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Sweet Street Music for Petty Alms: The Barrel-Organ Career of Anna Balcarová in the Poděbrady Region, 1889–1905

Risto Pekka Pennanen

The history of street music in Central Europe remains a surprisingly little researched theme; despite their omnipresence and contribution to everyday music, not much has been published on pre-Great War full-time buskers, especially organ grinders.¹ Buskers were of the lowest social status and therefore subject to strict control by the authorities. On top of that, public debate surrounding busking was largely negative, as it concentrated on the disturbing nature of the sounds of barrel-organs in an urban environment. Music licences in Austria–Hungary, which are central sources for this chapter, originated from the special beggar music licences of the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–1780). This licence system for injured veterans and other disabled persons functioned as poor relief; such musicians were buskers, mainly barrel-organ grinders, and exempted from paying income tax.² Furthermore, the general system of music and other performance licences – for non-disabled touring full-timers outside the formal concert hall and theatre contexts – was introduced in the Austrian Empire in 1836 as a means of bureaucratic control of the moral and musical criteria for performances, and the number and mobility of itinerant performers. Initially, all licences were principally for men but, from 1851, increasingly for women as well.³

Utilising archival and press material, this chapter concentrates on the lives, careers and social position of female organ grinders in the heavily monitored bureaucratic system of licensed begging in central Bohemia in the 1890s and early 1900s. Except for soundscape studies, scholarly research on the history of busking in Central Europe has been relatively sparse.⁴ The most ambitious and extensive study on organ grinders in the Bohemian lands is a 2020 study on the business of organ-grinding from the late nineteenth century to the Nazi German occupation by economic historians Eduard Kubů and Barbora Štolleová.⁵ In spite of the huge corpus of source material, Kubů and Štolleová only mention women in passing. The fact that men vastly outnumbered women as organ grinders was due, Kubů and Štolleová claim, to the role of women as members of the household and that of men as providers for the family. Therefore, licensed women were usually widows, or included in the husband's licence as a bearer or guide.⁶ Although it is understandable how they have reached this general conclusion, there are some strong objections to be made on the microhistorical level.

My focus in this chapter is on the career of Anna Balcarová (b. 1848) who worked in and around the Poděbrady district. Being disabled, she needed help from her husband František Balcar (b. 1863). Moreover, the archival documents of another Poděbrady organ grinder, Marie Steklá (b. 1847), contribute to overcoming the lack of several important post-1902 documents on Balcarová. The main question here is whether women were as

marginal in organ-grinding as it seems in conventional historical writing. As my investigation shows, not only were women and disabled people active in the performance of barrel-organ music, but the degree of bureaucratic involvement evident in the story of Anna Balcarová shows that the authorities considered her and others like her to be a significant enough part of municipal life to be deserving of strict regulation and control. As a key part of the soundscape of the towns and villages of Bohemia, organ grinders reveal a little-examined side of the musical life in the region, and how individuals otherwise marginalised by society—like women and disabled people—could find ways to participate and make a living.

Women and Barrel-Organs

The barrel-organ is a mechanical instrument in which the musical material is represented through protruding pins on the surface of a slowly rotating horizontal barrel. The turning of the crank handle pumps wind into the organ chest from bellows and, simultaneously, turns the barrel. The instrument has never been standardised, but most models yield fourteen notes or more in a non-chromatic scale, and most barrel-organs have one to four registers controlled by draw-stops. To save pipes, space, and costs, tunes are often pinned in only a couple of keys, usually G and D major. In addition to large barrel-organs that produce dynamic effects using several registers and can only be transported by means of a handcart, small, portable versions have remained in use. Depending on the diameter, a barrel can contain eight to twelve pieces, each usually slightly over two minutes long. The size of the barrel is in relation to that of the box. According to the prevailing notion, the playing technique of the barrel-organ does not necessitate any musical or technical talent. However, the rotational speed of the crank handle affects the tempo of a piece and, through proper playing technique, the player can pause, accent and phrase melodies.⁷ Furthermore, a writer related in *Národní listy* in 1902 that organ grinders rewarded handouts with blessings and beautiful playing, whereas an unconcerned passer-by could receive a miserable squeak of protest from the organ.⁸

Several newspaper stories mention old Bohemian ladies playing barrel-organs.⁹ Among the writings are the childhood memories of “A.M.” who yields a rather detailed description of an elderly female barrel-organist surnamed Kovandová, who often played the “Radetzky March” (1848) by Johann Strauss Sr, the little boy’s favourite tune.¹⁰ Furthermore, the Bohemian press published a small news item on female organ grinders, who – just like their male colleagues – met with accidents.¹¹ Lastly, press sources contain death notices of female barrel-organists.¹²

Women were also well represented in the barrel-organ hire business. The most inexpensive means of obtaining a barrel-organ was to rent one, which seems to have been common. Thus, according to an 1892 story in *Národní listy*, nearly all moderate- to high-priced barrel-organs in Prague belonged to “two or three businesspersons who sat at home” hiring out barrel-organs for 50 to 80 kreutzers apiece per half-day.¹³ Running a successful hire firm required taking care of the optimal tuning of the pipes and providing barrels with new tunes.

Some barrel-organ hire companies were owned by widowed women who had inherited the business from their late husbands. Thus, women’s share in the barrel-organ hiring business tended to grow. For example, whereas the 1892 Prague directory lists three barrel-organ hirers, one of whom was female, namely Viktorie Egerová, four years later women outnumbered men by three to one – Kateřina Arnoštová (widow of František

Arnošt), Anna Kolínská and Josefa Risová (probably widow of Josef Riss).¹⁴ The lists are, however, incomplete, since Viktorie Egerová was active throughout those years, and Kateřina Arnoštová had already registered her business in January 1891, as had Marie Čechová in September 1893.¹⁵

Anna Balcarová's Rough Passage to Busking

Archival sources reveal information about the life of Anna Balcarová prior to her career as a barrel-organist. Anna Haltufová was born in the village of Žiželice, twenty kilometres northeast of Kolín, on 7 October 1848.¹⁶ Her parents died in the Němčice village cholera epidemic two years later, in September 1850,¹⁷ and no known sources reveal what happened to her afterwards, though according to the parish register, young Anna was a seamstress by profession. At the age of twentysix she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter, Kateřina, but the baby died twentysix months later.¹⁸ Anna's second daughter, Marie, was born on 25 March 1884, with twenty-one-year-old Němčice day labourer František Balcar (b. 18 February 1863, Záhon near Hradec Králové) acknowledging the child.¹⁹ They were married on 4 February 1886; two further daughters were born, in 1886 and 1889.²⁰ In 1889, the Balcars' economic straits forced Anna to apply for a barrel-organ licence.

In her first licence application for a barrel-organ, from October 1889, Anna Balcarová wrote that she was forty (she was actually forty-one) years old and crippled to the point of being unable to walk. She was thus also not able to find regular work. Furthermore, her husband was a day labourer without sufficient earnings to support a family with three small children. Therefore, to make ends meet, Balcarová applied for a barrel-organ licence for the Kingdom of Bohemia and attached a *testimonium paupertatis*. Judging from the illegible handwriting and frequent spelling mistakes, Balcarová was certainly not well-educated.²¹ In the poverty certificate, Poděbrady Mayor Jan Hellich certified Balcarová's statements and added that she had no registered property in Poděbrady. According to Hellich, Anna Balcarová was entitled to a barrel-organ licence.²² The certificate looks adequate, but it applied exclusively to the asset register of Poděbrady which, as we shall see, led to numerous enquiries on Balcarová's property in her native village.

A month later, in his comments for the Poděbrady Municipal Council on the application, District Captain Adolph Blümel solicited more details.²³ On 10 December, after interviewing Anna Balcarová, Mayor Hellich replied to Blümel that Balcarová owned cottage number 57 in Němčice. The cottage was worth 400 guildens but, at the same time, Balcarová's debt exceeded the property's worth. Furthermore, František Balcar was ill and also deemed unfit for work. The family had not received any allowance from the municipality of Poděbrady. František Balcar claimed that he could purchase a barrel-organ with wages from factory work and, providing that the barrel-organ licence would be divided between him and his wife, he could take care of transport to busking locations.²⁴

One may wonder how František could afford a barrel-organ; large, high-quality, elaborately decorated barrel-organs on wheels were expensive investments. Bohemian newspaper advertisements rarely revealed prices of such instruments, but from an 1892 newspaper report on a Prague court case we know that a thirtysix-note instrument was worth seventy guildens, and licensed organ grinder Čeněk Zadák had an organ worth 120

guldens.²⁵ Therefore, František was very likely thinking of a small second-hand instrument.

An extensive series of medical examinations, retrieval of personal data, and property inquiries followed, which lasted several months.²⁶ By 25 August 1890, the Poděbrady District Commission had finally produced all the documents on Anna Balcarová and František Balcar for the governor's office, which had requested the information in mid-January that year.²⁷ After receiving the required twelve documents, the office sent a permission to Poděbrady on 6 September, thus authorising the district commission to grant Anna Balcarová a barrel-organ licence for the Kolín and Poděbrady administrative districts for the remainder of the year 1890. František Balcar was allowed to accompany her as a guide. Thus, the licence covered only two districts rather than the whole of Bohemia, as in the application. The German-language letter contains a printed passage with a masculine dative form, as do the Czech and German texts in licence booklets introduced in 1903, indicating an ingrained bias toward male performers.²⁸

Next, the district commission summoned the couple for personal description and to pay a one-gulden stamp duty, which František Balcar – as “Franz Balzar” – attested by his signature.²⁹ The payment resulted in a draft licence and, finally, the licence proper on 20 September. Involving seven stages and institutions – several of them more than once – the process of applying for a beggar music licence, which began with procurement of the *testimonium paupertatis*, had taken slightly over one year. The exceptional length of the process was due to the recent move of the Balcar family from the Kolín district to Poděbrady.

The high degree of control manifests itself in the licence, which lists the following standard rules and regulations. A barrel-organ licence, as with any other performance licence, was always personal; no other person than the licensee could play the barrel-organ. The maximum period of validity was one year, but, providing that the licensee proved to be of impeccable conduct, the authorities could extend the licence for a year at a time. Furthermore, a licence was only valid in designated administrative districts or, in some cases, in the whole Kingdom of Bohemia. The authorities constantly monitored organ grinders and other buskers; the performers had to comply with local police regulations, carry the licence document and present it on request and, before the performance, report to the local authorities. In addition, busking with children was strictly forbidden. As with the case of Anna Balcarová, barrel-organ licences for the disabled often included another person, who was supposed to act as a helper or guide.³⁰ The extra person, however, had no right to grind or collect handouts.

Violating the rules and regulations of the licence was a penal offence. In January 1898, the governor's office introduced a severe attitude to performance licences in Bohemia. From now on, district captains had to report all cases of serious offence and misuse concerning licences so that the licence could be invalidated or not renewed.³¹ Furthermore, in 1903, any misuse of the licence, insofar the penal code did not concern it, was punished with a fine of 2 to 200 Kronen or an arrest from 6 hours to 14 days. In addition, the licence could be revoked.³² These policies may have subsequently contributed to the end of Anna Balcarová's career as a barrel-organist.

Because the licence was valid till the end of 1890, Anna had to apply for an extension, which she did on 6 January 1891 – this time from the governor's office in Prague. The application is basically like the first one, apart from Anna describing herself as a barrel-organist and applying for permission to play, in addition to Kolín and Poděbrady, in the central Bohemian districts of Nový Bydžov, Hradec Králové, Pardubice, Čáslav, and Kutná Hora.³³ On this occasion, the bureaucratic processing of the application was swift.

Valid from 9 February till the end of the year, the licence covered exclusively the districts of Kolín and Poděbrady, and František had the right to act as a guide.³⁴ The gap of slightly over one month between the expiry of the first licence and the beginning of the second may have been due to a lack of experience; subsequently Anna sought to minimise the interval between each renewal.

An interesting problem is why Anna, rather than František, applied for the barrel-organ licence. After all, they both were permanently incapacitated for work, and the husband as the provider of the family had at least the same possibilities to apply for a licence successfully. Perhaps the couple calculated that Anna, as a forty-one-year-old crippled busker woman, would more easily loosen the purse strings of passers-by than an ostensibly healthy lad of twenty-six. Furthermore, should he be licensed, she would not be able to accompany him for organ-grinding.

Table 2.1 summarises Anna Balcarová's licence extensions between 1892 and 1896. Exceptionally, the application for 1892 was addressed to the governor's office. Justifying her request with a description of how foreign and healthy barrel-organists preceded her and receive most alms in the Kolín and Poděbrady districts, thus leaving her starving, Anna wished to expand the licence area to Mladá Boleslav, Nový Bydžov, Kutná Hora, and Český Brod. Somewhat surprisingly, the office agreed to the expansion, but the price of the new districts was a markedly prolonged processing time. In 1895, Anna applied for another licence extension, but the exceptionally short letter did not mention any geographical areas. As a result, the licence was valid exclusively for the Poděbrady district.

Table 2.1 Anna Balcarová's Licence Extensions, 1892–96

<i>Submission</i>	<i>Granted</i>	<i>Addressed to</i>	<i>Applied districts</i>	<i>Justification or comment</i>
9 Feb. 1892 ³⁵	14 July 1892	Governor's office	Kolín, Poděbrady, Mladá Boleslav, Nový Bydžov, Kutná Hora, Český Brod	Foreign and healthy barrel-organists precede Anna and receive most alms in the Kolín and Poděbrady districts
27 Dec. 1892	7 Jan. 1893	Poděbrady district comm.	Kolín, Poděbrady, Mladá Boleslav, Nový Bydžov, Kutná Hora	Clerk's handwriting
8 Jan. 1894	25 Jan. 1894	Poděbrady district comm.	Kolín, Poděbrady, Mladá Boleslav, Nový Bydžov, Kutná Hora	
24 Dec. 1894	4 Jan. 1895	Poděbrady district comm.	Not specified; granted for Poděbrady	
18 Dec. 1895	3 Jan. 1896	Poděbrady district comm.	The whole of Bohemia; granted for Kolín, Poděbrady, Mladá Boleslav, Nový Bydžov, Kutná Hora	Poor, crippled mother of four children; benefactors would purchase a new barrel-organ to avoid disrupting the audience

In 1896, Balcarová introduced herself as a poor, crippled mother of four dependent children, who would therefore need a barrel-organ licence for the whole of Bohemia. For several reasons, such an application was intriguing. As an extremely poor couple with children, how would the Balcars have travelled, and where would they have stayed? Nation-wide beggar licences were, moreover, exceedingly rare; according to the first overview of music licences in 1902 by the governor's office, the fifty-nine beggar music licences in Poděbrady consisted of twenty licences for a single district, thirty-six licences for several districts, and only three licences for the whole kingdom.³⁶ Besides, the provincial licences were not valid in the privileged statutory cities of Prague and Liberec/Reichenberg, which granted licences independently, nor in spa towns, where begging was basically forbidden.³⁷ Not unexpectedly, the authorities rejected the expansion of Anna's licence.

Furthermore, Balcarová notified in her application that her benefactors were willing to purchase her a new and better barrel-organ to avoid disrupting the audience. The mention of benefactors is especially interesting because poor barrel-organists did sometimes receive financial support from individual or organisational sponsors. Take, for example, Marie Steklá, a poor widow living in Poděbrady whom we will meet again below. She was frail and disabled because of advanced rheumatoid arthritis in her fingers. In her application from 1897, she mentioned that her benefactors in her native village of Žehuň intended to buy her a barrel-organ.³⁸ Furthermore, the Bohemian press occasionally published advertisements aimed at philanthropists, which would detail the cases of ill or disabled individuals in the hopes of helping them afford instruments.³⁹

Repertoires, Licence Reform and the End of Balcarová's Career

No available sources shed light on the selection of busking pieces in the area where Anna toured. Nevertheless, the standard repertoire of barrel-organ pieces in Bohemia is known; it consisted of folk and popular tunes, excerpts from popular classical pieces, and operetta and opera numbers – all arranged to suit the relatively limited technical possibilities of various barrel-organ models. Anna probably performed this music in streets and courtyards, in parks, and town squares, especially during Sunday promenades, at markets and fairs, in front of inns, in front of churches before and after Mass, at celebrations of Catholic Saints' days, and at skating rinks in wintertime.⁴⁰

The Bohemian press mentions waltzes, marches, polkas and operetta pieces by the Strauss family, opera numbers by Giacomo Meyerbeer and from Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890), and songs by Bohemian composer, painter, and educator Josef Věnceslav Soukup (1819–1882). Other specifically mentioned pieces are the Bohemian folk waltz song “Louka zelená” (Green Meadow), the polka songs “Růžena” and “Na rozloučenou” (The Farewell), “Letzte Rose”/“Poslední růže” (a variant of an Irish folk tune used in the opera *Martha* [1847] by Friedrich von Flotow), “La donna è mobile” from *Rigoletto* (1851) by Giuseppe Verdi, and melodies from *The Bartered Bride* (1866) by Bedřich Smetana. The repertoire in the German-speaking areas of Bohemia tended to differ from that of the Czech-speaking ones, but a considerable part of the Bohemian repertoire overlapped. Take, for example, the waltz song “Mein kleines Dorf im Böhmerwald”/“Vesničko má pod Šumavou” (My Little Village in the Bohemian Forest) by Johann Baptist Blobner (Pořejov, Bohemia 1850–1931), Czech lyrics by Karel Šimůnek.⁴¹

Balcarová's licence applications between 1897 and 1902 went smoothly as they were for the same districts as before.⁴² As was the application of 8 January 1903 but, due to the governor's office circular of November 1902, the reaction of the authorities changed. The circular allowed local decisions on licence renewals, whereas the office retained its right to process initial licence applications by Bohemian citizens and all applications by foreigners.⁴³ Poděbrady District Captain Peter Ziegler, after inquiring as to Balcarová's status and behaviour, seems to have agreed to grant the licence but, unfortunately, the archival dossier lacks almost all subsequent documents from 1904 to 1906.⁴⁴ From the surviving sources one can, however, reach the conclusion that Anna certainly had a valid barrel-organ licence until late May 1905 or possibly even until 1906.⁴⁵

As we have seen in the initial steps of the Balcar couple's licence application process, the bureaucratic checking of the financial and family circumstances of applicants often lacked thoroughness and had to be supplemented, causing significant delays. In autumn 1903, the governor's office took action to systematise and accelerate the application process by introducing a two-sided, detailed *Erhebungsbogen* (questionnaire) on applicants for performance licences.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Anna's questionnaire has not survived, which results in several gaps in her biography. The only event known from 1904 is that the Balcars' daughter Maria intended to marry, for which occasion František requested a copy of her birth certificate from the Ohaře parish in August. At that time, the family dwelt in Poděbrady.⁴⁷

By contrast, the questionnaire on Marie Steklá, the other Poděbrady female barrel-organist, who began her long career in 1897, is available in the archive. The district commission filled in her questionnaire in late October 1903, and therefore we know Steklá's personal circumstances and other data relevant for her application. For example, she was born 1847 in the village of Žehuň and had been a day labourer before becoming disabled. She had been widowed four years earlier, and she resided in the house number 100-III in Poděbrady.⁴⁸

In early 1903, a *Licenzbüchel* (a printed licence booklet), containing the basic data and blank pages for notes by authorities of localities visited, replaced the licence sheet for all itinerant performers. The little books fell into five categories, each of which was differently coloured; beggar musicians licensed to perform in one district had light-yellow booklets, and those licensed for several districts, orange ones.⁴⁹ Such booklets enabled strict control of performance times and places for itinerant performers. The booklet form was more durable than a paper sheet.

Since Anna Balcarová's licence booklets are not in her archival dossier, one cannot confirm how widely Anna travelled in her permitted districts of Poděbrady, Kolín, Kutná Hora, Nový Bydžov, and Mladá Boleslav. On the other hand, three of Marie Steklá's licence booklets – for 1903, 1904, and 1905 – have survived, and here we will examine the first one. In the Poděbrady District, Steklá worked in Městec Králové (two occasions), Nymburk (four occasions), Pečky (four occasions), Poděbrady (five occasions), and Sadská (three occasions), while in the Kolín district, she played one session each in Kolín and Velim. The area in question occupied roughly 434 square kilometres, and all the towns had a railway station. Unfortunately, the extent of Steklá's use of train transport remains uncertain.⁵⁰

The markings in Steklá's booklet yield, along with the name of the local authority, the place and beginning date of performances in a new locality, but they do not, however, indicate the end of those performance dates. The longest gap between the markings is between 26 October in Sadská to 17 December in Nymburk. Such intervals are by no means uncommon in beggar musicians' licence booklets.⁵¹

Returning to Anna Balcarová, the last documented event in her barrel-organ career took place in late May 1905. A report by the Nový Bydžov *gendarmerie* relates that in the morning of 29 May 1905, in the village of Zábědov, southwest of Nový Bydžov, an officer caught barrel-organist František Balcar of Poděbrady accompanying a small dogcart, while his wife Anna was sitting in the cart and driving the two dogs – a practice that was illegal. The officer stopped the couple and escorted them to the Zábědov Municipal Office.⁵²

Using dogs for transport was not rare in nineteenth-century Central and Western Europe. According to Bohemian press sources, barrel-organists sometimes transported their instruments or even themselves in dog-drawn carts.⁵³ In May 1902 the governor's office decreed that cruelty to animals and, *inter alia*, the use of dogs for human transport were criminal offences, but the new, strict regulations did not prevent dog abuse.⁵⁴ The arrest of the Balcars raises a question, namely, why did the Nový Bydžov *gendarmerie* treat František as the licence holder and Anna merely as his wife. This attitude seems to be a gender issue: as the head of the family, František was responsible for Anna's activities as a barrel-organist.

What happened after the arrest remains unclear due to the lack of sources. The examination minutes have apparently not survived, and the records on Zábědov in the State District Archive Hradec Králové do not mention the incident.⁵⁵ The last known source on František Balcar is from 1911, when he obtained the copies of birth certificates for Anna Balcarová junior and Anežka Balcarová from the Ohaře parish. At that time, the Balcars resided in the house number 97-III in Poděbrady.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the Poděbrady 1910 census register has disappeared, and those from 1907 and 1917 do not enumerate the number of Balcars at that address.

Conclusion

Women were certainly not marginal in organ-grinding. Firstly, they often ran barrel-organ hire businesses. Secondly, they were organ grinders. As we have seen, Anna Balcarová was much more than a simple member of the household; from 1890, she was the main provider for the family. Research on local newspapers may reveal feedback from the educated classes – probably negative and directed against noise and her profession in general. However, Anna's grateful listeners and sympathisers showed their gratitude, mostly by providing her with alms and contributing to the procurement of a barrel-organ. It is a pity that the known sources do not reveal more about Anna, for instance about her performance style and the extent of her organ-grinding tours.

Studying all music and all musical life is valuable, and this is possible by using the principles of microhistory and soundscape studies, to name but two possibilities. Studying phenomena such as everyday lowbrow music, music performed outdoors, busking, music by and for women and minorities, as well as studying the soundscape in general, allows us to revisit music history through multiple perspectives and interpretations. This approach challenges the canon of (national) music history and leads to a broader understanding of music cultures and society in history and the present.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Karel Štrobl (SOkAKolín), Martin Landsmann (SOkAHradec Králové), and Michal Řezníček and Igor Votoupal (SOkA Nymburk) for their expert help with sources. For suggestions and for comments on earlier versions of this paper I thank Nuppu Koivisto-Kaasik and Derek B. Scott. This project has received funding from the Otto A. Malm Foundation and the Kone Foundation.
2. For disability studies (and music), see *Handbook of Disability Studies*, ed. Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine Delores Seelman and Michael Bury (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2001); Alex Lubet, *Music, Disability, and Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011); *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability*, ed. Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, NeilWilliam Lerner and Joseph Nathan Straus (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
3. Gertraud Schaller-Pressler, “Volksmusik und Volkslied in Wien,” in Wien, *Musikgeschichte, Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Fritz-Hilscher and Helmut Kretschmer (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2006), 67, 115; ErnstWeber, “Schene Liada—Harbe Tanz: Die instrumentale Volksmusik und das Wienerlied,” in *ibid.*, 184–85, 187, 251–52. For the history of poor relief and beggar music licences, see Eduard Kubů and Barbora Štolleová, “Legitimizovaná žebrota—oblast podnikání nejhudších. Žebrácké produkční koncese v Čechách od sklonku 19. století do nacistické okupace,” in *Cestami hospodářských dějin*, ed. Jan Štemberk, Aleš Skřivan ml. et al. (Prague: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2020), 161–66, 170–72.
4. See, for instance, Daniel Morat, “Sounding Out Urban Space: Berlin Street Music Around 1900,” *Colloquia Germanica* 46, no. 4 (2013): 331–42; Nils Grosch, “Drehorgel, Orgellied und die Eroberung des öffentlichen Raums durch populäre Musik im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Populäre Musik in der urbanen Klanglandschaft: Kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*, ed. Tobias Widmaier and Nils Grosch (Münster, Waxmann Verlag, 2014), 47–63. For a book in a more popular vein, see Dietmar Jarofke, ed., *Der Leierkasten: Ein Wahrzeichen Berlins* (Berlin: Verlag Wort & Bild-Specials, 1991). For an impressive popular book on the history of barrel-organs and their players in Finland, see Markku Karvonen, *Pyörii kuin posetiivin sokka: tarinoita soittajista ja soittokoneista* (n.p.: Suomen posetiivarit ry, 2020). See also Petr Číhal, “Státní úřady versus potulní muzikanti: Získání licence k žebrové hudbě na Uherskohradištsku a okolí v období dvacátých a třicátých let 20. století,” in *My a oni: Domáci a cizí v lidové tradici*, ed. Petr Číhal (Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum, 2019), 161–69; and Martina Hanáková, “Flašinetáři: od ‘lidí světem jdoucích’ k buskingu,” *Národopisný věstník* 76, no. 2 (2017): 85–107.
5. Eduard Kubů and Barbora Štolleová, “Legitimizovaná žebrota,” 160–245.
6. *Ibid.*, 189.
7. Lyndesay G. Langwill, “Barrel organ,” *Oxford Music Online*, rev. by Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02111>; Helmut Kowar, “Drehorgel,” *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_D/Drehorgel.xml; Markku Karvonen, Finnish Street Organ Association, telephone conversation with author, 16 June 2021.
8. Stella, “Feuilleton: Kolovrátkáři,” *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 11 April 1902, 1.
9. “Babička a její flašinet,” *Národní listy*, 31 July 1887, 3; Stella, “Feuilleton: Kolovrátkáři,” *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 11 April 1902, 1.
10. A.M., “Feuilleton: Vzpomínka z mládí,” *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 12 September 1903, 1.
11. “Unfall,” *Prager Abendblatt*, 7 October 1869, 2; “Verunglückt,” *Prager Tagblatt*, 9 January 1881, 5; “Vergiftung durch Kohlenoxydgas,” *Prager Abendblatt*, 9 September 1885, 4.

12. “Verstorbene,” *Leitmeritzer Zeitung*, 25 July 1888, 825; “Verstorbene,” *Prager Tagblatt (Abend-Ausgabe)*, 25 January 1900, 8.
13. “Pražský kolovrátkář,” *Národní listy*, 17 July 1892, 5. The historical currency conversions to euros are available at “Historischer Währungsrechner,” *Eurologisch: Finanzbildung durch die Oesterreichische Nationalbank*, <https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/>.
14. *Adressář královského hlavního města Prahy a sousedních obcí 1892* (Prague: Důchody obce pražské, 1892), 2:206; *Adressář královského hlavního města Prahy a sousedních obcí 1896* (Prague: Důchody obce pražské, 1896), 2:193.
15. “Do živnostenského rejstříku v Praze zapsáni,” *Národní listy*, 15 January 1892, 5; “Živnosti v Praze,” *Národní politika*, 15 September 1893, 2.
16. Státní oblastní archiv v Praze [SOA Praha], Sběrka matrik a průvodní listinný materiál [SM], Středočeský kraj, signum [sign.] Žiželice 04, Matrika narozených Římskokatolického farního úřadu [ŘFÚ] Žiželice 1842–1848, dvoustrana 77, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10056/80#>.
17. *Ibid.*, sign. Ohaře 26, Matrika zemřelých ŘFÚ Ohaře 1841–1916, folio [fol.] 44v–45r, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10591/47>; fol. 45v–46r, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10591/48>.
18. *Ibid.*, SM, Středočeský kraj, sign. Ohaře 20, Matrika narozených ŘFÚ Ohaře 1862–1889, fol. 48v–49r., *ibid.*, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10585/51>; *ibid.*, sign. Ohaře 26, Matrika zemřelých ŘFÚ Ohaře 1841–1916, fol. 147v–148r, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10591/150>.
19. *Ibid.*, sign. Ohaře 20, Matrika narozených ŘFÚ Ohaře 1862–1889, fol. 79v–80r, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10585/82#>.
20. Státní okresní archiv [SOkA] Kolín, Sběrka druhopisů matrik okresu Kolín, Matrika oddaných, narozených a zemřelých ŘFÚ Ohaře 1886, fol. 0v–1r; SOAPraha, SM, Středočeský kraj, sign. Ohaře 20, Matrika narozených ŘFÚ Ohaře 1862–1889, fol. 86v–87r, <https://ebadatelna.soapraha.cz/d/10585/89#>; SOkA Kolín, Sběrka druhopisů matrik okresu Kolín, Matrika narozených, oddaných a zemřelých ŘFÚ Ohaře 1889, fol. 5v–6r.
21. Státní okresní archiv Nymburk se sídlem v Lysé nad Labem [SOkA Nymburk], fond [f.] Okresní úřad [OÚ] Poděbrady, manipulace [man.] 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6, Anna Balcarová to Poděbrady District Commission, 19 October 1889.
22. *Ibid.*, *testimonium paupertatis* of Anna Balcarová by Mayor Jan Hellich, 9 September 1889.
23. *Ibid.*, Poděbrady District Captain Adolph Blümel to Poděbrady Municipal Council, 18 November 1889.
24. *Ibid.*, Mayor Jan Hellich to Poděbrady District Commission, 10 December 1889.
25. “Ze soudní síně: Zastavený flašinet,” *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 23 March 1892, 3.
26. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6, Medical certificate of František Balcar by District Doctor Nathan Schwarzkopf, 6 June 1890; Mayor Jan Hellich to Poděbrady District Commission, 24 July 1890; *Lustrum* of cottage number 57 in Němčice by keeper of Kolín land register Anton Tichý, 12 August 1890.
27. *Ibid.*, Poděbrady District Captain Adolph Blümel to Governor’s Office, 25 August 1890.
28. *Ibid.*, Governor’s Ofce to Poděbrady District Captain Adolph Blümel, 6 September 1890; *ibid.*, man. 1900–1923, sign. 8/70/3, Marie Steklá’s barrel-organ licence booklet for 1903, 14 February 1903.
29. *Ibid.*, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6, stamp duty bill with František Balcar’s holographic signature, 20 September 1890. The style of the signature implies that Anna Balcarová wrote the application texts herself.
30. *Ibid.*, barrel-organ licence for Anna Balcarová, 20 September 1890.
31. Národní archiv [NA], f. České místodržitelství [ČM] 1884–1900, kartón [kart.] 4569, sign. 31/1/18, circular on licence offence and misuse, 31 January 1898.

32. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1900–1923 sign. 8/53/5, barrel-organ licence booklet of Jan Černý for 1903 by Poděbrady District Captain Peter Ziegler, 28 February 1901. See also Kubů and Štolleová, 182 n. 652.
33. Ibid, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6, Anna Balcarová to the Governor's office, 6 January 1891.
34. Ibid., Anna Balcarová's barrel-organ licence by Poděbrady District Captain Adolph Blümel, 9 February 1891.
35. For records indicating the various dates contained here, see materials in SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6.
36. NA, f. ČM 1901–1910, kart. 7993, sign. 31/3/1, Sammlungsbogen zur Zahl für das Jahr 1902.
37. Kubů and Štolleová, "Legitimizovaná žebrota," 174. The Poděbrady spa did not begin to evolve until 1908.
38. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/70/6, Marie Steklá to Governor's Ofce, 16 March 1897.
39. See, for example, the case of Václav Bolart detailed in "Lidumilům," *Národní listy*, 31 January 1897, 3; see also "Eine Bitte an alle edlen Menschenherzen!" *Prager Abendblatt*, 2 May 1906, 5.
40. Cf. Kubů and Štolleová, "Legitimizovaná žebrota," 231.
41. "Pražský kolovrátkář," *Národní listy*, 17 July 1892, 4; Stella, "Feuilleton: Kolovrátkáři," *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 11 April 1902, 1; Egon Erwin Kisch, "Prager Streifzüge XVIII: Drehorgelspieler," *Bohemia*, 4 December 1910, 1; Karel Procházka, "Národopisné rozhledy," *Vlast* 21, no. 2 (1904–1905): 180.
42. Eg. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1887–1899, sign. 8/53/6, Anna Balcarová to Poděbrady District Commission, 21 January 1897; Balcarová's extension of barrel-organ licence, 25 January 1897; man. 1900–1923, sign. 8/52/1, Anna Balcarová to Poděbrady District Commission, 13 January 1900; Anna Balcarová's barrel-organ licence by Poděbrady District Captain Peter Ziegler, 16 January 1900.
43. Ibid., Anna Balcarová to Poděbrady District Commission, 8 January 1903; NA, f. ČM 1901–1910, kart. 7993, sign. 31/3/1, circular on the renewal of performance licences for 1903, 10 November 1902. See also the earlier version for 1902, 11 November 1901.
44. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1900–1923, sign. 8/52/1, Elench oddělení 8 (Policejní záležitosti) [EO 8], Balcar Anna 1903. Seven documents from 1904–1906 listed in the register are missing from the dossier.
45. Ibid., f. Archiv města [AM] Poděbrady, inventární číslo [i. č.] 786, kart. 227, man. 1897–1908, sign. 9/5/112. Someone on Anna's behalf acknowledged receipt of a barrelorgan licence on 1 March 1905.
46. NA, f. ČM1901–1910, kart. 7993, sign. 31/3/1, circular on the questionnaire on applications for begging and performance licences, 30 September 1903.
47. SOkA Kolín, Farní úřad [FÚ] Ohaře, i. č. 33, Podací protokol 1898–1941, strana [s.] 66, číslo jednací [čj.] 182/1904.
48. SOkA Nymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1900–1923, sign. 8/70/3, Marie Steklá's questionnaire for a barrel-organ licence, 30 October 1903.
49. NA, f. ČM 1901–1910, kart. 7993, sign. 31/3/1, circular on the renewal of performance licences for 1903, 30 October 1902. See also the earlier version of 11 November 1901.
50. For itinerant beggar musicians' use of railways in Bohemia, see Kubů and Štolleová, "Legitimizovaná žebrota," 214–16.
51. SOkANymburk, f. OÚ Poděbrady, man. 1900–1923, sign. 8/70/3, Marie Steklá's barrel-organ licence booklet for 1903, 14 February 1903; cf. Kubů and Štolleová, "Legitimizovaná žebrota," 211.
52. SOkA Nymburk, f. AM Poděbrady, i. č. 786, kart. 227, man. 1897–1908, sign. 9/5/112, Gendarme Sergeant Holický of Nový Bydžov to Nový Bydžov District Commission, 29 May 1905.

53. Stella, "Feuilleton: Kolovrátkáři," *Národní listy (Odpolední vydání)*, 11 April 1902, 1; Procházka, "Národopisné rozhledy," 181.
54. "Kundmachung des k. k. Statthalters für das Königreich Böhmen vom 31. Mai 1902, Z. 255507 ai. 1901, betreffend die Hintanhaltung von Thierquälereien," *Landes-Gesetzblatt für das Königreich Böhmen* 1902, XV. Stück, ausgegeben und versendet am 16. Juni 1902, Nr. 45 (Prague: Statthalterei-Buchdruckerei); "Přejeti byli, jak se nám píše," *Čech*, 7 November 1904, 2; Igor Votoupal, "Právní ochrana zvířat proti týrání ve světle knih policejních hlášení měst Nymburka a Poděbrad z let 1901–1941," *Vlastivědný zpravodaj Polabí* 40 (2009): 87.
55. Martin Landsmann, SOkA Hradec Králové, email message to author, 12 July 2021.
56. SOkA Kolín, FÚ Ohaře, i. č. 33, Podací protokol 1898–1941, s. 150, čj. 80/1911, čj. 81/1911.

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