even a hug, as a crime."[50] In 1900, twenty-one-year-old Alma wrote in her diary: "I've often watched dogs copulating—and was always revolted by the pivoting motions of the male. Well, I said to myself, that's just doggy behavior. But now Louise tells me that humans do it exactly the same way. I'd imagined something calm and dignified."[51] Alma concluded, "It's revolting, disgusting. No, there's nobody I could imagine doing it with without feeling revulsion."

If contemporaries considered women to be naturally frigid for most of the nineteenth century, at the fin de siècle, they came to see this frigidity as a product of *Erziehung*. "Nature does not make the sexually cold woman," an article in *Wir beide* insisted, "it is life that makes [her]."[52] In fact, frigidity was viewed as the product of a "puritanical *Erziehung*," whose goal it was to prevent a bourgeois woman from having "any idea whatsoever of how a man's body looks, not know how children are born, because the angel was not only supposed to be physically untouched, but also spiritually entirely 'pure' when entering into marriage."[53] Writing years later, novelist Stefan Zweig recalled that,

> to protect young girls, one did not allow them to be alone even for a second. They had governesses whose responsibility it was to make sure that they, God forbid, did not take a single unguarded step out of the front door, that they be taken to and also

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[49] "Aber unsere Sinne werden so erzogen, dass jeder geschlechtliche Reiz uns wie eine Sünde vorkommt… Ich für meinen Teil will gar nicht der sinnlichen Liebe den ersten Platz einräumen, aber es bringt mich auf, wenn ich sehe, wie fest man uns die Augen zuhält, damit wir nichts sehen, und wie dann ein bewucheter Verkehr genügt, um die Schleier so zu zerfetzen, dass uns nur Ekel bleibt."

[50] "…einen Kuss als eine Todsünde und gar eine Umarmung als Verbrechen anzusehen." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/2b, Letter from Tilde Mell to Mathilde Hübner, 14 August 1907.

[51] Mahler-Werfel, "Saturday, 22 September, Suite 19, 1900," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 324.

[52] "Die Natur schafft keine geschlechtskalte Frau; das Leben ist es, das die Frau geschlechtskalt macht." In "Die kalte Frau," *Wir beide: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Erotik,* no. 1 (1925): 4-5.

[53] "Ein junges Mädchen aus guter Familie durfte keinerlei Vorstellungen haben, wie der männerliche Körper geformt sei, nicht wissen, wie Kinder auf die Welt kommen, denn der Engel sollte ja nicht nur körperlich unberührt, sondern auch seelisch völlig 'rein' in die Ehe treten." In Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern. Erinnerungen eines Europäers* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2014), 98.

> picked up from school, dance classes, and music instruction. Every book that they read was inspected, and above all, the young girls were constantly kept busy to distract them from the possibility of dangerous thoughts.[54]

As I elaborated in Chapters 1 and 2, *Damen* were raised to be completely disembodied, detached from their physicality and senses. Their phenomenology was passive, frail, and discontinuous.

Once a young girl was of proper courtship age, she was advised, according to an etiquette book, to exercise great "caution and restraint… in the company of men," as well as maintain strict social and physical "boundaries" (*Grenzen*).[55] At a time when "*Küß die Hand, g'nädige Frau*" ("I kiss the hand, Madame!") was a common greeting within bourgeois and upper-class circles, as was the very act of hand-kissing, cross-gender courtship was limited to eye gazing and hand touching. And yet, even then, women had to be careful. Writing of a meeting with her beau, Tilly admitted, "I probably gave him my hand for too long."[56] Likewise, Alma recounted a moment of touch with her love interest, which elicited a sense of propriety, and then, despair. She described how "he took both my hands in his and squeezed them hard. I offered no resistance—let it happen—on the contrary, I gave him my hands—just had to." And yet, she revealed, "it made me despondent, and that he noticed. Then Mama returned, and he gave me his hand again—formally."[57]

For this reason, bourgeois courtship rituals often involved objects that served as mediators for intimacy. For instance, instead of showing physical affection, lovers would exchange photographs of each other.[58] After Alma received a photograph of her lover, Gustav Klimt, she

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[54] "Um die jungen Mädchen zu schützen, ließ man sie nicht einen Augenblick allein. Sie bekamm eine Gouvernante, die dafür zu sorgen hatte, daß sie gottbewahre nicht einen Schritt unbehütet vor die Haustür traten, sie wurden zur Schule, zur Tanzstunde, zur Musikstunde gebracht und ebenso abgeholt. Jedes Buch, das sie lasen, wurde kontrolliert, und vor allem wurden die jungen Mädchen unablässig beschäftigt, um sie von möglichen gefährlichen Gedanken abzulenken." In Ibid., 97-98.

[55] "Noch größere Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung ist natürlich der Männerwelt gegenüber geboten." In Malvine von Steinau, *Der gut Ton für Damen: 2. Auflage* (Wien: Hartleben, 1878), 61.

[56] "Ich hatte ihm wohl zu lange die Hand gegeben." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1901-1903, 11 December 1902.

[57] Mahler-Werfel, "Tuesday 6 November, Suite 20, 1900," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 342.

[58] I plan to write an article about this phenomenon in the near future.

wrote in her diary, "I'm so delighted to have something, something of him. Now I no longer need to strain my imagination to picture his dear features."[59] Others found comfort in writing letters to each other or sharing diaries. When Karoline (Lina) von S. sent her fiancé a letter, she devoted an entire page to "a lot, a lot of big and small, gentle and wild smooches [*Pusseln*]."[60] The letter served as a container for Lina's physical kisses, which her fiancé would imagine covering him as he read her words. In all of these examples, objects provided closeness in a frigid universe in which cross-gender intimacy was frowned upon.

"Wherever my body touches yours, it glows": Desire as Worship

And yet, bourgeois women at the fin de siècle did sometimes succumb to lust—though not without feeling shame. A month after kissing her beau, Tilly exclaimed, "I am ashamed of myself and him!"[61] This feeling of shame was loud ("screeching") and all encompassing. "Yes, you wretched woman, have you no pride?" Tilly asked herself. "You lose your pride and your entire being trembles for him. – And then your… brain becomes small."[62] In a Catholic bourgeois universe that privileged mind-body dualism, an increase in lust corresponded to a decrease in virtue. "And he who has a small brain and a lot of body," Tilly anxiously wrote, "becomes half-animal."[63] It was her sensuality, she feared, that would turn her into something grotesque and barbaric.[64]

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[59] Mahler-Werfel, "Monday 2 October Suite 14, 1899," in *Diaries, 1898-1902*, 197-198.
[60] "Hier auch noch viele, viele grosse und kleine, sanft und wilde Pusseln." In SFn, Series: Karoline von Neupaner (hereafter KvN), Box: NL 31/I, Lina von S. to Karl von Neupaner, 20 February 1911/1912.
[61] "… sinnliche Liebe allein kann nicht befriedigen… Ach, ich schäme mich für mich und ihn!" In SFn, Series: MMH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904, 18 January 1904.
[62] "Ja, du elendes Weib, hast du überhaupt noch Stolz?... Dein Stolz fällt und dein ganzes Sein bebt in dem Verlangen nach ihm. – Und da wird dein… Gehirn klein u. dein Begehren groß."
[63] "Und wer wenig Hirn und viel Körper hat, wird ein halbes Tier sein." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904, 17 April 1904.
[64] For this reason, same-sex friendships were often regarded as important precisely because they were, according to historian Martha Vicinius, "considered less sexually driven and more self-sacrificing" than heterosexual relationships. It is worth noting, however, that despite being considered "less sexual," friendships may have nevertheless been deeply sensual and erotic in non-heterosexual terms, a point that

To counteract feelings of shame, bourgeois women who partook in sensual transgressions often framed their desire within the idiom of religious worship—an idea that I discussed in Chapter 2, with regard to emotional expression, more generally. Shortly after engaging in a romance with her piano teacher, Alexander von Zemlinksy, Alma wondered how "anyone [could] find [sex] offensive?"[65] "The flow of one into the other—I find it beautiful, *wondrously* beautiful. I long for it." She ended her diary entry with a prayer: "Alex, my Alex, let me be your font. Fill me with your holy fluid."

By referring to sensual love as "*wondrously* beautiful" and "holy," as a means to achieve unity ("the flow of one into the other"), Alma found justification for her lust: far from being opposed to spirit, it was its extension. Desiring Alex was akin to worshipping him. Likewise, insofar as biblical references to fire often communicate the presence of God, it is perhaps no coincidence that Alma often described her own desire as a fiery, burning sensation: "Such fire, such a sense of joy flowed through me… I would like to kneel before him & kiss his loins—kiss *everything, everything.*"[66] In an act reminiscent of worship at a church service, Alma imagined kneeling and praying before her lover, experiencing "a pure, holy sensation."[67]

Similarly, writing only a year after she agonized over her manly sexuality, Tilly filled her diary with rich descriptions of her desire, which she, like Alma, likened to a spiritual fire (*Glut*) "so hot, so strong, so unspeakably blissful."[68] Addressing her lover, Ottokar Hanzel, she wrote, "Desire rises higher and higher, the yearning becomes ever wilder, and the languor, always sweeter. I want to tear

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Vicinus makes in her book. See Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), xviii.

[65] Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday 24 September, Suite 24, 1901," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 433-434.

[66] Mahler-Werfel, "Saturday 9 November, Suite 24 1901," in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 444.

[67] Mahler-Werfel, "Wednesday 30 December, Suite 25, 1901", in *Diaries 1898-1902*, 466.

[68] "…so heiß, so stark, so unsäglich selig." In SFn, Series: MMH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1905-1919, 9 June 1905.

myself from you just so that I can press myself against you anew."[69] No longer was Tilly considering propriety; no longer was she maintaining the strict separation of physical boundaries that a *Dame* of her stature was required to maintain; and no longer was she eschewing Ottokar's touch. "You should want me as hotly as I desire you," she demanded of him.[70] "Wherever my body touches yours, it glows."[71] And indeed, she described how "[his] breath blends with [hers]," and how her heart beats so loudly in his presence, so that he, too, can hear it, and how their eyes shine and "blind one another."[72] In the winter that year, Tilly observed in the letter-diary that she shared with Ottokar, "But I no longer have a 'myself'; I am 'with you'... "[73] Sensuality, in other words, was the highest expression of their glowing love, "the melting and unity of bodies."[74]

These descriptions of desire and sensuality have a devotional tone, recalling the holiness of true love. Even Ottokar, writing to Tilly, compared love to prayer: "Give me your body [*Leib*] for caresses, for worship,"[75] and "Love is my belief [and] caresses are my prayers."[76] In a love letter from 1911/1912, Lina wrote dramatically, "You see, my treasure, your love is my life, without it I could no longer be."[77] Lina was so devoted to Karl that she could not imagine living without him; he was her religion, her God. In all of these ways, a bourgeois woman could justify her sensuality as serving a higher purpose: every caress was a means to spiritual unity, prayer at the altar of love. As I will

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[69] "Immer höher steigt das Begehren, immer wilder wird das Verlangen und immer süßer das Ermatten. Ich möchte mir von Dir reißen um von neuem an Dich zu drängen."
[70] "Du sollst mich verlangen so heiß wie ich Dich begehre."
[71] "Wo mein Leib den Deinen berührt, glüht es."
[72] "… sich Dein Atem mit meinem mischt… Unsere Augen strahlen, sie blenden einander, es wird dunkel um mich—die Schranken, ich hatte sie vergessen…" SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Brieftagebuch "Wir": 1905-1908, 5 December 1905.
[73] "Ich habe aber kein 'ich selber' mehr; ich bin 'mit Dir'…"
[74] "Sie will Verschmelzung und Einheit der Körper." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Brieftagebuch "Wir": 1905-1908, Ottokar Hanzel to Mathilde Hübner, 19 December 1905.
[75] "Überlass mir Deinen Leib zur Liebeskosung, zur Anbetung…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/3, Briefentwurf, Ottokar Hanzel to Mathilde Hübner, 18 July 1907.
[76] "Liebe ist mein Glaube u. Liebeskosungen sind meine Gebete…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL I/3, Briefentwurf, Ottokar Hanzel to Mathilde Hübner, 29 July 1907.
[77] "Siehst Du Schatz, Deine Liebe ist mein Leben, ohne sie könnt' ich nicht mehr sein." In SFn, Series: KvN, Box: NL 31 A, Lina Von S. to Karl von Neupaner, 7 January 1911/1912.

show below, marriage and sex reformers drew on this language—whether knowingly or unknowingly—to remake sex into a moral expression of love.

Marriage Reform as Sex Reform

In response to bourgeois claims about the "holiness of marriage," Adelheid Popp asked: "Is a marriage holy when women give themselves to a man only out of existential reasons or because their parents insisted on it, a man who might break their marital, promised faithfulness on the next day, who hits, abuses, and insults them?"[78] According to Popp, a bourgeois girl "must marry a man for whom her heart does not beat just because she is a woman subject to the pressure [of marriage]."[79] Even further, Popp accused bourgeois marriages for upholding the "double standard" (*Doppelstandard*): "A man can do whatever he wants," insisted Popp. "If in addition to his wife, he has other women [i.e. prostitutes] on the side, as many as he wants, and exchanges one woman for the next from day to day, a woman must tolerate it because she is a woman [*Weib*], because she is weaker, viewed as the one without rights, because a girl has already been raised to obey her husband."[80] For Popp, then, bourgeois marriages were not only loveless, they were hardly monogamous.

To be sure, the marriage reform movement—and along with it, the emphasis on free love—grew out of an impulse to dispose of prostitution altogether. Although many of its participants

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[78] "Ist die Ehe heilig, wenn die Frauen nur aus Existenzrücksichten oder aus Befehl der Eltern sich einem Manne hingeben müssen, der Ihnen vielleicht schon am nächsten Tage die eheliche, gelobte Treue bricht, der sie schlägt, mißhandelt, beschimpft, von dem sie alles erdulden müssen?" In Adelheid Popp in *Freie Liebe und bürgerliche Ehe*, 7-8.

[79] "Sie muss den Mann heiraten, für den ihr Herz nicht spricht, einzig und allein, weil sie ein Weib ist, dem Zwang unterworfen von Jugend auf. Da kann wohl von einer 'Heiligkeit der Ehe' keine rede sein…"

[80] "Der Mann kann thun, was er will… Wenn er neben der angetrauten Frau noch Frauen hat, so viel er will, und diese Frauen wechselt von einem Tag zum anderen, muss es die Frau dulden, weil sie Weib ist, weil sie als die Schwächere, als die Rechtlose betrachtete wird, weil das Mädchen schon darnarch erzogen wird, dass sie ihrem Manne gehorchen muss…"

prioritized divorce law reform for Catholics (as well as the introduction of civil marriage),[81] another contingent, such as Popp, insisted that marriage itself needed to be reformed so that husbands would refrain from going to brothels to begin with. According to Dagmar Herzog, these reformers "hoped prostitution would eventually wither away if marriage itself could be reformed into a more egalitarian and more mutually erotic institution."[82] Further, they insisted that "sex should be justified on the basis of love—and precisely not on calculations of economic security."

The reform movement's definition of love differed from the bourgeoisie's definition in fundamental ways. As I discussed above, the Catholic bourgeoisie viewed love as having been sanctioned by God. Individual, personal inclination was irrelevant. Even further, the very holiness of love had to be actively protected from "earthly" desires and lust, so that a husband's extramarital escapades were arguably beneficial to the preservation of the sanctity of the marriage. By contrast, free love was rooted in the individual as opposed to the godly, and linked to, instead of separated from, sensuality. In fact, I argue that the concept of free love was based on romance—the reconciliation of love with sensuality and sex.[83] Specifically, as I will explain below, sex reformers found a way to deconstruct the love-lust binary by emphasizing their unity.

The marriage and sex reform movements thus overlapped in important ways. Made up of an "eclectic coalition of political actors," ranging from Social Democrats to physicians to feminists, the sex reform movement was, according to Atina Grossmann, "united by the conviction that sexuality was better regulated than repressed."[84] Rather than repressing sexual urges in marriage, reformers encouraged couples to explore them. The marital bed thus took the place of the brothel, and the

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[81] On the Catholic marriage reform movement, see Ulrike Harmat, *Ehe auf Widerruf? Der Konflikt um das Eherecht in Österreich 1918-1938* (Frankfurt/Main: V. Klosterman, 1999).
[82] Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 11.
[83] On the history of romantic love, see especially William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan, 900-1200 CE* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
[84] For an overview of the sex reform movement in Germany, see Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 14-15.

wife—the new woman—played the role of coquette. As the author of a marriage advice book asserted, "marriage should have long taken prostitution's place," as the site for sexual fulfillment.[85]

Buried within this new vision of marriage was also a new conception of women's sexuality. While the bourgeoisie believed real women—as opposed to sex workers and other "deviants"—to be asexual, reformers such as Popp emphasized their sexuality. And if women were sexual, the logic went, then it was their husbands' duty to satisfy their natural urges. The very definition of marital fidelity thereby changed: if traditionally, bourgeois marriage condoned husbands' philandering, within the modern marriage, this was no longer allowed. Instead, marriages were to become even more exclusive than before.

Warm and Temperamental

Johann Ferch believed that the First World War had revolutionized Viennese sexuality.[86] "Contact with foreign elements, the absence of loved ones, the example of friends who lost their lovers or… gave themselves to strangers, created enough temptations to undermine popular morality."[87] He continued that, as more women became nurses tasked with treating and touching "naked male bodies," even "particular organs," they became less prudish.[88] Ferch credited "the wartime hospital" as having "brought about the… liberation of [women] from forced blindness"—the very metaphoric blindness that Tilde Mell had alluded to above.[89] And "once the spell of sexual

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[85] "Prostitution… noch in dem Lebensalter des Mannes eine Rolle spielt, wo längst die Ehe in ihre Recht treten sollte." In Rudolf Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe! Eine ärztliche Aufklärungsschrift über alles Wissenswerte im Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben des Weibes* (Wien: 1921), 32-33.
[86] Johann Ferch, *Die Revolutionierung des Liebeslebens* (Berlin: Verlag der 'Neuen Weltanschauung', 1919).
[87] "Die Berührung mit dem fremden Element, das Fehlen des Geliebten, das Beispiel von Freundinnen, die den Geliebten verloren oder in der Auslösung das die freiwillige oder erzwungene Askese niederstürmenden Temperaments sich Fremden hingaben, boten Verführungsursachen genug, um langsam die landläufige Moral ins Wanken zu bringen." In Ibid., 28.
[88] Ibid., 30.
[89] "Denn das Kriegsspital brachte nicht nur den Pflegerinnen die Befreiung von dem Zwangsblindsein, sie brachte diese auch den Bräuten und Schwestern, die die Verwundeten besuchten." In Ibid., 31.

shame was lifted, sensuality suppressed every moral thought," and women could finally perceive the world with all five senses.[90]

Fig. 53 Emancipated women during WWI: "That we can survive without men, we know; but that there aren't any here, whom you can tell that to their face - that's embarrassing." From "Die Emanzipierte," *Die Muskete* 23, no. 578 (26 October 1916): 28. ANNO/ÖNB.

As I have stressed throughout this dissertation, the First World War was less of a turning point in matters concerning gender and sexuality, and more of an event that accelerated changes that had already been taking place at the fin de siècle. After all, whether couples were exchanging tokens of affections or reframing desire in terms of worship, the young Viennese bourgeoisie—and especially its women—was still engaging in (hetero)sexual acts. With the war, this sexual culture became even more pronounced. Sexual frigidity was not only seen as a product of *Erziehung*, but also as dangerous to women's health, leading to hysteria, hypochondria, and melancholia. A sex reform book from 1920 enumerated the reasons for women's frigidity to include "a husband's weakness and early orgasm, purposeful repression of normal sensation in order to prevent pregnancy, interruption

[90] "War erst einmal der Bann der sexuellen Scheu gelöst, so verdrängte der Sinnendurst jedes Gedenken an moralische Lehren." In Ibid., 28.

during sex," as well as "aversion" or "disgust" vis-à-vis the husband.[91] It also noted that many young, recently married women tended to experience frigidity due to the "pain of devirginization [*Schmerzen der Entjungferung*]." It was men's neglect of women's sexual needs, as well as their "barbaric" and painful treatment of them in the bedroom that left women cold—and ultimately, hysterical.

The Socialist Society for Sexual Advice and Research also viewed bourgeois morality, especially its marriage ethics, as responsible for women's frigidity and sexual neurosis.[92] Founded in 1928 by Wilhelm Reich and Marie Frischauf, its seven clinics in Vienna aimed to counteract the negative, repressive, and neurotic effects of bourgeois morality by providing visitors with frank information about sex, as well as encouraging all heterosexual,[93] pleasure-oriented sexual activity (including masturbation).[94] Indeed, in contrast to Freud's view that sexual sublimation was necessary for civilization, Reich made a case for sexual expression and release[95]—which would ultimately lead to proletarian revolution.[96] Reich's ideas were quite popular among the Viennese: from 1928 to 1929, about seven thousand people attended the Society's public lectures.[97]

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91 "Schwäche und frühzeitige Samenentleerung des Mannes, absichtliches Unterdrücken der normalen Empfindung zur Verhütung von Schwangerschaft, unterbrochener Beischlaf, Benutzung von empfängnisverhütenden Mitteln, Abneigung gegen den Mann, Ekel vor demselben usw." In Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), 130.
92 For more information on the Socialist Society, see McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 133-136; Maria Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers: Sex Counseling in Austria in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in *Sexuality in Austria*, eds. Günther Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 57-59.
93 The Society's heterosexual focus is worth emphasizing. Reich regarded homosexuals as deviant and developmentally stunted. See Wilhelm Reich, *Sexualerregung und Sexualbefriedigung* (Wien: Münster Verlag, 1929).
94 This was part of Reich's theory of "orgiastic satisfaction."
95 It is worth noting that this notion of sexual expression and release prioritized *male* orgasm.
96 Wilhelm Reich, *Geschlechtsreife, Enthaltsamkeit, Ehemoral: Eine Kritik der bürgerlichen Sexual-Reform* (Wien: Münster Verlag, 1931).
97 Wilhelm Reich, "The Socialistic Society for Sexual Advice and Sexual Research," *The Practice of Contraception: An International Symposium and Survey*, eds. Margaret Sanger and Hannah M. Stone (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1931), 271.

Reich believed that 70 percent of all women had been raised to be sexually frigid, and because of this, many members of the Society were particularly committed to women's social and, by extension, sexual liberation.[98] As a result, women from all social classes visited the clinics.[99] "They come with some kind of worry related to their marital or love life, which they have viewed as unalterable and no longer tolerable. They learn to recognize that trained psychological insight, combined with a lot of practical experience will give them solutions."[100] And once women learned to work through their sexual neurosis, they could apply practices and techniques to "warm themselves up."

Once warm, a woman was believed to be extremely sensual, "an utter slave to her sexuality."[101] Viennese gynecologist Bernhard Bauer observed that of his 170 female patients from his practice, 155 admitted to masturbating regularly, especially "if normal sex is not possible for some reason."[102] A woman writing for advice in *Bettauers Wochenschrift* confirmed this: "Given that I am very sexual by nature I masturbate more than is conducive to my health. I am 29 years-old today and have masturbated since my fourteenth year."[103] It is precisely "out of fear of a child, and fear of syphilis etc.," Bauer argued, that "you will find this kind of sexual satisfaction most widespread among respectful women and girls."

There is certainly evidence that women were becoming more attuned to their sexuality. According to a survey taken in 1926, only 71 single women claimed to be practicing abstinence

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98 Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers," 58.
99 Sophie Lazarsfeld, *Erziehung zur Ehe* (Wien: Verlag von Mortiz Perles, 1928), 26.
100 "Sie lernen einsehen, daß geschulte psychologische Einsicht, verbunden mit großer praktischer Errfahrung, ihnen noch Auswege zu zeigen und sie aus ihrer Wirrnis zu führen vermag…" In Ibid., 26.
101 "Das reife Weib in seinen Blütejahren ist eigentlich… ganz und gar Sklavin seiner Sexualität." In Bernhard A. Bauer, *Wie Bist du, Weib? Betrachtungen über Körper, Seele, Sexualität und Erotik des Weibes* (Wien: Rikola Verlag, 1923), 285.
102 Ibid., 253.
103 "Da ich aber dabei sehr erotisch veranlangt bin, so onaniere ich mehr als meiner Gesundheit zuträglich ist… Ich bin heute 29 Jahre alt und habe seit meinem vierzehnten Jahre onaniert." In "Probleme des Lebens: Das Problem der Probleme: Wie gestaltet sich das Liebesleben heutzutage vor der Ehe?" *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 7 (1926): 22-24.

compared to 257 who were not.[104] Of the married women, 113 had been celibate prior to marriage, while 252 had engaged in pre-marital sex. Even though this survey appeared in a sex reform newspaper and must be treated with a degree of skepticism, its participants nevertheless encompassed a diverse swath of the Viennese population, including women between the ages of seventeen and sixty-eight, as well as workers, administrators, shop-keepers, students, artists, housewives, even doctors.[105]

As a result, ordinary women also came to reassess their supposed frigidity, and recognize their "temperament"—a word often associated with the expressive and dynamic *neue Wienerin* that I introduced in Chapter 2. For instance, a woman writing for advice in a newspaper in 1924 observed that, "I am quite a temperamental girl and am, since two years ago, engaged to a young, attractive man."[106] Another woman insisted that although her boyfriend's "caresses leave me cold," "hot blood flows through my veins."[107] The problem, she suggested, was not frigidity, but rather, that "I feel an almost 'motherly' feeling" towards him, and not "the love of a woman for a man."[108] For this reason, whenever he touched her, "my senses do not respond at all."[109] Helly also chalked it up to her senses: "In reality I am very passionate and I suffer terribly from the repression of my senses."[110] One goal of the sex reform movement, then, was to help women reawaken their senses to experience desire and feel pleasure—a theme I will return to below.

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[104] For survey results, see "Probleme des Lebens: Das Problem der Probleme," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 13 (1926): 16-17.
[105] 1353 people participated in the survey: 652 men and 701 women. See "Probleme des Lebens: Das Problem der Probleme," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 12 (1926): 16-17.
[106] "Ich bin ein ziemlich temperamentvolles Mädchen und bin seit zwei Jahren mit einem jungen feschen Manne verlobt… verhält sich mein Verlobter so reserviert und zurückhaltend, dass ich fast glauben könnte, er betrügt mich…" In "Die Schläfrige," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 2 (22 May 1924): 13.
[107] "Seine Zärtlichkeiten lassen mich kalt…." "und doch rollte heisses Blut in meinen Adern." In "Heisses Blut," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 7 (26 June 1924): 12.
[108] "Für ihn empfinde ich ein fast 'mütterlich' zu nennedes Gefühl, aber nie die Liebe des Weibes zum Mannes."
[109] "Meine Sinne reagieren gar nicht…"
[110] "Nun bin ich aber in Wirklichkeit selbst sehr leidenschaftlich und ich leide furchtbar in der Unterdrückung meiner Sinne." In Helly, "Innige Bitte," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 9 (10 July 1924): 15.

In addition to identifying their sensuality, *neue Wienerinnen* also drew on the language of free love to assert their need to love. "I am one of the people who belongs to the great crowd of 'Lonely People,' whose lives are empty and lacking direction," one woman wrote in 1924.[111] "I long so very much for love, for tenderness."[112] An eighteen-year-old girl wrote that she, too, longed for "a little love."[113] "When I go home and see the many lovely couples walk by," she continued, "a painful feeling of abandonment and exclusion creeps through me. I often toss and turn sleeplessly at night and bite my lips until they bleed for [I feel] such longing for love and wealth."[114] A seventeen-year-old wrote dramatically, "I cannot live without love, like a plant without light."[115]

Many women therefore turned to personal advertisements to find their "other half [*ihre Ergänzung*]."[116] "I am looking for a person who understands [what it means]… to reach for the sun with me."[117] Another woman stated that she "seeks [an] admirer who will spread an atmosphere of splendor, fragrance, and joy around her."[118] A Jewish woman with a "really nice appearance" but "not a characterless decorative doll" wrote that she was looking for an "upright person" for whom

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111 "… ich bin eine von denen, die die grosse Schar der 'Einsamen' bilden, deren Leben leer und ohne Sinn…" In J.F., "Die Geschichte einer zerbrochenen Ehe," *Bettauers Wochenschrif,* no. 26 (28 August 1924): 16-17.

112 "Dabei sehne ich mich so unendlich nach Liebe, nach Zärtlichkeit…"

113 Hardy, "Sehnsucht," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 21 (2 October 1924): 16.

114 "Wenn ich abends heimgehe und so viele lieben Pärchen begegne, die wenigstens nach aussen hin den Stempel des Glücks tragen, so viele elegante Damen, so überschleicht mich mit meine armseligen Kleidchen ein wehes Gefühl des Verlassen- und Ausgestossenseins. Ich werfe mich nachts ofts stundenlang schlaflos umher und beisse mir die Lippen blutig aus lauter Sehnsucht nach Liebe und Reichtum."

115 "Bei meinen Eltern fand ich nie die Liebe, ohne die ich nicht leben kann, wie die Pflanze ohne Licht." In Ilse D., "Aussichtslose Liebe," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 37 (1925): 22.

116 "Ich gehöre ebenfalls zu dem Heer der Einsamen, die ihre Ergänzung nicht finden können." In A.W., "Der beschränkte Mann," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 22 (9 October 1924): 18-19.

117 "Ich suche einen Menschen, der es versteht, in diesem kurzen Leben mit mir die Sonne zuzuschreiten." In "Menschen die einander suchen," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskulture und Erotik*, no. 4 (6 March 1924): 16.

118 "Schöne Frau sucht Anbeter, die eine Atmosphäre vom Glanz, Duft und Glück um sie verbreiten." In "Menschen die einander suchen," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskulture und Erotik*, no. 4 (6 March 1924): 16.

she could be a "life partner" (*Lebenskameradin*).[119] She was only interested in "academically educated gentlemen between the ages of 30 and 40." That women were even willing to submit personal ads to begin with is evidence that they were becoming more adept at identifying their temperament and manifesting their desire.

Sex as Lovemaking

As more Viennese women came to be seen, as well as see themselves, as temperamental, sensuality itself was reevaluated. The language of sex reform closely mirrored the idea of sensuality-as-worship articulated by bourgeois women decades earlier: instead of being opposed to love, sex came to be seen as its most sublime expression. A 1925 article in the sex-reform newspaper, *Wir beide*, for example, urged its readers to "leave your bashfulness and all old-fashioned prudery behind."[120] Non-reproductive sex, the article maintained, is hardly shameful, but rather, the highest expression of true love. "Lovemaking (*Liebesakt*) is the apex of spiritual and bodily tenderness, the conclusion of a natural, steadily intensifying passion. Everything else is immoral."[121] The article thus found a way to repackage sex as something moral; despite its non-reproductive end, it was different from other "immoral" sex acts insofar as it was the most supreme expression of love. Rather than "mere bodily expression," sex, according to an article in the newspaper, *Sexual Reform*, "builds on spiritual experience."[122]

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[119] "Junge geistige Arbeiterin, Jüdin, mit wirklich angenehmen Äußern… keine charakterlose Zierpuppe, sucht den gediegenen Menschen, dem sie gute Lebenskamerdin sein könnte. In Betracht kommen nur akademisch gebildete Herren ungefähr zwischen 30 und 40 Jahren in angesehner sozialer Position." In "Menschen die einander suchen," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskulture und Erotik*, no. 2 (21 February 1924): 16.

[120] "Laßt die Schüchternheit und alle unzeitgemäße Prüderei." In "Die Kunst zu lieben. Gedanken über die Liebe!" *Wir beide: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Erotik*, no. 1 (1925): 10.

[121] "Der Liebesakt sei euch der Gipfel der seelischen und körperlichen Zärtlichkeit, der Abschluß einer natürlichen, systematisch gesteigerten Leidenschaft. Alles andere ist unsittlich."

[122] "Sexualerziehung," *Sexual-Reform: Zeitschrift für Sexualreform und Neomalthusiansimus* V, no. 17 (January 1924): 5-6.

Fig. 54 Sex reform Newspaper, *Wir beide: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Erotik*, from 1925.

In this way, sex, which had traditionally been associated with the body, was shown to be connected to the spiritual. If love was a tree, its "roots," wrote a Viennese physician in 1921, "are the sensuality which organically spring from the sexual organs," while its "crown of leaves and flowers is the spiritual in love."[123] Despite being rooted in the material world, then, sex was nevertheless connected to the spiritual "crown" of love. Not only did this new conception of sex breach the mind-body dualism pervasive in bourgeois morality and culture, but even further, the profane was remade into something sacred. Indeed, if love was "holy" and "pure," then how could the physical union of lovers be profane? "Every sex act that is spiritually and bodily aligned towards the goal of intimate union and the full blossoming of the lover," sex reformer Joseph Carl Schlegel insisted, "is humane-moral!"[124] Instead of viewing sex as tarnishing the purity of love, it became its extension so that "sex" (*Geschlechtsverkehr*) came to be known more euphemistically as "lovemaking" (*Liebesakt*). If love was the feeling, then love-making was its noblest expression. The sex reform movement thus sought to re-embody and resensualize love, on the one hand, spiritualize sex, on the

123 "… die menschliche Liebe ist… einem Baume gleich, dessen Wurzel die aus den Geschlechtsorganen 'organisch' hervorquellende Sinnlichkeit, dessen Krone Blätter und Blüten das Geistige in der Liebe ist." In Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe!*, 7.

124 "Jeder Geschlechtsverkehr, der in seelischer und körperlicher Uebereinstimmung zum Zweck innigster Vereinigung und vollen Aufgehens eines Liebespartners im anderen gepflogen wird… ist menschlich-sittlich!" In Joseph Carl Schlegel, *Hygiene des Ehelebens: Der Führer zu Liebes- und Eheglück* (Wien: Schusdeks Verlag, 1929), 81.

other. In this way, my argument differs from Atina Grossmann's insofar as I propose that the eroticization of marriage did not solely involve the rationalization of sexuality, but also its spiritualization.[125]

Thus, the Catholic bourgeoisie's definition of love—as something spiritual, holy, and above all, chaste—came under attack. According to the 1923 sex reform book, *Wie bist du, Weib?*, "True love shows us that what is commonly called love is not a unified concept, but a summation of many and varied feelings… all of it, however, is built on the great foundation of sexuality!"[126] To be sure, "There is no such thing as platonic love!" If love was sexual in nature, then platonic love was an oxymoron. When an article in *Wir beide* asked readers whether love had to be sensual, Emma S. wrote, "Yes, absolutely!"[127] She elaborated, "After a certain longer and shorter period of time, even platonic love will become sensual or it will perish."[128]

Romantic Marriages

The marriage reform movement drew on this rhetoric to inspire married couples to integrate sex into their partnerships. "All too often one considers… marriage and the erotic as mutually exclusive," Sophie Lazarsfeld, a member of the Socialist Society for Sexual Advice and Research,

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125 "The eroticization of marriage and the rationalization of sexuality through matter-of-fact education about birth control and sexual technique was intended to heighten heterosexual satisfaction, lessen female resistance, guard against the 'plagues' of veneral disease, prostitution, incest, and abortion, and thereby encourage the production of happy, healthy children conceived in passionate but rationally considered intercourse. In an effort to match the rationalization of industry with a rationalization of the body, clinics and sex manuals attempted to institutionalize certain standards of eugenically sound and socially responsible sexual behavior." In Grossman, *Reforming Sex*, 34-35.

126 "Die große Liebe stellt uns so recht vor Augen, dass das, was landläufig Liebe genannt wird, kein Einheitsbegriff sondern eine Summierung vieler und mannigfaltigster Gefühle sei… alles aber aufgebaut auf dem großen Fundament der Sexualität!" In Bauer, *Wie bist du, Weib?*, 262.

127 Emma S., "Muss wahre Liebe sinnlich sein?" *Wir beide: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Erotik*, no. 12 (1925): 7.

128 "Nach einer bestimmten längeren oder kürzeren Zeit wird auch die platonische Liebe sinnlich werden oder an sich selbst zugrunde gehen."

observed.[129] Rather, marriage is part of a "complex of erotic and sexual relations."[130] Another book insisted that a happy marriage "must be based on intellectual, spiritual, and sexual feelings," with "sexuality playing the highest role."[131] Likewise, an article in a sex reform newspaper, claimed that "the erotic is the most important element, besides shelter, clothing, and food, in a marriage."[132] And according to Dutch physician, Theodoor Hendrik van de Velde, a "high marriage" is achieved when "the loving husband and wife show a continuous sexual coming together [*Entgegenkommen*]."[133] A loving, happy marriage, then, was built on the bedrock of sexual compatibility and fulfillment.

In Vienna, it was Johann Ferch who was at the forefront of the marriage reform movement, similarly insisting that marriage involved the "yearning… to be completed [by another] and to crown the contents of this happiness with the kiss of sensuality [*Sinnenkuß*]."[134] Sex, then, was the means through which a married couple could achieve completion and spiritual union. When Ferch and his wife, Betty, founded the League Against Forced Motherhood (*Bund gegen den Mutterschaftswang*) in 1919, one goal was to improve Viennese marriages with "sexual education and enlightenment"—in short, to sanction non-reproductive marital sex.[135] There is a "sweetness [*Köstlichkeit*] and richness in a marriage," an article in the League's newspaper, *Sexual-Reform*, stated, "that is built on a carefree

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[129] "…so das man nur allzuoft geradezu einer Gegenüberstellung von Ehe contra Erotik, als zweiter einander ausschliesender Begriffe begegnet." In Sofie Lazarsfeld, *Die Ehe von heute und morgen* (München: Verlag JF Bergmann, 1927), 51.
[130] Ibid., 4.
[131] "[Die glückliche Ehe] muß aufgebaut sein auf Empfindungen des Geistes, der Seele, der Sexualität… die Sexualität die oberste Rolle spielt…" In Bauer, *Wie bist du, Weib?*, 281-283.
[132] "Ganz abzusehen von den Wünschen betreffend die Wohnung, Kleidung, Essen usw steht in der Ehe die Erotik im Vordergrund." In Lona Desoyer, "Die Liebe in der Ehe," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 5 (1927): 8.
[133] "Es wird erreicht, wenn sich die liebenden Gatten ein unablessiges sexuelle Entgegenkommen zeigen." In Th. H. van De Velde, *Die vollkommene Ehe: eine Studie über ihre Physiologie und Technik* (Leipzig: Montana-Verlag AH Medizinische Abteilung, 1928), 19.
[134] "… die Sehnsucht des Lebenswillens, sich zu ergänzen und den Inhalt dieses Glückes mit dem Sinnenkuß zu krönen."
[135] For an overview of the League, see McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 128-133; Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers," 55-57.

sexuality."[136] Although reproductive sex was still held in high esteem, especially with the rise of pronatalism throughout the 1920s (which I will discuss in the Conclusion to this dissertation), the League's Lamarckian belief that the environment could affect hereditary characteristics implied that good, carefree sex was also necessary in order to enhance the quality of the baby.[137]

Because of its eugenic position, the League was also committed to providing women with access to birth control methods and devices, as well as repealing Austria's strict anti-abortion laws, §§ 144 to 148.[138] In contrast to the Social Democratic Workers Party's more conservative Marriage Advice Center, which emphasized the reproductive goals of marriage,[139] the League's Women's Advice Centers provided "every woman (and girl) without means" a referral to a physician "who will provide her with an examination and a pessary-fitting free of charge."[140] By 1930, the League opened a total of seven Women's

Fig. 55 A woman consulting with physician at an advice center. From "Schwierige Fälle," *Arbeiter-Zeitung* XXXV, no. 336 (8 December 1923): 16.

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136 "… die Köstlichkeit und den Reichtum eines Ehelebens, dass auf einer sorgenbefreiten Sexualtiät aufbaut. Das ist sexuelle Erziehung und Aufklärung, die fruchtbar ist und bereichernd, weil sie ethisch ist und vernünftig." In "Sexualerziehung," *Sexual-Reform: Zeitschrift für Sexualreform und Neomalthusianismus* V, no. 17 (January 1924): 5-6.

137 Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 35.

138According to its statutes, the League's mission was as follows: "§2: Der Bund ist nicht politisch und bezweckt die Hebung des Verantwortlichkeitsgefühles gegenüber dem Kinde, die Durchsetzung des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Mütter sowie den erhöhten Schutz von Mutter und Kind." In Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv (hereafter WStLA), Series: Gelöschte Vereine, Box: Bund gegen Mutterschaftszwang, 1440/1923, 1919 Statuten.

139 Shortly after the war ended in 1922, the SDAP opened the first Marriage Advice Center (*Eheberatungsstelle*) in the city-hall (*Ratthaus*) right off of the city's majestic *Ringstrasse*. Drawing on eugenics discourse, the Center's director, Karl Katsky, insisted that establishing whether a couple was physically and mentally compatible was of utmost importance. Was the woman capable of bearing healthy children? Was the man free of veneral disease, impotence, and "perversion" (*Perversität*)? The language of romance—spiritual and sensual love—was notably absent from the Center's literature, nor was birth control available. See Dr. Karl Kautsky, "Die Eheberatung im Dienste der Wohlfahrtspflege," *Blätter für das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien* 24, no. 248 (March-April 1925): 26. For an historical analysis of the Center, see McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 121-128; Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers," 51-57.

140 "Jede mittellose Frau (auch Mädchen), die die Verwendung des Fraunschutzes (Pessar und Irrigator) anstrebt, erhält von einem weiblichen Vorstandsmitglied des Bundes eine Anweisung an einen Arzt (womöglich in der Nähe ihres Wohnortes oder mit zwei Straßenbahnkarten), der kostenlose Untersuchung

Advice Centers in different districts in Vienna—and twenty-two in Austria, as a whole—that received some 250 visitors per week.[141] In addition to providing access to pessaries, the Centers advised women on how to use chemical contraceptives, such as Semori. In fact, the League believed chemicals to be "the ideal protective device of the future because they have the inestimable advantage of rendering women independent of doctors,"[142] so that they could someday make their own sexual and reproductive choices, an issue that I will return to in Chapter 5.[143]

As anxiety-free non-reproductive sex became more accessible to married couples, the goal of improving sexual pleasure, especially for women, became the marriage reform movement's next goal.[144] "Oftentimes a man puts a woman in a position in which she goes through sex without experiencing any pleasure," one marriage advice book observed.[145] "In order to also provide the woman with full pleasure, the man will, as far as possible, not proceed hastily through the sex act."[146] This meant a significant amount of time devoted to foreplay, a "slow sequence of events," as well as "deep, soulful penetration." Further, because a woman's "sexual feelings are much more spread out over her entire being [*Wesen*]," it was necessary for sex to involve a greater range of acts over a

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und erstmalige Pessaranbringung betätigt." In "Errichtung der Frauenschutz-Beratungsstelle," *Sexual-Reform: Zeitschrift für Sexualreform und Neomalthusianisumus* IV, no. 13 (January 1923): 1.

141 The first Women's Advice Center opened its doors in the city's VI district, Mariahilf, in 1923. In Betty Ferch, "The Birth Control Association of Austria," *The Practice of Contraception: An International Symposium and Survey*, eds. Margaret Sanger and Hannah M. Stone (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1931), 268-270.

142 Ferch, "The Birth Control Association of Austria," 269.

143 It is worth noting that many birth control methods were difficult to use and prohibitively expensive for women.

144 Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe*, 55-56.

145 "Oft wird die Frau durch den Mann in die Lage versetzt, den Geschlechtsakt auszuführen, ohne dabei Befriedigung zu empfinden." In Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe!*, 23.

146 "Um dem Weibe gleichfalls volle Befriedigung zu verschaffen, wird der Mann den geschlechtlichen Verkehr tunlichst… nicht zu eilfertig ablaufen lassen. Ein langsamer Ablauf… und möglichst tiefe, seelische Durchdringung des ganzen geschlechtlichen Vorganges schaft auch dem Weibe die wohltätigste Triebauslösung und auch dem Mann volkommenen Genuß." In Ibid., 23.

greater range of body parts.[147] As I will show below, sex reformers urged couples to use all five senses to explore each other's bodies.

As women's pleasure became more central to marriage, reformers urged husbands to place their wives' sexual fulfillment before their own. "How many husbands … do not care in the least if the wife, when she experiences the need for intimate union [*intimer Vereinigung*], has the same desire!"[148] "The joy of love," however, "is to love not to be loved."[149] Husbands would have to take it upon themselves to leave their "egoism" behind and perform their marital duty, namely, providing their wives with the utmost sexual pleasure. In this way, Viennese bourgeois masculinity also underwent a shift, becoming more attentive and accommodating. Marriage reformers argued that the most objectionable aspect of masturbation was its egoism; while good sex involved altruism, masturbation was only focused on the self. According to Viennese physician, Karl Kautsky, "the only threat of masturbation [*Onanie*]… is that it makes a person get used to carrying out an act, which is supposed to involve the highest amount of reciprocity, in which both partners give as much pleasure as they receive it, by themselves."[150] As a result, "the strong altruistic powers… are transformed into something purely egotistical."

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147 "Ihre Geschlechtsempfindung ist eben viel mehr über ihr ganzes Wesen verbreitet, weniger lokal auslösbar wie beim Mann..." In Ibid., 23.

148 "Wieviele Ehemänner gibt es doch, die sich nicht im mindesten darum kümmern, ob die Frau in jenem Momente, in welchem sie das Bedürfnis nach intimer Vereinigung empfinden, das gleiche Verlangen trägt oder zumindest zur Hingabe innerlich bereit ist!" In Schlegel, *Hygiene des Ehelebens*, 72.

149 "Das Glück der Liebe ist, zu lieben, nicht geliebt zu werden." In Franz Blei, *Lerhbücher der Liebe* (München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1923), 17-18.

150 "Die einzige Gefahr der Onanie… besteht darin, daß die den Menschen daran gewöhnt, einen Akt, der das Höchstmaß an Gegenseitigkeit bedeuten sollte, bei dem beide Teile ebensoviel an Lust geben sollten, wie sie selbst empfangen, für sich allein auszufüren. Es werden also die starken altruistischen Kräfte… in rein egoistische verwandelt." In Karl Kautsky, *Soziale Hygiene der Frau: Eine sozialmedizinische Darstellung des weiblichen Geschlechtslebens* (Prag: Verlag des Parteivorstandes der Deutschen sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik, 1931), 17.

One image in Franz Blei's richly illustrated *Love Textbooks* (*Lehrbücher der Liebe*) from 1923 is particularly effective in conveying the altruistic goals of marital love.[151] In it, a pink-cheeked woman smiles at the reader as she shows off her heavy cloak, glittering crown, and powerful scepter that resembles an erect phallus. Surrounding her are blue flowers (*blaue Blumen*), symbolizing inspiration, desire, and love. The message? That a wife's pleasure is the priority, and that a husband must treat her body with the same devotion and respect given to a queen.

An Education of the Senses

Echoing Tilde Mell's sentiment from 1907—that *Damen* are raised "not to see"—Sophie Lazarsfeld wrote in 1928, "Most people don't even have their eyes open." "In other words, they never learned to use them—whether their eyes or their other sensory organs—correctly."[152] Lazarsfeld called for "the exquisite refinement of the organs," an education of the senses, especially in the realm of love. In the following section, I will explore how reform literature instructed readers to call upon all five senses to reignite their marriages with romance and passion.

Aphrodisiacs, which heightened amorous and sensual feelings between partners, were mostly related to taste. Experts recommended the regular consumption of fish, oysters, truffles, celery, artichokes, and asparagus.[153] One sex reformer, Zoltán von Nemes-Nagy, even recommended a daily meal plan:[154] upon waking, one was to sit down to a first breakfast, which consisted of a cup of hot chocolate made of chocolate cooked in heavy cream, vanilla, sugar, and an egg yolk, and topped with cinnamon; next, one would have a second breakfast, a beefsteak or cutlet with a glass of Burgunder

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151 All drawings are by Austrian artist, Elisabeth Wrede (1898-1981). Here, I am referring to the image appearing before the section, "Die vollkommene Geliebte," in Blei, *Lerhbücher der Liebe*.
152 "… denn die meisten Menschen haben noch nicht einmal die Augen offen, das heißt, sie haben noch längst nicht gelernt, sie richtig zu gebrauchen, weder die Augen noch ihre anderen Aufnahmsorgane…" In Lazarsfeld, *Erziehung zur Ehe*, 90.
153 Schlegel, *Hygiene des Ehelebens*, 89.
154 Zoltán von Nemes-Nagy, *Vita sexualis: das Geschlechtsleben der Menschen* (Wien: Braunmüller, 1926). See also discussion of Nemes-Nagy's work in Schlegel, 90.

wine; after taking a two-hour walk and a bath, one would have beef broth, roast beef with mustard, mushrooms, and artichokes, or fish, foie gras, and celery salad for lunch; immediately following lunch, one would indulge in a second glass of wine; at five o'clock, following a one-hour walk, one would sit down to enjoy a cup of coffee with heavy cream and vanilla; and finally, at seven o'clock, one would have dinner, either an egg with bacon, beef brain and kidneys, an omelet made of fresh vegetables, such as asparagus, green peas, spinach, and a third glass of wine. As it becomes clear, this meal plan was targeted at the bourgeoisie (only they could afford to eat this way on a daily basis), the common assumption being that the working-classes did not need to follow a pedagogy of heterosexual intimacy because they were imagined to have frequent and satisfying sex— towards which the bourgeoisie could aspire.

Additionally, several books from the 1920s devoted entire sections to instructing readers on how to use their entire bodies—and all five senses: taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell—to enhance the (hetero)sex act itself. One of the most successful sex manuals that did this was Dutch physician Theodoor Hendrik van de Velde's *Die volkommene Ehe*, which was first published in German in 1928 to great press attention and acclaim.[155] Re-sensualizing sex became so popular, in fact, that many sex reformers followed van de Velde's example. In Vienna, gynecologist Bernhard Bauer devoted dozens of pages to this topic in his book, *Wie bist du, Weib?*.[156]

According to van de Velde, foreplay (*Vorspiel*) involved the first three senses: sight, sound, and smell. Sight was important because it produced "the first impressions between the sexes," the initial attraction.[157] People first notice superficial characteristics, van de Velde observed: a "man will be attracted to a woman's well-formed breasts," while a woman will be attracted to "a man's strong

[155] The Dutch version appeared in 1926. See Grossman, *Reforming Sex*, 28.
[156] I hope to explore the similarities and differences between the two books in the future.
[157] "[Der Gesichtssinn] bringt… die ersten eindrücke zwischen den Geschlechtern hervor. Und diese können entscheidend sein." In van de Velde, *Die vollkommene Ehe*, 38.

body build."[158] But sound, van de Velde insisted, played just as important a role in generating feelings of attraction during foreplay, which he described in musical terms as "sempre crescendo."[159] In addition to discussing the sensual aspects of music (of Richard Wagner's opera, "Tristan and Isolde," he wrote that "no person can experience the orchestral torrent of the [opera's] second act without being overcome with sexual feelings"[160]), as well as the "primordial" power of rhythm, he emphasized how the particular "timbre" of a person's voice can work wonders in producing sexual arousal. Was he, perhaps, urging his readers to seduce each other with words, whispers, moans, and groans? Indeed, van de Velde wrote that, "The most important instrument of foreplay… is conversation. Its most important topic is—love."[161]

With regard to smell, van de Velde encouraged his readers "to be attentive to it, so that you can become aware of the pleasure that your body's tender fragrances can produce."[162] People were to maintain proper hygiene—regularly clean their body, change underwear and clothing, avoid pungent foods such as garlic, and wear perfumes—as well as become more sensitive to their lover's natural scents. The smell of genitals, van de Velde observed, could be particularly arousing. Even semen, he argued, could produce sexual feelings—though only in women and not in men, reinforcing the heterosexuality of these sex acts.[163]

Touch and taste, van de Velde wrote, were related to the next stage in sex: the "loveplay" (*Liebesspiel*). He urged his readers to consider the taste of their lover's saliva, which "can often have a

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158 "Deshalb wird der Mann durch gut geformte Brüste der Frau angezogen, die Frau durch einen kräftigen Körperbau des Mannes." In Ibid., 38.
159 Ibid., 136.
160 "Kein solcher Mensch kann den Orchesterschwall des zweiten Aktes von Wagners 'Tristan und Isolde' über sich hinbrausen lassen, ohne dabei sein Geschlechtsgefühl aufs tiefste berührt zu wissen." In Ibid., 24.
161 "Das wichtigste Instrument im Vorspiel des Geschlechtsverkehres ist das Gespräch. Sein wichtigstes Thema ist—die Liebe." In Ibid., 140.
162 "Deshalb möchte ich ihnen raten ihre Aufmerksamkeit in diese Richtung zu lenken, damit sie sich des Genusses bewußt werden, den ihnen die zarten Wohlgerüche, die dem geliebten Körper entseigen, bereiten können." In Ibid., 25.
163 Ibid., 30.

stimulating effect."[164] The "love kiss" (*Liebeskuß*) was of utmost importance in this regard. In contrast to Alma's friend Louise's insistence that married couples no longer engaged in erotic kisses, van de Velde suggested the opposite: "overall, the tongue kiss is the most important variation of the kiss," with taste playing an important role.[165] "The kiss's taste also becomes very personal because … a little saliva goes from one mouth into the other." He continued that, "some, if not all lovers, even prefer to purposefully produce more [saliva]… Poets that sing: 'I want to drink your kisses as often as I used to' are not fantasizing, at least not with regard to the technique of love; because love kisses are [to be] imbibed."[166]

Curiously, writing some twenty years earlier, Tilly also described kisses in these terms. "If I were to translate his kisses into words," she wrote of her beau, "they say: give me love, I am thirsty."[167] The thirst metaphor appeared again a couple of years later, when she mused, "Love is just a shallow stream, that runs beside the street of Life, not everyone can stoop down and be refreshed, he does not have time. Out of thirst, some do not get any farther…"[168] She viewed herself as "a dehydrated one [*eine Erdurstende*]" and it was through kisses that she finally could quench her thirst.

Van de Velde believed that touch was "the most important of all senses" in producing sexual feelings during the loveplay, and he made note of the different erogenous zones on the body, including earlobes, inner thighs, breasts, and nipples. "Light pinching and kneading of the whole

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164 "… eine reizende Wirkung ausüben können." In Ibid., 23.
165 "… der Zungenkuß ist eine der wichtigsten Varianten des Kusses überhaupt." In Ibid., 142.
166 "Damit erhält auch der Geschmack des Kusses seine persönliche Nuance, denn bei jedem Liebeskuß… geht ein wenig Speichel von dem einen Mund in den anderen über. Ja manche, wenn nicht alle Liebenden, bevorzugen es sogar, aus dem wenigen absichtlich mehr zu machen. Die Poeten, die da singen: 'Ich will deine Küsse trinken, wie ehemals oft' phantasieren diesmal, wenigstens insoweit es die Technik der Liebe betrifft, nicht; denn Liebesküsse werden getrunken." In Ibid., 144.
167 "Wenn ich seine Küsse in Worte umsetzen dürfte, so heißen sie: Gib mir Liebe, ich bin durstig." In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1901-1903, 7 December 1902.
168 "Die Liebe ist nur ein spärl. Bach, der neben der Lebensstrasse rinnt, nicht jeder kann sich bücken und sich laben, er hat nicht Zeit. Mancher kommt vor Durst nicht weiter…" In SFn, Series: MHH, Box: NL IIIC/4, Diary 1904: "Mein Leben, Lieben u. Leiden," 2 December 1904.

breast with the entire hand moves a woman into the beginnings of sexual arousal," he wrote.[169] During the sex act, "all forms of touch, in all gradations, from the quiet tickle to the gentle stroking with finger tips" is stimulating, he argued, although the softest touches tend to be "most effective."[170] Ultimately, a woman may choose to touch her lover's penis, while a man may "glide the finger of his caressing hand… into the vulva and continue the touching."[171]

After the loveplay came coitus, or *Vergattung*, a neologism that drew on *Vermählung* (marriage) and *Begattung* (copulation). This stage involved the penis entering the vagina and the attainment of orgasm for both partners. Here, the sense of touch reigned supreme, and van de Velde argued that even a rough touch, such as a firm grip leading to bruising, was part and parcel to this stage. To be sure, he encouraged lovers to tap into "a certain rawness and severity," as this was related to humans' "primitive" instinct to reproduce.[172] The mind-body/human-animal dualisms that had been so central to the bourgeois worldview was slowly being undone.

Once the penis exited the vagina, the lovers found themselves in the final stage of sex, known as the "afterplay" (*Nachspiel*), "the most delicate and tender part of the entire sex symphony."[173] Here, exhilarated lovers would experience a heightening of the senses: "The eye is more sensitive to light that usual," "the sense of smell is sharper," "even hearing is more refined." But it is ultimately the sense of touch, he argued, that becomes most sensitive. For this reason, he recommended that the couple indulge in a long embrace, relishing in their physical and sensual unity: they have finally become one.

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169 "Leichtes Kneifen und Kneten der ganzen Brust mit der vollen Hand versetzt die Frau in beginnende sexuelle Erregung." In van De Velde, *Die vollkommene Ehe*, 43.
170 "Außer von dem Kusse in seinem verschiedenen Nuancen macht das Liebespiel einen ausgiebigen Gebrauch von der Betastung in allen Formen, in all möglichen Abstufungen, vom leisen Kitzeln und sanftesten Streicheln mit den Fingerspitzen… wobei sich, im allgemeinen genommen, auch hier wieder die leisen und leisesten Berührungen am wirksamsten zeigen." In Ibid., 151.
171 "So gleidet denn einer der Finger der streichelnden Hand wie von selbst in die Vulva hinein und setzt dort die Berührung fort." In Ibid., 154.
172 "… ein gewisses Maß von Roheit und Unnachsichtigkeit…" In Ibid., 148.
173 "…. feinsten und zartesten Teil der ganzen Vergattungssymphonie." In Ibid., 230.

The re-sensualization of sex could arguably be regarded as its feminization: if woman has traditionally been associated with the body, then remaking sex into a more embodied experience can be read as feminist. As Luce Irigaray states, "*woman has sex organs more or less everywhere*. She finds pleasure almost anywhere. Even if we refrain from invoking the hystericization of her entire body, the geography of her pleasure is far more diversified, more multiple in its differences, more complex, more subtle, than is commonly imagined."[174] By encouraging partners to use their five senses to actively "make love" to one another, the sex and marriage reform movements diversified pleasure along feminine lines—or curves.

And yet, the fact that penetration remained the pinnacle of the sex act (the *Vergattung*), as well as the only means to achieve orgasm reveals how despite the new recognition of women's temperament, (hetero)sexuality prioritized the phallus: "the obsession with erection and ejaculation, the exaggerated importance of penis size, the stereotyped poverty of gesture, the reduction of the body to a mere surface to be broken through or punctured."[175] Thus, as Irigaray observes, "when that strange state of 'body' that men call women's pleasure turns up, it is gratuitous, accidental, unforeseen, 'supplementary' to the essential."[176] Women's desire and pleasure, though recognized, existed within the matrix of compulsory heterosexuality, in which male pleasure was most important.[177]

Sex in Marriage: Reasons for Separation and Divorce

As martial love was remade into romantic love, more Viennese women came to value sex in their marriage. Indeed, by the late 1920s, it seemed that having an unfulfilling sex life was grounds

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174 Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 28.
175 Ibid., 200.
176 Ibid., 96.
177 David Halperin provocatively stated that, there is "no orgasm without ideology." In David M. Halperin, *How To Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 103.

for separation or divorce. In the following section, I will explore this trend in greater detail by considering records from 1927 to 1931, located at the Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv.[178] Because Austrian marriage law was based on the ABGB of 1811, which declared the insolubility of Catholic marriages until death, and the majority of the population belonged to the Roman Catholic faith, most people were limited to separation.[179] Of the 26,277 separations and divorces between 1887 and 1906 in Austria, for instance, only 3,284 (12.5 percent) were divorces.[180] Non-Catholics had a much easier time obtaining separation and divorce. If both members of a couple professed a non-Catholic Christian religion at the time of the marriage,[181] they could obtain divorce by mutual consent in the case of "unconquerable aversion" (*unüberwindliche Abneigung*) (§115) or if one spouse issued a complaint against the other.[182] Likewise, if both parties were Jewish, divorce was permitted (§§133-137) either by mutual consent or if the husband accused the wife of adultery.[183] In cases of mutual consent, Jews did not have to assert unconquerable aversion like non-Catholic Christians,[184] which made it significantly easier for them to obtain divorce.

Alternatively, a couple could apply to have their marriage declared invalid—a practice that became common immediately following the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, when provincial governments started granting (re)marriages by dispensation. These came to be known as the "Sever-Marriages"—from Lower Austria's governor Albert Sever, who was one of the first people to grant

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178 We do not have access to the separation and divorce proceedings from before 1927—when a fire ravaged the *Justizpalast* during the July Revolt.
179 In the Hungarian half of the monarchy, however, divorce for Catholics was legal, thus prompting a wave of divorce tourism. See Sandor Nagy, "One Empire, Two States, Many Laws: Matrimonial Law and Divorce in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (2014): 190-221.
180 United States Bureau of the Census, *Marriage and Divorce. 1867-1906, Part 1* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 392.
181 This law also applied to couples that were not religious.
182 Complaints could only be based on the following reasons: adultery, criminal activity, wicked desertion, threat to life or health, repeated abuse.
183 If, at the time of the divorce, none of the parties identified as Jewish anymore, then the rules of non-Catholic Christian couples applied.
184 Although some of them did. For example, WStLA, Landesgericht für Zivilrechtssachen (hereafter LgZ), Box: Abt. 30Cg/1268, File: 286/28/7, 31 May 1929.

marriages by dispensation. In 1921, however, the Austrian Supreme Court declared the practice illegal, thus prompting the beginning of what came to be known as the "marriage hubbub" (*Ehewirrwarr*).[185]

Hermine and Karl Wieder claimed unconquerable aversion in February 1927. Separated *a thoro et mensa* in 1922, they decided to fully dissolve their marriage several years later, given that they "no longer had any marital dealings with one another," nor did they engage in sexual intimacy. In fact, they wanted to divorce precisely because the "marriage had never been sexually normal," given that they had only been intimate three times for the duration of the marriage.[186] "If this strange weakness of a 23 year old man leads back to the clumsiness of the first sexual encounter with his wife, to early masturbatory excesses, to a lack of ambition, or to all factors together, we can ascertain that… the sexual vanity of the young woman must have been hurt… and affected her basic physical respect of the man as the stronger sex."[187] The court resolved that due to the husband's inability to meet his marital coital duty, it was reasonable that Hermine's aversion was "constant and unconquerable," and divorce was granted. The concept of unconquerable aversion is particularly interesting insofar as it connoted an impossibility and finality that could not be negotiated with, and was based on a passionate emotion—aversion—that verged on disgust and hate. Spouses with unconquerable aversion, then, not only disliked, but loathed one another to such an extent that there was no possibility of overcoming it. And, as I discussed in Chapter 2, insofar as emotional

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185 Samuel R. Watchtell, "Marriage by Dispensation in Austrian Law," *United States Law Review* 68 (1934): 649-659.

186 "Auch in geschlechtlicher Hinsicht sei die Ehe nicht normal gewesen…" In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/ 1268, Folder: 1927, 10 February 1927.

187 "Ob diese befremdliche Schwäche eines 23 jährigen Mannes auf die Ungeschicklichkeit bei den ersten Verkehre mit einer Frau, auf frühere onanistische Exzesse, auf mangelnde Ambition oder auf alles dies zusammen zurückgeführt werden muss, kann dahin gestellt werden, sicher und der Natur des weiblichen Wesens entsprechend ist, dass die geschlechtliche Eitelkeit der jungen Frau schwer verletzt, ihre Erwartung enttäuscht und die rein physische Achtung vor dem Manne als den stärkeren geschlechtlichen Wesen empfindlich beeinträchtig werden musste."

expression was a fundamental aspect the *neue Wienerin*, then a woman claiming unconquerable aversion can simultaneously be regarded as a claim to new womanhood.

Another couple claimed unconquerable aversion because "for the past 2 years a cooling gradually set in between them, which, over time, developed into a complete estrangement."[188] According to Maria Leist, the reason for this was that her husband gave up having sex with her because he "no longer feels anything for her, he is interested in other women."[189] Her husband agreed, stating that whenever he tries to be intimate, he is overcome by "pain in his soul" (*seelische Schmerzen*). He believed that his wife's or his own vital fluids had changed, which affected their attraction to one another—a possible reference to the popular science of mesmerism, which posited the existence of a magnetic force or "vital fluid" in all animal and human bodies.[190]

Women, however, also made a point to emphasize their right to pleasure. Despite being Catholic, Helene Klotz filed for separation in 1926 due to her husband's "egoism and coldness of heart [*Herzenskälte*]."[191] According to Helene, her husband "only thought about the satisfaction of his own inclinations and whims."[192] Meanwhile, her desires were never taken into account or satisfied. Hedwig Wesely also accused her husband, Alois Josef, of failing to fulfill his coital duty.[193] She speculated that he was either impotent or "inclined towards perversion [*pervers veranlagt*]." According to Hedwig's testimony, they only had sex three times in the seven years of their marriage. Although her husband countered that his wife was "emotionally cold" and hysterical, the court ruled that it was Alois's "complete sexual neglect of his wife" that contributed to her hysteria in the first place—

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188 "… dass seit 2 Jahren allmählich eine Erkältung zwischen ihnen eingetreten sei, welche sich mit der Zeit zu einer vollständigen Entfemdung entwickelte." In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 14Cg/494, 11 July 1928.
189 "… er empfinde für sie nichts mehr, seine Interesse gelt anderen Frauen."
190 On the history of mesmerism, see Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
191 WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 14Cg/494, File: 673/28/1, 28 December 1928.
192 "Er… dachte nur an die Befriedigung seiner eigenen Neigungen und Launen und liess mich vielfach allein."
193 WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/1268, File: 188/7/20, 4 May 1928.

an idea that was consistent with contemporary ideas about female frigidity, as discussed above. Thus, separation was granted.

Some women cited sexual abuse as grounds for separation or divorce. In May 1927, Karoline Ludwig accused her husband, Oskar of marital rape. In her testimony, she claimed that her husband "abus[ed] me sexually over the course of our living together in that he [had sex with me] without consideration of my health often several times a day."[194] "He beat me constantly, he often brutally abused me … yelled and insulted me [*beschimpfte mich*] in the crudest way, and from the very beginning, this treatment was the order of the day."[195] Helene Klotz also included descriptions of sexual abuse during her trial. Her husband, Viktor, "treated me roughly."[196]

As a result, some women looked outside of their marriages for romance. The wife of a businessman, Irma Wessely, described feeling "completely neglected" by her husband who "went out alone every night, came home late at night, and even spent time without her at the coffeehouse on Sundays and holidays."[197] Likewise, Margarethe Weinmann, stated that, "her husband only expressed interest in his profession and for music," and when she invited him to take part in "harmless entertainments," he was "completely unsympathetic."[198] Both women ended up engaging in extra-marital relationships for romantic fulfillment. Irma started dating Josef Singer, and

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194 "Der Beklagte missbrauchte mich während der Dauer unseres Zusammenlebens geschlechtlich, indem er ohne Rücksicht auf meine Gesundheit oft merhmals am Tag mir beiwohnte…" In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/ 1268, Folder: 1927, 14 May 1927.

195 "Er schlug mich wiederholt, oft misshandelte er mich in der rohesten Weise durch Schläge, beschimpfte mich in der grobsten Art und diese Behandlung war von allem Anfang an der Tagesordnung." In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/ 1268, Folder: 1927, 14 May 1927.

196 "Er behandelte mich roh…" In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 14Cg/494, 28 December 1928.

197 "Irma Wessely macht geltend, sie habe bemerkt, dass sie ihr Gatte in den letzten Jahren vollständig vernachlässigte, indem er allabendlich allein ausging, erst spät nachts nachhause kam und auch am Sonn- und Feiertagen seine freie Zeit meistens ohne sie im Kaffeehaus verbrachte." In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/1268, 28 January 1928.

198 "Die Ehegattin Margarethe Weinmann führt ihre unüberwindliche Abneigung darauf zurück, dass ihr Gatte nur für seinen Beruf und für Musik Interesse zeige, sich dagegen ihr überhaupt nicht widme. Er sei für ihre Wünsche nach harmlosen Vergnügen, wie Kaffeehausbesuchen und Ausflügen, vollständig verständnislos." In WStLA, LgZ, Box: Abt. 30Cg/1268, File: 232/28/3, 4 June 1928.

Margarethe expressed desire to leave her husband for a cobbler that the court described as "significantly younger than her."

Coda: "A strange new tenderness"

Lilli Wehle-Weber (née Weber) and her husband divorced in 1925.[199] A year later, at the age of thirty-two, Lilli became infatuated with another man, filling her small diary with erotic poems devoted to him. Her passion was hot and physical, and her nights were restless: "At night, hot and wild/ where my body rears alone/ where my head burrows feverishly into the pillows/ and alone my blood foams."[200] Once her love was reciprocated, Lilli felt her body come alive: "Didn't think about my body for a long time/ I was like a child, quiet and cold/ Only through you have wishes in me been awakened/ After a wildly hot, blissful night."[201] In another poem, she expressed her desire to "want nothing but to know love/ [to know] wild, hot sensual pleasure."[202] For Lilli, love was synonymous with pleasure.

At the fin de siècle, bourgeois *Damen* were raised to view love and sex as mutually exclusive: the marital home was the site of holy love, while sex belonged on the street. With the marriage and sex reform movements, later amplified by the war, the love-lust dualism was breached. No longer could a husband go to the brothel to satisfy his "natural" urges; he had to stay home and please his wife. As a union built on free love and romance, bourgeois marriage became even more monogamous than before.

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[199] They were able to divorce because they belonged to the Evangelical Church when they married (though Lilli had converted from Judaism prior to that).
[200] "Nächten heis und wild/ wo mein Leib sich einsam bäumt/ wo fiebernd der Kopf sich ins Kissen wühlt/ und allein mein Blut verschäumt." In SFn, Series: Lilli Wehle-Weber (hereafter LWW), Box: NL 21/13, "Frau Friedl," 1 October 1926.
[201] "Hab lang nicht an meinen Körper gedacht/ Wie ein Kind war ich, ruhig und kühl/ Durch dich erst sind Wünsche in mir erwacht/ Nach einer wildheisen, wonniger Nacht/ Nach der Sinnen süß sehnenden Spiel!" In SFn, Series: LWW, Box: NL 21/13, "Untitled," 3 September 1926.
[202] "Möcht nichts, als nur von Liebe wissen/ Von wilde, heiser Sinnenlust." SFn, Series: LWW, Box: NL 21/13, Tagebuch in Reimform ab 1926, "Verlangen," 15 January 1927.

Even further, the *neue Wienerinnen* themselves came to view their expression of heterosexual love as a right, and a way to assert their modern and temperamental femininity. By the same token, marriages that did not provide space for the experience of that strange new tenderness—love—were seen as a threat to a new woman's very humanity. In her new relationship, Lilli expected to give, receive, and make love. At one point, she asked, "Is my soul a whore [*Dirne*]?"[203] In this chapter, I argued that for Vienna's new women, it was. And yet, precisely because they loved and were loved "like whores," they also came to regard their own bodies in a completely new light, the subject of Chapter 5.

[203] "Ist meine Seele eine Dirne/ Das sie sich dir enthüllen kann?" SFn, Series: LWW, Box: NL 21/13, Tagebuch in Reimform ab 1926, 1 October 1926

CHAPTER 5

"The first time she ever saw herself": Experiences of Reproductive Embodiment

In 1899, Elisabeth Töpfel, a shop-girl living in Vienna's working-class Fünfhaus district, was convicted of abortion under §144. According to her police testimony from 21 December, Elisabeth had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Wilhelm Bauernfeind, in October, and after her menses failed to appear for two months, Wilhelm advised her to see a midwife (*Hebamme*), whose advertisement he found in a newspaper.[1] According to Elisabeth, the midwife, Hermine Rambousek, examined her, "yet could not give any certain information about my pregnancy."[2] Nevertheless, Elisabeth reported lying on a sofa in a dark room, while Hermine "inserted an object that was the thickness of a quill into the vagina. It was definitely not a needle stick…"[3] Hermine reportedly showed Elisabeth the blood on her finger, and said, "You see, blood is already flowing, it is nothing."[4] For Elisabeth, the blood was evidence for never having been pregnant in the first place; it was not the blood from an abortion, but rather, from the two missed menses.[5] The underlying assumption, then, was that the body could withhold menstrual blood without being pregnant, and that a midwife could coax it to be released. By the end of the trial, Elisabeth's charges were dropped.

Although the Austrian criminal code from 1852 criminalized all instances of abortion, there was one notable exception: a mother's ignorance. The anti-abortion legislation was divided into two parts: the first part, §§144 to 146, targeted mothers and fathers; the second part, §§147 to 148, targeted abortion providers. §144 criminalized women who "deliberately" (*absichtlich*)—that is to say,

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[1] Wiener Stadt- und Landes Archiv (hereafter WStLA), Landesgericht für Strafsachen (hereafter LgSt), Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 8515/1899, 21 December 1899.
[2] "… jedoch keine sichere Auskunft bezüglich meiner Schwangerschaft geben konnte."
[3] "… führte mir einen federstildickes [Katheter] in die Scheide. Eine Stricknadel war es gewiss nicht…"
[4] "Sehen sie, es ist schon Blut umgegangen, es ist nichts."
[5] According to Elisabeth Töpfel: "Die Hebamme machte mich aufmerksam, dass falls mir unwohl werden sollte, ich mich niederlegen soll, es werde mir möglichst mehr Blut abgehen, da mir die Periode 2 Mal ausgeblieben."

without ignorance—underwent abortions, while §§145 and 146 articulated the details of their punishment.[6] If a woman deliberately attempted to but failed to abort her fetus, she was sentenced to hard labor (*mit schwerem Kerker*) for six months to one year. If she succeeded in aborting her fetus, she would be sentenced for one to five years.[7] §147 criminalized those who attempted to or succeeded in providing abortions "against the knowledge and consent of the mother."[8] In other words, the abortion provider was guilty if the mother was ignorant of the procedure, and according to §148, sentenced for one to five years of hard labor, and in the case that the mother was harmed (*Gefahr am Leben oder Nachteil an der Gesundheit*), five to ten years.[9]

Elisabeth Töpfel pleaded ignorance and won. And yet, over the next few decades, women were less likely to follow her lead. Although the anti-abortion legislation did not change in the period under investigation, women's stories did.[10] Instead of pleading ignorance, they appealed to the discourse of personal hygiene and responsibility (*Verantwortlichkeit*) to assert their agency. Some women referred to eugenics to explain that a lack of fitness had led them to seek out abortion. Others drew on medical knowledge to self-induce an abortion, identify a natural miscarriage, or evaluate whether a sensation was painful or not. In all these instances, Vienna's new women took part in a medical literacy that allowed them to make calculated decisions about their reproductive bodies.

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[6] "§144. Eine Frauensperson, welche absichtlich was immer für eine Handlung unternimmt, wodurch die Abtreibung ihrer Leibesfrucht verursacht, oder ihre Entbindung auf solche Art, daß das Kind tot zur Welt kommt, bewirkt wird, macht sich eines Verbrechens schuldig."

[7] "§145. Ist die Abtreibung versucht, aber nicht erfolgt, so soll die Strafe auf Kerker zwischen sechs Monaten und einem Jahre ausgemessen; die zustande gebrachte Abtreibung mit schwerem Kerker zwischen einem und fünf Jahren gebracht werden."

[8] "§147. Diese Verbrechens macht sich auch derjenige schuldig, der aus was immer für einer Absicht, wider Wissen und Willen, der Mutter, die Abtreibung ihrer Leibesfrucht bewirkt oder zu bewirken versucht."

[9] "§148. Ein solcher Verbrecher soll mit schwerem Kerker zwischen einem und fünf Jahren; und wenn zugleich der Mutter durch das Verbrechen Gefahr am Leben oder Nachteil an der Gesundheit zugezogen worden ist, zwischen fünf und zehn Jahren bestraft werden."

[10] The legislation did not change until 1974.

This chapter uses abortion trial records from 1899 to 1931, located at the Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv, to examine how working-class women living in and around Vienna understood their reproductive bodies over time. At the fin de siècle, many working-class women experienced their bodies as fluid, and its rhythms as irregular. Over time, with the emergence of a bourgeois language and culture of hygiene and professional medicine, they began to see this fluidity as something abject, shameful, and in need of proper hygiene, care, and containment. If the previous chapters have mostly focused on how the working-classes, especially its women, informed bourgeois performances of new womanhood, this chapter examines the reverse, namely, how bourgeois culture affected the new women of the working-classes. What follows, then, is a narrative in which women's changing testimonies reflect and resist a shift from a more woman-centered, somatically-based metaphysics to the more solipsistic worldview of bourgeois medicine.

Body Feelings

Three years after Elisabeth Töpfel pleaded ignorance, Marie Kratochwil, a young woman who migrated to Vienna from Galicia—the crownland just north of Bukowina, where this dissertation started—pleaded a similar defense.[11] Like Elisabeth, Marie claimed ignorance over the abortion, stating, "I had no idea that what the midwife was doing with me was punishable."[12] According to her, she "had done all of this because she thought that, as a result, the period would return," thereby suggesting that the visit to the midwife was related to her menstrual cycle, which she seemed to view as separate and unrelated to a possible pregnancy.[13] Although the court pronounced Marie guilty, she was only sentenced to two months of hard labor.

[11] WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 1137/1902, 19 July 1902.
[12] "Ich hatte aber keine Ahnung, dass was die Hebamme mit mir thun werde etwas strafbar sei."
[13] "… habe dies alles nur gethan, weil sie glaubte, dass dadurch die Periode wieder eintreten würde…"

There is a good chance that both Elisabeth and Marie had feigned bodily ignorance. After all, as I discussed in the previous chapter, most fin de siècle intellectuals understood women to be primarily asexual and prudish. Sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing, for example, insisted that women were sexually passive, lacking desire, and naturally inclined to chastity and monogamy.[14] How, then, could women be expected to know anything about their sexuality and reproductive health? Claiming ignorance may have been a useful strategy for maintaining innocence.

At the same time, there is an equally good chance that they truly were ignorant—not of their own bodies, but of the body imagined by the medical profession, what I refer to as the medicalized female body. Although most working-class women were somatically in tune with their reproductive bodies, sensitive to their menstrual cycles, and committed to its consistency, their experience and conceptualization of their lived bodies often differed from those assigned to the medicalized body. What court physicians claimed was fetal waste, for example, was dried blood for the accused; what court physicians understood to be an abortion, the accused explained as a procedure to unblock her blood for menstruation.

Even though these ideas may seem ludicrous to us today, it is anachronistic to assume that it was also ludicrous to working-class women back then, and employed only as a strategy to maintain innocence. As I will show below, working-class women at the fin de siècle were only just beginning to become familiar with the medicalized female body. In order to avoid anachronism by projecting contemporary medical concepts onto the past, it is necessary, according to body historian Barbara Duden, to understand "how people of another time experienced the body."[15] I would therefore like to take a history of medicine approach to argue that these testimonies must be taken at face value.[16]

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[14] Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: The Classic Study of Deviant Sex* (New York: Arcade Publishing, [1892] 2011).
[15] Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[16] I would like to thank Ryan Dahn for helping me formulate this part of my argument.

Even further, I am committed to situating and bracketing my own medical assumptions within my time and place (while also recognizing the difficulty in doing so), so that I may approach the past with a level of detachment.

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Referred to as "the rule" (*die Regel*), "the period" (*die Period*), or "being unwell" (*unwohl sein*), menstruation was a deeply corporeal experience that most working-class women not only learned to live with, but also anticipated. Feminist phenomenologist Iris Marion Young describes menstruation as giving "a unique temporal shape to a woman's life."[17] "The monthly bleeding punctuates our lives, marking significant events, and it is also routine."[18] Further, it also "mundanely organizes our everyday adult memory," as well as "orients our self-narrative"[19]—including the narrative of womanhood. For many working-class women, menstruation truly did add a temporal shape to their lives, so much so, that missing a period became a noticeable, even anxiety-inducing event that threatened their very femininity. Thus, when a woman missed her period, she was likely to take note. After factory worker Katharina Wyzliba noticed that, "her monthly period failed to appear" for sixteen weeks, she immediately consulted with a midwife.[20] She reiterated that her period had always been "regular" (*regelmässig*) and "normal" (*normal*), indicating that she expected it to appear on a monthly basis. Another factory worker, Marie Wesely, observed that, "Because in the past I was

[17] Iris Marion Young, "Menstrual Meditations," in *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 121.
[18] Ibid., 104.
[19] Ibid., 121.
[20] "Vor zirka 16 Monaten blieb mir die monatliche Regel, welche ich sonst immer normal gehabt habe aus." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 8 August 1915.

always unwell on a regular basis, I noticed immediately this time [when]… I was not unwell for five weeks."[21]

At the fin de siècle, many women did not consider menstruation to be the pathology that the medical profession defined it as,[22] but as a healthy and cleansing process that "release[d] bad blood from the body."[23] In the second century, it was Galen who first developed the idea that menstruation was "the shedding of an excess of blood, a plethora."[24] This idea was accepted into the eighteenth century, and within some regions in Eastern Europe, even into the early twentieth. Insofar as many of the working-class women that appear in this chapter came from the easternmost reaches of the empire, it is likely that they were raised in communities that held these views.

Precisely because menstruation was regarded as cleansing, a shedding of excess blood, menstruating women often avoided changing their underwear or washing their genitals so as not to interfere with the process. Thus, while physicians often viewed menstruation as "failed production,"[25] and required it to be concealed from public view—for example, even sex workers had to stay celibate during menstruation, lest they "contaminate" their clients[26]—ordinary working-class women viewed it as a sign of good health, frequently discussing, sharing stories, and exchanging advice with each other about their menses. One reason why so many women visited midwives to "unblock" their periods in the first place was because friends or family members urged them to do

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[21] "Nachdem ich in der früheren Jahren immer pünktlich unwohl war, so ist es mir diesmal sofort aufgefallen." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 10 April 1916.
[22] This contrasted with Jewish women, who were regarded as impure during menstruation. Before they could resume marital relations with their husbands, they would purify themselves in a mikveh bath.
[23] Bernhard Bauer, *Wie bist du, Weib? Betrachtungen über Körper, Seele, Sexualität und Erotik des Weibes* (Wien: Rikola Verlag, 1923), 65-66.
[24] Emily Martin, *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 31.
[25] Ibid., 27-53.
[26] "… intercourse at this time of the month is harmful for the man and dangerous for the woman." In Oesterreichisches Staatsarchiv (hereafter OeStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (hereafter AVA), Ministerium des Innern (hereafter MdI), Series: Prostitution, in genere, Box: Teil 2 A 2122, "Belehrung," 1909.

so. Despite its moniker of "being unwell," then, menstruation was considered to be the very opposite, as historian Cornelie Usborne put it, "an essential ingredient of [women's] well-being."[27]

In spite of this, however, menstruation was also seen as a fickle process that required the appropriate circumstances to flow regularly. Stress, bad weather, or poor health were a few of the factors that could cause a "blood blockage" and, as a result, a missing period.[28] Ida Haudek, for instance, believed that her menses were late due to "excitement" (*Aufregung*), which in turn blocked her menstrual blood from flowing. She went to see a midwife who conducted a procedure during which she felt "something firm to be discharged, I think it was dried blood."[29] Ida insisted that this was the very blood that her body had initially blocked. Elisabeth Töpfel and Marie Kratochwil, the women discussed at the beginning of this chapter, felt their blood to be similarly blocked and in need of release. Marie's mother even explained her daughter's missed period as a result of a cold, "because she went out in bad weather."[30] Many testimonies thus contain references to clumps of blood.[31] If the accused referred to the discharged blood as "dried blood" or a "bloody clump," she was denying that an abortion had taken place. Instead, she had suffered from a blood blockage, and the blood clump was just that, a clump of menstrual blood that had been withheld by the body.

There is a somatic quality to women's descriptions of blood blockages, which conjure up physical sensations and images of blood accumulating in the body and then being released as a dried-up mass. It is a bloody image, the very definition of what Julia Kristeva terms the abject, and stands in stark contrast to the overly sanitized narratives of the medical profession, which neatly

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[27] Cornelie Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimer Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 156-157.
[28] Usborne similarly observed the explanation of "blocked menses" in her work on women in Weimar Germany. See Ibid., 146-151.
[29] "Bei dem angeblichen Abortus spürte ich 'Etwas Festeres' abgehen, ich glaube es war gestocktes Blut." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 5493/1905, 14 October 1905.
[30] "… da sie bei schlechtem Wetter… ausgegangen war." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 8515/1899, 17 March 1902.
[31] See, for example, WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 1673/1911.

explained missing periods as a result of pregnancy.[32] It is also a messy explanation because it characterizes menstrual blood—and the body, more generally—as tentative, a product of whim instead of scientific regularity.[33]

Kristeva identifies menstrual blood as societally abject for drawing attention to the permeability of the body's borders. There is nothing inherently dirty about these fluids; rather, a fluid becomes dirty as it exits the body and enters a space in which it does not "belong," thereby disrupting order. Menstrual blood, in particular, acquires its status as abject because it cannot be contained; despite efforts to conceal and monitor it, the blood leaks and spills unexpectedly. But as I have shown above, for many working-class women living in and around Vienna at the fin de siècle, menstrual blood was not necessarily abject. Blood blockages, bloody clumps, and fickle periods were simply several aspects of the much messier and more fluid worldview—what Luce Irigaray might describe as a feminine-centered metaphysics of fluidity and tactility—that celebrated, rather than contested, the permeability of the body.[34]

Blood Clump or Fetus? Physicians and the Medical Gaze

Despite the successful unblocking of blood, most of the women in the trial records were forced to go to the hospital due to severe, sometimes fatal cases of blood poisoning. It was at the hospital, that police would take the women to court.[35] Once in the hands of the police, women would undergo invasive medical examinations by court physicians that resulted in detailed descriptions of their body parts and reproductive organs, as well as their medical histories. In these

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[32] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horrors: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
[33] But as all menstruating women know, menstruation is frequently irregular and always messy.
[34] Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).
[35] Many women simply avoided going to the hospital altogether, often resulting in death. For example, in the spring of 1911, Anna Wodera died from septic blood poisoning. Three weeks after the abortion took place, the spleen started to swell, the liver and kidneys "degenerated," and the heart started weakening. See WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4000/1911, 13 May 1911.

examinations, physicians focused primarily on determining whether the accused women had been pregnant, making note of breast size, nipple pigment, abdominal marks, vaginal discharge, labia color and length, uterus size, and cervix texture. Lactating breasts, stretch marks on the abdomen, and "a stretched out" uterus, for example, indicated that the accused had, in fact, been pregnant. And if she had been pregnant, physicians argued, then she may have undergone an abortion.[36]

Medical examinations were particularly invasive, with physicians squeezing, touching, pressing, and inserting hands and objects into the accused's body. In the case of Barbara Müller in 1916, physicians Prof. Dr. Haberdas and Dr. Max Wimmer engaged in an intrusive physical examination to make the following observations: she is of "average height, has middle-sized flaccid breasts, which, when squeezed, produce a yellow drop… the vulva is flaccid, out of which flows blood (Menstruation). Both vaginal walls are somewhat collapsed, the vagina is short, the womb is bigger, coarse, anteflexed…"[37] In their examination of Müller, Haberdas and Wimmer deployed what Michel Foucault referred to as a medical gaze, with the patient's body becoming an abstracted medical object, mere flesh that could be inspected and penetrated for the sake of scientific knowledge.

What is interesting is that in transforming women's bodies into medical objects, these examinations also endowed women's clumps of blood with a humanity that the women, as passive patients beholden to the invasive gaze and touch of the physician, were denied. After Müller admitted to having had an abortion and noted experiencing "strong bleeding" after the procedure, the physicians explained that the blood had been a fetus, known as a "fruit" (*Leibesfrucht* or *Frucht*).

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[36] It is worth noting that it was much more difficult to find physical evidence of abortion than evidence of pregnancy. As a physician noted in 1916, "Ein derartiger Eingriff hinterläßt keine verdächtigen Spuren, so daß nach Entfernung des Katheters die wahre Ursache des Abortus nicht zu erkennen ist." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 3 May 1916.

[37] "… ist mittelgroß, hat mäßig große schlaffe Brüste, aus welchem sich ein gelbes Tröpfchen ausdrücken läßt… Die Vulva ist schlaff, aus derselben tritt Blut (Menstruation) vor. Beide Vaginalwände sind etwas vorgefallen, die Scheide ist kurz, die Gebärmutter ist größer, derb, anteflektirt…" In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 3 May 1916.

And, indeed, over time, many testimonies started to reflect this change. In Anna Koller's testimony to the police from 1924, she recalled going to the toilet and observing the "fruit" come out.[38] "Everything came together. The fruit was in the sack. She showed the length of the fruit to be around 15 cm."[39] After the physician, Dr. Axelrod, arrived, he insisted that the "fruit" be given a proper burial. Another woman, the daughter of washerwoman Anna Pammer, instantly started "wailing" (*jammern*) once she aborted the "fruit" and "recognized it clearly as a human."[40] In both of these accounts, the clump was no longer blocked menstrual blood but rather, a tiny human in need of a proper burial. By the same token, as medical discourse became more pervasive—a shift that I will explore below—women themselves began to view and experience their own bodies in a completely new light.

Hygiene: Shameless Inspections of Shameful Bodies

In September 1905, Hermine Indra, a working-class girl living in Vienna's XVI district, Ottakring, was charged with having an abortion.[41] Hermine denied the charge, and in her testimony to the police, insisted that she had miscarried prior to going to the midwife. Her evidence: her underwear. "After I had helped [my roommate] Beinagl move the wash tub and I started bleeding, I changed my underwear. Beinagl, who knew that I had just changed my underwear the day before, asked me why I was changing my underwear again. I told her, I had started bleeding."[42] The court summoned Katharina Beinagl as a witness.

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[38] WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 7820/24, 6 December 1924.
[39] "Sie wollte auf dem Topf gehen und es kam die Frucht heraus. Es kamm alles zusammen. Dir Frucht war im Sack drinnen. Die Länge der Frucht zeigte sie mit ungefähr 15 cm."
[40] "… sie jammerte, es sei etwas weggegangen. Ich fand unten in ihrem Topfe die Frucht vor, schon deutlich als Mensch erkennbar und viel Blut." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 7820/24, 28 May 1925.
[41] WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 5493/1905, 8 September 1905.
[42] "Nachdem ich der Beinagl beim Schieben des Waschtroges geholfen hatte und die Blutungen bekommen hatte, wechselte ich die Wäsche. Die Beinagl, welche wusste, dass ich erst tageszuvor die Wäsche gewechselt

That Katharina apparently noticed and commented on Hermine changing her underwear, and that Hermine used this as evidence in her case, reveals much about contemporary Viennese hygienic assumptions and practices. In 1905, it was still unusual for a working-class woman to change her underwear regularly, let alone everyday. And yet, with time, a woman would have had to use different evidence for a similar charge, as women were more likely to change underwear on a daily basis. This is partly due to the municipality's new Ministry of Public Health, which, under the leadership of Julius Tandler, placed personal responsibility (*Verantwortlichkeit*) at the center of its welfare and hygiene initiatives.[43] Instead of experiencing the body intuitively or somatically, personal responsibility required an individual to know their body as a medical object. According to Foucault, this body—the modern body—was a product of liberal clinical discourse and its medical gaze, made legible by different scientific texts so that it came to be seen as "real."[44] With the institutionalization of hygiene over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, individuals learned to deploy this medical gaze themselves via regimes of the body that served to maintain individual and public health.[45] Changing one's underwear on a regular basis was part of this new program of hygiene and personal responsibility.

The individual male body stood at the center of the new medical paradigm so that woman's body came to be seen as the Other, bound to "nature" and opposed to "culture," a leaking vessel for the abject.[46] And like nature, woman's body was considered unruly and in need of discovery and

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hatte, frug mich warum ich schon wieder die Wäsche wechsle. Ich sagte ihr, ich hätte eine Blutung bekommen."

[43] Britta McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact, and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900-1934* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 26.

[44] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

[45] Maria Mesner also makes this point. See Maria Mesner, "Educating Reasonable Lovers: Sex Counseling in Austria in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in *Sexuality in Austria*, eds. Günther Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 48-64.

[46] Ludmilla Jordanova, "Natural Facts: A Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality," in *Nature, Culture, Gender*, eds. Carol MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 42-69.

cultivation. Feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz suggests that it was precisely this association with nature, "the representation of female sexuality as uncontainable flow, as seepage associated with what is unclean, coupled with the idea of female sexuality as a vessel, a container, a home empty or lacking in itself but fillable from the outside, [that] has enabled men to associate women with infection, with disease, with the idea of festering putrefaction, no longer contained simply in female genitals but at any or all points of the female body."[47] Within the new medical paradigm, woman's body—and its bodily fluids, more specifically—was not only savagely natural, but dirty. Observing that she was bleeding, Hermine Indra approached her body as a medical object, and prescribed her leaking, unruly body the remedy of proper hygiene by changing her underwear.

Hygiene first became a policy issue during the liberal *Gründerzeit*, when the Vienna Stadtphysikat, a municipal office devoted to health and hygiene, was established in 1864.[48] Around this time, Vienna ballooned in size and number—between 1850 and 1910, its population increased from about 431,000 to two million[49]—so that maintaining public health became an important municipal concern. Especially with the outbreak of tuberculosis, known as "morbus Viennensis" for having killed around 171,302 between 1867 and 1900, city officials became committed to educating the public about effective hygiene practices.[50] A 1911 poster informing the Viennese public about

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[47] Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 206.

[48] The Stadtphysikat published an annual report between 1866 and 1913, which makes note of the most important medical and hygiene-related issues during this period. For a discussion of these publications, with an emphasis on questions related to sewage, see Sylvia Gierlinger, *Die Jahresberichte des Wiener Stadtphysikates, 1866-1913* (Wien: Zentrum für Umweltgeschichte, 2015). On the history of the Stadtphysikat, see L. Senfelder, *Geschichte des Wiener Stadtphysikates* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1908).

[49] Peter Payer, "The Age of Noise: Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870-1914," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 55 (July 2007): 775.

[50] Karin Jusek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 1994), 124. It is worth noting, however, that TB spread through the entire Cisleithanian half of the Monarchy. For example, I found informational TB pamphlets printed in various languages from 1913 at the Staatsarchiv. See OeStA, AVA, MdI, Series: Tuberkulose, in genere, Box: SA A 3153, "Merkblatt für Aerzte," 1913.

TB emphasized "consideration" (*Rücksicht*) vis-à-vis one's self and others.[51] This included: "strict cleanliness of the apartment, clothing, and food, concern for fresh air also in the winter, concern for the bodily thriving of adults and children."[52]

With the spread of venereal disease, especially during and after the First World War, public health officials continued to place emphasis on hygienic consideration—what Tandler called personal responsibility. To do this, Tandler encouraged the establishment of educational organizations and institutions aimed at "enlightening" the public about sexual health, cleanliness, and disease-prevention. The Austrian Society for the Fight Against Venereal Disease (*Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*) was one such organization committed to fighting VD through the "enlightenment [*Aufklärung*] of the population, specifically male and female youth," the promotion of expert literature, as well as medical-hygiene initiatives.[53] At the International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden in 1911, the Society included an exhibition that displayed colorful wax renderings of sores, ulcers, and growths, as well as other deformities related to syphilis and gonorrhea.[54] The purpose of these "horrifying" and "disgusting" sculptures was to educate the public because "it is good to clearly see the bad and the worst of life… [so that] one will be able to protect oneself better than before."[55]

The Society made a point of emphasizing that its work was part and parcel to the greater fight against "ignorance" and "false shame": "[We] cannot rely on hygiene alone; only with the

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[51] OeStA, AVA, MdI, Series: Tuberkulose, in genere, Box: SA A 3153, Tuberculosis Poster, 1911.
[52] "Strenge Reinlichkeit in Wohnung, Kleidung und Nahrung, Sorge für frische Luft auch im Winter, Sorge für das körperliche Gedeihen Erwachsener und Kinder…"
[53] OeStA, AVA, Justiz Ministerium (hereafter JM), Series: Vergehen gegen die öffentliche Sittlichkeit, Box: 1 A 1135, "Aufruf," 18 May 1907.
[54] OeStA, AVA, MdI, Series: Austellung, Sanitäts, 1911-1918, Box: SA A2941, "Bericht der 'Altona Nachricht'," 11 July 1911.
[55] "Und doch ist es gut, auch das Schlimme und Schlimmste im Leben ohne jede Verschleierung zu sehen. Erstens wird man sich besser als bisher zu schützen suchen."

harmonious cooperation of hygienic, educational, and social measures can there be success."[56] An article from the Vienna city newspaper, *Blätter für das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien*, reiterated this: 'Because one didn't know'—is just too often the only reason that a disease has spread; one allows it to become dangerous, does not look after it—'because one doesn't know'; it spreads to others—'because one didn't know… That's why one should know!'"[57] It is important to note that ignorance, here, did not just refer to a lack of knowledge, but also to all knowledge (and body feelings) that did not fit within the paradigm of professional medicine.

Insofar as personal hygiene practices relied on becoming acquainted with and inspecting "shameful parts" of the body, the Society's second mission, to combat ignorance and shame, was an important one. Before the war, it had been the primary responsibility of sex workers to protect themselves and clients from venereal disease. According to a hygiene pamphlet from 1909, sex workers were required to "carefully clean" their entire bodies, especially the "outer and inner genitals," as well as "mouth, tongue, lips."[58] Moreover, they were encouraged to visually inspect, as well as gently touch, their genitalia, especially the urethra and labia, before sexual intercourse, in order to make sure there was no discharge, redness, signs of abrasion, sores, or roughness. Finally, the pamphlet urged them to determine whether they felt sensations of pain (*Schmerzhaft*) or burning (*Brennen*)—a theme that I will return to below—as these were indicators of disease. If they felt any of these, it was required that they go to the hospital immediately.

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[56] "… die Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten [kann] nicht allein auf dem Boden der Hygiene geschehen, nur durch das harmonische Zusammenwirken von hygienischen, erziehlichen, und sozialen Massnahmen kann ein Erfolg erziehlt werden."

[57] " 'Weil man's nicht wusste'—ist nur allzuoft der einzige Grund, dass sich einer die Krankheit zugezogen hat; man lasst sie gefährlich werden, kümmert sich nicht darum—'weil man's nicht weiss'; man überträgt sie auf andere—'weil man's nicht weiss'… 'das hab' ich nicht gewusst' so sagen sie alle, fast alle. Darum sollte man's wissen! Aber 'davon spricht man nicht'—ist das Losungswort der Gesellschaft." In Dr. Gustav Riether, "Die Geschlechtskrankheiten der Eltern und ihre Bedeutung für die Nachkommenschaft," *Blätter für das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien* 23, no. 243 (May-June 1924): 43-46.

[58] OeStA, AVA, MdI, Series: Prostitution, in genere, Box: Allgemein Teil 2 A 2122, Folder: TP 95/III, "Belehrung," 1909.

With the National Decree of 21 November 1919, however, everyone became responsible for their own body, even the shameful parts.[59] According to the Decree, anyone infected with VD had the personal responsibility to be examined and find treatment, as well as inform others of the illness. Women not engaged in sex work, especially, were required to become informed, because they "have too long been in the dark about these things."[60] Personal responsibility involved the embodiment of the medical gaze: the visual and tactile inspection of the medicalized body like a physician, detached and shameless. If sex workers were the only women engaging in these self-surveillance practices in the late nineteenth century, by the interwar period, Vienna's new women were doing them, as well.

Sexual health became a cornerstone of Viennese public policy in the interwar period, and it was Tandler who made it accessible through municipal hygiene and welfare programs, such as the city's marriage advice center, mothers' clinics, VD testing centers, and family support offices. Tandler also employed physicians as public servants, so that their numbers increased from 326 in 1920 to 544 in 1930, thus contributing to the medicalization of sexual knowledge.[61] And while the fin de siècle was concerned with illicit sex, in the interwar period, a eugenic concern with "'healthy sex' became both a state concern and a popular reform movement that stressed national regeneration, smaller but healthier families, and disease prevention education."[62] Hence, the marriage and sex reform movements played an important role in circulating information—often via publications, clinic consultations, or workshops[63] —that encouraged personal responsibility and

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[59] On VD and the First World War, see Nancy M. Wingfield, "The Enemy Within: Regulating Prostitution and Controlling Venereal Disease in Cisleithanian Austria during the Great War," *Central European History* 46 (2013): 568-598.

[60] "Und gerade die Frauen sind viel zu lange in Unkenntnis über diese Dinge geblieben…" In Dr. Gustav Riether, "Die Geschlechtskrankheiten der Eltern und ihre Bedeutung für die Nachkommenschaft," *Blätter für das Wohlfahrtswesen der Stadt Wien* 23, no. 243 (May-June 1924): 43-46.

[61] McEwen, *Sexual Knowledge*, 33.

[62] Ibid., 27.

[63] For example, the Austrian Society for the Fight Against Venereal Disease held a symposium in March 1908, which included a variety of workshops, ranging from those discussing the "spread of venereal disease" to "sexual enlightenment" to the "treatment of venereal disease." In OeStA, AVA, JM, Series: Vergehen gegen

knowledge over one's medicalized body. According to Dr. Rudolf Glaessner, for example, the reason he devoted a significant section to women's sexual organs in his book, *Reif zur Liebe!* (*Ripe for Love!*), was so that they would develop enough medical knowledge to be able to identify a venereal disease. According to Glaessner, women's organs "are not only considered reproductive organs, but also as main carriers of infection of venereal disease," and as such, it was necessary for "a young woman ready to have sex" to have "knowledge of how easy and yet also difficult it can be to identify [whether these] organs [are infected with] venereal disease."[64] The sex advice book, *Under Four Eyes* (*Unter vier Augen*), included colorful illustrations of VD ranging from gonorrhea to syphilis, so that a woman could read the detailed description and examine herself in the mirror, while looking to the image for reference.

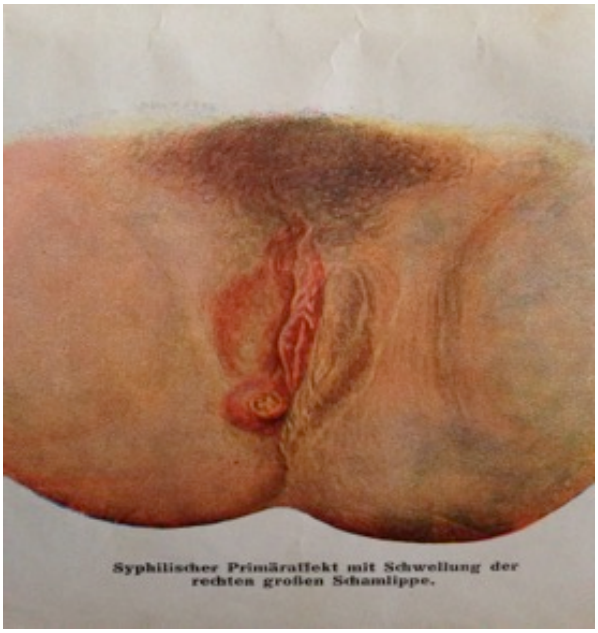

Fig. 56 A grotesque image of a syphilis infection, meant to both terrify and instruct women readers into performing self-examinations. From "Syphilischer Primäraffekt mit Schwellung der rechten großen Schamlippe," in Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), Tafel XIX.

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die öffentliche Sittlichkeit, Box: 1 A1135, Program der Enquete über die Ursachen der Verbreitung der Geschlechtskrankheiten, March 1908.

[64] "Die Beschreibung der weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane soll hier, soweit es nötig, etwas ausführlicher deshalb erfolgen, weil sie nicht nur als Zeugungsorgane, sondern als Hauptträger der infektionsquellen für die Geschlechtskrankheiten in Betracht kommen und es zum Verständnis und Eigenschutz notwendig erscheint, daß das zur geschlechtlichen Liebe reife Mädchen Kenntnis davon hat, wie leicht und wie schwer oft gleichzeitig ein Erkennen geschlechtlicher Erkrankungen an diesen Organen werden kann." In Dr. Rudolf Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe! Eine ärztliche Aufklärungsschrift über alles Wissenswerte im Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben des Weibes* (Wien: Anzengruber Verlag, 1921), 10-11.

Tandler's hygiene initiatives also urged gender-specific practices intended to maintain cleanliness and bodily purity. Indeed, an entire program of "menstruation hygiene" was disseminated during the interwar period, which directly challenged the nineteenth century belief that menstruating women should avoid changing their underwear or washing their genitals.[65] According to a 1927 hygiene manual directed at working women, "Regarding the hygiene of menstruation… What [is important], is first, to avoid excessive bodily exertion during this time and secondly, to keep oneself meticulously clean."[66] This involved taking daily baths, douching, wearing pads or "Venus belts," and frequently changing one's underwear. Young girls, especially, were encouraged to "wash themselves especially often and meticulously" during their periods.[67] Likewise, "the wearing of pads is just as much an absolute requirement of cleanliness as the changing of dirty laundry."[68] Another hygiene manual compared a woman's menstruating uterus to an "open wound" that required the utmost cleanliness and care so that "every source of contamination [would] be blocked."[69]

In addition, menstruating bodies were imagined to exceptionally frail, calling to mind the passive and inhibited body of the bourgeois *Dame* at the fin de siècle, which I discussed at length in Chapters 1 and 2. A woman on her menses was to "avoid excessive bodily exertion," enjoy rest, fresh air, and proper nutrition. The socialist physician Karl Kautsy even recommended the adoption

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[65] For a discussion on the necessity for women to wash during menstruation, despite the myth stating the contrary, see Ibid., 38.

[66] "Die berufstätige Frau muss sich bezüglich der Hygiene der Menstruation zweierlei klar machen und unbedingt beachten. Es ist nicht richtig, sich so zu verhalten, als ob der ganze Vorgang überhaupt nicht da wäre, ihn wegzuleugnen. Aber es ist ebenso falsch, ihm eine übertriebene Bedeutung beizulegen und sich während dieser Zeit als Schwerkranke zu betrachen… Was aber auf alle zutrifft, ist erstens, übermässige körperliche Anstrengung während dieser Zeit zu vermeiden, und zweitens, sich peinlich sauber zu halten." In Dr. Werner Fischer-Defoy, *Die körperliche und geistige Hygiene der berufstätigen Frau* (Dresden: Deutscher Verlag für Volkswohlfahrt, 1927), 42.

[67] "Man soll daher die jungen Mädchen dazu erziehen, sich in der Zeit der Blutungen besonders oft und sorgfältig zu waschen" In Dr. Dora Teleky, "Ueber das Entwicklungsalter der Mädchen," *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 12 (1928): 5-6.

[68] "Das Tragen von Binden ist ebenso wie das Wechseln der beschmutzten Wäsche ein unbedingtes Erfordernis der Reinlichkeit."

[69] Glaessner, *Reif zur Liebe!*, 38.

of a law that would provide women time off from work during their monthly bleeding.[70] Though a form of protection, this law would have also emphasized women's bodily frailty and difference. Working-class women's bodies seemed to have been remade into the delicate bodies of bourgeois *Damen*.

Fig. 57 Advertisement for a Venus Belt. From "Venus Gürtel," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Hauslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 28, no. 14 (1913), 158. AustriaN Newspapers Online (hereafter ANNO), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

A program of menstruation hygiene was additionally implemented in schools. In 1920, when the physical education inspector visited a selection of secondary schools in Vienna, she observed that because "it is quite difficult for girls going through puberty to be 'unwell' with cramps,"[71] a "female teacher" must always be present. She also recommended that the "appallingly dirty toilets" should be cleaned regularly given women's need to be meticulously clean.[72]

Thus, with menstruation hygiene, women slowly came to view their own blood as dirty and filthy—and by extension, pathological—and in need of proper cleanliness. No longer did women have to feel shame over the *act* of inspecting their bodies; they felt shame over their very particular

[70] Karl Kautsky, *Soziale Hygiene der Frau: Eine sozialmedizinische Darstellung des Weiblichen Geschlechtslebens* (Prag: Verlag des Parteivorstandes der Deutschen sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei, 1931), 11-12.
[71] OeStA, AVA, Unterrichtsministerium (hereafter UM) Series: Körpererziehung, Box: 1782 10D2, "Körperliche Erziehung d. Mädchen an Knabenmittelschulen Bericht," 24 October 1920.
[72] For a discussion of toilets, see OeStA, AVA, UM, Series: Körpererziehung, Box: 1782 10D2, 1919-1921, Hauptbericht 1919/20, ¨Über die Verhältnisse für körperliche Erziehung an den Wiener Mädchen Mittelschulen," 20 June 1921.

bodies, instead. As one twelve-year old working-class girl stated in 1931, "My mother told me, I shouldn't even talk about [menstruation] with my best girlfriend, and I really don't do it."[73]

In some ways, then, menstruating women were relegated into what Young refers to as the "menstrual closet," the experience of knowing oneself as "shameful, as an abject existence that is messy and disgusting," and thus, in need of concealment.[74] The new women of interwar Vienna strove to conceal and contain their bodies via menstrual pads and Venus belts so that they would not erupt with abject fluid. And yet, the very image of a closet is misleading because as more menstruating women seemed to feel "closeted," menstruation itself became an important issue for politicians, physicians, and women alike. The consolidation of a menstruation hygiene program is evidence of this menstrual "talk." Rather than resort to binary oppositions such as inside/outside, private/public, and closeted/out, it is necessary to emphasize the ambiguity between them. Similarly, with the opposition, shameful/shameless: women's shame was accompanied by a shamelessness, as they went about inspecting and monitoring their reproductive bodies.

Unhealthy (Social) Bodies

While women accused of §§144-146 often pleaded ignorance over their bodies prior to the war, arguing instead for a fluid metaphysics of blood blockages, blood clumps, and fickle periods, over time, their testimonies changed. With the proliferation of hygienic practices and the popularization of medical knowledge, an accused woman seemed less likely to claim ignorance over an abortion, drawing instead on the rhetoric of personal responsibility to cite eugenic reasons for having undergone the procedure in the first place. According to domestic servant Aloisia Witzer's testimony from 1914, "I am very well aware that [abortion] is forbidden, but didn't see another way

[73] "Meine Mutter sagte mir, ich solle auch mit meiner besten Freundin nicht darüber reden, und ich tue es auch nicht." As quoted in Margarete Rada, *Das reifende Proletariermädchen: Ein Beitrag zur Umweltforschung* (Wien: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1931), 69.
[74] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 109.

out."[75] Her thirteen-month-old child was in the care of relatives, for which she "pays 18 *Kronen* for its lodging out of [her] 24 *Kronen* wage," every month. "My complete inability to afford a second child and the knowledge that I would see it raised by strangers… forced me to make the decision, not to bear the child [*dass Kind nicht zur Welt kommen zu lassen*]."[76] Likewise, Theresia Horvath, was struggling to raise children and dealing with a physically abusive lover.[77] A factory worker, Theresia explained that she lived in a "crisis situation" (*Notlage*): "I have not been able to find any work for six weeks, my lover spends everything on booze [*versauft alles*], and when I speak to him of marriage, he gets rough."[78]

At the root of these declarations was women's conviction that their bodies and circumstances were not strong enough to carry, bear, and raise healthy children. Choosing to have an abortion was thus a matter of personal and social responsibility; it was for the good of the social body (*Bevölkerungskörper*). An illustration accompanying an abortion reform article from 1924 depicted a woman crawling on the ground, looking helpless, her foot attached to the ball and chain of "forced motherhood."[79] Although this woman was a stand-in for every working-class woman in Vienna, she was also a representation of the city itself—the regal Vindobona—whose body was falling apart due to postwar poverty.

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[75] Ich bin mir dessen wohl bewusst gewesen, dass es verboten ist, habe aber keinen anderen Ausweg gewusst…" In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4224/1914, 6 July 1914.
[76] "Nur meine gänzliche Unvermögenheit noch ein zweites Kind zu erhalten und das Bewusstsein es auf Gemeindekosten bei fremden Leuten untergebracht zu sehen, haben in mir den Entschluss, dass Kind nicht zur Welt kommen zu lassen, gereift."
[77] WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 8 August 1915.
[78] "Ich bin in der grössten Notlage. Ich konnte schon 6 Wochen keine Arbeit finden und mein Geliebter versauft alles und wenn ich ihm vom Heiraten rede, wird er grob." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 17 August 1915.
[79] The League Against Forced Motherhood (*Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang*) was particularly vocal in the abortion reform movement in the early days of the First Republic. Founded on 30 July 1919, the organization was the brainchild of sex reformer and author Johann Ferch, and was committed to the repeal of §§ 144-148, as well as to spreading information about the use of contraception. See WStLA, M.Abt. 119, A32-Gelöschte Vereine: 1440-1923, Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang.

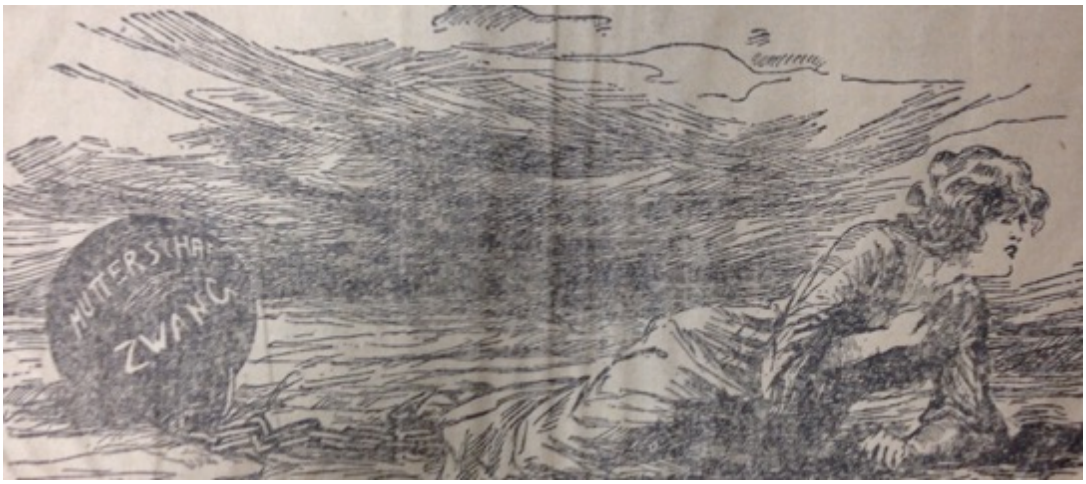

Fig. 58 A woman held back by the ball and chain of "forced motherhood." From "Der Kampf gegen die §§144 bis 148 St.G.," *Sexual-Reform: Zeitschrift für Sexualreform und Neomalthusianismus* V, no. 17 (January 1924): 1.

With the war, Vienna's social body certainly seemed to be weakening. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the wartime urban landscape was flooded with emaciated women and children, as well as amputees. The media was also particularly committed to documenting children's undernourishment and, as historian Maureen Healy puts it, the "deterioration of [their] bodies."[80] How would these children become productive and fit members of society? As Kautsky insisted, it is "useless to mend the war-torn… holes of society's fabric with half-starving infants, that do not even have enough milk to live."[81]

Women aligned with the Austrian Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) placed particular emphasis on eugenic explanations to argue for abortion reform. In 1924, Adelheid Popp wrote in the SDAP women's newspaper, *Die Unzufriedene*: "The sick, war-torn, crippled father, the

[80] Maureen Healy notes that according to a study from 1918, of 56,849 Viennese children, only 4,637 could be classified as truly healthy. See Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 249.
[81] "… unsinnig, die vom Krieg gerissenen… Löcher in der Bevölkerung mit halbverhungerten Säuglingen zu stopfen, die nicht einmal die Milch zum Leben haben." In Karl Kautsky, "Die Bedeutung des Geburtenrückganges für das Proletariat" (1919), as quoted in Karin Lehner, *Verpönte Eingriffe: Sozialdemokratische Reformbestrebungen zu den Abtreibungsbestimmungen in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Wien: Picus Verlag, 1989), 62.

exhausted mother collapsing under the weight of her responsibilities [*unter ihrer Last schwer zusammenbrechende*], the children screaming for bread: where should she find the courage to bring another child into the world—one that was most likely infected [with VD] before birth?"[82] The hope was that with abortion reform, women would no longer be forced to bear sick and unfit children; instead, they would only give birth to offspring that would contribute to the health and strength of the social body. Hence, SDAP women emphasized quality over quantity, insisting that, if "we want to conduct a healthy population politics, the precondition is that youth is healthy, that girls are healthy, so that they can become efficient women and healthy mothers."[83] Healthier women would also be more likely to engage in pleasureable sexual intercourse (Chapter 4), and insofar as many physicians held Lamarckian beliefs, this would also improve the quality of the baby.[84]

Fig. 59 A working-class woman barely surviving with her large brood of children. From "Der Gebärzwang für das Elend," *Die Unzufriedene* 2, no. 8 (23 February 1924): 2. ANNO/ÖNB.

[82] "Der kranke, vom Kriege her verseuchte, verkrüppelte Vater, die erschöpfte unter ihrer Last schwer zusammenbrechende Frau, die nach Brot schreienden Kinder, wo soll sie da den Mut hernehmen, noch ein Kind, ein vermutlich schon vor der Geburt infiziertes, zur Welt zu bringen?" In Adelheid Popp, "Der Gebärzwang für das Elend," *Die Unzufriedene* 2, no. 8 (23 February 1924): 1.

[83] "… wollen wir eine gesunde Bevölkerungspolitik betreiben, so ist die Vorbedingung, daß die Jugend gesund ist, daß die Mädchen gesund sind, damit sie tüchtige Frauen und gesunde Mütter werden können." In Adelheid Popp (1921), as quoted in Lehner, *Verpönte Eingriffe*, 63.

[84] "A Lamarckian belief in the power of the environment to affect hereditary characteristics meant that many doctors believed that the quality of intercourse during which a baby was conceived influenced the quality of the product. Orgasm was stylized into a eugenic measure as well as a family-stabilizing event." In Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 35.

Physicians vs. Lay Medical Practitioners

In 1925, a thirty-five year-old woman wrote a letter to *Die Unzufriedene*, stating that, "To my great misfortune, I am recently pregnant and find myself in the second month."[85] She mentioned that her husband was sick with tuberculosis at the hospital, and that she lives with her two children in a "separate room without a stove."[86] Expressing her wish to have an abortion for eugenic reasons, she exclaimed, "The [anti-abortion] law does not exist for the rich, they go to their primary care physician and no one knows anything; the laws only exist for the poor, which must obey them."[87] The editors of the newspaper reaffirmed this point, and in their response to the writer, described §144 as "a cruel law that truly only affects the poor," because they could not afford the proper care of a physician. A perusal of the abortion trial records confirms this point: the majority of accused women came from working-class backgrounds.

As a result, the SDAP often explained the abortion legislation in terms of class. "For a large some of money, wealthy women can get an abortion at a sanatorium unscathed," Popp insisted, "while poor women are threatened by the harshest punishments, if not also forced to put their lives into the hands of quacks [*Kurpfuschern*]."[88] The quacks that Popp referred to were the midwives, the women responsible for unblocking blood and aborting fetuses. At the root of the abortion reform movement, then, was not just the commitment to provide working-class women with access to legal abortion, but more specifically, to provide them with access to physician-facilitated abortion. And in order for physicians to claim a monopoly over abortion, all other abortion providers had to be

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85 "Zu meinem größten Unglück bin ich neuerdings schwanger, und befinde mich im zweiten Monat."
86 "Die fluchwürdigen §§141 bis 144," *Die Unzufriedene* 3, no. 28 (11 July 1925): 2-3.
87 "Für die Reichen gibt es kein Gesetz, die gehen zu ihrem Hausarzt und kein Mensch weiß etwas, nur für die armen Menschen gelten die Gesetze und er muß sich ihnen fügen."
88 "Die besitzenden Frauen können sich in einem Sanatorium gegen viel Geld, *ungeschoren vom Gesetz die Leibesfrucht abnehmen lassen*, während die armen Frauen von den *schwersten Strafen* bedroht werden, wenn sie nicht gar unter den Händen vor Kurpfuschern ihr Leben lassen müssen." In Adelheid Popp (1921), as quoted in Lehner, *Verpönte Eingriffe*, 101.

discredited.[89] A newspaper article from 1926 put it this way, "If the medical profession wants to fight illness at the root, then it must join against the pernicious unqualified [abortion] and for the physician qualified abortion."[90] According to another article, the goal was to make "the very word 'midwife' attract the revulsion of absurdity or obscenity."[91]

Over the course of the 1920s, the reforms proposed by the SDAP became more physician-centered, on the one hand, and dismissive of lay medical practitioners, on the other.[92] Although the SDAP first proposed the *Fristenmodell*, which gave a woman the right to terminate her pregnancy for whatever reason in the first three months, by the early 1920s, the Party abandoned it in favor of the *Indikationsmodell*, which would make abortion contingent on the approval of medical experts. At the Physicians' Conference in May 1924, Tandler expressed his concerns about the practical aspects of the *Firstenmodell*, which relied on women's "dubious" body knowledge.[93] He thus insisted that a panel of medical and legal experts would decide whether an abortion was appropriate in a case-by-case basis. If there were medical grounds, or *Indikationen,* for an abortion, the mother would consult with three physicians: a specialist, a gynecologist, and a physician who would serve as the "mandator of society and representative of the authority."[94] A mother seeking abortions for eugenic *Indikationen* would follow the same procedure, with the added consultation with two experts.[95] Finally, if she sought abortion for social *Indikationen*, a Commission consisting of a judge, physician, woman,

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[89] For more on the relationship between physicians and midwives, see Sigrun Bohle, *Hebammen: Zur Situation der Geburtshelferinnen im endenden 19. Und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert in Österreich* (M.A. Thesis, University of Vienna, 1986), 38-45.

[90] "Wenn die Ärzteschaft die Krankheit an der Wurzel bekämpfen will, dann muß sie gegen die verderbliche unqualifizierte und für die ärztliche qualifizierte Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung eintreten." In Leo Klauber, "Sexualkatastrophen: Die Abtreibung," *Bettauers Wochenschrift* no. 25 (1926): 8-9.

[91] "Ich begriff es nie und verstehe es auch heute nicht, warum unserem Berufe, ja dem bloßen Wort 'Hebamme' allein das Odium der Lächerlichkeit oder des Unanständigen anhaftet." In "Erinnerungen einer Hebamme: von ihr selbst erzählt," *Er und Sie*, no. 2 (21 February 1924): 5.

[92] It is worth noting that not all physicians were male. On women doctors, see Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 66-70.

[93] Lehner, *Verpönte Eingriffe*, 128-133.

[94] Julius Tandler, "Mutterschaftszwang und Bevölkerungspolitik" (1924), as quoted in Ibid., 130-131.

[95] Ibid., 132.

lawyer "of the Embryo," and a chosen representative of society would come to a decision after considering the mother's "social milieu" and "living conditions."[96] In all instances, the intention was the same: to strip midwives and ordinary women of all medical authority.

Curiously, SDAP women were divided on the *Indikationsmodell*: while some insisted that it threatened women's right to self-determination (*Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Frau*) and "robs a woman's possession of her body,"[97] others, notably Popp, argued that it was a fair compromise that ultimately, protected women from making rash decisions. "I cannot approve of the view, that every woman should do with her body as she likes," declared Popp. "How often is it just a moment of emotion and distress and why should one make it impossible for women to get over the moments of distress?"[98] And yet, as I will show below, Vienna's new women continued to make decisions over their bodies, especially in moments of distress.

Medical Observers and Practitioners

Despite all efforts to discredit women's medical authority, working-class women continued to consult with midwives and take matters into their own hands. Although they operated within a paradigm that eschewed somatic knowledge, they were hardly just passive objects of a disciplinary medical gaze. No longer pleading ignorance, the new women of the working-class were more likely to model themselves as active observers and practitioners, in some cases even employing medical knowledge to their own advantage. Whether they participated in their own abortions, provided

96 Ibid., 131-132.
97 "… wissenschaftlichen Argumenten, die der Frau der Verfügung über ihren Körper rauben…" In Martha Schimmerl, as quoted in Ibid., 140.
98 "Ich kann den Standpunkt nicht billigen, daß jede Frau mit ihrem Körper soll machen können was sie will. Wie oft ist es nur ein Augenblick des Affekts und der Verzweiflung, und warum soll man es den Frauen unmöglich machen, über die Augenblicke der Verzweiflung hinwegzukommen?" In Adelheid Popp, as quoted in Ibid., 140.

convincing accounts of natural miscarriages, or recounted pain narratives effectively, Viennese women became adept at asserting their agency within the paradigm of bourgeois medicine.

I: "Tubes" and "Falls"

Many working-class women proved themselves to be very keen medical observers as they included detailed descriptions of the abortion procedure in their testimonies. Domestic servant Ida Münster observed that the midwife "inserted a tube into the genitals [*Geschlechtsteil*]," which she removed several days later.[99] "On Monday," Ida reported, "the fetus [*Leibesfrucht*] was gone."[100] Likewise, in her testimony from 1914, Aloisia Witzer described the catheter as a roughly twenty centimeter-long "tube" attached to strings "that served the function that when I feel pain and start bleeding, I can pull [it] out."[101] This "tube" was a syringe tipped catheter, which a midwife would insert into a woman's cervix, after having dilated it with a gauze tampon or manually, with her hand.[102] Once inside, the catheter would either inject the uterus with a lysol solution,[103] or simply irritate the cervix, thereby inducing labor.[104] The midwife often advised the patient to wait several hours until the catheter "turned red" with blood before removing it.[105]

In other instances, the midwife removed the catheter from the cervix shortly after insertion. Julianne Schneeberger reported having undergone such a procedure in her testimony from May

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99 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 3411/1912, 29 August 1912.
100 The midwife "hat einmal einen Schlauch in den Geschlechtsteil eingesteckt und mit demselben manipuliert. Einen Montag ist die Leibesfrucht weggegangen."
101 "… von diesem Röhrchen gingen einige Fäden heraus, welche dazu dienten, dass ich bei Schmerzen und Blutungen das Röhrchen herausziehen könne." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4224/1914, 6 May 1914.
102 "… dies untersuchte mich, indem sie mir mit der Hand in die Scheide griff…" In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 1673/1911, 27 February 1911.
103 Friedrich Schauta, *Lehrbuch der Gesamten Gynäkologie. Erster Teil: Geburtshilfe. 3. Auflage* (Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1906), 572.
104 Leslie J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 70-79.
105 For example, see WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 7820/24, 28 May 1925.

1927.[106] Pleading guilty, she described that a "woman unknown to me came over and put something inside of me down there."[107] Julianne described the catheter as "a little tube" that "remained inside for a half hour." Afterwards, the midwife "took it out again and left and in the evening I started bleeding again." Although the language Julianne used is hardly sophisticated, it nevertheless reveals her active observation of the procedure. In contrast to the many women who pleaded ignorance a decade or so earlier, Julianne watched closely as the midwife inserted and removed the catheter from her vagina.

Julianne learned about the midwife through friends she met at the pub, indicating that working-class women passed medical knowledge along informal networks of friends, family members, and neighbors.[108] This is also the case with bourgeois women: as Rosa Mayreder explained, it was an informal network of friends, the "women in my surroundings," that she considered to be "more keen observers than the doctors."[109] While some women used these networks for names of trustworthy midwives, others used it to gain medical knowledge so that they could induce an abortion themselves. In her testimony from 1915, for example, factory worker Julie *Woběrek* admitted that she "succeeding in making the blood come."[110] After consulting with Frau Aloise Schaffhauser about logistics, she travelled to Vienna to purchase "a rubber tube with a wire"—presumably, a syringe-tipped catheter—which she later, after locating the "little dimple"

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106 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: II 204/27, 25 May 1927.
107 "Tatsächlich kam dann eine mir unbekannte Frau zu mir, die mir unten was hineingegeben hat. Es war ein kleines Röhrl, näher habe ich es mir nicht angeschaut. Dieses blieb eine halbe Stunde lang drinn, dann nahm es die Frau wieder heraus und ging fort und am Abend haben sich die Blutungen wieder eingestellt."
108 See, for example, WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 8 August 1915.
109 Mayreder makes this observation with regard to menopause. "Das ist zwar nicht die Ansicht der Ärzte, aber die Ansicht aller Frauen meiner Umgebung. Und sie beobachten in diesem Fall schärfer als die Ärzte." In Rosa Mayreder, "2 Februar 1913," in *Tagebücher, 1873-1937*, trans. Harriet Anderson (Frankfurt/Main: Insel Verlag, 1988), 136.
110 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 18 August 1915. "Frau Schaffhauser sagte mir dann, wie das aussehe, was ich mir kaufen solle nämlich ein halb gebogenen Gummischlauch mit einem Draht und teilte mir mit dass man es in Wien zu kaufen bekomme und sagte mir auch was ich tun müsse… Es ist mir auch dann am 2. Tag gelungen zu bewirken, dass Blut kam."

(*Grüberl*) that was her cervix, succeeded in inserting into her vagina.[111] That a woman became comfortable enough to inspect their own genitalia and insert a catheter inside is, at least, partially indebted to the new hygienic practices that encouraged the shameless inspection of the body as a medical object.

The line separating a self-induced abortion from a natural miscarriage was often ambiguous, at best, and thus a point of contention in most abortion trials. Many working-class women were well aware of the medical reasons for a natural miscarriage (*Fehlgeburt*), and frequently alluded to them in their testimonies. This was certainly the case with factory-worker Julia Baumgarten, who noted that the very nature of her work—which often involved the moving (and inevitable dropping) of heavy machinery—put her at risk. According to Julia's testimony from August 1915, after lifting a heavy sewing machine, she "suddenly… started bleeding heavily."[112] Likewise, another factory-worker, Agnes Waleczka, slipped and fell on the "newly washed cement floor," and after experiencing nausea, went home, and apparently miscarried.[113] As Viennese gynecologist Friedrich Schauta observed in his medical textbook, "traumatic situations, such as a fall, blow, kick, especially in the lower abdomen," often lead to miscarriage, and court physicians acknowledged this in their report.[114] Whether these were self-induced abortions or natural miscarriages remains unclear; what matters is that working-class women became fluent enough in medical discourse to become keen medical observers and practitioners.

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111 "Sie kaufte sich einen 'Schlauch', der so aussah, wie einer der vorliegenden Katheter und führte ihn, während sie auf einem niedrigen Sessel saß, mit der rechten Hand selbst ein, nachdem sie mit der anderen Hand das 'Grüberl'—den Muttermund—aufgesucht hatte." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 3 May 1916.
112 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: LG I 4938/1915, 17 August 1915.
113 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: LG I 4938/1915, 17 August 1915.
114 Schauta, *Lehrbuch der Gesamten Gynäkologie*, 365.

II: Pain Narratives

Physicians claimed that the abortion procedure used by midwives was particularly dangerous and painful. In the trial against midwife Anna Holzer in 1916, for example, court physicians repeatedly alluded to her dangerous methods:[115] "The catheter-based method of abortion is very effective, but puts the pregnant woman at risk [*gefährdet aber die Schwangere*] because the instrument remains inside and increases the possibility of an infection in the womb."[116] Further, Anna was accused of repeatedly endangering women (*noch mehr gefährdet*), having inserted catheters in Frau Müller and Frau Gamauf more than once. Physicians eschewed the catheter method, using the standard medical approach instead. Known as dilation and curettage or "D and C," the procedure involved the dilation of the cervix using metal dilators or gauze tampons, and then, the scraping of fetal and placental tissue out of the uterus with the help of a small, sharp tool known as a curette. Unlike the catheter method, D and C was almost always performed with an anesthetic.[117]

In most of the above-mentioned testimonies, women made strategic references to physical pain, or *Schmerzen*. Within the medical paradigm, pain was considered to be a direct sensation caused by a dangerous event or a pathological condition.[118] Insofar as a midwife's catheter method was considered dangerous and usually performed without an anesthetic, then medical logic dictated that it would produce a painful sensation. Similarly, because catheter-induced abortions often led to blood poisoning, arguably a pathological condition, physicians believed a patient would also feel pain post-procedure. By the same token, the absence of pain would indicate the absence of an event or condition.

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115 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 9 May 1916.
116 "Diese als Katheterismus bezeichnete Methode der Fruchtabtreibung ist sehr wirksam, sie gefährdet aber die Schwangere, weil eben das Instrument liegen bleibt und dadurch die Möglichkeit einer Infektion der Gebärmutter erhöt wird."
117 Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimer Germany*, 123.
118 On the language and gestures of pain, see Joanna Bourke, *The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53-87; 131-158; 159-191.

Historian Joanna Bourke argues that pain "is not an intrinsic quality or raw sensation; it is a way of perceiving an experience."[119] As such, "the body is more than merely a sensory indicator. It does not simply *register* a throbbing sensation, for instance, but simultaneously *evaluates* it as unpleasant."[120] At the fin de siècle, working-class women may not have been as likely to evaluate a sensation as painful to begin with. Given women's experience of pain on a regular basis—produced by menstrual cramps, childbirth, constricting fashion, and so on—then it is possible that they first had to *learn* to perceive it as something notable and worth expressing (on the translation of emotion into expression, see Chapter 2). For Alma Mahler-Werfel, women and pain were virtually synonymous: "Do men even have the slightest notion of pain and suffering? Women already grow accustomed to physical pain during childhood."[121]

And indeed, prior to the mid 1910s, many accused women either denied feeling pain during the abortion procedure or forgot about it. In 1899, Rosa König cavalierly reported that once the midwife "inserted an instrument inside of my vagina, [it] did not hurt me at all."[122] In her 1902 statement to the police, Marie Kratochwil first described feeling "great burning" during the procedure, but then later recalled that, "the entire time, I no longer felt any pain."[123] Other women denied feeling any sensation, at all. Antonie Neswadba, a cobbler's wife noted that, "Of the procedure, I felt nothing," and that the only reason she knew that something had been inserted inside of her was because the midwife had "told her."[124] "It all went so quickly," she observed, "I

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[119] Ibid., 7.
[120] Ibid., 17.
[121] Alma Mahler-Werfel, "Thursday, 6 July, Suite 12, 1899," *Diaries, 1898-1902*, trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 161.
[122] "Ich legte mich gleich darauf wieder und in der Dunkelheit fährte sie mir ein Instrument in die Scheide ein, was mir gar nich weh that." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 8515/1899, 20 November 1899.
[123] "… und auch die ganze… Zeit spürte ich keinen Schmerz mehr." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 1137/1902, 19 July 1902.
[124] "Ich spürte von den ganzen Vorgang nichts, dass sie etwas eingeführt hat, hat sie mir gesagt…" In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 17 August 1915.

just let everything happen to me."[125] In fact, she felt so little, that she "could pursue [her] regular activities" later that day and "even bathed."[126]

With the proliferation of hygiene initiatives in the first decades of the twentieth century, the Viennese public was encouraged to identify and express pain for the sake of health. But just as accused women were able to employ medical terminology for their own ends, they also made reference to pain depending on how they pleaded. No longer claiming ignorance, women acknowledging an abortion or a miscarriage often made reference to pain. After Julie Woběrek admitted to having undergone a self-induced abortion, she emphasized that, "I had great pains. I also noticed that large pieces of me fell away."[127] In 1924, twenty-eight-year-old Ann Koller testified that she had naturally miscarried at four months pregnant.[128] A working-class woman, Ann described feeling "a pulling sensation [*ziehen*] in the naval region," after she had hauled bags of coal and her child in a stroller up several flights of stairs.[129] Two nights later, "she got pain and had to urinate frequently [*Harndrang*]," until, finally, she miscarried.[130]

Other women made strategic references to pain as a way to accuse midwives for providing them with poorly executed services. Instead of relying on abstract metaphors, accused women often described pain as something that was "given" to them (*Schmerzen bekommen*) that they then "possessed" (*Schmerzen haben*). For example, in 1915, Amalia Belada observed that, "Since that time [I had an abortion]… I no longer feel healthy. Every now and then, I *am given* pain in my stomach," (emphasis mine).[131] By describing pain in these terms, women managed to "reify pain as an

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125 "Das ging alles in einem Atem… Ich liess dann alles mit mir geschehen…"
126 "Ich konnte meiner gewöhnlichen Beschäftigung nachgehen und habe ich sogar an diesen Tage gewaschen…"
127 "Ich hatte große Schmerzen. Ich habe auch gemerkt, dass größere Stückerl von mir weggehen." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 18 August 1915.
128 WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 7820/24, 6 December 1924.
129 "Sofort versprürte sie in der Nabelgegend ziehen."
130 "In der 2. Nacht bekam sie Schmerzen und Harndrang…"
131 "Ich fühle mich seit der Zeit nicht mehr gesund. Ich habe ab und zu Schmerzen im Bauche."

independent entity," as something given to them by a midwife performing a dangerous procedure.[132] Amalia also highlighted the causality between the procedure and the painful sensation by stating that, "The effects of the abortion are terribly painful."[133]

Finally, those women who pleaded innocent often denied feeling pain or sensation altogether. In 1931, Leopoldine Heinz denied having an abortion, arguing that she naturally miscarried after consulting with a midwife. Suspicious about the sequence of events, the lawyer asked her what the midwife had done to her during the examination. Leopoldine stated that, "she did nothing to me."[134] She continued, "I did not allow anything to be aborted. I never saw anything, nor did I hear nor feel [anything]."[135] By emphasizing that she never felt pain, Leopoldine made a convincing case for herself. Without feeling pain, it seemed unlikely that she had an abortion in the first place.

Coda: "The first time she ever saw herself"

Working-class women in fin de siècle Vienna frequently described "feeling" themselves to be pregnant (*sich schwanger fühlen*). Even without consultation with a midwife or a physician, women were so in tune with their bodies, it seemed, that they could sense the tiniest ripple, the subtlest change in their embodiment. At a time when women operated within a more fluid and tactile metaphysics, this somatic approach to their reproductive bodies—and to pregnancy, more specifically—is fitting. They listened to and relied on "body feelings" to make sense of their physicality.

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132 Bourke, *The Story of Pain*, 60.
133 "Die Folgen des Eingriffes sind furchtbar schmerzhaft." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: I 4938/1915, 17 August 1915.
134 "Sie hat mir gar nichts gemacht." In WStLA, LgSt, Series: Strafakten, Folder: II 2438/31, 17 October 1931.
135 "Ich habe mir nichts abtreiben lassen. Ich habe davon weder etwas gesehen, noch etwas gehört, noch gespürt."

Years later, this embodied "feeling" dissipated and was replaced by a different kind of body knowledge, one in which the body was understood to be a self-contained medical object in need of inspection and assessment. Certain sensations, such as pain, became significant and worthy of expression. No longer were working-class women recording the subtle physical changes of pregnancy; rather, drawing on the discourse of personal responsibility, new women used medical logic and "expert" advice to "see" their medicalized bodies for the first time, and determine, based on a number of factors, whether they were pregnant. "Here are the different signs that one can divide into certain, probable, and uncertain," wrote Dr. Kehren in *Under Four Eyes,* including the "clear sound of the child's heartbeat," "the child's movements," "a missed period," "the expansion of the uterus, the softening of its tissue," "the blue and red coloring of the vaginal opening," as well as "nausea and vomiting."[136] Women trying to decide if they were pregnant would use these signs as reference, inspecting their bodies and genitals with a physician's shamelessness and precision, all the while wondering how peculiar, how strangely permeable, how very shameful their female anatomy was in the first place.[137]

But as Dr. Kehren pointed out, "whether there even is a pregnancy is not always easy to determine," and so, many women would consult with a specialist or medical "expert" because within the medical paradigm, women's body knowledge was no longer valuable. As Iris Marion Young observes, "the control over knowledge about the pregnancy and birth process that the physician

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[136] "Es bestehen hierüber verschiedene Zeichen, die man in sichere, wahrscheinliche und unischere einteilt… deutlich gehörten Herztöne des Kindes… Kindesbewegungen… Ausbleiben der Regel… die Vergrößerung der Gebärmutter, die Weichheit ihres Gewebes… die blaurote Verfärbung des Scheideneinganges… die Übelkeit und das Erbrechen." In Dr. med. Fr. Kehren, *Unter vier Augen: Die hohe Schule der Gattenliebe. Zehnte Auflage* (Přívoz: I. Buchsbaum, 1920), 59.

[137] Thus, if pregnant, women were advised to think of their bodies as disabled ("… so streift die Eigenart des Zustandes doch oft die Grenzen des Krankhaften"), and avoid "das Heben schwerer Gegenstände, das Tragen großer Lasten, anhaltendes Fahren auf schlechten Wegen, Reiten, Springen, Tanzen, Radeln, Bergsteigen, tagelanges Eisenbahnfahren… Häufiger Besuch von Konzerten, Bällen, Gesellschaften…" In Ibid., 61-62.

has… devalues the privileged relation [the mother] has to the fetus and her pregnant body."[138] And yet, as I tried to show in this chapter, the new women of the working-class continued to find ways to assert body agency despite this paradigm shift. Through the popularization of hygienic practices and medical knowledge through books such as Dr. Kehren's, Vienna's new women learned how to take some control over their reproductive health. And sometimes, this meant taking the next train to Vienna, buying a syringe-tipped catheter, and inserting it into one's cervix.

[138] On pregnancy as disability, see Young, "Pregnant Embodiment: Subjectivity and Alienation," in *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 47.

CONCLUSION

Desperately Seeking *Wiener Mädel*

By the late 1920s, personal advertisements in Viennese newspapers frequently made references to a new kind of woman: the *Wiener Mädel*. One man-seeking-woman advertisement from 1926 stated, "24-year-old federal officer wishes [to] make the honorable acquaintance with a pretty [and] respectable *Wiener Mädchen*."[1] In another advertisement, two "terribly lonely-feeling legionnaires" requested to make the acquaintance with two *Wiener Mädels*. "Will our request be answered?" they eagerly asked.[2] Another man, a self-described "foreigner," desired to meet a "*Wienermädel* not over the age of 20,"[3] while a twenty-nine-year-old man "currently residing in Poland," specified that he "wishes to enter into honorable correspondence with a beautiful blonde [of] medium height," "a *Wienerin*"—but absolutely "no *Bubikopf*."[4]

One of the most iconic *Bubiköpfe* to grace the silver screen was Else Kramer, the big-eyed, luxuriously dressed diamond thief in the 1929 German silent film, *Asphalt*.[5] As police officer Albert Holk arrives to arrest her, Else manages to convince him to stop at her apartment so that she can retrieve her papers. There, she aggressively kisses Albert into oblivion. Towards the end of the film, Albert is smitten, and although Else ends up confessing her crimes, he promises to wait for her until

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[1] "24jähriger Bundesbeamter wünscht ehrbahre Bekanntschaft mit hübschen soliden Wiener Mädchen." In "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 16 (1926): 20-21.
[2] "Zwei sich furchtbar einsam fühlende Fremdenlegionäre appelieren hiemit an die goldigen, herzigen Wienerherzerln und erbitten sich von zwei liebe Wiener Mädeln irgend eine Nachricht. Wird unsere Bitte erhört?" In "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 39 (1926): 19-21.
[3] "Menschen die einander suchen," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik*, no. 5 (13 March 1924): 15.
[4] "Junger Mann, 29 Jahre alt, derzeit in Polen, wünscht mit nur schöner, mittelgrosser Blondine, kein Bubikopf, Wienerin, in ehrbare Korrespondenz zu treten." In "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 51 (1926): 21.
[5] *Asphalt* directed by Joe May (Berlin: Universum Film, 1929). Viewed at the Filmmuseum Austria on 28 February 2015.

she finishes her prison sentence. Even though her confession signals a victory for the rule of law, young Albert's devotion to Else serves as a reminder of the new woman's sinister and castrating influence over men. In the words of Carl Schorske, Albert was "falling into the coils of *la femme tentaculaire*."[6] The film's message: Men, beware of the *Bubikopf*! Women, do not emulate her!

Fig. 60 The sinister *Bubikopf*, Else Kramer, forbids Albert Holk from leaving. From *Asphalt* (1929). Screen shot taken by author.

As Viennese politics and culture shifted towards the right after 1927, when police fired into a crowd of protesting workers, a counter-movement seemed to be taking place: a movement intended to resurrect the *Wiener Mädel*. In contrast to the *neue Wienerin*, the *Wiener Mädel* was believed to be old-fashioned, a "complete woman" who "only wanted to be beautiful," wear "shiny, soft materials, dance to sweet music," preferably the Viennese waltz, and "flirt and refrain from thinking further."[7]

Interestingly, by the late 1920s, Viennese women were also more likely to identify as *Wiener Mädels*. In a personal advertisement from 1926, for instance, "two faithful *Wiener Mädels*" wished "to

[6] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 224-225.
[7] "… dann darf es sich erlauben, nur schön sein zu wollen, glänzende, weiche Stoffe anzulegen, zu süßer Musik zu tanzen, zu flirten und nichts weiter zu denken. Dann darf sie endlich ganz Frau sein, würde der sentimentale Konservative sagen…" In Truida, "Was ziehe ich heute Abend an?" *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 1 (1926): 21.

make the acquaintance with a stylish motorcyclist."[8] In another advertisement, a self-described "young pretty *Wienermädel*" hoped to meet a "free-thinking, intelligent gentleman for the purpose of spending happy hours together."[9] Other advertisements were less specific in their demands. A "pretty 25-year-old *Wiener Mäd[e]l,*" for instance, stated that she was simply interested in making "an honorable acquaintance" with someone.[10] What becomes clear from these advertisements is that the designation of *Wiener Mädel* was code for a different kind of woman. Contemporaries finally seemed to have found the antidote to Vienna's "sexual crisis."

Visible Femininity

As a "complete woman," the *Wiener Mädel* was mythologized as being extraordinarily beautiful with a "very visible femininity."[11] For Viennese contemporaries, female beauty was synonymous with a heightened femininity; in other words, beauty emphasized, rather than downplayed, feminine characteristics. Similarly, female masculinity—insofar as it downplayed femininity—was considered ugly and degenerate. As I discussed in Chapter 3, one reason for this was that beauty was understood to be an expression of gender-specific functioning: a feminine woman was also a visibly maternal woman. In contrast to the more masculine *Bubikopf*, then, the *Wiener Mädel* was said to be a "complete woman": buxom, curvaceous, with soft skin and long hair, and capable of fulfilling her "natural" role to one day be a mother.

Not surprisingly, the *Wiener Mädel's* body was imagined to be full-figured compared to the more androgynous and linear figure of the *Bubikopf*. Though she was normally characterized as

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[8] "Zwei fidele Wiener Mädels erwünschen die Bekanntschaft flotter Motorradfahrer." In "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift,* no. 39 (24 September 1926): 19-21.
[9] "Modernes, junges hübsches Wienermädl sucht freidenkenden, intelligten Herrn zwecks Verbringung gemeinsamer glücklicher Stunden." In "Menschen die einander suchend," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik*, no. 5 (13 March 1924): 16.
[10] "Hübsches 25jähriges Wiener Mädel sucht ehrbare Bekanntschaft." In "Unsere Heiratspost," *Illustrierte Wochenpost* 1, no. 20 (24 August 1928): 12.
[11] Ann Tizia Leitich, *Die Wienerin* (Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung, 1939), 9.

youthful, her body—ranging from her full breasts to her spacious hips—visibly indicated its capacity to carry and bear a child. As an article on breast hygiene explained in 1928, "the bust forms one of the most important parts of the female body" because "its development indicates the transition from child to woman"—and also, to mother.[12] And according to folk songs, the *Wiener Mädel's* breasts "have long had the reputation for being particularly beautiful."[13]

With the emergence of maternalist discourse in the early twentieth century, woman increasingly became associated with the figure of the mother, so that true femininity—and female beauty—became synonymous with motherhood.[14] According to historian Ann Taylor Allen, feminist rhetoric at this time "was pervaded by the exaltation of motherhood as the woman citizen's most important right and duty," a maternalism that emphasized women's essential and bodily difference, that is, their assumed femaleness, heterosexuality, and reproductive capacities, as a source of—rather than an obstacle to—emancipation, and even, utopia.[15]

Already in 1875, Austrian feminist Marianne Hainisch had articulated the goal of enlightened motherhood in her essay, "The Question of Woman's Paid Work," making an essentialist argument in favor of the "eternal feminine." As discussed above, Hainisch served as leader of the League of Austrian Women's Associations (*Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine*, BÖF*)*, founded in 1902, which

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[12] "Die Büste bildet einen der wichtigsten Teile der körperlichen Reize des Weibes. Ihre Entwicklung bedeutet den Uebergang vom Kinde zum Weibe…" In Ernst Eitner, "Kosmetik der weiblichen Büste," *Die Moderne Frau,* no. 8 (1928): 3-4.

[13] "Den Kopf aus Prag, die Füss' vom Rhein/ Die Brüst' aus Oesterreich im Schrein/ Aus Frankreich den gewölbten Bauch…" In Carl Heinrich Stratz, *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes, 2. Auflage* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1902), 318.

[14] On the new maternalism, see, for example, Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890-1970* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005. On embodied citizenship, see Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Kathleen Canning, "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History," in *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 180-189; Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

[15] Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890-1970*, 8.

promulgated a feminist agenda centered around women's "natural" roles as mothers.[16] But maternalism also pervaded more radical feminist circles. Socialist leader Adelheid Popp argued that the reason women should take part in politics was "precisely because we are womanly and motherly."[17] During the First World War, Rosa Mayreder insisted that war went against the very nature of women, which was grounded in giving and preserving life (*Lebenserhaltung*).[18] And the radical League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform (*Bund für Mutterschutz und Sexualreform*) emphasized maternalism, while also promoting free love and marriage reform.[19]

As motherhood became increasingly valued, the androgyny of the *Bubikopf* seemed out of date. By 1928, even the magazine catering to "modern" women readers, *Die Moderne Frau*, insisted that, "every normal woman longs for a child."[20] By the late 1920s, early 1930s, modern women continued to make demands in their marriages (Chapter 4)—this time, however, with the goal of reproduction.

"You should be beautiful"

With Viennese men fantasizing about the *Wiener Mädel*, and women identifying with her, the growing cosmetics industry introduced products that would compel women to replicate *Wiener*

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[16] On early Austrian feminism, see Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin die siecle Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
[17] Adelheid Popp as quoted in Birgitta Bader-Zar, "Women in Austrian Politics, 1890-1934: Goals and Visions," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, eds. David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), 65.
[18] Rosa Mayreder, "Die Frau und der Krieg," *Internationale Rundschau* 1 (1915): 516-27.
[19] The Bund für Mutterschutz, led by Helene Stöcker, Lily Braun, and Adele Schreiber, was founded in Germany in 1905. See Amy Hackett, "Helene Stöcker: Left-Wing Intellectual and Sex-Reformer," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, eds. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984); Christl Wickert, *Helene Stöcker, 1869-1943: Frauenrechtlerin, Sexualreformerin und Pazifistin* (Bonn: Dietz, 1991); Gudrun Hamelmann, *Helene Stöcker, der "Bund für Mutterschutz," und "Die Neue Generation"* (Frankfurt/Main: Haag & Herchen, 1992).
[20] "Jede normal veranlagte Frau sehnt sich nach dem Kinde." In "Der Kampf gegen den §144," *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 9 (1928): 7.

beauty on their own bodies.[21] The same physical discipline described in Chapter 3 thus informed the *Wiener Mädel's* performance of femininity. "You should be beautiful," instructed one article in a women's magazine.[22] Beauty cleared the path to power, joy, and confidence; it made life worth living. "You should be beautiful!" was therefore not just a recommendation, it was an imperative because "letting yourself go [*dich gehen lassen*]" was simply not an option. Even if a woman was not blessed with natural beauty, with "serious willpower," she could "correct nature!" "Help yourself if the gods did not help you."[23] Another article observed that, "A big movement against all that is ugly and old is noticeable. For this reason, only the person armed with the insignias of youth and beauty will be successful in the battle for existence [*Kampf um das Dasein*]."[24]

A perusal of cosmetics advice columns in various newspapers reveals that by the mid-1920s, Viennese women frequently asked for skin care advice. "We become red at every opportunity," two young women complained in 1926.[25] Treatment included less hand washing, glycerin rubs, wearing "degreasing linen gloves" at nights, as well as hand massages.[26] The daily application of products such as Mouson cream, for example, also promised to maintain skin youthfulness, which would lead to "elegance" and "success in social and work life."[27] Many products also appealed to science and hygiene in their advertisements.[28] For example, Olalin Skin Balm was said to contain "hormones (glandular secretion)" which ensure "youthfulness, tone, and beauty."[29] Likewise, the British company, Elizabeth Arden, which advertised its skin-care products in a number of Viennese

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[21] Annelie Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty: Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750*-1930, trans. David Burnett (Washington D.C.: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 118-121.
[22] "Du sollst schön sein," *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 1 (1926): 15.
[23] "So wie das Glück, kannst du auch, wenn du ernsten Willens bist, die Natur korrigieren! Hilf dir selbst, wenn die Götter dir nicht geholfen haben."
[24] "Eine grosse Bewegung gegen alles Unschöne und Veraltete ist bemerkbar. Daher wird nur der im Kampf um das Dasein erfolgreich sein, der eben mit den Insignien der Jugend und Schönheit versehen ist." In "Die Berufsfrau und die Kosmetik," *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 2 (1926): 23.
[25] "Wir werden bei jeder Gelegenheit rot." In "Korrespondenzen," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 16 (1926): 20-21.
[26] See, for example, "Kaiserstrasse 117" and "Ria, Karl Beckgasse," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 52 (1926): 18.
[27] "Zahncreme Mouson," *Die Dame* 54, no. 15 (April 1927).
[28] Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty*, 119.
[29] "Olalin-Hautbalsam," *Die Moderne Welt* 11, no. 24 (1930): vii.

magazines, instructed readers on how to take part in elaborate, multi-step "treatments" (*Behandlungen*) that mimicked the precision required in a scientific experiment.[30]

Long hair also gained in popularity by the late 1920s and early 1930s. While the bob connoted deviance and masculinity, and the message, "Yes, [I] am a boy, am as independent as a boy, am not dependent on a man at all, stand firmly on my female legs,"[31] long hair was a symbol of "true femininity."[32] At a meeting for the Club of Viennese Ladies Hairdresser Assistants in April 1931, "a large portion of *Damen* were also letting their hair grow out," as evidenced by the "strands and ringlets that stream out from under their hat rims."[33] Because it became trendy to grow hair as long as "four centimeters under the neck line" in such places as "America, Paris, and London," Viennese women began experimenting with longer hair. As such, many new products appeared on the market, such as Elida Shampoo, which promised "silky soft and curly hair."[34] The advertisement featured a woman with thick brown hair draped elegantly over her shoulder, recalling Empress Elisabeth. With her face turned upward and her eyes closed, she smiled sweetly, as if she were about to be kissed. The message was clear: long hair made a woman worthy of love and tenderness. Personal advertisements also reflected this fixation with long hair. In one advertisement from 1924,

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[30] See, for example, "Der Schlüssel zur Schönheit," *Die Moderne Welt* 12, no. 9 (1931): iv.

[31] "Ja bin ein Bub, bin so selbständig wie ein Bub, bin auf den Mann gar nicht angewiesen, stehe fest auf meinen weiblichen Beinen…"

[32] The media frequently ran sensationalist articles describing the destructive effects of the bob on society and marriage. The conservative *Reichspost*, for example, published an article in 1928 about a Viennese roofer, Franz Hiebl, who poured a bottle of gasoline on his girlfriend's hair. After threatening to light her on fire, Leopoldine Lenz ran to her neighbor's apartment, and then outdoors to the Cafe Meixner, where she called the police. When asked what his motive was, Hiebel remarked that, "When I came home, the wife gave me nothin' to eat; instead she had her bob cut again and had no money." According to Lenz, "Since [I] got the bob, it was no longer bearable with him. One time, he had even threatened [me] with a knife." See "Mit Benzin gegen den Bubikopf," *Reichspost* 35, no. 249 (7 September 1928): 8-9.

[33] "… ein Großteil der Damen aber läßt das Haar länger wachsen, und unter den Huträndern quellen Strähne und Ringeln hervor, die den Trägerin bisweilen Aehnlichkeit mit einem herzigen Pudelkopf verleihen. In Amerika, in Paris und London besteht eine starke Strömung für das längere Haar. Vier Zentimeter über die Nackenlinie lautet dort die Parole…" In "Vier Zentimeter über den Nacken hinunter," *Reichspost* 38, no. 118 (29 April 1931): 5.

[34] "Elida Shampoon," *Die Muskete* 38, no. 11 (15 June 1924): 162.

for instance, a Viennese gentleman stated that his ideal was a full-figured *Wiener Mädel* with "thick, long, well-maintained hair."[35]

Fig. 61 Advertisement for Elida Shampoo. From *Die Muskete* 38, no. 11 (15 June 1924): 162. AustriaN Newspapers Online (hereafter ANNO), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB).

Additionally, as the full figure became more popular, Viennese women could take advantage of a vast array of breast augmentation products offered at cosmetics shops and apothecaries throughout the city. For instance, at the Alte Feld apothecary in the I district, women could purchase Pilules Orientales—pills that promised to give breasts a "gracious fullness" in only two months.[36] Another product, a perfume known as Eau Hollandaise Wilhelmina, guaranteed

[35] "Mein Ideal ist: vollschlanke Gestalt… reiches, langes, gepflegtes Haar." In "Menschen die einander suchen," *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik*, no. 5 (13 March 1924).
[36] "Schöne Büste in zwei Monaten durch die Pilules Orientales die einzigen, welche die Knochenvorsprünge beseitigen die Brüste festigen und wiederherstellen und die Frau einbüste eine graziöse Fülle verleihen, ohne der Gesundheit zu schaden." In "Pilules Orientales," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 36, no. 11 (1930): 20.

"beautiful, full body forms," specifically, "gorgeous breasts," with the generous and regular application of a sweet perfume.[37]

Fig. 62 Advertisement for breast augmentation pills. From "Pilules Orientales," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 36, no. 11 (1930): 20. ANNO/ÖNB.

Beauty, however, could also be achieved through a "cosmetics of the soul."[38] If "the living body is the instrument of the soul, just as harmonious or contaminated," then "thoughts form the features on a face."[39] An array of products promised to cure "nervousness"—such as elastic shoe soles that were "good for the nerves" when navigating city streets[40]—and other psychological maladies, because, as another article put it, it is the psyche that "brings about the healthy," and by extension, beautiful "state of the body."[41] The view that mind and body were inextricably linked, as opposed to mutually exclusive, thus continued into the 1930s. Interior and exterior were fundamentally connected, so that a charming woman was necessarily a beautiful woman, and a beautiful woman was necessarily charming. By cultivating tranquility and charm, any ordinary woman in Vienna could become a beautiful *Wiener Mädel*.

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[37] "Schöne, volle Körperformen" and "prachtvolle Büste." In "Eau Hollandaise Wilhelmina," *Illustriertes Familienblatt. Häuslicher Ratgeber für Österreichs Frauen* 19, no. 2 (1913).
[38] Luise Cavrel, "Kosmetik der Seele," *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 2 (1926): 22-23.
[39] "Der Leib ist das Instrument des Geistes, gleich ihm harmonisch oder verdorben. Gedanken formed die Gesichtszüge." In Dr. Franz Halla, "Muss man altern? (Psyche und Jugend.)" *Die Moderne Frau*, no. 2 (1926): 26.
[40] "Palma-Kautschukabstätze und Sohlen," *Die Modern Frau*, no. 5 (1926): 10.
[41] "… beeinflusst im besten Sinne die Psyche und diese bringt wieder einen gesunden Zustand des Körpers."

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A central argument in this dissertation has been that new womanhood constituted a new physicality. *Bodies That Shimmer* began with an intimate scene from Grete Meisel-Hess's 1910 novel, *Fanny Roth,* in which the eponymous protagonist, a new woman, undresses in front of a mirror to reclaim "the white and glowing shimmer" of her body. The following chapters described this new physicality in greater detail. Whether they were moving with the "loose and flowing" gait of a Habsburg sex worker (Chapter 1), looking to silent film acting to express the "shimmer" of emotion (Chapter 2), shaping and disciplining their bodies to conform to a "petite, modern silhouette" (Chapter 3), feeling "a strange new tenderness" for their bodies and their husbands (Chapter 4), or "seeing themselves for the first time" as medical objects (Chapter 5), Vienna's new women began using and experiencing their bodies in radically new ways.

Can the same be said of the *Wiener Mädel*? It may be tempting to view the embodiment of the *Wiener Mädel* as fundamentally different from that of the *neue Wienerin*, as eerily retrograde. After all, did not contemporaries describe her as the picture of "true femininity," a "complete woman" who modeled herself after the long-haired bourgeois beauties of the fin de siècle? Instead of reclaiming the shimmer of her physicality, it seemed that she was paying no attention to it.

And yet, the *Wiener Mädel* was hardly the fragile hothouse flower of the fin de siècle Viennese bourgeoisie (Chapter 1). Although she gave up the Charleston to dance the waltz, she continued to walk expansively and move continuously up and down Vienna's streets (this time, with elastic shoe soles), take part in gymnastics and sport, and sometimes even ride on the back of the motorcycle. And even though she eschewed the linear silhouette in favor of "feminine" curves, she nevertheless engaged in beautification rituals that recalled similarly "masculine" discipline, evidence of her hidden androgyny. The very embodied, and often painful acts of giving birth and raising a

child were testament to her resilience and strength. In short, the *Wiener Mädel*'s new physicality owed much to the shimmering femininity of Vienna's new women.

In fact, the *Wiener Mädel* and the *neue Wienerin* had one important thing in common: they both embodied Habsburg Vienna. As I described in Chapter 2, the *neue Wienerin* frequently appeared on the silver screen in films ranging from *Ein Walzertraum* (1925) to *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931), and served as a reminder of old Vienna, city of music and pleasure. With her long, Empress Elisabeth-like hair, and charming disposition, the *Wiener Mädel* was a similarly nostalgic figure. According to scholar Lutz Musner, "What distinguishes the 'Wiener' above all is his distinctive pursuit of pleasure [*Genusssüchtigkeit*], as he would like to eat and drink, he would love women, music, and song, like to dance and dress elegantly, and moreover the 'Wiener' would take part in all forms of entertainment and pleasure with refinement."[42] Both the *neue Wienerin* and the *Wiener Mädel* were the *Wiener*'s feminized counterparts, embodying this pursuit of comfort, pleasure, and frivolity.

In other words, despite giving up some of the particular pleasures of the *neue Wienerin*, the *Wiener Mädel* did not give up pleasure altogether. In fact, she still relished life, so much so, that she was occasionally believed to be idle. When Walter G. traveled from Germany to Vienna in 1927, he observed that *Wiener Mädels* "are horribly lazy," spending most of their time sitting at coffeehouses.[43] "The girls and women are on average prettier here than in our Germany," he continued, "the *Wienerinnen* would be one hundred percent cuter if they were somewhat more agile."[44] In response, Wilma P. defended the *Wiener Mädels'* desire to "relax… at the coffeehouse with music" or "go to a

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[42] "Was den 'Wiener' vor allem auszeichne, sei eine ausgeprägte Genusssüchtigkeit, denn er würde gerne essen und trinken, er würde Frauen, Musik und Gesang lieben, gerne tanzen und sich elegant kleiden, und überdies würde der 'Wiener' alle Formen der Unterhaltung und Vergnügung mit Raffinement anlegen." In Lutz Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien: Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 180.

[43] "Aber sie sind entsetzlich faul." In Walter G., "Probleme des Lebens: Die faule Wienerin," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 25 (1927): 14.

[44] "Ich gebe zu, dass die Mädchen und Frauen im Durchschnitt hier hübscher sind als bei uns in Deutschland… Die Wienerinnen wären um hundert Prozent netter, wenn sie nur etwas beweglicher wären."

café to snack or read the newspaper just like a man does."[45] Indeed, *Wiener Mädels* continued to go to coffeehouse, stroll through the Stadtpark, and express pleasure and delight.

The *Wiener Mädel*, then, may be regarded as new womanhood's latest incarnation. Despite her aspiration towards motherhood, beauty, and charm, all characteristics associated with what we might today describe as essentially feminine, the *Wiener Mädel* was no less "emancipated" than the *neue Wienerin*. She, too, was only a performer acting and, at times, acting out. The history of gender and sexuality does not follow a logical trajectory, nor does it necessarily end in sexual liberation. It is, in the words of Dagmar Herzog, syncopated: meandering and unpredictable.[46]

What *Bodies That Shimmer* has shown is that Viennese femininity is complex and always changing, a "prosthetic" that can be used and discarded.[47] What made the performance of new womanhood particularly remarkable and "new" was that it referenced such a wide range of physicalities, including the phenomenology of Habsburg sex workers, the expressiveness of silent film actors, and the medical gaze of physicians. In this way, Vienna's new women put the constructedness of femininity—of gender and sexuality—on display. And yet, by focusing on embodiment, this dissertation has also shown that bodies do matter, that the constructedness of a category does not mean that the pre-discursive does not exist. Perhaps that is what makes the *Wiener Mädel* such an appropriate figure with which to end: she accentuated her biological femaleness, while also deviating from it in quietly subversive ways. Even though talk of a "sexual crisis" dissipated by the late 1920s and early 1930s, Vienna remained an important site gender trouble.

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[45] "… am nächsten Tag im Kaffeehaus bei Musik auszuruhen oder wieder andere gehen ins Café jausen und Zeitung zu lesen, wie eben der Mann es tut; deshalb ist sie lange nicht faul…" In Wilma P., "Probleme des Lebens: Ein paar Worte zur 'faulen Wienerin' in Nr. 25," *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, no. 29 (1927): 13-14.
[46] Dagmar Herzog, "Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1287-1308
[47] J. Halberstam describes masculinity as being "prosthetic." See J. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

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