Kleider machen Leute: Jewish Men and Dress Politics in Vienna, 1890–1938

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Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building
Certificate of original authorship

I, Jonathan C. Kaplan, declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

The thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in this thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution. This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

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Throughout this dissertation I use the word ‘Jew’ and its plural form ‘Jews’ when referring to Jewish individuals—both those who practised the religion and those who were of Jewish origin but non-practicing or converts to other religions. Although the term ‘Jew’ has had negative connotations throughout history and has even been used at times in a derogatory nature, I use this term in preference to the more cumbersome ‘person/people of Jewish origin’. In this manner ‘Jew’ or ‘Jews’ refers to actual individuals, while I use the term ‘the Jew’ or ‘the Jews’ when referring to Jewish people as an abstract idea, or the antisemitic manifestation of Jewish ‘difference’.
A note on place names

Deciding to follow a certain spelling and pronunciation of the names of cities, towns and villages throughout East and Central Europe is fraught with trouble. Electing to use a particular version of a city, town or village name often reveals a certain political agenda. Many of the places referenced in this thesis were subject to name changes based on which side of the border they fell within any given period. Even those places that found themselves well within the borders of the Habsburg Empire were known by different names by the various ethno-linguistic groups who resided in them. For example, during the nineteenth century, the current capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, was known simultaneously as Pressburg, Pozsony, and both Prešporok and Bratislava by its German-, Hungarian-, and Slovak-speaking inhabitants.

Throughout this dissertation I refer to places within the former Dual Monarchy by the German-language version of their names, as these are the names by which the German-speaking Jewish population of Austria-Hungary generally knew them. Thus, for example, the modern-day Czech city of Brno—former capital of the Austrian crownland of Moravia—is referred to by its German-language name Brünn. The first reference to a city, town or village gives the current name in the local language in parentheses; for example, ‘Brünn (Brno)’. Those cities with widely-used English names will be substituted for the German version; thus, for example, Wien and Praha are referred to as Vienna and Prague, whereas Bratislava, which has no English-language equivalent, is referred to as Pressburg.

Additionally, when discussing the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy, I refer interchangeably to ‘Austria’ and ‘Cisleithania’, and to ‘Hungary’ and ‘Transleithania’ in the Hungarian half.
A note on spelling

Throughout this dissertation I have used British Standard English—using endings ‘-ise’ instead of ‘-ize’ and ‘ou’ where appropriate instead of ‘o’ (as in ‘neighbour’ or ‘honour’). However, when quoting texts written in American Standard English the original spelling has been retained. As such, I indicate the retention of unusual spelling with ‘sic’ only when an error has been discovered in the original text. Likewise, a number of the older German texts quoted contain forms of spelling that have since been reformed (notably ‘-iert’ endings which commonly appear as ‘-irt’, and the use of ‘ß’ in words that have since been reformed as ‘ss’). These two have been retained and only irregularities will be brought to the reader’s attention with ‘sic’. Unless noted, all translations that appear within this thesis are my own, translated with the help of Isabelle Neuburg, Reinach, Switzerland.
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**Chapter 8**

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Abstract

Dress played an important structural, management and sometimes a poetic role in the construction of Jewish male identity in Vienna from the end of the late nineteenth century to the Anschluss (1890–1938). The adoption of the modern suit by urban men over the course of the nineteenth century corresponded to the general period of Jewish emancipation in Western and Central Europe. In donning this iconic garment of bourgeois respectability, Jewish men expressed both desire and intention to join modern European society. The absence of prescribed Jewish modes of dress in this era meant that Jewish men could now appear dressed as their Gentile counterparts. What was the impact of this major clothing development? For xenophobes, a Jew could no longer be identified by his clothing alone, generating a new series of social codes in which ‘Jewishness’ could be identified via physiognomy, grooming, posture and speech. An identifiable participatory clothing culture for Jewish men emerged that was simultaneously modern and democratic as well as holding elements identified as archaic and non-Gentile. This thesis deploys a wide range of visual texts including studio and vernacular photography, sketches and line-drawings in contemporary print media as well as published and non-published written sources including the press, ego-documents such as letters, diaries and memoirs, as well as oral histories. It argues that dressing in a modern manner was not simply a matter of assimilatory desires on the part of Viennese Jewish men. Rather, Jewish men of the day engaged in sartorial self-fashioning for multiple reasons, including the process of acculturation for political, cultural and ideological purposes. They dressed for both their own communities and wider Viennese society, yet the dress choices, preferences and practices of Jewish men also had direct and wide-ranging implications for the antisemitic image of ‘the Jew’ in myriad literary and visual manifestations.
Preface

One of the most common questions posed to me when I am speaking about my research outside the academic community is: ‘Why would you research that?’ This really comes as no surprise. When I speak to colleagues, it appears that many of us are often met with the same incredulity, not only by many outside the academic community but also sometimes by other academics. My first instinct is usually to reply, ‘Well, why not?’ I find the interconnected issues of sartorial politics and male Jewish identity in Vienna compelling; nor has this topic been researched in depth before. But, of course, this answer is not sufficient in justifying its scholarly value. This thesis is part of a wider frame of reference that researches fashion and dress, Jewish culture and everyday life. These are well-established fields that can be and are subject to inquiry. By delving deeply into this area of historical inquiry we are able to shed light on areas of human history that have otherwise been overlooked, sometimes even hidden. Bringing these issues to light helps us understand our world and our history far beyond the ‘established’ narratives that—by their very nature—favour some histories over others. This is particularly important in an age of wider and more direct global human connection made possible by the changing technologies of the past century, especially in light of rising xenophobia and human fragmentation.

Of course, this does not explain why I am researching this topic in particular. Beyond the importance of researching dress as part of historical inquiry, there is a more personal reason. The second most frequent question posed to me—by both those within and without the academic community—is: ‘Why Vienna? Do you have Viennese origins?’ (Or sometimes people just assume that I must have Viennese ancestry. Why else would I want to research this topic?) To this I can definitively answer: ‘No’. So why is it that I am so interested in Vienna? Today there is a perception among some that we should avoid telling the stories that don’t belong to us. Of course, there is some merit in such notions that come from the exploitation of minorities by more politically dominant groups. In this case these fears of cultural exploitation and the silencing of the vulnerable are not unfounded. However, there is a case to be made for cultural exchange practised
in a respectful manner. Once, while meeting with a scholar of historical Viennese Jewry during a research trip to Vienna, I remarked that it was interesting how so many of us concerned with scholarship on this historic community do not have roots in the city, but rather share a similar Eastern European background. To this, he replied, 'Yes, but imagine how boring it would be if everyone only researched their own family background.'

Nonetheless, my researching of historical Viennese Jewry from a non-Viennese perspective can hardly be labelled as academic colonialism. Although I am not Viennese, my Ashkenazi Jewish background maintains cultural, religious and ethnic links with the Viennese Jewish community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a large proportion of whom shared an Eastern European background with my own forebears. But differences did exist between the Jews of Vienna—both acculturated and not—and my own forebears, at the time living in the Russian Empire (Lithuania and Poland), Austrian Galicia, and later as expatriate ‘Ostjuden’ in France, Germany and Italy. In fact, the group my research concerns, the culturally assimilated ‘Westjuden’ of Vienna, regardless of whether their roots were in the east or the west, tended to look down on people like my ancestors: poorer, religiously Orthodox and mainly Yiddish-speaking. That is not to say that these people were so far removed—culturally—from each other. Many acculturated Jews in Vienna, as well as in other parts of Austria-Hungary and Germany, were only a couple of generations removed from the Galician shtetl or small rural communities in other parts of the Habsburg Empire—if not having left it themselves. Likewise, many of those Yiddish-speaking Ostjuden were not immune to the seduction of liberal German culture. My maternal grandmother’s family are an example of this cultural exchange and adaptation. Both her parents spoke German alongside their native Yiddish. Her maternal grandparents left their native Warsaw at the end of the First World War, stopping first in Switzerland, where her grandfather underwent medical treatment for the typhus he had contracted, before finally settling in Strasbourg, which was still very much a German city. In fact, her grandparents hardly learnt to speak French in this newly reclaimed French city. But the younger generation were generally more receptive to the allure of the dominant culture. Here, my
grandmother’s mother learnt to speak both French and the local dialect Elsässisch, alongside her native Poylish-Yiddish and German.

My grandmother’s father, however, a native of Austrian Galicia and therefore an Austrian citizen for the first eight years of his life (this may be the one tenuous familial link with Vienna), left his Polish city at the age of 21 and went to Germany to find work and send money back to his widowed mother. With Adolf Hitler’s ascension to the chancellorship in 1933, he fled to the League of Nations mandated Territory of the Saar Basin, fleeing again for France and subsequently Italy after the 1935 plebiscite that returned the Saarland to Germany. It was in Strasbourg where he met and wooed his future wife, my great-grandmother. As he was not permitted to remain in France, he left for Milan after a few months but maintained correspondence with his future wife, sending her postcards every day.

The astonishing fact is that, although their common mother tongue was Yiddish, these postcards were largely written in German. So too were the inscriptions on the backs of photographs from both before and after their marriage. They obviously continued to use German as one of their main languages of communication, probably alongside Yiddish, after their marriage in January 1937. A postcard written by my great-grandfather to his two-month-old

1 There is, however, a slight family dispute between my grandmother and one of her American cousins (daughter of her father’s identical twin). Vienna is central to this disagreement. My grandmother once informed me that towards the end of her father’s life, she discovered that he spoke Hungarian. When she asked him, astonished, how he as a proud Galitzianer Jew spoke Hungarian—the language of the ‘arch rivals’ of Polish Jews (Hungarian Jews, not Hungarians in general)—he remarked casually that during the First World War fleeing the advancing Russian army—as many thousands of Galician Jews did—his family went to Hungary, where they spent the war years and where he learnt to speak the Magyar language. When I asked relatives in America if they were familiar with this story, only one—my grandmother’s cousin Judy—had heard something similar. But oh no, there was no way they went to Hungary, she argued, rather they went to Vienna or at least nearby. The vehemence with which she disputed the family having gone to Hungary can only be explained by the traditional Polish-Hungarian Jewish rivalry. But how else would my great-grandfather have learnt to speak the Magyar tongue, which is so different from other European languages, and logically would have been picked up only by living amongst Hungarian speakers. The mystery of where the family went after fleeing the Russians remains unsolved. However, there is a possibility that both my grandmother and her cousin are correct. It is possible that the family fled to upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia)—which they would have had to travel through to get to Hungary proper via Galicia—to a city like Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava, which was both ‘Hungarian’ and near Vienna, or to the present-day Austrian Burgenland, which too was part of the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy and ‘near’ (or nearer than Galicia) to Vienna).
daughter—my grandmother—regrets that he had to travel constantly for work (he was a salesman—although of what, I am not sure). This postcard, too, was written in German rather than Yiddish, French, or Italian, which he and his wife—who, logically, would be the person reading the postcard rather than the baby—had learnt to speak. A decade later, after they had migrated to Australia, German continued to play a role in their lives; most of the people they befriended were other German-speaking Jewish pre- and post-war refugees and migrants. German, it seems, was the language they were most comfortable speaking, even though they were not, nor did they claim to be, German Jews (*Jekkes*).³

But what do these family narratives have to do with why I am studying Vienna? After all, the links between these German-speaking *Ostjuden* and Vienna are practically non-existent. These stories, however, have had an influence on my interest in Vienna at the turn of the century until the 1938 *Anschluss*. This side of the family had a large influence on my upbringing. I was fortunate to know my great-grandmother throughout my childhood and teen years (she died when I was nineteen). As a central figure in the family circle—the matriarch of a family of two children, five grandchildren and eighteen great-grandchildren, in addition to children- and grandchildren-in-law—my great-grandmother and the legacy of this east-west Ashkenazi nexus had a large role to play in my upbringing.

That is not to say that we were a ‘European’ family as such. Living in Sydney, we always spoke English as the sole family language and we were (are) *Australian* Jews of European background. But, like many other Australians of immigrant background, stories, foods, verbal expressions and other cultural practices from ‘the old country’ (or should I say ‘old *countries*’) were ever-present and made an impact on me. All of this led to an interest in German culture and history. I knew that we were not German, but still there was something familiar, albeit *dangerous or forbidden*, about the German language and its culture—unsurprising given the events of the past century. At the same time, I didn’t feel a

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² While living in Saarbrücken, he worked as a salesman for a steel ware company. It is possible that after moving to Italy in 1936 he continued in a similar line of work.
³ Unlike her husband, my great-grandmother was not familiar with the Polish language, despite being born and spending the first four years of her life in Warsaw.
connection to the culture of the Ostjuden. The kaftan-wearing, bearded figures of a post-WWII, largely American, Jewish pop culture (think *Fiddler on the Roof*) seemed even more distant to me. When I looked at photos of these forebears—my great-grandparents in interwar Germany, France and Italy, even my great-great-grandparents and their families in early twentieth-century Warsaw—acculturated individuals who spoke multiple European languages, dressed in modern, fashionable European clothing, the men with trimmed beards, waxed moustache and bare heads, and the women with carefully coiffed hair, they could have been the same figures depicted in photographic portraits taken in one of Vienna’s many *Innere Stadt* ateliers. This sense of cultural assimilation that is so prominent in the narratives of German, French and Austro-Hungarian Jewry was also common in the parts of Europe the Galician-born writer Karl Emil Franzos derisively referred to as *Halb-Asien* [Half-Asia], which is overshadowed only by the more prevalent and well-known narrative of the *shtetl*.

It was this culture—not the culture of Germany, Italy, France or Poland, but rather the mixed and inconsistent culture of *Mitteleuropa*—that I came to recognise as my maternal cultural inheritance: the transnational narrative of Jewry that is not tied to any single state or territory. And fin-de-siècle Vienna more than any other ‘German’ (or indeed, *European*) city seemed like the quintessential example in Europe, with a mixed population of Germans, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Slovenes, Magyars and, of course, Jews, drawn from all corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and beyond its borders. The diversity of its Jewish population, too, was an important factor. In comparison to some of their German counterparts, Viennese Jews were considered somewhat more diverse, more cosmopolitan and less nationalistic in their outlook. Undeniably, many Viennese Jews were ecstatic admirers of German culture and fiercely loyal to the Empire. But it was to Austria-Hungary’s multi-ethnic character that they clung, and not to a single nationality. It is no mistake that Vienna was often portrayed—by Jewish and Gentile authors and commentators alike—as a bridge between Western and Eastern Europe, *Deutschtum* and ‘Slavdom’, Europe and ‘Asia’.4

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4 These binaries are perhaps a little exaggerated, but there is some truth in its diverse nature and role as dual capital of the *Vielvölkerstaat* [multi-ethnic state].
I came to Vienna by the same route as I came to this mixed Central European culture: my maternal family. As a child and adolescent, I spent many hours at my grandparents’ house; and many of those were spent exploring the contents of their numerous bookcases. Among the many volumes of varying topics were novels by Eastern and Central European writers—names like Martin Buber, Joseph Roth, Heinrich Heine, Lion Feuchtwanger and Isaac Bashevis Singer. One particular name stood out to me: Stefan Zweig. I asked my grandmother who this writer was. An Austrian Jewish writer, she replied. I had never heard of him. Of course, some other Austrian Jewish writers’ names were vaguely familiar—Sigmund Freud, Arthur Schnitzler and Franz Kafka, for example—but Zweig was not one I had come across during my youth. And so it was through my grandmother that I became acquainted with Zweig, first through his sole novel, Ungeduld des Herzens [Beware of Pity] (1939), and then two volumes of collected short stories published in London in the 1940s.5

This sparked my interest. A quick internet search revealed that Stefan Zweig, who was born in the second-last decade of the nineteenth century to culturally assimilated Jewish parents, had been one of the most widely-translated writers of his time, travelled extensively throughout Europe and abroad, and finally committed suicide while living in exile in Brazil in 1942. Always looking smartly dressed in photographs, with his neatly trimmed moustache and carefully combed hair, he appeared to my naïve eyes the quintessential Jewish cosmopolitan of a lost world. I wanted to know more; not just to read his writing but about him. At the time it was difficult to find literature by or about Zweig in local bookstores.6

At the same time that I first discovered Zweig when I was a teen, I came across a series of cookbooks from the 1960s among my grandmother’s collection. This particular series, published by Time-Life Books, focused on international

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5 At this time, I had not yet learnt German and the Zweig works I read were English translations.
6 It was not until Wes Anderson’s 2014 film, The Grand Budapest Hotel, which the director proudly claimed he had plagiarised from Zweig’s works, that I started to notice more Zweig literature appearing in Sydney bookshops.
cuisine—albeit from a largely European perspective—with each volume dedicated to a different country or small group of countries. One particular title caught my interest: *The Cooking of Vienna’s Empire* by Joseph Wechsberg. The recipes seemed familiar, the same foods my grandmother and great-grandmother cooked. It also occurred to me for the first time that our family was partly connected to this former Empire, as my great-grandfather came from a part of south-east Poland my relatives referred to as Galicia—one of the Empire’s easternmost crownlands. But the recipes were not what drew me in. Rather, it was the concept of *Mitteleuropa*, and Wechsberg’s nostalgia-tinted account of the cuisine of this multi-ethnic realm painted an appealing picture of a world that was. The text was schmaltzy and clearly biased. Wechsberg’s Austria revolved around the whirling waltzes of Vienna, its *Kaffeehäuser* [coffeehouses], and the influences of various non-German peoples of Austria-Hungary who lived together in varicoloured harmony.7 I recognised that this text was written by a man looking through rose-coloured spectacles, but nonetheless I found it appealing and it seemed somewhat familiar to our family—even though I knew its connection to the Empire was limited to a sole great-grandfather who died several years before my birth.

My interest grew. I sought out literature about Vienna and the former Empire, as well as novels by Austro-Hungarian authors that painted a picture of this vanished world. After spending a semester of exchange in Canada during my bachelor degree I decided to make a trip across the Atlantic before flying home to Sydney. This trip culminated in a two-week sojourn in Vienna, during which I made daytrips to other Austrian cities and towns I had read about, as well as to some in Hungary and Slovakia. By this time I was fairly proficient in German and childishly fancied myself in the role of a foreign Jew making a pilgrimage to the former *Kaiserstadt*. After all, my ancestors, had they gone to Vienna, would have been considered provincial *Ostjuden* by the capital’s acculturated middle class.

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7 Wechsberg’s references to Austrian Jewry within this text are scant, including a passing comment about an Orthodox relative who broke his observance of *Kashrut* [Jewish dietary laws] to eat pork crackling prepared by the Wechsberg family’s Czech maid.
But of course, this world no longer existed. Nonetheless, I enjoyed my time in *Mitteleuropa* and decided to devote my honours degree to the culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna. It was not only the city's strong visual culture that drew me, but also the multiplicity of sartorial styles among its educated middle class [Bildungsbürgertum]. The result was a short dissertation about the acculturation of Central European Jews during the nineteenth century, the role of Vienna as a symbol for their integration into wider society and a collection of menswear inspired by the dress of fin-de-siècle Viennese intellectuals.

Up until this point I had no desire to follow an academic path. In fact, one of the reasons I had chosen to study fashion design, apart from finding it stimulating and enjoying the design process, was that it did not seem to be academic to me, and I would not have to worry about writing regular essays and conducting academic research. As a twist of fate, I enjoyed the research and writing component of this course so much more than the design process itself that I felt drawn to study in a similar area. I had been in touch with my current doctoral supervisor Professor Peter McNeil since the early part of my bachelor degree, when he was involved in the Sydney Jewish Museum’s exhibition *Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story* (2012–2014). With Peter’s help I submitted a proposal and application to the UTS Graduate Research School for the Doctor of Philosophy course. My initial proposal was vague: to research the *sartorial, social and aesthetic role of Viennese Jewish men*, but it would combine my interests in men’s dress, Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Jewish identities. Since commencing my graduate studies the research has definitely evolved. Moving from a rather general topic it has narrowed in scope with the specific aim of examining how middle-class, acculturated Viennese Jewish men dressed (1890–1938), how they were perceived and perceived themselves, and how this was manifested in Viennese culture, particularly in literature and print media.

Although this preface has focused on my interest in Vienna, I will end by addressing the topic of fashion and dress. I tend to find my interest in the sartorial aspect of this research easier to explain. Given that I am a former
fashion design student, it is often taken for granted by others that I would be interested in clothes; after all, I did complete a degree in their design. Although the question of what clothes a person wears is interesting from an historical perspective, particularly with regards to evolving aesthetics, mercantile and industrial practices, it is equally important to consider the reasons that compel an individual to dress in a certain manner. These can be, as the research has revealed, as simple as following widespread dress fashions or group identification. However, clothing selection is also determined by the messages that an individual wishes to broadcast, either consciously or subconsciously, and how clothing is used as a form of identity creation. The attire in which acculturating Jewish men in Vienna went about is of great importance to researching Jewish acculturation and everyday lives.

Additionally, my interest in dress and fashion has a personal aspect beyond having studied design. In a similar manner to the way my family background has shaped my interest in fin-de-siècle Vienna, so too has it influenced my interest in fashion and dress. Like many pre- and post-WWII Jewish arrivals in Australia, my grandmother's family were offered a new start in a new country through the 'schmatte' [rag] trade. Purchasing a small workshop from a Hungarian émigré in the former Little Strand Arcade on King Street that consisted of a few sewing machines and a cutting table that took up almost the entire workroom, my great-grandparents ran a small lingerie factory (Bestknit), eventually expanding and moving to larger premises near Central Railway Station, followed by Mark Foy's bulk store in Surry Hills. Their products were sold to wholesalers and department stores around Australia and abroad. Eventually, my grandparents took over the company and continued to work in the rag trade until the early 2000s (I have vague memories as a child being in a large room among cutting tables and large bolts of fabric).

The family's role in the rag trade was not new. In Europe both sides of my maternal family were engaged in this industry. My grandfather's parents, as poor, culturally unassimilated Polish immigrants in interwar Paris, worked as a seamstress (mother) and leather craftsman (father). Similarly, my
grandmother’s maternal family had been engaged in the dress industry since the end of the First World War, first as hawkers and stall-vendors at markets throughout Alsace, and then eventually owning and managing a boutique in Strasbourg. The shop (Au Tricot Moderne) was located in central Strasbourg (Spiessgasse/Rue des Hallebardes 33). A dual-language French and German advertising card from the 1930s stated that they dealt in knitted dresses, ladies’ suits, vests and pullovers for women, men and children, and also offered made-to-measure orders, and a large selection of stockings, socks, gloves and other hosiery articles.

And so, there is not really a simple response to the question ‘Why are you researching this?’ without really drilling down to the depths of my interest. I might simply answer that I find Vienna at that time fascinating—which is true—and then go on to explain the importance of researching historical fashion and dress. However, as I hope I have made clear, my interest in this topic is deeply personal, albeit not one that is instantly recognisable. In many ways it is not Vienna itself (and certainly not today’s Vienna—although I am very fond of that city), but rather what Vienna has come to symbolise for me.
Chapter 1. Introduction

INTRODUCTION
At the fin de siècle, antisemitism was widespread throughout various European countries, and Vienna was no exception. Indeed, the Austrian capital has been characterised as one of the European capitals of antisemitism, where unsavoury attitudes towards Jews permeated all facets of political and cultural life. Adolf Hitler himself, the great spectre of twentieth-century antisemitism, commented on Vienna’s role as a ‘school’ in his hatred of the Jews.¹ Although Austrian Jewry had been emancipated in 1867 and there was no persecution of Vienna’s Jewish population on an official governmental level, antisemitism continued to function on many levels within Viennese society and was an omnipotent force in official arenas, as well as in all spheres of day-to-day life.

This thesis examines the role dress played in the construction of male Jewish identities and its influence on the framework of antisemitism as a marker of Jewishness in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dress played an important dual role in this framework of coping with and responding to antisemitism. The ‘democratised’ bourgeois male suit of the mid-nineteenth century (and throughout the remainder of the century) promised its wearers the democratisation of appearance. The suit was important for men because in its purported ‘simplicity’ and ‘sameness’ it allowed them to participate in society as ‘equals’, regardless of social, economic, religious or ethnic background, and offered the individual the illusion of blending in, of disappearing, in a sense, into the body politic. This is particularly significant when considering nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European Jewish populations, as the adoption of the suit as a symbol of respectability and ideal masculinity parallels assimilatory and acculturation values held by many urban Jewish men.²

Despite this role, dress is not much studied in terms of Jewish male identity. The adoption of modern clothing, particularly the suit, by Jewish men corresponded with the broad period of their emancipation over the course of the nineteenth century. Former signs of sartorial Jewishness were made redundant and, barring racist notions of Jewish physiognomic appearances and behavioural patterns, the Jewish man became invisible amongst other ‘modern’, middle-class males who donned the same garments. This does not mean that a change of clothing always signalled an attempt to become ‘invisible’, or that when it did the outcome was successful. On the contrary, certain forms of behaviour and habits—social, political, educational, residential and professional—continued to be used by antisemites to distinguish a Jewish individual from the Gentile body politic.

However, to an individual in the street, a man walking towards him in ‘identical’ attire was no longer instantly recognisable as a Jew based on his dressed appearance alone. The suit offered itself to the Jewish man as a garment that did not always work to assimilate its wearers. On the contrary, sometimes it infuriated antisemites, who levelled accusations against the suit’s wearers for trying to mask their Jewishness. The piles of clothing, including suits, deposited at concentration and extermination camps during the Shoah are testimony, in moving and multifaceted ways, to the failure of the suit and indeed modern clothing generally to be any protection for Jewish men at all. Engaging with the latest material culture was in the end no protection against the modern machinery of Nazism.

**DEFINING JEWISHNESS**

In order to analyse Jewish men and their patterns of dress, a close reading of how Jewishness functioned is required. The term ‘Jewishness’ is simultaneously potent but opaque and has polarised people for centuries. It can refer to a number of elements relating to Jewish identity. Jewishness and Jewish identity

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3 Despite the prevalence of concentration and extermination camp inmates dressed in iconic uniforms consisting of blue and white striped shirt and trousers, Sofia Pantouvaki explains that a range of different clothing was used within the camps. She asserts that civilian clothing afforded inmates better chances of survival, especially in cases of escaping the camps. See Sofia Pantouvaki, ‘Narratives of Clothing: Concentration Camp Dress as a Companion to Survival,’ *International Journal of Fashion Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 19–37, doi: 10.1386/infs.1.1.19_1.
are inextricably linked with the religion of Judaism.\footnote{When referring to the religion Judaism, I include the various strands of Judaism, including, but not limited to, Ultra-Orthodoxy, Orthodoxy, Reform, Conservative and their sub-strands.} Individuals who identify as Jewish may or may not express religiousness in any sense. Likewise, individuals born of Jewish heritage who may not consider themselves as Jewish may be labelled as such by others, as has been the case throughout Jewish history. Historically, the Jews’ place in European society was precarious. Prior to the emancipation of Western and Central European Jewry during the nineteenth century,\footnote{For example, French Jews were emancipated in 1791, Dutch Jews between 1796 and 1834, British Jews in 1858, Austro-Hungarian Jews in 1867, and the Jews of the unified German 
Reich in 1871.} their situation and the rights accorded them varied depending on where they lived. Since the Middle Ages, Jews had been considered a theological enemy by some in Christian Europe.\footnote{See Robert S. Wistrich, Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred (London: Thames Mandarin, 1992), in particular Chapter 2 ‘Church and Synagogue,’ 13–28, and Chapter 3 ‘The Medieval legacy,’ 29–42.} Laws restricting their residential, professional and familial patterns were widespread across the continent.

The notion of ‘Jewishness’ referred to the various external markers of Jewish identity, both physical and behavioural characteristics often considered negative by the Gentile majority.\footnote{Zygmunt Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 89. Although the concept of Jewishness relates to Gentile notions of expressions of Jewish character and identity, this concept is also tied to internal expressions of Jewish identity and being Jewish, as related to the notion of Yiddishkeit.} Given Jewish identity’s status as a religious characteristic, conversion would in theory dissolve the individual’s Jewishness, as he or she no longer practised or was associated with the Jewish religion or community.\footnote{During the pre-emancipation period Jewish conversion often meant a complete break, not only with the individual’s former religion, but also with his or her former community. Apostasy was not taken lightly and the estrangement conversion wrought between the converting individual and his or her community was two-way. Exceptions to the rule existed. Amos Elon describes the continued presence of Karl Marx at the Sabbath table of his uncle—a rabbi—even after the family’s conversion to Christianity during his childhood. Amos Elon, The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743–1933 (New York: Picador, 2002), 82.} Concurrent with their emancipation across Europe, the hatred and persecution of the Jews was evolving from a theologically-based anti-Judaism to the racially and politically motivated ‘antisemitism’ that was strongly influenced by such contemporaneous sciences and ideologies as eugenics and Social
Darwinism. As a result, the ability of a Jewish individual to abandon his or her Jewishness and disappear into the Gentile body politic by adopting Christianity was jeopardised. With the increasing racialisation of Jews and Judaism by racial scientists during the latter half of the nineteenth century, these new Christians were often reminded by coreligionists that they had been born Jews.

In his study of German-Jewish emancipation, acculturation and assimilation from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, Amos Elon observes how Jewish conversion to Christianity in the pre-emancipation era was not generally undertaken out of religious conviction but for the purposes of assimilating into the wider, non-Jewish society, as well as for political and civic advancement. Elon gives the example of wealthy, acculturated Berliner Jews who desired full assimilation into the dominant society. For the most part, these Jews were ‘nonpracticing Jews; after conversion they were nonpracticing Christians.’ It becomes a challenge, then, to define Jewishness and Jewish identity around a singular religious identity. The writer Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) and jurist Eduard Gans (1797–1839) were both Jews who converted in order to facilitate professional advancement. Heine, it appears, was remorseful for ‘abandoning’ Judaism—despite his own irreligiousness—in favour of a religion for which he felt only contempt. Elon asserts that his conversion caused him to regard Jewishness with a sense of nostalgia, that ‘[a]s a convert, he identified more with his fellow Jews than ever before.’

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10 Ibid., 95. Todd M. Endelman explains that the racialisation of Jews was not an advent of the nineteenth century concurrent to the development of these popular ideologies, but even earlier theologically-based Jew hatred often contained an element of racial hatred that characterised Jews as being biologically different to ‘Christians’—for example, having impure blood—and were thus viewed with suspicion even after converting to Christianity. See Todd M. Endelman, ‘Comparative Perspectives on Modern Anti-Semitism in the West,’ in *History and Hate: The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism*, ed. David Berger (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 98.
12 Elon, *The Pity of It All*.
13 Ibid., 82.
14 Ibid., 127.
In some cases, although conversion may have facilitated professional advancement, it did not guarantee integration of new converts into Christian German society. Some Jews who had undertaken the path to assimilation prior to baptism—such as the wealthy, ‘enlightened’ Jews of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Berlin—became integrated into Christian society. However, others whose conversion signalled the beginning of their assimilatory aspirations remained in a Jewish milieu with other converted Jews and their descendants.

The emancipation of Western and Central European Jewry over the course of the nineteenth century meant that Jews were granted the legal status of citizens in the nations in which they lived. As fellow citizens, their Judaism was reduced to a religious identity, which many chose to discard in favour of the Christianity of their dominant society. Jewish identity thus came to connote much more than the Jewish religion. The individual could now identify as Jewish on religious, ethnic or cultural terms—or in some combination thereof. Furthermore, Jewish self-identification was now a state that Jews themselves defined, not something dictated to them from the outside—as had been the case with Jewishness. As a result of their legal emancipation, Jews were now permitted to reside wherever they desired, practice professions that were formerly denied to them and participate in the civic and political life of the nations in which they lived. In short, the Jew, as an individual, was now a fully-fledged member of the nation.

Theory, however, did not easily mesh with practice. During the course of the nineteenth century Jewish citizens living in various European nations, such as

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15 Ibid., 125, 128. Elon asserts that while Gans’s conversion resulted in an academic appointment at the University of Berlin, Heine’s did not, but this was likely a result of his political views.

16 Ibid., 83; and Deborah Hertz, How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 36.

17 Elana Shapira discusses the importance of Jewish self-identification in a modernising society in her study of the role of Jewish art patrons in fin-de-siècle Vienna. See Elana Shapira, Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture and Design in Fin de Siècle Vienna (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2016).
France and Germany, were increasingly seen as the ‘Other’. They were imposters who, despite the official view of the state that had granted them citizenship, were inherently different and did not ‘belong’ to the nation. While a Jew might identify as German, loyal to the state and German culture, others saw him at best as an impersonator, whose inherent ‘racial difference’ prevented him from ever truly becoming part of the nation.

The German experience, however, was not consistent prior to the creation of the German Reich in 1871 and the experiences of Jews in the various kingdoms, principalities, duchies and free cities that would later make up the Reich varied. Likewise, it differed greatly from Habsburg Jewry, who also resided in differing cultural spheres and under different political circumstances that became standardised only after the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich [compromise]. During the final decade of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth, the Austrian capital was one of the most important centres of Jewish life and culture in Central Europe, and its Jewish population was a multifaceted group.

FIN-DE-SIÈCLE VIENNA

In Hinsicht ihrer Nationalität sind die Wiener größtentheils Czechen—außerdem Juden, „Kosaken”, Slowaken, Gottsheeeuwer, Krainer u. s. w. Es gibt auch einige Deutsche, die sich von Zeit zu Zeit im „Deutschen

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19 Deborah Hertz describes the Berlin premier of Karl Borromäus Alexander Sessa’s (1786–1813) comedy *Unser Verkehr* in September 1815 that grotesquely satirised Jewish attempts at acculturation and assimilation, and horrified Berlin’s culturally assimilated Jewish elite. Performed in a mock Yiddish that ridiculed assimilatory attempts of German Jews, the play carried the explicit message of the Jew’s inability to become German. See Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans*, 141–43. However, not every Jew who identified with the dominant culture of his nation identified as a member of that Volk [ethnic ‘tribe’]. The Viennese Jewish parliamentarian Adolf Fischhof (1816–1893), for example, identified wholly with the German ‘cultural nation’—even characterising it as superior to the Empire’s other nationalities—but not with the notion of a racial one, and remained proud of his Jewish identity. See Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (New York: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989), 131, 154–55.

[With respect to their nationality the Viennese are mainly Czechs—furthermore Jews, “Cossacks”, Slovaks, Gottscheers, Carniolans [Slovenes], etc. There are also a few Germans who gather in the ‘German Association’ from time to time and gradually reach an awareness of their national identity. Pure German [Reindeutsch] is only spoken by members of the Laube-Theater and judicial defenders—the latter, however, only during their pleas within the k.k. [Imperial-Royal] regional court.]

—Franz Friedrich Masaidek, Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive (1873)

By the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna was a Weltstadt, a modern metropolis and dual capital of a vast empire that drew migrants from all its provinces and beyond its borders. These migrants came from varying linguistic, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, each bringing their own culture into the mix of what Michael John and Albert Lichtblau refer to as the Schmelztiegel Wien [Viennese melting pot]. Far from Vienna being entirely transformed by the competing cultures of its inhabitants—becoming what might be described in today’s terms as a multicultural city—one dominant ethno-linguistic group dictated the cultural hierarchy of the Austrian capital’s inhabitants: Germans. In his satirical volume of 1873, Franz Friedrich Masaidek presented Vienna’s Germans as an embattled yet steadfast hegemonic minority amidst a population of Czechs and Jews. This was an exaggeration. Germans were not besieged by an overwhelmingly foreign population that was slowing eroding Vienna’s

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24 Masaidek, Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive, 5.
German character. However, it does reveal the perception of the evolving nature of Viennese, and by extension Austrian, identity during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

While other European capitals had become home to singular, reigning ‘national’ cultures simultaneously dominating and drawing elements from their subordinate cultures, the lack of an underlying Austrian national culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries left a void into which competing cultures scrambled, all vying for supremacy. Edward Timms asserts that Vienna’s ‘unified city culture was essentially a myth, concocted by writers encapsulated in their coffee-houses.’ The capital’s fractured cultural character was a reflection of a wider Austrian cultural identity (or non-identity). Austria, as a political construct based around its imperial family and military (since 1867 distinct from its Hungarian half), was made up of multiple ethno-linguistic groups that could simultaneously assert a strong ethnic identity as well as their loyalty to the Austrian state and its ruling House of Habsburg. German language and culture played an important role in the development of the Austrian identity. Prior to the formation of the Austrian Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Habsburg family had also provided the rulers of the (predominantly German) Holy Roman Empire until its dissolution in 1806. Although only one of the empire’s many official languages—particularly after the 1867 Ausgleich that resulted in the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and

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the right of all recognised nations of the Dual Monarchy to use their language—German reigned supreme as the de facto language of administration in the Austrian half of the empire. As the Imperial and Royal [kaiserlich und königlich] capital situated within the empire’s German crownlands, Vienna with its culturally hegemonic German population served as a litmus test that forced those ‘foreign’ immigrants who wished to enter into the realm of cultural and civic contribution to adapt themselves and their families to the powers of Deutschtum [Germanness].

Thousands of migrants, such as those who spoke Czech, Hungarian or Italian, replaced their traditional vernaculars and cultures with those of the dominating Germans. Many assimilated completely and effectively became Austro-Germans—the only sign of their heritage being in the continued use of non-German family names, such as Masaidek himself, whose surname suggests Slavic origins.

The growth of Vienna’s population throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century was immense and based on two main factors: the physical expansion of the city and the removal of legal prohibitions on residency. In addition to increased migration from the provinces, the physical expansion of the city in 1890, which saw the inclusion of outer-lying villages as new city districts, raised Vienna’s total population from 827,567 to 1,364,548. Jewish immigrants made up a significant and highly visible segment of the overall migration to the Kaiserstadt. From a total of 6,217 (2.2 per cent of the total population) in 1857, by 1890 the Jewish population had reached 118,495 (8.7 per cent).

With the removal of its final barriers to Jewish residency, Vienna saw a massive Jewish

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28 Article XIX of the Austrian Constitution stated, ‘All ethnic tribes of the [Austrian] people are equal. Each ethnic tribe has an indisputable right to preserve and practice its national customs and its language in particular.’ Quoted in Gelbin and Gilman, Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews, 70.


31 Marsha L. Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 17. Rozenblit notes, ‘[t]he 1857 census counted only the einheimisch residents, i.e., those who had Viennese Heimatsrecht. This number [6,217] represents only those who had legal domiciliary rights in Vienna’. The census did not include those Jewish individuals who lived illegally in Vienna while being registered as living in other towns and villages. Michael John and Alert Lichtblau put the total Jewish population for the year 1857 at 15,116 (3.2 per cent). See John and Lichtblau, Schmelzgiegel Wien, 36.
immigration over the remainder of the nineteenth century and the first few
decades of the twentieth. Immigrant Jews who came to the Kaiserstadt from the
same crownlands as other immigrants fashioned themselves in a similar manner,
along sartorial, behavioural and even cultural-religious lines.

Since the Josephinian Edicts of Toleration during the late eighteenth century
(1781 and 1782), many Jews throughout the empire had adopted the German
language, modern European dress and secular education and had undergone a
change in professional activities. The largest group of Jews to arrive in Vienna
after Franz Joseph I rescinded the prohibition on Jewish settlement in the city
after 1848 were those from the Austrian crownlands of Bohemia and Moravia,
where they had long abandoned many of the particular ‘traditional’ practices and
begun the process of acculturation. They were followed by Jews from Hungary
who, although often more religiously Orthodox than their counterparts from
Bohemia and Moravia, had also embraced certain aspects of Deutschtum.

Finally, towards the end of the century and increasingly during the First World
War, the largest migration came from Galicia.

Prior to the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Galician Jews fleeing the
advancing Russian army during the First World War, Vienna’s Jewish migrants

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33 See Michael Laurence Miller, Rabbis and Revolution: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of
migrants from Hungary came from western Slovakia and the Burgenland and already spoke
German prior to their arrival in Vienna. In contrast, Jews living in central and eastern Hungary
typically opted for Budapest towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of their
proximity to the Hungarian capital and the increased Magyarisation that took place in
Transleithania after the 1867 Ausgleich. Magyarisation allowed Jews and other non-Magyars
(Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Ruthenes, etc.) to become ‘Hungarian’ through the adoption
of the Magyar language and culture for the purely self-serving purpose of augmenting the
numbers of ‘Magyars’ in the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy (where it constituted less than
half of the total population). See William O. McCagg, ‘The Jewish Position in Interwar Central
Europe: A Structural Study of Jewry at Vienna, Budapest, and Prague,’ in A Social and Economic
History of Central European Jewry, ed. Yehuda Don and Victor Karady (New Brunswick, NJ:
35 See Rozenblit, ‘The Creation of Viennese Jewry: Jewish Migration to Vienna, 1867–1914,’ in The
Jews of Vienna, 13–45.
36 In a recent study of Hasidism, it is estimated that between 80,000 and 130,000 Jews from the
Austrian crownlands of Galicia and Bukovina found refuge in Vienna during the First World War.
were by and large already proficient in the German language and practitioners of German culture. Indeed, until the interwar period, the official policy of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (IKG), the official, state-sanctioned Jewish communal body, was one of integration, with even rabbis and other community leaders encouraging Jewish participation within wider Viennese culture and society—albeit while remaining true to their Jewish, or *mosaisch* [Mosaic], faith.³⁷

Many Jews in fin-de-siècle Vienna were culturally, linguistically and sartorially indistinguishable from their Gentile counterparts. This segment of society produced many individuals who, after having overcome the social barriers placed in the path of assimilating and acculturating Jews, would involve themselves in every aspect of fin-de-siècle Viennese society: politics, finance and industry, science and medicine, academia, culture and the arts. A large number of the individuals associated with Vienna's modernist milieu were of Jewish heritage—in whatever way they classified themselves as such, if at all, or were classified as Jews by others.

By the end of the century, Vienna, which had already become a centre for economic, scientific, cultural and artistic advancement, was fast becoming a *Weltstadt* [metropolis]. During the *Gründerzeit*, the age of economic prosperity from the 1840s until the 1873 stock market crash, businessmen flocked to the Austrian capital, taking advantage of its geographic centrality to conduct their affairs and manage concerns throughout the empire. With their newfound wealth, they commissioned celebrated architects from across Europe—of note the Viennese Heinrich von Ferstel (1828–1883), the Bavarian-born Ludwig Förster (1797–1863) and the Danish Theophil von Hansen (1813–1891)—to design luxury city palaces and apartment houses.³⁸ Eager to prove themselves

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³⁷ See Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph*, in particular, Chapter 4 'Three Viennese Preachers,' 98–130, and Chapter 5 'Liberalism, Deutschtum, and Assimilation,' 131–63.
worthy and equal to members of the élite, these newly-rich families, many of whom were Jewish, also used their wealth to purchase and commission artworks from Vienna's leading artists, both established and avant-garde, such as Hans Makart (1840–1884) and Gustav Klimt (1862–1918).39

The assertion of identity was not simply a matter of proving the worth of the nouveau-riche in the face of 'old money'. For Jewish magnates in particular, the resurgence of antisemitism that came with the rise in nationalist sentiment in the wake of the 1873 stock market crash meant that the re-creation of identity could also involve the development of new identities—neither Jewish nor German—in the absence of an overarching Austrian one, save for loyalty to the Kaiser. The non-existence of an Austrian national identity was manifested in the tendency of Habsburg subjects to identify with the varying ethno-linguistic groups that made up the multi-ethnic Dual Monarchy.40 For the most part, Viennese Jews, who had no nationalist or territorial ties of their own, were fiercely loyal to German culture, Franz Joseph and the Austrian state. Refashioning their identity as modern Austrians served Viennese Jews of varying cultural and socio-economic backgrounds well, helping them deal with exclusion from increasingly hostile and nationally defined group identification, and in many ways gave them an answer to the absence of an Austrian national identity.41

An obvious, albeit often overlooked, element in their refashioning of identity was clothing. Through adopting modern, European attire during earlier periods of Jewish modernisation, Jewish women and men were able to broadcast their

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dedication to secular Enlightenment ideals, and their willingness to participate in Gentile society in a clear and visual manner that was at once recognisable to others. The importance of clothing in the formation of identity has been addressed by numerous scholars. As an element of outermost appearance, the clothes an individual wears can inform others of many aspects of identity, such as religious, cultural, socio-economic, sexual, political and professional.42

By the fin de siècle, most Viennese Jews, particularly those individuals of note who are discussed in this study, were the product of earlier acculturation on the part of their parents, grandparents and, sometimes, earlier ancestors. They themselves did not replace traditional Ashkenazi garb, such as a kaftan and large yarmulke [skullcap] or headscarf, for modern suits and dresses. However, the engagement of these individuals with particular sartorial styles, whether conservative or avant-garde, made certain statements about their Jewish identities (or lack thereof) to members of Vienna’s Jewish and wider Gentile communities. Nor were the implications simple. The preference for certain styles of dress was not always understood in a positive light to indicate Jewish dedication to modern, secular society and German culture. On the contrary, and particularly in light of rising antisemitism, acculturated, fashion-following Jews ran the risk of being considered self-serving parvenus. A Jewish individual’s clothing preferences, patterns and practices could result in certain styles attracting a Jewish coding in the eyes of the wider society. This was also the case for other non-sartorial fashions and forms of leisure, such as patronising the coffeehouse, theatre or certain art forms, thus influencing external perceptions of Jewishness.

The primary focus of existing scholarship is the fashionable role and dress choices of female consumers; however, the choices and patterns made by male consumers were equally important, especially given the presence of many men in the public eye throughout history. This thesis focuses specifically on sartorial

politics and male Jewish identities in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The overall questions this thesis sets out to address are:

1) How did urban, middle-class Jewish men dress in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1890–1938)?

2) What were the implications for Jewish identity and its place in Vienna during this time? and

3) In what ways was dress manifested in representations of Jewishness or Jewish characters/individuals in a variety of media, including both written and visual texts?

The decision to limit this study to the years 1890–1938 is strategic. Although Viennese Jews were legally emancipated and therefore enjoyed equal rights from 1867, it was during the final decade of the nineteenth century that many renowned Jewish cultural and literary figures were active in the wider development of Viennese modernist culture. This was the decade in which Sigmund Freud and Joseph Breuer published their Studies in Hysteria (1895), in which Arthur Schnitzler wrote many of his plays and novellas, when Theodor Herzl developed his theories on Zionism and Jewish statehood and Karl Kraus released his satirical journal Die Fackel (1899). The cultural and literary developments of these figures and others continued into the first decade of the new century and into the First World War. Marsha L. Rozenblit43 and Robert S. Wistrich44 present the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 as the end of a golden era in Austrian-Jewish history. However, although the collapse of the Dual Monarchy cut Viennese Jews off politically from the wider ‘Austrian’ (now divided between Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, Rumania and Yugoslavia) and Hungarian Jewry, it did not result in its cultural decline. Viennese Jewry continued to have a great impact on Vienna’s cultural, political, economic and scientific arenas throughout the interwar period until the so-called Anschluss with Nazi Germany in March 1938, after which they were persecuted, deported and many murdered.

43 Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna.
44 Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph.
LITERATURE ON VIENNESE JEWRY, 1890–1938

A number of studies of Viennese Jewry appeared during the period encompassed by this study. Some of these texts focused on specific personalities in the historical Jewish community, such as those on the Hofjuden [court Jews] Samuel Oppenheimer (1630–1703) and Joachim Edler von Popper (1722–1795) by Max Grunwald and Samuel Krauss respectively.\(^{45}\) In addition, there were publications by both Jewish and Gentile writers on historical and contemporary issues pertaining to Viennese Jewry, such as the works by Sigmund Mayer, Hans Tietze and Georg Glockemeier.\(^{46}\) Sourcebooks and catalogues focusing on various aspects of Viennese Jewry, as well as memorial books on the communities from which many members of Vienna’s Jewish community originated, were other popular forms such literature took.\(^{47}\) Most late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century books dealing with Viennese Jewry were written in German by Austrian Jewish scholars. However, some, for example a work by the Silesian-born, Viennese rabbi and scholar Max Grunwald, were published for an English-speaking readership.\(^{48}\) Grunwald’s book provides a detailed overview of Viennese Jewish history for the 1930s American reader, outlining the history of Jews in the Austrian capital from its early days up until the contemporaneous early twentieth-century period. The book focuses on the political and social circumstances of the Jews, renowned personalities and communal life. Early twentieth-century texts by authors such as Grunwald, Mayer, Tietze and others are important secondary sources for later English-language scholarship on Jewish Viennese history.


\(^{48}\) Max Grunwald, *Vienna* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936). The foreword to the volume notes that the original manuscript was written in German, and translated and edited by Solomon Grayzel and Albert Mordell.
During the 1970s and 1980s, there was a resurgence of interest in English-language scholarship in Vienna, particularly Vienna of the fin de siècle. This was thanks in part to Carl E. Schorske, whose book *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1979) and various articles on Vienna at the turn of the century, published in American journals since 1961, opened up a world of scholarship on related topics. As part of the general attention to the fin de siècle, a number of texts appeared that dealt with issues relating specifically to Vienna’s Jewish population during the period. Of note is Marsha L. Rozenblit’s pioneering work, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (1983), that serves as an anthropological survey of the Austrian capital’s Jewish community, addressing as it does such areas as residential, marital and professional patterns, education, conversion, migration and the community’s structural character, utilising data from the archives of the IKG, as well as various contemporaneous statistical publications. While Rozenblit’s volume is a monumental work providing clear data on Viennese Jewry, in her use of statistical data and other primary sources from the Viennese press, she overlooks the cultural elements of the assimilatory process. A similar study can be found in Harriet Pass Freidenreich’s 1991 volume, *Jewish Politics in Vienna, 1918–1938*, that deals with the political structure of the official Jewish community during the interwar period and the


50 Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna*.

interests of the various community factions.\textsuperscript{52} Other texts, such as Lisa Silverman’s study \textit{Becoming Austrians} (2012), examine this same assimilatory process and the cultural makeup of the community, focusing more strongly on anecdotal evidence, contemporaneous print media and literary studies to offer a detailed study of Austrian Jewish identity during the interwar period.\textsuperscript{53} Likewise, Steven Beller includes statistics and other primary sources within his study of Viennese Jewry during roughly the same period covered by Rozenblit. His volume is divided into two parts: the first deals with the social and cultural status of Jews in Viennese society from a statistical perspective and the second deals more intimately with certain elements of the Viennese Jewish cultural milieu. Rather than setting out to analyse raw data, Beller examines the cultural character of Viennese Jewry between the \textit{Ausgleich} (1867) and the \textit{Anschluss} (1938) and makes heavy use of anecdotal and autobiographical evidence to paint a cultural portrait of Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{54} Robert S. Wistrich’s portrait of Viennese Jewry during the reign of Franz Joseph, published in the same year as Beller’s volume, similarly approaches the question from a cultural perspective. Like Beller, Wistrich sets out to present his study of Viennese Jewry thematically, with each theme presented through the case study of a selection of renowned cultural and literary figures. For example, his chapter on Jewish self-hatred is presented through the study of the writers Karl Kraus and Otto Weininger.\textsuperscript{55}

In addition to texts dealing with an overview of Viennese and Habsburg Jewry, there is vast English-language scholarship on Viennese Jews in society and culture, such as the role of Jews during the First World War,\textsuperscript{56} Jews in certain Viennese industries or cultural milieux, portraits of specific intellectuals and cultural figures, and their role in the development of Viennese culture during the

\textsuperscript{54} Beller, \textit{Vienna and the Jews}.
\textsuperscript{55} Wistrich, \textit{The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph}.
\textsuperscript{56} See for example David Rechter, \textit{The Jews of Vienna and the First World War} (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001); and Rozenblit, \textit{Reconstructing a National Identity}. 
Most of these texts focus on Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from anthropological, sociological or literary perspectives.

Elana Shapira's broad body of work on Viennese Jewry during this period asks questions of a cultural and aesthetic nature, examining the assimilatory process from artistic, architectural and sartorial perspectives. Her texts examine the role aesthetics played in the creation of new Jewish identities during a period of rising antisemitism and modernisation in Viennese society.\(^{58}\) In this manner, Shapira's work is most closely related to my own research, which likewise asks questions regarding the role of aesthetics in the assertion of Jewish identity and perceptions of Jewishness. However, while Shapira's work examines Jewish self-expression through various aspects of design, her focus is primarily on architecture and interior design, with reference to specific Jewish patrons of the arts. Nor does she focus heavily, as this work sets out to do, on the manifestations—both negative and positive—of Jewishness that appear in contemporaneous literary fiction and print media. Overall, the existing body of work on Jews in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pay little attention to this segment of Viennese society from a sartorial perspective. While there are texts that deal with the dress and fashion history of Vienna during this period,\(^{59}\) this is the first study to address acculturated Jewish

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\(^{58}\) Elana Shapira has written extensively on Jewish individuals and their role as both patrons and artists in Vienna's artistic development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For her most comprehensive study, see Shapira, *Style and Seduction*.

men and their clothing and the role choices of attire had in both internal and external perceptions of Jewishness.60

METHOD AND APPROACH

In order to map the relationship of Jewish men to their dress practices in fin-de-siècle Vienna, I draw methodologies and approaches from a number of cognate fields, including design history, fashion studies, cultural history, urban studies and modern Jewish history. Histories of Vienna and its Jewish population during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including statistical information on Jewish residential and professional patterns and cultural studies of pre-World War II Viennese Jewry, have been particularly important in setting the context in which these Jewish men and their clothing existed. Methods include archival research, discourse analysis and an intermedia comparison of primary texts, including written correspondence, diaries, memoirs, print media, photography, caricatures and other visual materials.

These primary sources can be divided into two main types. The first includes ‘ego documents’, such as letters, diaries and memoirs, created predominantly by Viennese Jews, as well as photographs. Through these writings to friends and relatives, or even to themselves, and photographic and other evidence of their dressed appearance, these texts offer a self-perception of Viennese Jews, for example, what they thought of themselves and their communities, or how they wanted others to see them. The second type of source is those that take Viennese Jews as their subject from outside this segment of society and are often used as an ‘othering’ tool. These texts include those created by Jewish authors—for example, to mock or criticise coreligionists.

As this thesis addresses questions of Jewish male dress patterns and their relationship to antisemitism, many of the texts it uses are negative in nature. This is not because these were the only texts addressing Viennese Jews that

60 Although I have focused on English-language texts in this literature overview, there is a large body of scholarship on Viennese Jewry in German. As in English-language scholarship, there is a paucity of texts in German that focuses primarily on the intersection of male sartorial patterns and Jewish identity in Vienna.
existed, but because they provide unique insight into analysing the connection between the actual dress patterns of Jewish men and the creation and prevalence of antisemitic constructions of ‘the Jew’. Although this figure is distinct from actual Jewish individuals, they are undoubtedly related and influence the perception of each other.

In addressing the figure of ‘the Jew’, I refer to the theories of writers such as Zygmunt Bauman, Alain Finkielkraut and Sander L. Gilman, who have clearly demonstrated that ‘the Jew’ is a negative abstraction. As Gilman asserts in the introduction to *The Jew’s Body* (1991): ‘Thus I am not speaking here about “realities” but about their representations and the reflection of these representations in the world of those who stereotype as well as those who are stereotyped. In this volume I am not interested in determining the line between “real” and “fabled” aspects of the Jew.’ Likewise, this thesis is less concerned with whether such images were ‘accurate’ portrayals of Jews, but rather in how they functioned to deride Jews and how they functioned in relation to the Jewish experience of fin-de-siècle Vienna.

I use oral history interviews with former Viennese Jews and their descendants as a supplementary method in order to highlight personal experiences that are not always evident in ‘official’ histories. These oral testimonies support and enrich the historical inquiry, in a similar manner to that in which Raphael Samuel argues for the importance of ‘splicing together different classes of evidence, or using one to expose the silences and absences of the other’.


JEWS AND DRESS: AN OVERVIEW

The wider scholarship concerning Jewish people and dress has tended to focus on a range of topics, including the general picture of Jewish dress traditions, Jewish involvement in the fashion and dress industries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the cultural and social relationship of Jews to clothing and appearances. However, there is very little on Jewish men and their clothing as an expression of identity—either overtly ‘Jewish’ identities or others such as ‘middle-class’, ‘Viennese’ or ‘German’. The existing scholarship on Jewish people and dress is not surprising, given the long history of Jews working in assorted sectors of the ‘rag trade’ in many parts of the world, and the diversity of historical dress habits among Jewish populations as culturally different as those in Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

Within Judaism there is a long history of the importance of material culture. The Tanakh, for example, contains stories in which this is made explicit. Attention is paid here to the attire of certain figures, for example, Joseph and the coat given to him by his father Jacob, as well as the prescribed dress of the members of the priestly caste [Kohanim] and their leader, the High Priest [Kohen Gadol], as an expression of hierarchy. However, given the heterogeneous nature of Jews and Jewish cultures since antiquity, no singular Jewish folk costume predominates. Over the course of Jewish history, Jews living amongst varying ethnic, cultural and religious populations developed differing modes of dress. At times they wore dress similar to the co-territorial Gentile population and at times they were different. This was the result over time of interpretations of Jewish texts—such as the practice of keeping oneself distinct from other ‘nations’ [Goyim] through

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66 The Tanakh refers to the canon of Hebrew biblical texts (corresponding to the Christian Old Testament) that is made up of the Torah ['Five Books of Moses' or Pentateuch], Nevi'im ['Prophets'] and Ketuvim ['Writings'].
67 See Rubens, A History of Jewish Costume.
aspects of appearance—and external ordinances made by co-territorial Gentile authorities.

Throughout history, under both Christianity and Islam, the two main religious spheres under which Jews have lived, Jews were required to adopt certain forms of dress that served as a means of visually labelling them as such. Ordinances governing the clothing of Jews originated in the Middle East, when in 807 the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid ordered the dhimmis ['protected peoples'—that is, Jews and Christians] of Baghdad to distinguish themselves from Muslims by adopting different modes of dress and riding different animals; these were signs of their protected albeit inferior status among the Muslim populace. In 850, his grandson, the 10th Abbasid caliph Al-Mutawakkil, decreed more precisely that dhimmis were required to adopt “‘honey-colored’ garments, unique buttons on their caps, and a pair of patches atop their sleeves’, while their slaves were required to attach yellow patches to the front and back of their outer garments. Other styles of dress later prescribed to Jews in various parts of the Islamic world included dark blue or yellow wide-sleeved garments, metal neck seals, special belts, headgear and footwear, shoulder patches in the shape of an ape, jewellery (or the prohibition of wearing it) with motifs including cows, chicken feet and bells.

Such sartorial codes to differentiate a group from the body politic—whether based on religion, ethnicity or class—spread to Christian Europe. From the early

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68 These include passages from Leviticus 19:27 that command the children of Israel how to manage their hair and not to tattoo their bodies and from Deuteronomy 22:11–12 that prohibit the wearing of garments of mixed fibres (wool and linen) (11) as part of a larger probation of admixture and command men to add fringes to the corners of their garments (12).
70 Silverman, A Cultural History of Jewish Dress, 47.
71 Schick, ‘Laws of Differentiation’.
72 Silverman explains that in addition to blue (‘a hue “alien and sinister”’) and yellow (“tarnished traitors, liars, and other miscreants’), Jews were also sometimes required to dress in black (‘the shade of misfortune, demons, slavery and death’) and purple (‘a tint normally worn for mourning’), in contrast to the colours worn by Muslims that ‘evoke life, purity, and fertility’: white, red and green. See Silverman, A Cultural History of Jewish Dress, 51.
73 Ibid., 48-49.
thirteenth century, European Jews were often required to don particular garments or accessories in specific colours. Among the hats prescribed for Jews was the infamous Judenhut [Jew hat] or Pileum Cornutum, a yellow, conical, wide-brimmed hat topped with a nub, ubiquitously appearing throughout medieval engravings and other contemporary depictions of Jews (Figure 1). The donning of this form of Judenhut for Jews living in German lands was made compulsory in Vienna in 1267. Common badge shapes included two tablets, in reference to the biblical tablets on which the Ten Commandments were engraved, and round shapes (circles and ovals). The yellow badge—in the shape of a six-pointed Star of David [Magen David/Mogen Dovid] with the German word 'Jude' [Jew], or its equivalent in the local languages of those occupied lands, printed in a faux Hebrew-style font—was revived on 1 September 1941 in Nazi Germany and those countries occupied by the regime. All Jews over the age of six were required to affix (sewn on, not simply pinned) the yellow cloth stars to their outer garments when in public and were prohibited from obscuring or covering them. The Star of David, a symbol of Jewish identity and pride, was widely used by Jewish communal organisations and political associations throughout the world. Sabine Doran observes that ‘the Nazis sought to pervert a symbol that the
Jews had chosen for themselves,’ and thus the Jews were ‘stigmatized with their “own” symbol of the star’.79

It is significant that forced signs of sartorial Jewishness were both colour- and style-based, leading to associative implications for certain colours and styles of garments and accessories. Yellow as a signifier of Jewishness, for example, originated in the Islamic world where it had been imposed as a sign of the dhimmi, and was embraced by Christian rulers who at times required certain Jewish badges, hats or other articles of clothing to be in that colour. Likewise, during the Renaissance, Venetian Jews, confined to living in a ghetto—the first of its kind in Christian Europe80—were required to wear yellow clothing, which was also prescribed for prostitutes and pimps, thus equating Jews with sexual vice and venereal diseases.81

Jews were not the only people in Christian Europe and the Islamic world subject to clothing restrictions. At times such dress codes had both discriminatory and practical purposes, such as signalling an individual’s legal status, being exempt from paying certain taxes, being subject to protection from the local authorities or permitted certain privileges.82 Depending on where Jews lived, the enforcement of restrictions regarding their clothing in various European cities was lax, and some Jews took advantage of this to dress like their Gentile

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80 Jews were first confined to the Ghetto in (‘Ghetto Nuovo’) in 1515, a former foundry—from which the name derives—built on a piece of land connected to the city by two bridges. While Jews were locked into the ghetto at night, they were permitted to move and work throughout Venice during the day, and therefore created a ‘need’ for Jews to be sartorially distinguishable from ‘native’ Venetians. Jews however, were not the only non-Venetian or non-Christian people to be confined to a specific part of Venice. Germans, for example, were seen as potential spreaders of the Reformation and were confined to a large house known as the Fondaco dei tedeschi [The Factory of the Germans]. See Richard Sennett, Flesh and Stone: The City and the Body in Western Civilization (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1996), 228–37.
82 See Mordechai Breuer and Michael Graetz, Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit: Band I, 1600–1780 (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1996), 38–39. Breuer notes that it is estimated that Jews contributed to around thirteen per cent of revenue of the Holy Roman Empire and twenty per cent of taxes in its cities during the thirteenth century.
counterparts. Robert S. Wistrich describes the shock and distress of a conservative member of council in late eighteenth-century Vienna, who complained that,

. . . young Jews could be seen in public ‘in the company of young Christians’, dressed indistinguishably, ‘some even with swords at their side’. No less disturbing to him was the sight of a Jewish woman ‘dressed in a manner little different from a lady of rank, walking in the company of Christian men and women . . .’

What was particularly unnerving to critics beyond the fact that Jews might be sartorially indistinguishable from Christians was the notion that Jewish individuals dressed in styles that indicated a social rank above their own.

Like the long history of external influences on the relationship between Jewish people and their dress, the prevalence of Jews in the Central European textile trade was a result of earlier restrictions on the vocations in which Jews were permitted to engage. Denied entry to guilds, university, governance and the military, many Jews turned to those trades to which they were permitted. Additionally, during the Middle Ages, Jews were prohibited from making and selling goods to the general public, and were denied permission to ‘weave cloth, make shoes or sew clothing to be worn by Christians’. One of the most typically ‘Jewish’ of trades was money lending, a profession Jews were permitted to engage in due to the Church’s prohibition of usury during the thirteenth century. Because of this role, the Jew was a commonly reviled figure in Europe, seen as exploiting honest Christians, the most famous manifestation of this

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stereotype being Shylock in William Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* (1596). Additionally, peddling was a permitted and common trade among Jews in Central Europe since Jews were prohibited from owning stores or holding stalls at markets. They dealt not only in used clothing but also textiles and various dry goods.87

Such modes of livelihood were common among the Jews in the Habsburg lands prior to the Josephinian Edicts of Toleration (1781 and 1782). With the new freedoms granted them, the younger generation moved away from the traditional ‘Jewish’ professions of their fathers into those newly available, such as handicraft work, shopkeeping and manufacturing.88 The ancestors of the renowned Viennese Jewish writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), for example, moved during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from working as pedlars and petty traders to the textile and clothing industries, a professional transition that was common during the Josephinian and later eras throughout Central Europe.89

THE MALE SUIT

Historically, men’s dress, in particular the suit, has played a significant role in broadcasting its wearer’s social and economic status, as well as his political and ideological sentiments. In some ways, the male suit has been characterised as a uniform of sorts. Cultural theorist Eduard Fuchs argued at the beginning of the twentieth century, ‘A person wears a uniform voluntarily only when he is also spiritually overwhelmed by the ideas embodied in it; and every specific piece of clothing embodies in its way very specific reigning or influential ideas.’90 In this manner, Jewish sartorial modernisation in Europe can be understood as linked to ideals of *Bildung* [self-cultivation] and *Sittlichkeit* [respectability] that were held dear by many acculturating Jews across Central Europe. The adoption of

89 Ibid., 89–90.
modern dress was not simply a matter of ‘fitting in’, but rather a statement about the wearer’s dedication to the ideals the style of dress represented. The suit’s role as a symbol of modern male respectability and its adoption by acculturating Jews of varying classes makes it difficult to characterise differing dress patterns of Viennese Jews of opposing political and social positions. So-called cosmopolitans like the writers Stefan Zweig and Arthur Schnitzler, Zionists like journalists Theodor Herzl and Nathan Birnbaum, Jewish Diaspora nationalists like the rabbi and Reichsrat [Imperial Council] deputy Joseph Samuel Bloch, and assimilationists like Karl Kraus seemingly dressed in the same styles, indeed, the same styles as their Gentile counterparts. This thesis thus also aims to link the biographies of renowned Jewish Viennese personalities with clothing narratives.

Regardless of their political sentiments, acculturated and acculturating Jews dressed in the styles that were common and accepted in society in a way that consciously declared their belonging to Vienna’s German middle-class milieu. Thus, the way in which a man dressed was an important way of asserting his social status in and membership of modern European culture. Donning the suit was a statement of the individual’s desire to embody the modern ‘ideal man’. Whether politically conservative or progressive, religiously observant or secular, assimilationist or sympathetic to various forms of Jewish ethnic consciousness (including Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism), middle-class Jews by and large became accustomed to mainstream cultural aesthetic tastes in Viennese society.

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91 Nathan Birnbaum (1864–1937) was a renowned journalist, author and lobbyist for Jewish national rights in the Dual Monarchy. Born in Vienna, Birnbaum was the son of a Galician father and a Hungarian mother, and was raised in a religiously Orthodox, culturally German family. As a young man he became interested in the idea of Jewish nationhood and the reclamation of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. It was Birnbaum who coined the term ‘Zionism’ in his journal Selbstemanzipation! (1885–1892) over a decade before Theodor Herzl’s ‘conversion’ to Zionism. During the fin de siècle Birnbaum moved away from Zionism and towards Diaspora nationalism, taking a strong interest in the Yiddish language and the culture of Eastern European Jews. Among his many achievements were the co-founding of Vienna’s first Jewish student fraternity Kadimah in 1883, and his role in the early development of the international Orthodox and anti-Zionist Agudath Israel [Agudas Yisroel] movement, to which he was appointed general secretary in 1923. For a comprehensive study of Birnbaum’s life and work, see Jess Olson, Nathan Birnbaum and Jewish Modernity: Architect of Zionism, Yiddishism, and Orthodoxy (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013).

92 Hollander, Sex and Suits, 91.
By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, when the Österreich-Israelitische Union [Austrian-Israelite Union]\(^93\) and the Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs [Austrian Social Democratic Workers’ Party] (SDPAÖ) were formed, Theodor Herzl had published his treatise on the Jewish State (Der Judenstaat), and Karl Lueger of the antisemitic Christian Social Party was mayor of Vienna, bourgeois Viennese Jews were sartorially indistinguishable both from each other and other middle-class Viennese. The common thread between the dress of middle-class Jewish men and their Gentile counterparts was the suit, what Christopher Breward describes as ‘a well-fitted set of garments to be worn at the same time, although not necessarily of matching cloth’.\(^94\) Often consisting of a jacket, trousers and waistcoat worn with a collared shirt and a variety of neckwear (ties, cravats or bowties), Anne Hollander presents the male suit as offering men an ideal masculinity, and asserts that the ‘uniformity’ of the clothed male body since the nineteenth century is a sign of men’s ‘desire to look similar’.\(^95\) David Kuchta argues in his study on the three-piece suit that this new form of menswear represented the competition between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie for cultural supremacy.\(^96\) The adoption of an early form of the suit by Charles II of England (1630–1685) in 1666 symbolised the transformation of male respectability characterised by sobriety that still reigns today—‘The birth of the three-piece suit, then, meant not only the donning of a new wardrobe: it meant the fashioning of a new masculinity, a new ideology about the morality, politics, and economics of élite men’s consumer practices, an ideology still prevalent today.’\(^97\) For Michael Zakim, the suit was a democratic enabler that came to represent a ‘specifically American civic uniform’\(^98\) that symbolised conformity, both visual and of the mind and attitude. Likewise, Breward has characterised the adoption of the lounge suit during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as offering ‘a relaxed sense of modernity’ for men of

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\(^93\) The Österreich-Israelitische Union was a political lobbying organisation representing Jewish interests, including the fight against political antisemitism, founded by Joseph Samuel Bloch in 1884.


\(^95\) Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, 97.

\(^96\) Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity*.

\(^97\) Ibid., 2.

varying professional classes. In this manner, Breward describes the suit ‘as a foundational “idea” of modern society in the industrial West.’ However, in addition to it being a symbol of industrialisation and modernisation, Breward has characterised the suit and other elements of ‘respectable’ male dress at the fin de siècle as offering male consumers a multitude of ways to fashion their identity. In contrast to the characterisation of the male suit as a symbol of what the British sociologist John C. Flügel called the ‘Great Masculine Renunciation’ of sartorial splendour in favour of sobriety, Breward’s study reveals that men of differing socio-economic classes actively engaged in clothing consumption and self-fashioning. Similarly, Michael Carter argues that the way the suit is worn enables the individual to express multiple meanings, from formality to informality, dandyist precision to scruffy bohemianism. The Jewish man’s adoption of the suit as a standard form of dress signified his entry into a sartorial fraternity of sorts that surpassed ethnic, national and class boundaries; he visually declared his place in a wider European society rather than as an alien Other, while at the same time developing and expressing his individuality.

USING AND READING PHOTOGRAPHY

One of the central forms of data I use to interrogate Viennese Jewish men and their dress patterns and practices is the photograph. Photographs offer a clear visual insight into the sartorial choices of Jewish men in Vienna during this period that cannot always be ascertained from written texts. The photographs addressed in this study were obtained from both public and private sources: library archives and collections in Europe, Israel and North America, as well as private family collections of individuals all over the world. It is important to consider how photography can be read and what it can reveal as a tool for interrogating the clothing choices of individual Jewish men in a wider

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100 Ibid., 76.
examination of sartorial patterns, practices and preferences of Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Photography also provides a solution to the challenge of interrogating men and their dress patterns and choices.

One of the challenges I came across during this research was the scant evidence of references by men to their dress in letters, diaries and even memoirs. This can be explained by the social construct of ‘fashion’ as feminine and the notion that a fashion-conscious man ran the risk of being seen by his peers as effeminate or un-masculine. Likewise, there is a possibility that men’s dress during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, being less elaborate than women’s dress, was thought to be fairly uniform. However, as discussed above in relation to the male suit, this was far from the case. Photography and other media such as fashion plates and fashion journals are evidence that men were concerned with and paid close attention to their dress. Perhaps more than the latter examples, photography, rather than the projections of designers and purveyors of fashions, is central to demonstrating how men actually dressed and engaged with popular fashions.

By the end of the nineteenth century, photography had become a common method across class boundaries of recording one’s existence. Following a long line of historical methods of representation, such as drawing, painting, sculpture, and engraving, photography was influenced in particular by painting and the daguerreotype, as is evident not only in early photographic method, but also in the manner in which a subject was depicted. However, while earlier forms of representation were expensive and the commission of self-representation through portraiture, for example, was the reserve of a moneyed élite, the development of cheaper methods of photography, such as the Kodak and Brownie cameras by the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, meant

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that photography—not only having one’s picture taken, but being able to take pictures oneself—became accessible to a broader section of society:

In less than sixty years, then, the photograph had changed from being the privileged domain of its early progenitors to being one of the most accessible and accepted means of visual representation. It was the ultimate democratic art form, at once sanctioning everything and everyone with potential significance—for everything and everyone could not be photographed and given status—and allowing everyone to produce photographs and contrast an individual view of their world and particular histories.106

Numerous scholars have written about the photograph’s ‘truthful’ nature, which John Szarkowski asserts is the very act of recording reality.107 Similarly, for Graham Clarke, the act of photographing is the act of capturing time and immortalling it.108

However, the challenge with using photography as a lens through which the context can be understood is that most photography, especially portrait photography, is posed. A famous photograph by the German photographer August Sander of three young farmers on their way to a local ball (1914) indicates a sense of self-consciousness: the young men are aware of the photographer’s lens and have posed themselves accordingly. The image is also important for what it reveals about dress and self-fashioning. The young labourers have discarded the typical sartorial signs of their professional identities in favour of fashionable garb that expresses a desire to participate in the world of fashion and society beyond their occupation. As Roland Barthes asserts on the nature of being observed, ‘Now, once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of “posing,” I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance

106 Clarke, The Photograph, 18.
108 Clarke, The Photograph, 11–12.
into an image.'109 Not only does the individual in his awareness of the photographer's lens adjust his pose, he presents himself as an ideal version of the self. Thus, studio photographs do not offer the definitive representation of either the individual or his or her day-to-day existence. Instead, they offer a view that the individual being photographed desires to express. Such images can be compared with candid photographs that capture a very different representation of the individual. Another challenge that arises with using historic photography to interpret the dress practices of Viennese Jewish men is that the majority of these images are black and white or sepia tone. While these images clearly demonstrate the styles of garments worn by the individuals depicted, their monotone nature obscures the colours of the clothing. Therefore, photographs must be analysed in tandem with contemporaneous information on dress fashions, in particular fashion journalism and advertising.

Victor Burgin attests that there is no single system of reading the photograph, but rather ‘a heterogeneous complex of codes upon which photography may draw’.110 Photography is read through association. Burgin uses the example of ‘familiar objects shot from unfamiliar angles’, in which the viewer, confronted with the ‘unknown’, must find meaning through associating the subject with something that is not present.111 Naturally, a studio photograph clearly depicting an individual or group of individuals does not present the same problem to the same extent, but such images will still be read by the viewer through associating the subject(s) depicted with prior knowledge and experiences. Burgin presents four types of photographic looking:

... the look of the camera as it photographs the ‘pre-photographic’ event; the look of the viewer as he or she looks at the photograph; the ‘intradiegetic’ looks exchanged between people (actors) depicted in the

111 Ibid., 133.
photograph (and/or looks from actors towards objects); and the look the actor may direct to the camera.  

And perhaps a fifth: the subject intentionally looking away from the camera. In contrast, Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins offer seven types of photographic gazes:

These include (1) the photographer’s gaze (the actual look through the viewfinder), (2) the institutional magazine gaze (evident in cropping picture choice, captioning, etc.), (3) the reader’s gaze, (4) the non-Western subjects’ gaze, (5) the explicit looking done by Westerners who are often framed together with locals in the picture, (6) the gaze returned or refracted by the mirrors or cameras that are shown, in a surprising number of photographs, in local hands, and (7) our own, academic gaze.

Looking at photographs objectively—indeed reading them—is not universal, as each viewer brings their own subjective understanding, and this therefore limits interpretation of the structural elements of a photograph. Thus, photography is never passive or divorced from its context, existing ‘within a wider body of reference and relates to a series of wider histories, at once aesthetic, cultural and social.’ The ‘truthful’ nature of photography addressed by a number of scholars therefore becomes problematic. Although photography can record reality in a manner that painting or other methods of representation cannot, the context brought to a photographed image by the photographer, subject and viewer distorts the meaning of the photograph. Clarke comments on photography's finite capture of reality frames a subject in a way that prevents a viewer from looking ‘outside the frame of the photograph’. In this manner a

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112 Ibid., 134.
114 Ibid., 358.
115 Clarke, The Photograph, 29.
117 Ibid., 22.
viewer can interpret the photograph's subject not only through their own contextual understanding, but the subject (or photographer) can construct him-or herself independent of their actual reality, which, beyond the frame, is prevented from telling the truth, so to speak.

Thus, photographs are used in this thesis in combination with contextual history of Viennese Jewry between 1890 and 1938, as well as with other forms of data, such as biographical, journalistic and literary accounts, and other visual representations to determine how acculturated (and acculturating) Jewish men dressed in fashioning their identities. These photographic images serve as foremost visual evidence of the actual sartorial patterns, practices and preferences of these individuals, and are used to compare the realities of visual self-fashioning with contemporaneous perceptions of Jews and Jewishness.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES
This thesis is comprised of eight further chapters that focus on specific case studies using examples from photography, print media and literary fiction. Chapter 2 is a detailed study of notions of ‘looking Jewish’ and Jewish masculinity within the wider Gentile Viennese society (both cultural and professional). Jewishness is presented as the manifestation of external, negative perceptions of the Jewish body, using Oskar Panizza’s grotesque satirical novella Der operierte Jud’ as an example of antisemitic Othering. Chapter 3 pursues the notion of Jewishness and questions how it affected the acculturated middle-class Jewish experience in Vienna during the period 1890–1938. This chapter also examines a history of the Jews embedded spatially in Vienna, including various factions of the community and its place in overall Viennese society, and how this was translated into dress patterns among the various groups and strata.

Chapter 4 commences with a discussion of Jewish participation within the world of fashion and its repercussions for perceptions of Jewishness, in particular the notions of self-fashioning and ‘masking’ through dress. It then approaches specific issues directly related to the questions this study seeks to address, providing an historical outline of Jewish involvement in the Viennese dress and textile industries and an overview of male fashions in Vienna during the fin-de
siècle and interwar periods. This includes examples of male fashions and the manner in which they were presented in print media as a way of situating Jewish men in the wider context of Viennese male dress. The chapter ends with a case study on dress and the multi-generational acculturation process through the example of one Viennese Jewish family.

Chapter 5 examines the dress/architecture nexus and its importance in the construction of identity. The renowned Viennese (Gentile) architect and journalist Adolf Loos is presented as a personification of this nexus with his professional identities and whose writing focuses strongly on the various segments of Vienna’s design industry, and its implications for modern masculine self-fashioning. Loos’s relationship with Jews as both clients and colleagues is addressed in order to demonstrate how Loos played a central role in the assimilatory and acculturation aspirations of many Jewish men in Vienna. A number of spatial arenas, such as retail spaces and domestic interiors, are offered as examples for their importance as built manifestations of the differing public/private personas of the individuals who occupied them. The chapter closes with a case study of a coffeehouse, which is presented as an example of a neutral space perceived through a lens of Jewishness and whereby increased Jewish patronage had a superficial transformative effect on the status and role of the environment. This is compared to the synagogue as a site built for the specific purpose of acting out Jewish identity.

Chapter 6 presents six celebrated Viennese writers of Jewish origin and their dress habits as six different modes of dressing among bourgeois Jewish men. Each of these men (even the Bohemian poet and self-described ‘Schnorrer’ Peter Altenberg) wore a ‘suit’ of some kind yet their habits of dress remained distinct. Each of the six men—Sigmund Freud, Theodor Herzl, Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Peter Altenberg and Karl Kraus—was raised within the broad spectrum of Vienna’s Jewish population, which varied from the lower middle class to the wealthy élite. The chapter presents each writer as a different ‘archetype’—godless Jew, cosmopolitan nationalist, literary bon vivant, bourgeois European,
bohemian assimilationist and renegade Jew—and explores the importance of dress in the construction of multifaceted Viennese, masculine, Jewish identity.

Chapter 7 addresses the notion of Jewry and cosmopolitanism and their dissociating effect on the status of the Jewish man in Gentile society. Unlike other European cities that served as capitals of overwhelmingly homogenous nation states, the situation in the Austrian Vielvölkerstaat [multi-ethnic state] was distinctive. Here Jews existed amongst the state’s other ethno-cultural groups but without official recognition of Jewish distinctiveness. The growing Jewish population of Vienna in the face of the largely non-Jewish, Austro-German provinces created—like the coffeehouses addressed in Chapter 5—a certain image for the Austrian capital as a distinctly Jewish metropolis. This is explored through photography and patterns of attire, as well as through the Jewish-born Christian author Hugo Bettauer’s novel Die Stadt ohne Juden [The City without Jews] (1922). Rabbis and their dress are examined in relation to their role in the modernisation of Jewry and are offered as an example of cosmopolitan identity alongside inward-looking national formation.

Chapter 8 addresses negative external perceptions of Jews and Jewishness rather than Jewish self-identification. This is explored through antisemitic caricatures in three popular Viennese Witzblätter [satirical journals] of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Kikeriki, Wiener Luft and Der Floh. The caricatures appearing in these weekly periodicals made use of a long tradition of antisemitic body and behavioural stereotypes, and played a role in perpetuating such myths. In this penultimate chapter, these widespread stereotypes and their intersection with notions of the dressed body are analysed under recurring themes such as binary representations, the spectre of the Ostjude [Eastern Jew] and fears of ‘Jewification’.

The conclusion demonstrates that despite their advanced stage of acculturation, Viennese Jewry remained a highly conspicuous Other. While modern dress and other forms of visual culture offered Jews multifaceted ways of self-identification, the spectre of antisemitism and the image of ‘the Jew’ was strongly
ingrained in Viennese Gentile society. The National Socialist Anschluss of March 1938 did not import Jew-hatred from across the border, but rather allowed festering hatreds in Viennese society to come to the foreground. The Anschluss brought a close to a complex chapter of Viennese Jewish history. However, this thesis does not seek to memorialise Viennese Jewry of the pre-1938 period, nor does it argue in hindsight that the growing antisemitism over the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth would inevitably destroy one of Europe’s centres of modern Jewry before the Shoah. Rather, this study demonstrates that clothing was as central to the construction of identity as it was to external perceptions of the people who wore them.
Chapter 2. The Jewish man

No sooner had the strict and singular regimen of Jewish life come to an end than did the Jew become a character: a fateful sort of hereditary, special temperament, a personality, a set of types. With the death of overt Jewish difference, Jewishness leapt into the breach and carried the flag. Neither religion nor a daily routine, Jewishness was an individual essence that underlay every aspect of behavior. As a way of comporting oneself that was both insidious and totalitarian, it was a kind of instinct anchored in the deepest recesses of the self, where one's psychological secrets could be read. The Jew no longer different from other men? Looks the same, has the same sober dress, the same faddish tastes and public behavior? Did he willingly place himself under the same temporal scheme as others, agree to follow the same daily routine as everyone else? Don’t believe it for a minute! Jewishness arose precisely in order to provoke such a blackout, and racism just in time to carry on the work that the clarity of segregation had formerly achieved.

—Alain Finkielkraut, The Imaginary Jew (1980)

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the antisemitic notion of the 'Jew' and visual Jewishness and their intersection with the experience of being a Jewish man in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rather than discuss the specific dress patterns and practices of Viennese Jewish men, this chapter discusses clothing and other aspects of the dressed appearance, inasmuch as they functioned as a tool in external, often antisemitic representations of Jewish men and issues relating to the assimilatory process, such as in Oskar Panizza’s 1893 novella Der operierte Jud’. The texts examined in this chapter are of an antisemitic nature. Their treatment of the 'Jew' is one that expresses the notions of intrinsic Jewish difference and the impossibility of Jewish assimilation.

2 These topics will be addressed in Chapter 4 ‘Refashioning the Self: Viennese Jews and Dress’ and Chapter 6 ‘The Man in the Suit’.
Naturally, these were not the only ‘external’ texts, that is, written by Gentile authors, that dealt with the so-called Jewish Question. However, the purpose of this chapter is not to provide a balanced overview of ‘the Jew’ in German-language texts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the contrary, such texts have been chosen deliberately because they express popular antisemitic notions that existed in Viennese society. They are examples of the negative widespread persistence of ‘the Jew’ archetype, and its related notions, including the idea that an individual can appear Jewish with regards to their physical characteristics, behaviour and dress. They thus highlight the difficulty of being Jewish in Vienna during the fin de siècle and interwar periods, and further demonstrate the use of clothing and the dressed body to perpetuate antisemitic stereotypes.

Historically, the term ‘Jew’ has been understood to refer to the Jewish male—as opposed to the Jewish woman (or ‘Jewess’), who has served a different, albeit connected role throughout Western cultural history. This view was influenced by a number of factors, including the differing meanings of male and female sexuality in Western culture in which the image of ‘the Jew’ developed.\(^3\) In his study, *The Jew’s Body* (1991), Sander Gilman demonstrates that certain corporeal differences, both real and imagined, between the Jewish and Gentile (male) bodies stem largely from the Jewish tradition of circumcising male infants, practised as a symbol of the Biblical covenant between God and the patriarch Abraham. The circumcised phallus is ‘crucial to the very understanding of the Western image of the Jew at least since the advent of Christianity’,\(^4\) and, along with other Jewish characteristics, has persisted throughout Western, Christian

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societies, even in their most secularised forms. The very act of circumcising Jewish males shortly after birth (eight days) meant that the practicality of Jewish/Gentile bodily difference was cemented from the beginning of a male individual’s life. As Sigmund Freud asserts in his essay ‘Little Hans: Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Child’ (1909), circumcision and antisemitism are intrinsically linked. Describing what he terms the ‘castration complex’, Freud claims the lack of foreskin creates a sense of fear in Gentile men from the earliest age that ‘gives them the right to despise Jews.’ For the Christian tradition, the circumcised penis serves not only as a sign of Jewish difference, but also as a bodily reminder of the Jewish rejection of Christ—‘the traditional sign of the special relationship between the (male) Jew and God, becomes here a false sign,’ superseded by the relationship between God and the Christians, the new chosen people.

From the beginning of his settlement among Christian European populations, the Jew has played a precarious role, at times both insider and outsider but always the Other. Zygmunt Bauman describes the Jew as ‘the universal and hence most radical of strangers’. Unlike other strangers, the European Jew does not arrive in one nation from another, but he is at once from everywhere and nowhere. Presenting the Jew as the stranger par excellence, Bauman explains his theory of ambivalence as the greatest concern of the modern era, the stranger being the embodiment of ambivalence—the dangerous unknown between friend and foe. This ‘othering’ of the Jew has taken on different connotations, ranging from religious and racial to national difference, depending on the dominant Gentile population in whose midst the Jew settled. Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) is arguably the most famous Jewish convert to Christianity and one who did much to shape a modern German cultural identity. He was not simply commenting on his own immediate experience when he described the widespread Gentile notion of Jewish opacity:

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5 Ibid., 3.
6 Sigmund Freud quoted in Le Rider, Modernity and the Crisis of Identity, 168.
7 Gilman, The Jew’s Body, 18.
8 See Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence, 85.
9 Ibid., 55.
The deeds and gestures of the Jews as well as their morals are matters unknown to all. One thinks that one knows them because one sees their beards, but that is all that one has seen of them, and in the Middle Ages, they are always a wandering mystery.\

Dangerously perpetuating a myth of Jewish deviousness, Heine also explains why the assimilatory project is an unsuitable solution to antisemitism: at least the bearded and kaftaned Jew provides anti-semites with a recognisable manifestation of the Jewish difference they feared. Thus, the fear is more manageable in that the object of fear can be identified, avoided and/or made less threatening through ridicule. The culturally assimilated Jew, however, who bears no resemblance to the Gentile-determined spectre of Jewishness, but rather has more in common with those who despise him, becomes more threatening since the Jew’s ‘true’ identity remains out of sight. More than the bearded Ostjude [East-European Jew], who appears as a clear visual Other, the Westjude [West European Jew] attired in a suit or Frack und Zylinder [tails and top hat] represents the ambivalent stranger of Bauman’s thesis. Thus, certain physiognomic, behavioural or material characteristics are transformed into substitutes for the Ostjude’s beard, earlocks and kaftan, regardless of whether they are innate to Jews or widespread among the Gentile population as well. In this manner, a finely cut, expensive suit—practically identical to one worn by a Gentile of corresponding socio-economic class—can be coded as ‘Jewish’.

LOOKING JEWISH: VISUAL MANIFESTATIONS OF JEWISHNESS

That a person is somehow able to look Jewish is a persisting myth that has resulted in a wide variety of stereotypes from visual to verbal. Taken as a purely

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11 The use of sartorial modes in the construction of an East/West Jewish binary was made familiar by Steven E. Aschheim and his conflicting images of the ‘caftan’ and ‘cravat’ Jews. See Steven E. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), in particular Chapter 3 ‘Caftan and Cravat: ‘Old’ Jews, ‘New’ Jews, and Pre-World War I Anti-Semitism,’ 58–79. The Frack is not an example of ‘business attire’, but rather a more formal suit often but not always worn in the evening and during formal occasions. However, within this thesis I include the Frack within the category of male suits as an example of ‘modern’, Western dress.
faith-based criterion, any individual, regardless of their ethnic background can be Jewish by adopting the faith. Indeed, Jewish communities in different ethnic contexts around the world often share ethnic markers with the populations whose territory they share. Thus, there is no singular way to physiognomically appear Jewish.

Historically, European Jews have always been subject to physiognomic scrutiny, and particular physical traits came to be considered typically ‘Jewish’. This was the product of medieval theologically-based anti-Judaism as well as the later racial and politically motivated antisemitism that emerged in the latter third of the nineteenth century. Biologist Alain F. Corcos scathingly lists the most common stereotypes as, ‘small to middling stature, a long hooked nose, oily skin, dark complexion, black and often wavy hair, thick lips, and flat feet, plus a tendency for women to become fat.’ Such indicators of a so-called ‘Jewish physiognomy’ are no less likely to appear among non-Jews than Jews, especially in a city like fin-de-siècle Vienna, whose ethnically-heterogeneous population was drawn from all corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and beyond.

Manifestations of Jewish bodily difference that had previously been used in Christian European literature and visual art to express the spiritual corruption of Jews and Judaism were later ‘explained’ in nineteenth-century scientific and medical discourse as being the results of Jewish ‘racial’ difference. Expanding on the former models of anti-Jewish bias, the nineteenth-century variety that came to be known as antisemitism—a term coined by the German publicist Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) in 1879—was influenced by contemporaneous interest in fields such as anthropology, eugenics and sociology. Racial antisemitism was influenced by the prevalence of Social Darwinism and theories concerning the hierarchy of human races, in which ‘Jews’, along with other non-

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12 Corcos, The Myth of the Jewish Race, 76.
13 Ibid.
European peoples, were considered an inferior race.\textsuperscript{16} For the intensely antisemitic Social Darwinists and German nationalists, supposed Jewish racial inferiority was not only dangerous in the biological effects it could have on the Gentile body politic through the mixing of ‘races’, but also in the negative elements Jews brought to civilisation through political, social and economic modernisation.\textsuperscript{17} It was expressly during the broad period of emancipation and acculturation that ‘antisemitism’ as a racial and political category emerged. As many Jews embraced various aspects of secular German culture, including modes of appearance, they became harder to recognise as Jewish. Xenophobes required new markers of visual Jewishness to single out their victims from the Gentile body politic. As Alain Finkielkraut asserts, ‘Anti-Semitism turned racist only on the fateful day when, as a consequence of Emancipation, you could no longer pick Jews out of a crowd at first glance. . . . Racial hatred and its blind rage were essentially the Jews’ punishment for no longer placing their difference on display.’\textsuperscript{18}

Supposed Jewish visual characteristics had long appeared in European visual and literary culture. Jewish figures appeared as short and crippled and had a peculiar manner of speech. This ‘difference’ was also manifest in specific physiognomic characteristics, including the shape of the skull, nose, eyes and the quality of hair—the latter presented at times as being curly and dark or red. In a description of Jews she saw in Kraków while visiting Poland during the interwar period, Elizabeth Wiskemann commented that, ‘many of them had rather beautiful red hair.’\textsuperscript{19} Although dark and curly hair was a common stereotypical trait of Jews in written and visual representations, red hair was also common in the characterisation of Jews as a foreign, ‘Oriental’ people. A number of Jewish characters in Gregor von Rezzori’s literary fiction are described as having red hair. In Rezzori’s short story ‘Skushno’, Wolf Goldmann, the son of a Jewish village doctor, with his ‘wiry copper curls’ is described as looking ‘like a young

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Finkielkraut, \textit{The Imaginary Jew}, 83.
\textsuperscript{19} Elizabeth Wiskemann, \textit{The Europe I Saw} (London: Collins, 1968), 120.
ram staring closely into a blazing fire’. Such a zoomorphic representation is not without significance. *Comparative Physiognomy: or, Resemblances between Men and Animals*, first published in 1852 by James W. Redfield, an American physician, compares the Jew to a goat, not only for his supposed physical resemblance to the animal, but also due to his perceived scheming and combative demeanour:

You never see a dreamy or abstracted look in his countenance, as you do in the sheep and the cow, and other domestic animals. He sees every motion you make, and so quickly that he seems almost to perceive your intention; but if your motive is pacific he does not know it; his nature compels him to act upon the principal of treating every man as a rogue; his countenance, be it ever so full of honesty, does for nothing unless he be himself in an honest mood, and then even the basest usage can not destroy his confidence [...]

The Jew, Redfield claims, is a pariah among people, with peculiar colouring and nature, an individual who cannot assimilate into the society in whose midst he resides, due to both his unwillingness and inability to do so. It comes down to his very ‘nature’.

The Jew as an essential Other was a trope not limited to external perceptions and representations, both anti- and philosemitic, but one that was also employed by Jewish philosophers, sociologists, scientists, visual artists and novelists. As Jews became acclimatised to the dominant cultural norms of the societies in which they lived, they often absorbed Gentile notions of Jews and Jewishness. Art historian Elana Shapira offers Isidor Kaufmann’s painting ‘Young Rabbi From N.’ (c. 1910-25) as an example of a Jewish figure along the lines of contemporary

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21 James W. Redfield, *Comparative Physiognomy; or, Resemblances between Men and Animals* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1866), 287–308, cited here 295.
22 Paul Reitter, ‘The Jewish Self-Hatred Octopus,’ *German Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 360.
Otherness and Orientalism. The painting depicts a young Jew dressed in a black kaftan and *spodik* [a kind of cylindrical fur hat worn by men in some Hasidic sects], who as a ‘beautiful and exotic-looking sitter conforms to the stereotype of the Jew as a foreigner’.23 Yet, the exotic beauty of both subject and setting ‘are at odds with the reality of the poverty experienced by Kaufmann’s Jewish sitters’.24 His dress is not the tattered rags worn by poor *Galitsianer* [Galician] immigrants to Vienna as they were depicted in satirical caricatures and literary representations, or those worn in photographs of Galician refugees in Vienna during the First World War. The silk-like lustre of this young Hasid’s *bekeshe* [kaftan],25 along with the thick and luscious fur of his *spodik*, suggest that this young man is no destitute *Schnorrer* [beggar or freeloader], but rather a privileged member of the community. As a result, the portrait reinforced the stereotype that Jews were, in general, comfortable.26 Similarly, Gustav Klimt’s Jewish sitters, presented by Shapira as the contrast to Kaufman’s ‘oriental’ Jew, remain the Other, albeit a highly acculturated Other. With ‘their dark hair and eyes standing out against their soft, white gowns and pale backgrounds or their resplendent golden dresses and shimmering settings’,27 acquired European identities are contrasted with their ‘true’ oriental nature.

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24 Ibid., 159.
26 The sitter of Kaufmann’s portrait is purported to be a student of the Rebbe [Hasidic spiritual leader] of the Sadigura dynasty. Founded in Sadagóra, Austrian Galicia (Sadhora) during the 1840s by the Ruzhiner Rebbe Israel Friedman (1796–1850), who had fled persecution in Tsarist Russia, the dynasty was known for its opulent lifestyle and was based at a palatial home and synagogue commissioned by its first leader. Friedman’s grandson, Avraham Yaakov Freidman (1884–1961), the third Rebbe of Sadigura, relocated to Vienna in 1914 after the outbreak of the First World War, where he led his court until 1938. See Ronald Alley, *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery’s Collection of Modern Art: other than works by British artists* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1981), 382–83; David Assaf, *Untold Tales of the Hasidim: Crisis and Discontent in the History of Hasidism*, trans. Dena Ordel (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2010), 179; Biale et al., *Hasidism*, 363–70, 404–11, 583; and Isaac Ewen, ‘The Golden Dynasty: Rebbe of Sadager,’ in *The Golden Tradition: Jewish life and Thought in Eastern Europe*, ed. Lucy S. Dawidowicz (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 195–200.
27 Shapira, ‘Imaging the Jew,’ 159.
The adoption of modern, Western styles of dress and grooming over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in preference to former sartorial modes and those still prevalent among Hasidic and other Orthodox Jews in Eastern Europe, influenced the development of new visual manifestations of Jewishness. Lisa Silverman writes of the Halsmann affair in 1928, in which the young Latvian Jew Philipp Halsmann (later the renowned New York-based photographer Phillipe Halsman) was put on trial in Innsbruck for the alleged murder of his father. For the local jury it did not matter that Halsmann dressed in modern clothing and did not have the appearance of the stereotypical Ostjude wearing traditional garb. Other forms of a perceived ‘Jewish’ appearance, specifically Halsmann’s ‘dark hair and black-rimmed glasses’, were enough to create a bias against the defendant and lead to his conviction. Although they were not exclusive to Jews, the prevalence of certain material, sartorial and lifestyle choices among Jews cultivated a careful Jewish coding of such appearances and identities. Thus, in a period in which many Jews in Western and Central Europe had become otherwise visually and culturally indistinguishable from their non-Jewish countrymen, Jewishness was once again codified in a manner recognisable to both Jews and non-Jews.

THE JEWISH MAN IN GENTILE SOCIETY

The challenge of Jewish assimilation in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which is discussed in more detail in the following chapter, was intertwined with the overall nationality question of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, particularly in its Austrian half. While the acculturating Jews of Transleithania were readily ‘accepted’ by the Magyar élites, the dominant nation in Cisleithania, the Germans, did not practice a Germanising

28 Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 40.
29 See Reifowitz, Imagining an Austrian Nation.
30 As a means of bolstering Magyar political and cultural dominance in those parts of Hungary without a Magyar majority—the areas of Transleithania corresponding to present day Slovakia, Croatia, and parts of Serbia, Rumania, and the Ukraine—acculturating Jews and other non-Magyars were encouraged to adopt the Magyar language and culture. The readiness of acculturating Jews to become Magyars created further friction between Jews and other non-Magyars, who commonly saw Magyarised Jews as agents of Magyar imperialism. See for example, Yeshayahu A. Jellinek, ‘In Search of Identity: Slovakian Jewry and Nationalism (1918–1938),’ in A Social and Economic History of Central European Jewry, ed. Yehuda Don and Victor Karady (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 207–27.
equivalent that accepted acculturated Jews as fully-fledged Germans. Many Austrian Jews, who had adopted the German language and aspects of secular German culture since the Enlightenment, were still denied membership to the German Volk. In the eyes of many Gentile Germans, in Austria and outside its borders, they remained Jews. Thus, Austrian Jews found themselves in an impossible position of having to choose between German, Croat, Czech, Polish, Italian, Slovene, Rumanian or Ruthenian national identification for official purposes, while at the same time facing rejection from these very nations who simultaneously demanded the dissolution of their Jewish identity.

Viennese Jews navigated this contradictory position in Gentile Viennese society in a variety of ways: active assimilation, assertive acculturation, in which they created new identities neither ‘Jewish’ nor ‘Gentile’ but simply modern, secular Viennese, and varying degrees of both religious and secular Jewish Diaspora Nationalism and Zionism. However, to the antisemite obsessed with the ‘Jewish Question’, how Viennese Jews dealt with their own Jewish identities, whether embracing or rejecting them, was irrelevant. A Jew, it was commonly believed, could easily change his religion, but not his innate Jewishness. Such was true for the Jewish-born Viennese philosopher Otto Weininger (1880–1903) who, in his widely-read 1903 volume Geschlecht und Charakter [Sex and Character], described Judaism as a state of the mind rather than ‘Semitic’ racial characteristics. Although Weininger argued that Gentiles could also possess a Jewish spirit, he believed it was more pronounced among Jews.33

32 See for example Beller, Vienna and the Jews; Freidenreich, Jewish Politics in Vienna; Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna; and Silverman, Becoming Austrian.
This notion of Jewishness was a direct product of Christian anti-Judaism that developed during the early Church period between the first and fourth centuries and spread across the European continent with its conversion to Christianity, and later across the world due to European colonial activity.\textsuperscript{34} Catherine Chatterley asserts that antisemitism, with its theological origins, uses a fictional character, a ‘figment of the European Christian imagination’,\textsuperscript{35} to characterise Jews collectively. Chatterley explains that more than the actual, living Jew, ‘[i]t is this character of “the jew” that populates the antisemitic imagination; it is by the appearance of this character that we know we are in the presence of \textit{antisemitism} and not some form of xenophobia or hostility, be they the product of culture, politics, or even personal conflict.’\textsuperscript{36}

With the increasing secularisation of Western European societies that came with the Enlightenment, new models of Jewish difference diverging from those of the Christian religious tradition came into being. Corporeal symbols, such as the misshapen Jewish foot, with its connotations of ‘the cloven-footed devil of the middle ages’,\textsuperscript{37} or the circumcised penis, which were so strongly rooted in Western culture, survived and were simply superimposed with new meanings.\textsuperscript{38} In addition to the influence of Social Darwinism and racial sciences, the transformation of Jews during the nineteenth century from a religious Other to a racial or biological Other was a result of what Hannah Arendt referred to as the mistake of addressing the ‘Jewish Question’ as a social rather than political issue.\textsuperscript{39} Influenced by contemporary notions of race, this socialisation of Jews and Judaism led to their racialisation. If Jews were neither simply a religious community nor a political (\textit{national}) community, then what bound individual Jews together—particularly those who had become secularised and adopted

\begin{footnotes}
\item[35] Ibid., 78.
\item[36] Ibid.
\item[38] Ibid., in particular Chapter 2 ‘The Jewish Foot: A Foot-Note to the Jewish Body,’ 38–59.
\end{footnotes}
modern European cultural affiliations—became something based on race. As Morris B. Kaplan explains:

This racial construction of Jewishness, together with the refusal of European Jewish communities to engage in collective political action, combined to increase Jewish vulnerability to the forces of anti-Semitism within modern totalitarianism. The modern, non-political and, increasingly, non-religious and non-national understanding of Judaism displayed the burdens of inequality onto personal and family life. Ultimately, Judaism was transformed into “Jewishness”: the effects of a common history and collective political status were attributed to individual Jews as immutable racial characteristics.40

Arendt addressed the Jewish acceptance of Jewishness, as a result of internalised, often antisemitic Gentile notions of Jewish difference, in The Origins of Totalitarianism.41 Both those Jews who embraced Jewishness, seeking to further develop a Jewish identity, and those for whom Jewishness was a curse, were subjects of her study, for the latter Jewishness developed into an obsession that Arendt likened to a vice.42

According to Arendt, the vice-like status of Jewishness was derived from an incomplete social assimilation and emancipation alongside the corresponding political emancipation of Jews in various European societies. While Jews had been awarded equal rights to their Gentile counterparts in France in the early nineteenth century (1831), their social emancipation remained incomplete, with Jews continuing to be perceived as a foreign, degenerate Other. Arendt asserted that Jews, alongside homosexuals, were examples of social vice in fashionable French society in fin-de-siècle Paris. Here, the politically emancipated Jew, while no longer ‘criminal’ on account of his political ‘legality’, retained an aspect of this

40 Ibid., 113.
42 Ibid., 79–88.
criminality in a social context. Describing vice as ‘the corresponding reflection of crime in society,’ Arendt proposed:

Human wickedness, if accepted by society, is changed from an act of will into an inherent psychological quality which man cannot choose or reject but which is imposed upon him from without, and which rules him as compulsively as the drug rules the addict. In assimilating crime and transforming it into vice, society denies all responsibility and establishes a world of fatalities in which men find themselves entangled.

In this manner, vice—such as homosexuality and Jewishness—is not necessarily morally or physically harmful, but rather something that was formerly (or still is) seen by some segments of society, to be damaging. In this scenario, the only thing ‘wrong’ with these vices exists in the perception of others. The Jew’s supposed degeneracy derived from his rejection of Christ is thus transformed into a moral, biological degeneracy in which the Jew, on account of his ‘inherent’ racial characteristics, cannot help but tend towards certain behaviours and lifestyles. But vice can become appealing, in the same way that an individual lusts after forbidden fruit. As such, Arendt compares the partial acceptance in fashionable Parisian society of homosexuals and Jews, not in spite of their supposed impairments of being homosexual or Jewish, but because of them. But the corresponding situations of Jews in fin-de-siècle Paris and Vienna were very different. A determining factor in the very different possibilities for assimilation between the two societies was their socio-political structures. Paris was the capital of a nation state with one dominating cultural-linguistic group. In contrast, Vienna was dual capital of a multi-ethnic empire with competing national identities, which due to the lack of a single defined ‘Austrian’ national identity, presented further obstacles for Jews wanting to assimilate.
With the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, Vienna became capital to a greatly diminished state—commonly referred to as a *Wasserkopf* [hydrocephalus]—and the still precarious Austrian national identity had transformed from one of multi-ethnic/multi-linguistic dynastic loyalty to one of German national homogeneity. No longer one minority among many, Jews now served as the ideal Other alongside the predominantly ethnic German population. In the forward to his 1936 *Zur Wiener Judenfrage* [On the Viennese Jewish Question], Georg Glockemeier observes the contemporary political and civic discourse on the so-called Jewish Question, citing well-known figures who had taken part in the debate.47 The aim of Glockemeier’s book, as claimed by the author, was to determine ‘a fair and timely solution to the Jewish Question’48 by providing readers with the facts of this particular problem. Although Glockemeier claims to present an unbiased overview of the situation, he presents Jews as a race of driven businesspeople who had ‘conquered’ Vienna through mercantile activity.49 The use of such terminology, conveying a clear notion of Jewish insidiousness, is no accident, intended as it was to insinuate the idea of a foreign, minority dominating the ‘real’ members of the nation. Reasons for Jewish economic success are given as the ‘traditional’ Jewish rejection of physical work, for which Glockemeier provides a supposed example from the Talmud that

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47 See Glockemeier, *Zur Wiener Judenfrage*, 5. Included amongst the voices cited was the Christian-Socialist politician Leopold Kunschak, who would become leader of the Austrian People’s Party [*Österreichische Volkspartei*]—known by its acronym ÖVP—from its founding after the Second World War. Kunschak claimed, ‘Entweder man löst die Judenfrage rechtzeitig, Eingebungen der Vernunft und Menschlichkeit folgend, oder sie wird gelöst werden, wie das unvernünftige Tier seinen Feind angeht, im Toben wildgewordenen Instinktes.’ In short, either the Jewish Question will be solved sensibly (with regulations against the Jews) or mob mentality will prevail—a threat of mob violence against the Jews if they are not curbed. In 1919, Kunschak proposed a *numerus clausus* for Jews in academia and public service, and in 1920 that Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe be forcibly expelled or interned in a concentration camp. See Julie Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism and the Austro-Fascist State, 1933–38* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 157.

48 Ibid. ‘Eine gerechte und rechtzeitige Lösung der Wiener Judenfrage’, italics in original text.

49 Ibid., 88. Presenting statistics (raw numbers and percentages) of Jews in various professional fields and industries, Glockemeier contends, ‘Die vorstehenden Darlegungen lassen keine Zweifel daran, daß die Juden Wien gleichsam erobert haben. Sie haben wirtschaftlich und damit auch politisch eine Machtstellung erlangt, die außer Verhältnis zu ihrer Zahl steht.’ [The above explanations leave no doubt that the Jews have, so to speak, conquered Vienna. They have achieved an economic and political position of power that is disproportionate to their numbers.]
rejects manual labour in favour of trade.\textsuperscript{50} In offering these historical ‘proofs’ as explanation for Jewish professional patterns, Glockemeier conveys the image of Jews as a workshy people,\textsuperscript{51} and that the quest for material and financial wealth is in the blood of the Jews:

Es gibt unter den Ariern gar manche deren Sinn gleichfalls nur auf Geld gerichtet ist. Doch ist diese Einstellung keine allgemeine, zumindestens [sic] nicht bei den Ariern Europas. Den Juden dagegen liegt diese Einstellung sozusagen im Blute. Sie trachten dort Wurzel zu schlagen, wo der beste Boden zum Einheimsen ist.\textsuperscript{52}

[Such attitudes towards money also exists among many Aryans. However, this attitude is not common, at least not among European Aryans. For the Jews, in contrast, such attitudes are virtually in their blood; they put down roots where they can best reap benefits.]

In this manner, Glockemeier asserts that owing to their racial particularity, Jews were better suited to understand and take advantage of new and favourable conditions available to them in the post-1848 era, far more than Aryans,—’Und das haben die Juden ihrer Eigenart zu danken.’\textsuperscript{53} There is something pernicious about the reference to a Jewish Eigenart [character] that causes the Jew to think and behave differently to Gentiles, and this notion is explored in great detail by Sander Gilman.\textsuperscript{54}

However, there is a sense of truth in Glockemeier’s thesis: not in the assertion that Jews were somehow racially more adept at exploiting the capitalist system,

\textsuperscript{50} In his 1911 tract on Jews and their role in capitalism, Werner Sombart claimed that for the Jew, ‘Intellectual interests and intellectual skill are more strongly developed in him than physical (manual) powers’, arguing that this derived from Talmudic traditions prioritising intellectuality above all. See Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, trans. M. Epstein (Kitchener, ON: Batoche Books, 2001), 180.

\textsuperscript{51} Glockemeier, Zur Wiener Judenfrage, 90. Glockemeier ignores the fact that prior to their emancipation in various European states throughout the nineteenth century, Jews were often denied the right to own and cultivate the land.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 91.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 94. Translation: ‘And for this the Jews have their characteristics to thank.’

\textsuperscript{54} See Gilman, The Jew’s Body.
but rather in their disproportionate role in Vienna’s upper socio-economic tiers. Examining the Viennese ‘millionaire’ class, Roman Sandgruber determines that, ‘the Jewish financial aristocracy [made up] almost two thirds of Viennese millionaires’. Similar to Glockemeier’s volume, Sandgruber’s study examines the varying professional fields and industries of Vienna and determines the active players in each. In discussing the role of bankers in Viennese society, for example, Sandgruber highlights the importance of individuals and families of Jewish origin, and notes their particular role in Vienna in contrast to other major European cities:


Fewer than 10 per cent of the bankers in the list were of non-Jewish origins. Thus, Vienna occupies a special position. Jewish bankers played a substantial role in many countries, but nowhere so dominating as in Vienna. In London where there already existed a group of Quaker bankers, in Amsterdam with its high proportion of Mennonites, or in Hamburg where traditional Protestant merchants were more strongly

56 Ibid, 47.
engaged in banking, the proportion of Jewish bankers was much smaller. At the top levels of banking hierarchy [in Vienna] there was therefore no front of Christians against Jews, or Catholics against Jews, but rather Jews against Jews: between Sieghart and Rothschild, Taussig and Blum, Minkus and Fürstenburg, Morawitz and Lohnstein.]

And yet, despite highlighting the principal role of Jews in this industry and unlike Glockemeier, Sandgruber focuses on the individuals involved in the different industries, rather than the Jews as a collective, and does not seek to explain why an individual’s Jewish background may have influenced his or her financial success. Nor does his study focus exclusively on those Viennese millionaires of Jewish origin. The study concerns the wealthy, and thus both Jews and Gentiles are the focus.

However, although many in Vienna’s upper class were Jewish, most Viennese Jews did not fall into this socio-economic class.57 During the early twentieth century, there was a growing number of poorer Jews residing and working in Vienna’s second class and working-class districts. These poor Jews were not exempt from the assaults of antisemitic agitation and were targeted in the same racial terms as their wealthy coreligionists, albeit from a different perspective. A sketch appearing in an 1890 issue of the satirical magazine Kikeriki highlights the precarious position of Jews on both ends of the financial and social scale. The sketch describes the reaction of a wealthy Jewish stockbroker to a parliamentary speech in which Jews were warned by the parliamentary deputy Dr Zucker, ‘to restrict themselves to the utmost simplicity and sobriety, to avoid wandering around in fine clothes, hold events, drive around in fine carriages’, lest they encourage antisemitism.58 It is pertinent that wealthy Jews might be warned to

57 Roman Sandgruber asserts that 57.6 per cent of Vienna’s 929 richest individuals in 1910 were Jewish. This percentage includes not only those who remained Jewish—both those who actively observed Judaism and those who remained members of the community but were not religiously observant—as well as converts to Catholicism and Protestantism and their descendants. See Ibid., 151–52.

58 ‘Ein einsichtsvoller Millionär,’ Kikeriki 30, no. 15 (February 20, 1890): 3. The original reads: ‘sich auf die größte Einfachheit und Schlichtheit zu beschränken, es zu vermeiden, in schönen Kleidern herumzugehen, Gesellschaften zu geben, im Equipagen zu fahren’. The full text of Zucker’s speech can be found in Neue Freie Presse, February 8, 1890, 3.
modify their appearance in favour of simplicity, despite their emancipated status. Contemporaneous to Jewish emancipation during the second half of the nineteenth century was the simplification of male sartorial fashions. Although emancipated Austrian Jews had no legal obligations to dress (or not dress) in a particular manner, historical notions of how a Jew should dress as well as sumptuary laws continued to influence the way the dressed Jewish body was perceived. Gesa C. Teichert describes the social misconduct of dressing in discordance with one’s station in life. Worse than dressing below one’s socio-economic status was dressing above it, which was considered ‘not only boastful or excessive behaviour, but rather as criminal deception.’

In response to Dr Zucker’s speech, the stockbroker ‘K’, ‘whose assets stand in the millions and until now resided in the first and second floors of the most fashionable Ringstraßenpalais, underhandedly leased his magnificent apartment, dismissed his staff, and yesterday moved into a one-room (with a kitchen), fourth floor courtyard apartment at the very end of Hernals.’ Herr K exchanges his lavish possessions and fine clothing for simple furniture, a cheap, ready-to-wear suit and rough leather boots, determined not to allow himself to be made a target of antisemitism. The result of K’s attempts at leading an inconspicuous lifestyle does not go according to his wishes. Instead, the parliamentary deputy Karl Türk presents a speech to the assembly in which he chastises Jews and their ‘filthiness and miserliness’ [Schmutzerei und Geizhalsigkeit], making an example out of the stockbroker.

In addition to ridiculing Jews through a character who so desperately wants to belong in Viennese society that he overturns his lifestyle, the sketch comments on the inconsistency of antisemitism, in which Jews are criticised regardless of their actions. More important than the ostentatious/miserly binary representation of the Jew as a manifestation of Gentile fears is the use of clothing as a symbol of this contradiction. The author of the Kikeriki sketch highlights the

59 Teichert, Mode. Macht. Männer, 136. The original German reads: ‘Denn dies galt nicht nur als Aufschneiderei oder unmäßiges Verhalten, sondern gar als krimineller Betrug.’
60 ‘Ein einsichtsvoller Millionär,’ 3.
61 Ibid.
importance of clothing and material culture in the contemporaneous debate regarding Jewish difference and the Jew’s place in Viennese society. With his family dressing in fine clothing—a reflection of Thorstein Veblen’s theory of conspicuous female and household consumption as a demonstration of success in contrast to masculine sartorial sobriety—62—the stockbroker K is expressly made conspicuous by his attempts to be inconspicuous. Conspicuous consumption is given even greater meaning in relation to Herr K’s Jewish identity, and is therefore presented as unmerited and beyond his social and racial station. More than indications of conspicuous consumption, his formerly fashionable clothing and beautifully decorated Ringstraßenpalais serve as material manifestations of his supposed intrusion into polite Gentile society.63

And yet, no sooner has he taken the advice of the parliamentary deputy and abandoned his lavish lifestyle for the other extreme than he is castigated as miserly and indecent. Attiring himself in cheap garments of poor quality and adopting the material outlook of a member of Vienna’s working class, the Jew is transformed from a nouveau-riche parvenu into a slovenly and miserly pariah. Despite the change in his outward appearance, in the end the message is the same: the Jew is an alien element in the body politic, an intruder who threatens European society with infection—both culturally and literally on account of his ‘filthiness’.

In antisemitic literature, the Jew in European civilisation was presented as a depraved spectre of the eastern shtetl who haunts the West, regardless of whether he is an Ostjude or Westjude. The figure of the Ostjude dominates the representation of the Jew because he—as an inherently foreign being—resides in the furthest reaches of European civilisation: the place Austrian Jewish writer

63 It is notable that although the text refers to ‘fine clothing’, how this clothing looked with regards to individual garments and their styling is not considered. The author of this piece takes it for granted that his/her readers will recognise the meaning of the fine clothing worn by the Jews in question, and therefore has no need to elaborate further. This raises further questions about the nature of fashionable clothing in any given context and the important role adjectives play in the description of sartorial appearances. See for example, Michael Carter, ‘Dressed in Adjectives’, Fashion Theory 22, no. 1 (2018): 109–17, doi:10.1080/1362704x.2017.1318555.
Karl Emil Franzos referred to as ‘Halb-Asien’ [Half-Asia]. In this paradigm, the Westjude cannot be perceived as anything other than a distorted ‘half-Asian’ Ostjude, for if he were to be a ‘German Jew’, his Deutschtum would put that of the Gentile German at risk through sameness. Only as an Ostjude—an alien, even if living in the ‘West’ for generations—can he be placed at a distance from ‘true’ European society, earmarking him as the eternal Other. Furthermore, the Ostjude’s dissimilatory character, even in his eastern setting, such as his language (Yiddish) and cultural-religious practices, reinforces the notion of his inability to assimilate with the Gentiles of his own ‘natural’ setting. The immigrant Pole, for example, can assimilate himself through adopting the language and culture of the German in favour of his own, which is, after all, connected to his Heimat. The Jew’s transnational language, however, is not. And like his language, as a transnational, ‘rootless’ figure, he has no roots that can be replanted in foreign soil.

THE JEWISH BODY: DER OPERIERTE JUD’
The motif of the inherent foreignness of Jews has been employed throughout history to both defame and celebrate. Although not exclusive to the German-language realm, the figure of the foreign Jew in an otherwise ethnically homogenous body politic has appeared throughout European literature as a means of both fanning the flames of intolerance and ridiculing those very notions. Oskar Panizza’s nineteenth-century novella Der operierte Jud’, although not composed in Vienna, nor the work of a Viennese writer, is an appropriate example of literary Othering in extreme form in German language and culture. Panizza (1853–1921), a Bavarian psychiatrist and author, was deeply influenced

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65 Naturally, this can also be applied to France, Britain and other western European nations.
66 See Gilman, The Jew’s Body, 221, in which he refers to the nineteenth-century anthropologist Friedrich Ratzel’s characterisation of Jews ‘as the one race “out of place.”’
by the emergence of racial antisemitism during the 1870s. Although he later suffered a psychotic breakdown and was admitted to an asylum in 1905, literary scholar Jack Zipes argues that Panizza’s novel ’was written at a time when he was still in possession of his mind but had already manifested clear signs of mental disturbance’.

Originally published in in 1893, Panizza’s novella presents the perceived corporeal traits of Jewishness in the story’s title character. Even that character’s name, Itzig Faitel Stern, evokes antisemitic stereotypes—with ’Itzig’ used as a common derogatory and stereotypical ’Yiddishised’ name for Jewish men in the German-language realm—and is a reference to the Jewish villain Veitel Itzig in Gustav Freytag’s novel *Soll und Haben* (1855); it was also the pseudonym of Heinrich Holzschuher (1798–1847), who wrote antisemitic sketches in mock-Yiddish. Itzig Faitel Stern’s entire appearance, visual, behavioural and linguistic, is a grotesque caricature of the Jew as he existed in the German imagination during the period in which this novella was written and published:

Itzig Faitel was a small squat man. His right shoulder was slightly higher than his left, and he had a sharp protruding chicken breast upon which he always wore a wide heavy silk tie ornamented by a dull ruby and attached to a breast-plate. The lapels on both sides of this tie ran top right to bottom left so that when Faitel moved along the curbstones,

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69 Anika Reichwald, *Das Phantasma der Assimilation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 310–11. The name ’Itzig’ also had specific connotations to the renowned Berlin Jew Daniel Itzig (1723–1799) who served as Court Jew to the Prussian kings Friedrich II and Friedrich Wilhelm II, financing the former during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). Itzig was among the wealthy privileged Jews who were permitted to reside in Berlin at a time when the city was largely closed to Jewish residency and immigration, and was even full citizenship. Itzig was involved, in a mainly financial manner, with the *Haskalah* [Jewish enlightenment] movement. Among his many children who would involve themselves in developing modern German culture, two of his daughters would marry members of Vienna’s Jewish élite and become renowned cultural contributors in their own right: Cäcilie von Eskeles and Fanny von Arnstein—the latter responsible for introducing the Christmas tree to Vienna. See McCagg Jr., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918*, 60–63; and Hilde Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment, 1758–1818*, trans. Christine Shuttleworth (New York: Berg, 1991)—on Fanny’s introduction of the Christmas Tree to Vienna in particular, 292.
it appeared as though he were rearing down the sidewalk to the other side or going in a diagonal direction. Faitel could not be convinced that the arrangement of his clothes came from the rhombic shift of his chest cage. This is why he complained terribly about Christian tailors. After all, the suits which he wore were always made from the finest worsted.\footnote{Oskar Panizza, 'The Operated Jew,' in \textit{The Operated Jew: Two Tales of Anti-Semitism}, ed. and trans. Jack Zipes (New York: Routledge, 1991), 47–48.}

Although focusing primarily on Stern’s Jewish body, Panizza’s comments on the title character’s attire are just as important. There is subtle reference in the text to the notion of the Jew as a conspicuous consumer, adorning himself with beautiful and expensive clothing in an attempt to cover up his corporeal ‘ugliness’. But moving beyond this motif of Jewish duplicity through the use of clothing, Stern’s adoption of such sartorial modes is representative of the wider modernisation of Jewry, in which Jews adopted modern, European clothing not as a means to mask their Jewishness, but rather to present themselves as fully-fledged members of society. Whether they desired complete assimilation and the loss of Jewishness, or simply acculturation as both modern Europeans and Jews, they saw no reason why they should dress differently to the rest of society. Stern’s emphatic explanation of his sartorial preferences sums up this perspective:

Faitel Stern said something like this when I questioned him about the immense luxury of his wardrobe and toilet articles: “Why shoon’t I buy for me a new coat, a bootiful hat—menerá, fine wanished boots—menerá, me, too, I shood become a fine gentilman after this Deradáng! Deradáng!”\footnote{Ibid., 51.}

The central theme of the novella is the alleged ugliness and ungainliness of the Jewish body and an attempt to repair its inherent damaged nature through the use of material and behavioural self-fashioning. Panizza, as a member of the medical community, writes from a position of self-appointed authority, warning
readers of the dangers contained in the follies of cosmetic surgery. The physicians who tend to Faitel Stern’s transformation become obsessed with the task of transforming an ‘ugly’ Jew into a beautiful paragon of Aryan masculinity; they are presented as alchemists vainly striving to turn lead to gold. But the driving force behind these attempts is the Jew himself. Faitel Stern’s infatuation with German culture, exacerbated by his inability to truly master it, is used as literary manifestation of Jewish assimilatory aspirations. However, Stern’s tragic end is Panizza’s warning of the ‘impossibility’ of Jewish assimilation.72

The novella’s message can be encapsulated in an analogy of fine clothing used to mask the body’s true form, which, in line with contemporaneous views on gender and consumption, Panizza asserts is inelegant for men to do, but entirely acceptable for women:

Did you ever hear of people wearing a coat in the winter with its collar and lapels topped with fur to make others believe that the entire coat is lined in this way? A trivial thing! A small weakness! Do you also wear a coat like this? Oh, then throw it away if you’re a man. Otherwise, the fur will trip your tongue one day when you’re most in need of a breath of air. (However, if you’re a woman, you may wear it.) But that little bit of fur, there’s so much talk about it, isn’t that true?—Good!—Still, haven’t you seen people, my dear reader, who wear such furs around their souls in order to conceal their porous and shabby constitution? And they act as though they had a noble soul clad in the finest of fabrics. Oh, what a shame! Oh the squalor and pity of it all! What if some well-behaved, open soul still clad in its confirmation suit, now somewhat snug, were to have trouble or to be deceived!—Perhaps you yourself, my reader, possess such wrappings for your soul? Oh, then throw this book in a corner if you’re a man and spew everything out! This is not for you. Only a woman may lie and cloak herself in false wrappings.73

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72 Although presented in grotesque form, the Jew Itzig Faitel Stern is not an entirely unsympathetic character, and reflects Panizza’s own complicated views on Jewishness. See Zipes, ‘Oskar Panizza,’ 95–96.
The transformation—cosmetic, dressed, linguistic, behaviourally—of the Jew Faitel Stern into the German ‘Siegfried Freudenstern’ can be read as a metaphor for sartorial refashioning of self. However, the change of name is itself a joke, with the title character’s new name being equally recognisable as ‘Jewish’. The inane manner in which Stern subjects himself to medical procedures to correct his posture, change his natural complexion and hair colour and his rigorous dialectal training are akin to the donning of stiff, new clothing that forces the individual to be conscious of his bodily presence, and thus curate his mannerisms in order to achieve sartorial and behavioural harmony. Although Panizza’s outline of the ‘operations’ undergone by title character are less concerned with clothed identity, the meticulous nature with which Faitel Stern attends to his bodily transformation is reminiscent of accounts of the dandified sartorial preparation of figures such as George ‘Beau’ Brummell (1778–1840). A caricature appearing in the Viennese satirical journal *Kikeriki* in 1897 ridiculed this purported corporeal refashioning. A Jewish character with the name Itzig, whose caricatured appearance naturally bears resemblance to the stereotypes of Panizza’s Itzig, undergoes equally ridiculous corporeal refashioning before attending the Vienna city ball in order to appear less Jewish (Figure 2).

The manner in which Stern/Freudenstern enthusiastically responds to such novel procedures and treatments, such as the bleaching of his skin and hair, recalls the stereotype of the fashion-conscious Jew—an expression of the individual’s desire to be seen as fashionable in order to erase Jewish difference,

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74 The change in name from Itzig Faitel Stern to Siegfried Freudenstern alludes to the popularity of typically ‘German’ names, such as Siegfried, Sigismund and Moriz amongst assimilating and acculturating Jews during the nineteenth century. Even the adoption of the surname *Freudenstern* with its use of the Jewish-sounding suffix -stern (like -mann, -berg and -stein) makes light of the manner in which the Jew Stern unsuccessfully attempts to mask his origins.

75 There is, however, the presence of one particular important sartorial tool in Stern/Freudenstern’s metamorphosis, and that is the barbed belt which forces its wearer to stand erect on pains of bodily damage—ironic as the belt itself causes bodily damage by placing strain on Stern/Freudenstern’s natural physique.


77 *Kikeriki* 37, no. 3 (January 10, 1897): 1.

78 Panizza, ‘The Operated Jew,’ 57–58.
or else transform Jewish difference into a fashionable vice.\textsuperscript{79} And all of these treatments, expensive as they are, are paid for with \textit{Jewish money} by Stern/Freudenstern’s paternal grandfather, Solomon Stern, who is cast as the archetype of the scheming Jew, and uses his wealth to entice and, when that fails, bully others into doing his will.\textsuperscript{80}

The climax of the novella sees a violent regression of the ‘beautiful’ Aryan Siegfried Freudenstern into the ‘hideous’ Jew Itzig Faitel Stern under the effect of alcohol. This regression happens first behaviourally and linguistically and is followed by a monstrous physical unravelling in which his body resumes its original repulsive contorted form:

And finally, when even the feet of the drunkard were too tired to continue their movements, Klotz’s [the professor leading Stern’s ‘operation’] work of art lay before him crumpled and quivering, a convoluted Asiatic image in wedding dress, a counterfeit of human flesh, Itzig Faitel Stern.\textsuperscript{81}

The ‘lesson’ imparted by the novella reflects the common antisemitic trope of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European societies as diverse as Austria, France and England: that the Jew can \textit{never} successfully mask his origins. He might adopt new modes of behaviour, speech or dress in an attempt to dissociate himself from typical models of Jewish identity. But, as the playwright and unofficial leader of the Viennese literary group \textit{Jung Wien}, Hermann Bahr (1863–1934), wrote in a review of Theodor Herzl’s play \textit{Das neue Ghetto} for the newspaper \textit{Wiener Zeit} (January 1898), in adopting German modes of identity, the Jews were estranged from their former identities and ‘go about as half-humans here and there, deprived of their power, reduced to creatures with empty understanding, uncanny to others, and a torture to themselves’.\textsuperscript{82} In this manner, Itzig Faitel Stern’s operation is akin to surgery that keeps a malicious

\textsuperscript{79} Kaplan, ‘Refiguring the Jewish Question,’ 116.
\textsuperscript{80} Panizza, ‘The Operated Jew,’ 64.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 74.
\textsuperscript{82} Hermann Bahr cited in Shapira, \textit{Style and Seduction}, 74.
disease at bay—a disease for which there is no cure: Jewishness. Although employing numerous anti-Jewish motifs, *Der operierte Jud’* does not position itself as an antisemitic work of fiction intended to malign Jews for their Jewishness, but rather a cautionary tale about the dangers of self-mutilation in the face of a supposedly inherent and unchanging Jewish bodily difference.

Panizza’s novella is merely one example among many that propagated the belief of innate Jewish difference and the impossibility of assimilation. As well as deep and tenacious traditions of antisemitism, there is also a trope of the counter-type, the ‘honest Jew’ who acts from his moral kindness and inherent decency, such as George Elliot’s Daniel Deronda in her 1876 novel of the same name, and the kind-hearted Mr Riah from Charles Dickens’s novel *Our Mutual Friend*, that first appeared in serialised form in 1864–1865. One of the best known examples in German literature is Ephraim Gotthold Lessing’s one act play *Die Juden* (1749).83 The play’s premise is that a Jewish traveller saves a baron from bandits and the latter is so grateful that he offers his daughter’s hand in marriage to the Jew, thinking him to be a Christian due to his gentlemanly manners and dress, while believing the bandits to be Jewish.84 After the play’s publication, the theologian Johann Daniel Michaelis denied the character of the Jewish travelling gentleman as a possibility, arguing that Jews were unable to change from their true nature, and therefore a Jewish ‘gentleman’ as embodied by the character could never exist.85 Such cultural traditions, narratives and representations all inform later understandings of Jewish people’s place in society.

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83 Lessing visited Vienna in 1775–1776 where he was granted an audience with Joseph II. His influential play *Nathan der Weise*, published in 1779, preached tolerance between the Abrahamic faiths, with the title character modelled on his close friend and colleague Moses Mendelssohn.
85 Gelbin and Gilman, *Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews*, 34.
Chapter 3. Jewish identity and Jewishness in fin-de-siècle Vienna

INTRODUCTION
This chapter offers an historical overview of Viennese Jewry as a foundation upon which this dissertation is built. To understand issues concerning the dress of middle-class Jewish men and their multifaceted identities in Vienna, it is important to understand the contextual situation of Jews in Vienna, including residential, political, religious and social patterns. Arguing that Jews made up a highly acculturated albeit parallel society in Vienna, I use Zygmunt Bauman’s figure of ‘the Stranger’, in turn based on that of Georg Simmel, to examine the challenges of assimilation in Vienna during the period under investigation. This incomplete assimilation of a highly acculturated community had drastic effects on the Jewishness of Viennese Jews. However, this ‘parallel society’ was not homogenous. The ‘community’ varied greatly in terms of cultural, religious, social, professional, political and economic character. These ‘discrepancies’ and the absence of a monolithic communal character further influenced notions of Jewishness and perceptions of Jews in all their complexities.

JEWS IN VIENNA: FRAMES FOR ANALYSIS
How an individual in fin-de-siècle Vienna may have expressed his or her understanding of Jewish identity differed to those in Berlin, Warsaw or Paris. Equally, Viennese Jews identified as Jewish in different manners. The variety of Jewish identities, from differing cultural backgrounds and degrees of religious observance, meant that there could be no single, all-encompassing definition of Jewish identity applicable to Jewry across time. Judaism, as a set of religious beliefs and practices, made up one criterion of defining Jewish identity and Jewishness.¹ In addition to Judaism as a religious identity, Jews also chose to identify as a race, ethnicity or cultural group. Conversion, intermarriage and a range of choices connected to opportunity and risk created a diverse community in which many remained ‘Jewish’ in name only. Viennese Jews—like their coreligionists elsewhere—chose to convert to the dominant religion:

¹ Viennese Jewry chose to practice the Jewish religion in a number of ways, from strict, traditional Orthodoxy, to a lightly reformed variety of Judaism, similar to that practiced in other parts of Europe, and secularism.
Catholicism. In fact, Vienna had the highest rate of conversion from Judaism to Christianity of all major European cities. Some of the converts were eventually absorbed by the dominant society. Most were not. Often Austrian Jews converted to Christianity but remained within a ‘Jewish’ milieu, marrying other converted Jews and continuing to move within Jewish circles. Others declared themselves konfessionslos [unaffiliated with any religion], or remained members of the community while discarding all forms of religious practices.

The Jewish population of Vienna, consisting of individuals from all cultural spheres of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and further afield, was a microcosm of Habsburg Jewry. The main distinctive model that characterised the perception of Viennese Jewry was the typical East/West European binary that also characterised Jewish populations in other large cities such as London, Paris, New York and Amsterdam. This binary model allowed acculturated, German-speaking Jews (Westjuden) to distinguish themselves from their religiously traditional, Yiddish-speaking coreligionists (Ostjuden) whose origins usually lay in Galicia or Bukovina. The Kaiserstadt on the Danube drew people—both Jew and Gentile—from all the crownlands of the Dual Monarchy and beyond its borders. Prior to 1848, Jews were officially prohibited from settling in Vienna; however, by the 1920s, the Austrian capital’s Jewish population had swelled to over 200,000, accounting for more than 10 per cent of the city’s population.

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2 Todd M. Endelman, ‘Gender and Conversion Revisited,’ in Gender and Jewish History, ed. Marion A. Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 170–86; Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 132. Leo Spitzer, however, explains that despite the high percentage of Jewish conversion to Christianity in comparison to other European cities, converts to Christianity only made up a small percentage of the overall Jewish population. See Spitzer, Lives in Between, 176–77.


4 See Klaus Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt: Galizische Juden auf dem Weg nach Wien, 2nd Edition (Vienna: Böhalu Verlag, 1994). That a Jew might be born in one of Austria’s eastern provinces did not automatically classify him or her as an Ostjude. The writers Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904) and Joseph Roth (1894–1939), both born and raised in Habsburg Galicia, for example, are generally identified as Austrian writers who wrote in German, and not with the province of their origins.

5 In 1923 there were 201,513 Jews in Vienna, accounting for 10.8 per cent of the total Viennese population. This includes only those who identified as Jewish by religion and not those Jews who had converted to Christianity or declared themselves konfessionslos. See Freidenreich, Jewish Politics in Vienna, 213.
After Warsaw and Budapest, Vienna was the ‘third largest Jewish city in Europe’.  

Vienna held a position of importance in European Jewish history. Scholars have asserted that prior to the anti-Jewish decrees of the Habsburg Duke Albrecht V (1397–1439) that gave way to the forced conversion, extermination and expulsion of Vienna’s Jewish population in 1421, Vienna’s small but prominent Jewish community had been one of the most important in the German-speaking realm during the Middle Ages. From 1421 until 1848, Jews were periodically invited to and expelled from the Austrian capital. Prior to the ascension of Franz Joseph I (1830–1916) to the Habsburg throne in 1848, only a handful of privileged, wealthy Jewish families, who commonly functioned as Hofjuden [court Jews] to the Habsburgs, were given permits to circumvent this prohibition. Over the following two decades, restrictive measures against Jews were slowly repealed until the last of them, coinciding with the Ausgleich with Hungary—granting the Hungarian possessions of the Austrian Empire autonomy and officially creating the Austro-Hungarian Empire—granted all Habsburg Jewry full equality in 1867.

During this period, most Jews took up residence in Vienna’s second district, the Leopoldstadt, originally a marshy area between the Danube and one of its canals, where Jews had settled when prohibited from living within the city itself. Although Jews were never the majority of the Leopoldstadt’s residents—38.5 per cent at the highest in 1923—the district came to be considered very Jewish and was pejoratively referred to as the Mazzesinsel [Matzo Island]. This was particularly on account of the high proportion of Galitsianer [Galician Jews] immigrants who brought their traditional Orthodox practices with them. The result of this highly visible Jewish presence and prevalence of traditional Jewish

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6 Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph, 41. The Christian Socialist mayor of Vienna between 1897 and 1910, Karl Lueger, whose political platform was launched partially on populist antisemitic sentiments, famously referred to the Hungarian capital as ‘Judapest’. See Mary Gluck, Invisible Jewish Budapest: Metropolitan Culture at the Fin de Siècle (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 5.

7 This event is referred to as the Wiener Gesera, after which the city would be known among Jews as the ‘city of blood’. Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph, 6–7.

8 Ibid., 6.
lifestyles was the phenomenon of the urban shtetl, in which the Jews had minimal social interaction with their Gentile counterparts. The division led to a greater degree of mistrust between these Jews and many of Vienna’s non-Jewish citizens—sentiments that the Christian-Socialist mayor Karl Lueger (who was mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910) was able to capitalise on in his populist, antisemitic campaign against Jewish ‘capitalist exploiters’ as well as against poor, unassimilated Ostjuden.

Residential patterns of Jews and Gentiles in Vienna served further to segregate these groups. The construction of the Ringstraße during the second half of the nineteenth century as a way of connecting the Innere Stadt [inner city] (District I) to the newly-incorporated districts served only to replace the medieval walls that had stood in its place and had separated the inner city from its environs. The wide boulevards lined with trees, public and administrative buildings, and the luxurious Ringstraßenpalais [Ringstraße palaces] of the city’s financial, and often Jewish, élite, only served, as Carl E. Schorske notes in his pioneering study of fin-de-siècle Vienna, to further distance the Innere Stadt from Vienna’s new districts. This was further reinforced with the construction of the Gürtel [Beltway] surrounding the middle-class districts (III–IX), thus severing them from the largely working-class suburbs beyond. Vienna’s Jewish population, largely resident in the Innere Stadt, Leopoldstadt and Alsergrund (districts I, II and IX, respectively) were further alienated from the bulk of Vienna’s population, who lived beyond the Gürtel (Figure 3).

Scholarship on Jewish residency in Vienna at the fin de siècle focuses predominantly on the first, second and ninth districts—referred to by Michael

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9 A shtetl is a Yiddish term for a small town or village with a large Jewish population that often accounted for the majority of the town’s inhabitants. Shtetls were common in Eastern Europe prior to the Second World War. For a comprehensive study of shtetls see Yohanan Petrovsky-Stern, The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).
11 Lueger as Vienna’s Christian Social Mayor is addressed in greater detail in my Chapter 7.
12 Schorske, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna, 32–33.
13 Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 115–16.
John and Albert Lichtblau as the ‘Dreieck’ [triangle]. This is due to the fact that more than half of the city’s Jewish population (55.2 per cent) lived within these three districts. However, the remaining 44.8 per cent of Vienna’s Jewish population—a minority, albeit a substantial one—resided in other so-called ‘non-Jewish’ districts. For example, in 1900, only 0.7 per cent of Viennese Jews lived in Hietzing (District XIII), the district with the second lowest percentage of Jews out of the total district population. The results of the census of 31 December 1900 indicate the total number of Jews residing in the district as 1,081 (out of a total Viennese Jewish population of 146,926), which is in reality a modest number.

Table 1: Jewish Residential Patterns in Viennese Districts, 1900.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF JEWS OUT OF THE TOTAL DISTRICT POPULATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF JEWS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Innere Stadt</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Leopoldstadt</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>52,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Landstraße</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Wieden</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Margarethen</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Mariahilf</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Neubau</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Josefstadt</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Alsergrund</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>17,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Favoriten</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Simmering</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Meidling</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. Hietzing</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. Rudolfshie (Sechshaus)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3,153</td>
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<tr>
<td>XV. Fünfhaus</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. Ottakring</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. Hernals</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. Währing</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX. Döbling</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX. Brigittenau</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>11,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI. Floridsdorf*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>146,926</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Floridsdorf was not incorporated into Vienna as the twenty-first district until 1904.


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14 John and Lichtblau, Schmelztiegel Wien, 145.
15 Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 75–76. Rozenblit states that although in 1900 55.2 per cent of Viennese Jewry was situated in Districts I, II and IX, the population of these districts accounted for only 17.8 per cent of all Viennese.
From the figures in Table 1 it can be seen that there was a ‘modest’ Jewish population in most districts, discounting Simmering (XI). Even in the three districts with the highest Jewish concentration (I, II and IX), the percentage of Jews out of the total district population was well below 50 per cent. Within the Leopoldstadt, 35.8 per cent (52,543 individuals) was still a substantial minority, and as such Jews were a highly visible element, as Sigmund Mayer asserted in his 1917 study of Viennese Jewry:

Von den Detailgeschäften jüdischer Besitzer, die sich zumeist natürlich in den Straßen mit lebhafter Frequenz befanden, wurden jetzt eine Anzahl am Samstag gesperrt; sie bildeten gleichsam schwarze Punkte in der lichten Reihe eleganter Läden, glänzender Auslagen; sah man—namentlich in der Leopoldstadt—viele Frauen, die in uralt frommer Weise ihr schönes Haar unter der orthodoxen, bis in die Mitte der Stirne reichenden Haube versteckten, bemerkte man Männer, welche es für sündhaft hielten, Wangen und Kinn durch das Messer glatt zu machen und die am Freitag in die fürchterliche Barbierstube eilten, wo ihr Gesicht mit gelöschtem Kalk, schwach gedämpft durch Auripigment, eine charakteristische blaue Färbung erhielt; sah man die jüdischen Dienstmädchen das uralte Samstagsgericht, das schon von Heine besungene „Schaloth“ in die Schalothstube tragen und von dort abholen.\(^{17}\)

[A number of the retail shops owned by Jews which, naturally, were located mostly in lively frequented streets, were now closed on Saturdays. They formed, so to speak, black spots in the row of elegant shops, luminous displays. In Leopoldstadt, one saw many women hiding their beautiful hair in an ancient pious manner underneath the Orthodox headdresses, covering the forehead up to the middle; noticed men who thought it sinful to smoothen cheeks and chin using a blade and who, on Fridays, rushed into the

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dreadful barber shop where their face received the characteristic blue colour due to calcium hydroxide, slightly offset with orpiment; and saw Jewish maids carrying the ancient Saturday meal ‘Schaloth’, already sung about by Heine, into the Schalothstube [local bakers’ ovens where Jews could leave their Schaloth/Cholent dish to cook overnight for Sabbath lunch] and collect it from there again.]

Mayer’s description suggests that the immigrants were Orthodox and from more traditional Jewish religious and cultural communities, such as those in Galicia and Bukovina, or small provincial, Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian towns, as opposed to the already Germanised Jews from larger cities. Many of these residents lived in relative poverty, with large families crowded into very small apartments, such as Kurt Tauber’s description of his parents’ Leopoldstadt apartment as ‘very meager’.  

Despite its ‘traditional’ appearance, the Jewish population of the Leopoldstadt was not homogenous. Kurt H. Schaffir remembered a childhood in the Leopoldstadt. A picture of middle-class respectability, he described his family home at Taborstraße 21A as

. . . indeed a beautiful apartment. Three large, high-ceilinged rooms all faced the front, each with large windows, affording a splendid view of the hustle and bustle of the Taborstraße, four floors down. The largest of the three rooms also had a bay window, so that you could look up and down the street as well.

These rooms were entered from a narrow hallway, and on the other side of the hall was a large kitchen, bathroom, a toilet and another small bedroom which faced the rear of the building. A maid’s room—entered from the kitchen only—also faced the back, and there was a small balcony in the back as well. . . . The three front rooms were tastefully

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wallpapered—one in blue, one red and one yellow, a crystal chandelier illuminated each room—testimony to the marvel of electricity which had recently been introduced.

The blue salon was the most elegantly furnished. Its chandelier was the most ornate and the furniture was a reddish polished wood. A large, glass-enclosed bookcase occupied most of one wall, opposite the sofa and coffee table. The grand piano easily fitted into one corner, leaving a large open area in the center of the room. A Persian rug covered the entire floor.19

To these fine, middle-class spaces the addition of modern clothing was to be expected. Despite these evocative word pictures of rooms, I am yet to discover similar detailed evocations of clothing. Where clothing does appear in memoirs, it is usually written by women about women. This points to one of the challenges of writing about men’s fashion. Although many accounts exist, it is probably true that it was more common in the past to describe women’s clothes.20

Jews of all classes and backgrounds resided in the supposedly ‘Jewish’ Leopoldstadt, and there was ‘no conspicuous segregation between “German” and East European Jews such as existed in other European and American cities during the same period, even though comparable social, cultural, and political tensions were similarly present.’21 Yet, many Viennese Jews—both acculturated and those who maintained their ‘traditional’ Eastern European identities and culture—insisted in their memoirs that limited social interactions were maintained between the two groups.22

20 There is a well-established understanding in dress history that women’s dress is better documented than men’s partly due to the lack of material survival in museum collections. See Peter McNeil, ‘Despots of Elegance: Men’s fashion, 1715–1915,’ in Reigning Men: Fashion in Menswear 1715–2015, ed. Sharon Sadako Takeda, Kaye Durland Spilker and Clarissa M. Esquerra (Munich: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and DelMonico Books, 2016), 235–47.
Outside of the ‘Jewish’ districts, Rozenblit states that ‘Jews shunned residences in working-class Ottakring (XVI), Hernals (XVII), Margarethen (V), and Favoriten (X). They also avoided the villa districts of Hietzing (XIII), Währing (XVIII), and Döbling (XIX),’ preferring to settle in areas of greater Jewish concentration in the vicinity of the city centre. However, despite their higher concentration in certain districts, Jews were not entirely absent from these or other districts. In 1900, the approximate number of Jews in these districts were Ottakring (XVI) 4,118, Hernals (XVII) 3,744, Margarethen (V) 2,890, Favoriten (X) 3,154, Hietzing (XIII) 1,081, Währing (XVIII) 3,437 and Döbling (XIX) 1,846. This amounted to a total of 13,906 or 9.5 per cent of Jews in the working-class districts and 6,364 or 4.3 per cent of Jews in the villa districts. The number of Jews living in districts outside of the Dreieck indicates the relatively widespread geographic distribution of Viennese Jewry, and its effect in creating the perception of Vienna being a very ‘Jewish’ city.

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR JEWISHNESS
Vienna's Jewish milieu was strongly shaped by individual Jews’ experiences of acculturation and assimilation. The phenomena of acculturation and assimilation are distinct and must be defined before they can be applied to the study of fin-de-siècle Viennese Jewry. Raymond H. C. Teske Jr and Bardin H. Nelson have argued that assimilation is an intricate process that may affect both individuals and groups. An individual or group does not assimilate simply by adopting certain modes and lifestyles of another group. True and complete assimilation requires the acceptance of the ‘out-group’ into whose midst the individual wishes to assimilate. Adapting Milton M. Gordon’s model of assimilation in

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24 Despite Währing’s comparatively small Jewish population, the district included a Jewish cemetery (today part of Döbling) that was opened in 1784, where members of the community’s elite families were buried. I am grateful to Professor Liliane Weissberg for bringing this to my attention.
26 Ibid., 359.
Leo Spitzer describes assimilation as ‘a process of adaptation and adjustment on a continuum’ composed of three levels:

(1) *acculturation*, or cultural/behavioural assimilation, indicating the modification of cultural patterns and symbols by subordinate group members in conformity with those of the dominant group; (2) *structural assimilation*, describing the subordinate’s large-scale entrance into institutions, associations, professions, fields of economic activity, clubs, and locales from which its members had previously been excluded; and (3) *fusion*, or *amalgamation*, referring to the final, completing stage of the continuum, when persons from the subordinate group would merge entirely with the dominant through intermarriage, losing their previous identity by becoming virtually indistinguishable from members of the society at large.

The first stage of assimilation is most evident in examining lifestyle patterns of middle-class Viennese Jews, including factors such as dress, language and their overall adoption of secular German culture as their own. However, as Viennese Jewry was diverse, different segments of this population reached these stages in varying degrees. Taking the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (IKG)—the official state-sanctioned body representing Viennese Jewry and managing religious and civic affairs—as indicative, Viennese Jewry reached the first stage, acculturation, and to a certain extent, the second stage, structural assimilation. Certain institutions remained unofficially closed to Jews, and many Jews who did marry Gentiles lost neither their previous Jewish identities nor the external perceptions of their Jewishness. Prior to settling in Vienna, many Jews in Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary had already become acculturated, but did not necessarily assimilate into the wider Gentile society. By adopting the German language for both professional and daily use, modern sartorial fashions of the co-territorial middle-

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class Gentile population, and providing their children with a secular German education, Habsburg Jewry signalled its desire to become contributing members of the wider society. Such acculturation had often been achieved prior to their emancipation, thus rendering the acculturated Jews as 'sojourners in the dominant world, not full members of it.' Even after their complete emancipation in 1867, many Habsburg Jews remained 'sojourners', not because they were estranged from Austria-Hungary and secular, liberal German culture, but because they were largely socially ostracised from Gentile society and lived as a parallel society alongside it.

An additional problem with assessing the success of Jewish assimilation in Vienna is that assimilation is a process that must be undertaken by the individual, whereas many of nineteenth-century Vienna’s Jewish élite—including political, religious, and lay leaders—maintained an assimilatory standpoint that sought to present Viennese Jewry as 'Germans of the Mosaic faith'. Pursuing assimilation as a group hinders chances of successful, that is, complete, integration. Utilising the German sociologist Georg Simmel’s notion of the Stranger, Zygmunt Bauman characterises Jews as representing the quintessential strangers within European society who have thus been used in much scholarship as the typical case study on assimilation. In Simmel’s original essay, he differentiates the 'stranger' from the 'wanderer'. While the latter ‘comes today and is gone tomorrow’, the former ‘comes today and stays tomorrow. He is, so to speak, the potential wanderer: although he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going.’ Simmel, himself Jewish, offers the history of European Jews as a ‘classical example’ of this phenomenon—often connected to trade and the trader’s position within wider society. Consequently, the Jew in Gentile European society occupied the role of a stranger, an ‘internal’ foreigner, in that

30 Spitzer, Lives in Between, 90–91.
31 Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt, 240–42.
33 Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence, 72.
34 Ibid., 107–08.
36 Ibid., 403.
unlike the foreigner who comes and goes to and from his native land, the
‘foreign’ Jew occupied a semi-permanent position among the body politic, but
not as part of it. Forming a community of faith (and in some instances class) the
Jews sat outside the imagined confines of the ‘nation’. In his study Modernity and
Ambivalence, Bauman describes the impossibility of successful collective
assimilation thus:

Ethnic-religious-cultural strangers are all too often tempted to embrace
the liberal vision of group emancipation (erasing of a collective stigma)
as a reward for individual efforts of self-improvement and self-
transformation. Frequently they go out of their way to get rid of and to
suppress everything which makes them distinct from the rightful
members of the native community—and hope that a devoted emulation
of native ways will render them indistinguishable from the hosts, and
by the same token guarantee their reclassification as insiders, entitled
to the treatment the friends routinely receive. The harder they try,
however, the faster the finishing-line seems to be receding. When, at
last, it seems to be within their grasp, a dagger of racism is flung from
beneath the liberal cloak. The rules of the game are changed with little
warning. Or, rather, only now the earnestly ‘self-refining’ strangers
discover that what they mistook for a game of emancipation was in fact
a game of domination.37

While there may have been instances of assimilation into Gentile society by
certain individual Jews in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries, Viennese Jewry as a whole did not assimilate into ‘Austrian culture’.
One of the primary reasons that Austrian Jewish assimilation remained
incomplete was widespread antisemitism, particularly during the second half of
the nineteenth century.38 However, the absence of an Austrian national culture
or identity during this time also played an important role. For the most part,

37 Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence, 71.
38 See Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak and Gerhard Botz, eds, Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna
German-speaking Austrians belonged to the wider sphere of German history. During the late nineteenth century, Austria was a political entity but had not developed into a nation state in the same manner as France and Germany.

The Austrian Vielvölkerstaat [multi-ethnic state] during the Habsburg period was one made up of multiple ethno-linguistic groups. At times, even individual families revealed this ethnic mix. The idea of ‘Austria’ came to comprise all individuals regardless of ethnic origin, or Volksstamm, which was officially determined by everyday speech. This meant that a German-speaking Jew in Vienna or Bohemia was counted in the government census as a German. A Jew in Galicia who spoke Yiddish as his Umgangssprache [daily vernacular], however, might be counted as a Pole due to the fact that Yiddish was not considered

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39 Gay, Freud, Jews and Other Germans, 10-11. Ernst Bruckmüller argues that the very notion of ‘Austrianness’ is difficult to identify, and that there is no defining founding myth of Austrian identity. See Bruckmüller, The Austrian Nation, 11.
40 Prior to 976 CE the territory that would become the Margraviate, and subsequently the Duchy of Austria (corresponding to the state of Lower Austria in the modern-day Republic of Austria) had been part of the Duchy of Bavaria, to which they remained linguistically connected, using the same Austro-Bavarian language. The language and nationality policies of the Habsburgs created the later Austrian nation by their designation at the time as Germans among the other national/ethno-linguistic groups that made up the population of the Empire. The educated German-speaking middle class, in particular, saw itself as ‘German’ as opposed to ‘Austrian’. Ernst Bruckmüller explains that this ‘finds its expression more in the “German” Schiller than the cosmopolitan Goethe.’ See Ibid., 109. Ian Reifowitz argues that nineteenth-century Austrian identity and patriotism was linked to the Habsburg monarchy rather than Austria as a nation state. See Reifowitz, Imagining an Austrian Nation, 13–14.
41 The family of celebrated poet and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929) is emblematic; among his forebears are Austro-Germans, Italians, as well as German- and Bohemian Jews. Often incorrectly described as Jewish, Hofmannsthal was born in Vienna and raised in his parents’ religion: Catholicism. His paternal great-grandfather, Isaak Löw Hofmann, a Bohemian-born Jewish merchant of Bavarian parentage was ennobled in 1835 by the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I as Edler von Hofmannsthal. This first Edler von Hofmannsthal took great interest in Vienna’s Jewish community—at the time limited to a select number of ‘tolerated’ Jews—and served as its representative from 1812 until his death in 1859. His son Augustin Emil von Hofmannsthal (paternal grandfather of Hugo), however, converted to Catholicism and married an Italian woman. Despite this Steven Beller includes Hofmannsthal within his study of Viennese Jewry and society from the time of the Ausgleich with Hungary until the Anschluss (1867–1938), as, he was a product of this Jewish milieu. See Beller, Vienna and the Jews, 12–13. Stefan Zweig, for example, expressed the youthful delight he and his schoolmates found in discovering that Hofmannsthal’s father, ‘came from the same Jewish middle class as the rest of us; the genius had grown up in a home like ours, with the same furnishings and the same moral principles as other people of our social class.’ See Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday, trans. Anthea Bell (London: Pushkin Press, 2011), 73. In addition, the younger Hofmannsthal would marry the Jewish Gertrude Schlesinger. On Hofmannsthal’s Jewish origins see Georg Gaugusch, Wer Einmal War: Das jüdische Großbürgertum Wiens, 1800–1938, vol. 1, A–K (Vienna: Amalthea Signum Verlag, 2011), 1212–222.
42 Rozenblit, Reconstructing a National Identity, 18.
among the official languages of the Dual Monarchy and due to his working knowledge of the Polish language as a result of his location and daily interaction with Gentile Poles. ‘Jewish’ was not counted among the official nationalities that made up the empire, but rather existed as a religious category under the terms ‘Israelitisch’ [Israelite] or ‘Mosaisch’ [Mosaic]. Marsha S. Rozenblit explains that this was due to the Jews ‘p]ossessing no territory, no common spoken language, no normal economic distribution, and no political aspirations, to the nineteenth century observer the Jews did not display the usual attributes of a nation.’ Thus, the Austrian Vielvölkerstaat with its ethnically and linguistically mixed population and lack of singular national identity further complicated the possibilities for Jewish assimilation.

Despite denying its Jewish subjects the ability to identify officially as Jewish ‘nationals’, the state’s acceptance of them as loyal Austrians (or Hungarians) only reinforced Jewish loyalty to the Habsburg Empire—the Gesamtstaat, and not an Austrian national or ethnic culture, which did not exist. Joseph Samuel Bloch, the Galician rabbi and deputy for Kolomea (Kolomyia) in the Austrian parliament, believed Austrian Jewry to be not simply ‘the most loyal devotees of the monarchy, [but] they are the only unconditional Austrians in this Federation.’ Perhaps an exaggeration, but Austria’s multi-ethnic character

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43 Yiddish was not considered to be a language of the Habsburg Monarchy, but rather a ‘jargon’. Acculturated German-speaking Jews shared this attitude. See Albert Lichtblau, “‘Galitserier’ and the Mobility of Stereotypes,” *Jewish Culture and History* 11, no. 1&2 (2009): 93.
45 Recognised nationalities included German, Magyar, Czech, Slovak, Pole, Ruthene, Rumanian, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Italian. These nationalities were based on the officially recognised languages. The main recognised religious confessions, according to 1901 statistics, included Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Evangelical, Anglican, Apolistic, Baptist, Methodist, Mosaic and Islam. See Magistrats-Abteilung XXI für Statistik, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien für das Jahr 1901*, 430.
47 Ibid., 24. See also Mittelmann and Wallas, ‘Österreich-Konzeptionen und jüdisches Selbstverständnis’.
48 My translation; the original German reads: ‘In der Tat sind die Juden nicht etwa die treuesten Anhänger der Monarchie, sie sind die einzigen bedingungslosen Oesterreicher in diesem
afforded its Jews the ability to identify in a variety of ways. Rozenblit refers to a ‘tripartite identity’ in which Jews were able to identify as politically Austrian, culturally German and ethnically (and/or religiously) Jewish.49 Likewise, Lisa Silverman notes that after the dissolution of the empire, Jews in the First Austrian Republic adapted this tripartite identity to identify as politically Austrian, ethnically Jewish and culturally Viennese.50 In this manner many Viennese Jews had become highly acculturated, adopting the language and cultural mores of middle-class German Gentiles, but choosing to assert their Jewish identity—whether it was faith-based, cultural or ethnic.

The notion of widespread Jewish assimilation in Vienna is further complicated by the fact that within the crownlands that would become the First Republic of Austria after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, Austrian Jewry was situated almost exclusively in Vienna.51 The Austrian capital itself maintained a precarious position in the Dual Monarchy’s German provinces. The multi-ethnic character of ‘Austrian culture’ was, for the writer Robert Musil (1880–1942), a ‘perspective flaw belonging to the Viennese point of view.’52 Multi-ethnic, cosmopolitan Vienna—and during the interwar period, ‘Red Vienna’, seen as a hotbed of left-wing radicalism—was reviled by those in the provinces as a

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49 Rozenblit, Reconstructing a National Identity, 4. With regards to a cultural identification with Germany, Steven Beller asserts that Austrian Jews were more likely to identify with ‘the Protestant north of the Prussians, not the “reactionary” Catholic south of the Habsburgs’. See Beller, Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938, 152.


51 Outside Vienna most German-speaking ‘Austrian’ Jews lived in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Bukovina prior to the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. Rozenblit explains that up until 1890 two thirds of Bohemian Jewry (and three quarters of Prague Jews) declared German as their Umgangssprache; however, by the next decade this number had declined, with half of Bohemian Jewry declaring Czech. See Rozenblit, Reconstructing a National Identity, 26. For more on the German culture of Jews in the Dual Monarchy’s non-German provinces see for example Gold, Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart; Rechter, Becoming Habsburg; Livia Rothkirchen, ‘The Historical Setting,’ in The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 8–25.

52 Robert Musil quoted in Bruckmüller, The Austrian Nation, 120.
particularly Jewish city, despite Jews only ever reaching 10.8 per cent of the city’s total population in 1923.53

The higher-than-average rate of conversion out of Judaism in the deeply Catholic-oriented Vienna of the late Habsburg period does not indicate a triumph of Catholicism over Judaism in terms of the religious conviction of the converts. Like their counterparts in other parts of Europe, Viennese Jews converted for a variety of reasons, including social, economic and civic factors, as well as those who did indeed convert out of truly religious conviction.54 Thus, the dominant role of Catholicism in Vienna was not one of a solely religious nature, but one that was all-encompassing. Converting to Catholicism, as well as Protestantism,55 was often seen as a means of facilitating ‘total assimilation into Western culture’56 in Vienna and other European cities. Yet a majority of those Jews who did convert continued to be seen as Jewish by both Jews and Gentiles. Marriages between Jewish converts to Christian denominations or those who had declared themselves konfessionslos, and those who remained Jewish were common, thus augmenting the rate of recorded intermarriage in the Jewish community.57

‘JEISHNESS’ IN VIENNSE SOCIETY

But what did it mean to be Jewish in Vienna, or, how might Jewishness be defined in this time and place? It was the two ends of the spectrum of diverse Viennese Jewry—the acculturated élite and the so-called ‘Polish Jews’ or Ostjuden, that correspond to Hannah Arendt’s binary opposites of Jewish assimilation, the parvenu and the pariah—that often set the tone for external manifestations of

53 This will be further explored in my Chapter 7.
55 In 1900 more than a quarter of all Jewish apostates (including those declaring Konfessionslosigkeit) converted to Protestant denominations. See Stefan Sedlaczek, Wilhelm Löwy and Wilhelm Becke, eds., Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien für das Jahr 1900 (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Magistrates, 1902), 376.
56 Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 134.
57 Ibid., 128-29. Rozenblit demonstrates that intermarriage in Vienna was lower than elsewhere as a result of antisemitism, a strong Jewish culture in the city, and the impossibility of civil marriage. Thus, it was a requirement that one of the partners in an interreligious union convert to the faith of the other or declare themselves konfessionslos. For a detailed explanation of intermarriage and conversion among Viennese Jews see ibid., 127-46. See also Endelman, ‘Gender and Conversion Revisited,’ 177–78.
Jewishness; the former with its obsessive desire to assimilate, and the latter with its inability and often unwillingness to do so.\textsuperscript{58}

As with the studies that focus predominantly on Viennese Jewry in districts I, II and IX, many memoirs and biographies of Viennese Jewry during the period have painted a portrait of a community that was largely ‘assimilated’, wealthy and deeply involved in the development of the city’s modernist culture. Edmund De Waal, for example, writes in relation to his Viennese ancestors:

> My picture of Jewish life in \textit{fin-de-siècle} Vienna is perfectly burnished, mostly consisting of Freud and vignettes of acerbic and intellectual talk in the cafés. I’m rather in love with my ‘Vienna as a crucible of the twentieth century’ motif, as are many curators and academics. Now I am in the Vienna part of the story, I am listening to Mahler and reading my Schnitzler and Loos, and \textit{feel very Jewish myself}.\textsuperscript{59}

De Waal’s description is a generalisation, however, and appears in the context of a family history. It suggests that most Viennese Jews, on the whole, lived the life of Vienna’s cultural luminaries and financial élite. However, while most of Vienna’s Jewish population were middle- to working-class, De Waal’s ancestors, the Ephrussi family, and other renowned Jewish citizens, belonged to the very limited socio-economic tier that was, in addition to maintaining ostentatious lifestyles, ‘socially incestuous’. Marriages were made between the sons and daughters of wealthy families in an attempt to marry one’s children into the \textit{right} families. Additionally, by limiting the spousal pool available to their children, wealthy Jewish families were able to keep wealth within a select group and forge

\textsuperscript{58} See Arendt, \textit{The Origins of Totalitarianism}, 56–68. Mary Gluck addresses this Arendtian assimilation binary with regards to Budapest Jewry during this same period, and asserts that this was not a rigid binary, but rather a fluid continuum in which Budapest Jews of varying socio-economic and socio-cultural classes constantly navigated their position through the wider Budapest society. See Gluck, \textit{Invisible Jewish Budapest}, 36–38.

professional ties with other élite families, not dissimilar to those unions made by European aristocracy.  

Although presenting a limited view of Viennese Jewry as a whole, De Waal's family memoir offers a glimpse into the complexities of Vienna's Jewish financial élite, its precarious position within Viennese society, and its relationship to the aesthetic world. The idea was that the correct manner of dress, behaviour, education and fashioning one's environment in a certain aesthetic style could transform a newly wealthy parvenu from Odessa into a highly esteemed and respected member of Vienna's upper class. This was influenced by notions of self-fashioning inherent in the ideals of Bildung [education] and Sittlichkeit [respectability], which were commonly held in esteem by Viennese Jews of varying socio-economic tiers. The families Auspitz, Ephrussi, Epstein, Gutmann, Königswarter, Lieben and Rothschild, among others, were a minority, albeit a highly conspicuous and powerful one, among Viennese Jewry. While Viktor Ephrussi sat in the office of the family bank behind his expensive desk, carefully perusing the catalogues of international booksellers, and his wife Emmy took coffee at the famous cake shops Demel or Sacher in the company of one of her female companions or aristocratic lovers, poorer Jews in the Leopoldstadt or working-class districts struggled to feed their families. The many unknown Jews, unable to afford the lifestyles of their immensely wealthy coreligionists, or the clothes and trinkets to visually assimilate into Viennese bourgeois society, often remained easily identifiable as Jews, having retained the traditional sartorial, behavioural and cultural markers of Jewishness.


61 The notion of Bildung was central to the Jewish assimilation and acculturation experiences in German-speaking Europe. Although translated literally as 'education', Bildung refers to the concept of self-cultivation from a cultural perspective. To be 'gebildet' was not only to be well-educated in the formal sense, but for the individual to have undergone a conscious self-fashioning along the lines of contemporary cosmopolitan educational and cultural values. In this manner Bildung and Sittlichkeit went hand-in-hand. See George L. Mosse, 'Jewish Emancipation: Between Bildung and Respectability,' in The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), 1–16. See also Rebekka Horlacher, The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung: A Comparative Cultural History (New York: Routledge, 2016).
Yet, members of the Jewish élite did not successfully assimilate into the dominant Gentile society. On the contrary, they were easily identifiable as Jews and, like their poorer coreligionists, they were assailed in various cultural spheres and from both ends of the political spectrum. From the Right they were cast as dangerous revolutionaries and/or enemies of the German Volk, and from the Left as blood-sucking, parasitic capitalists. The external image of both ends of the Jewishness spectrum affected the many Jews in between. The Ostjuden, whose numbers increased manifold during the First World War due to the Russian occupation of Galicia, were increasingly regarded with a sense of shame by their acculturated counterparts. The Viennese-born, British author George Clare (né Georg Klaar, 1920–2009), for example, recalled a feeling of embarrassment and animosity towards his Galitsianer maternal grandmother who spoke German with a Yiddish intonation and blurred the boundaries between the two languages.

Acculturated Jews of fin-de-siècle and interwar Vienna commonly saw themselves as German in the cultural sense and maintained a distance between themselves and the poorer, ‘uneducated’ Ostjuden in the Leopoldstadt and other parts of the city. The renowned writer Stefan Zweig, however, the typical product of an acculturated family, insisted that the only difference between Jews like him and the Ostjuden of the Leopoldstadt was whether a family had left the

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63 George Clare, Last Waltz in Vienna (London: Pan Books, 2007), 79. The idea that Yiddish did not constitute a separate language, but was rather bad jargon, was widespread among many Austrian Jews at the time. This was due to Yiddish existing in many spoken forms and not being recognised among the official languages of the Dual Monarchy. When completing censuses, Yiddish-speakers were required to elect an ‘official’ language as their primary tongue. Joseph II’s Edicts of Toleration during the late eighteenth century required all Habsburg Jews to replace Yiddish and Hebrew with German as their language of administration. Additionally, it became mandatory for Jewish children to attend German-language schools, as well as for all Jews to adopt German-language family names in the place of Yiddish or Hebrew ones. For a background on the Josephinian Edicts of Toleration and Habsburg Jews, see Rechter, Becoming Habsburg, 26–32; Grunwald, Vienna, Chapters 7 ‘The Patent of Toleration,’ and 8 ‘Jews and the Patent,’ 152–65. In his study of identity and cultural assimilation of Jews living amongst Czechs, Hillel Kieval notes that the similarity of Yiddish and German was favourable to German linguistic assimilation of Habsburg Jewry. See Hillel J. Kieval, ‘Imperial Embraces and Ethnic Challenges: The Politics of Jewish Identity in the Bohemian Lands,’ Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies 30, no. 4 (2012): 1–17.
shtetl fifty or one hundred years previously.\(^{64}\) Zweig’s open and accepting attitude is highlighted by his lengthy correspondence with Eastern European Jewish personalities such as the Yiddish writer Sholem Asch, and serves as a sign of his self-recognition as a ‘European’ rather than an ‘Austrian’, ‘German’ or ‘Viennese’. Zweig’s interaction with Ostjuden was characteristic of ‘Western’ Jewish intellectuals who regarded the former and their culture as ‘true’ or authentic Jews who might serve their acculturated counterparts—often estranged from Judaism and with a lack of spiritual meaning—as a model for Jewish self-fashioning.\(^{65}\) An early recognition of his family’s easy cosmopolitanism, as opposed to the image of the rootless Ostjude, and the hypocrisy of being from ‘the right family’, was responsible for shaping his attitude.\(^{66}\)

The Zweig family was one of the many who came to Vienna in the post-1848 period after the prohibition on Jewish residency in the Kaiserstadt ended. Robert S. Wistrich asserts that, ‘[t]he wealth of Viennese Jewry [during the Vormärz period] in particular, inspired confidence and respect, enhancing its prestige in the eyes of the Jewish masses in the provinces even if its élite had a much shakier reputation when it came to religiosity and fidelity to Jewish tradition.’\(^{67}\) This continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and much of the early twentieth centuries with further waves of Jewish immigrants. As such, it is important to recognise that when examining the social and sartorial patterns of acculturated Jewish men in the cultural milieu of Vienna during this time, their place in relation to the wider non-Jewish Viennese population as well as their place among other Jews should be examined.

Defining Jewishness, as when defining who is a Jew, is very much determined by both the Jews’ own self-perception and the actions and behaviours of all

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\(^{64}\) Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 32. Leo Spitzer also provides a detailed account of Zweig’s ancestral family. See Spitzer, *Lives in Between*.


individuals, which in turn came to influence the way Jews were seen by Gentiles. Thus, to return to De Waal, if reading literature by Schnitzler or the daily liberal journal Neue Freie Presse was something thought of as particularly ‘Jewish’ on account of Schnitzler’s Jewish identity and because many staff of that particular newspaper were Jews (as was a large part of its readership), then it is important to the notion of Jewishness but must not be a sole determinant. ‘Jewishness’ referred to certain perceived widespread habits or behaviours among people of Jewish extraction. To read certain literature could be taken as an indicator of an individual’s Jewishness—even if he or she was neither Jewish by religion or heritage. Likewise, congregating in certain localities, listening to certain types of music, to be engaged in certain professions or pastimes, or dressing oneself in a certain way might cause a person to be seen as somehow ‘Jewish’.

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE MYTH OF OSTJUDEN AND GERMAN JEWS IN VIENNA

The typical cultural model of Viennese Jewry that appears in memoirs and biographies is that Vienna’s Jewish population was divided into two main groups. The first consisted of German (or Germanised) Jews who were culturally assimilated, that is, they adopted the German language if they had not already done so previously, as well as modern, secular lifestyles and dress, they were educated in a secular manner, and mixed, to an extent, with Gentiles of the same socio-economic tiers. In contrast were the ‘Polish Jews’ or Ostjuden, the bearded, side-locked, kaftan-wearing Jews from Galicia and Bukovina, who were often uneducated in the secular sense, spoke Yiddish as their vernacular and German with a strong accent, were religiously Orthodox and isolated from Gentile society.68 This binary model of east/west Jewry is a gross simplification of the division of Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the reality was far more complex.

68 For an extensive study into the migration of Galician Jews to and their experience in Vienna, see Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt. Ruth Beckermann’s edited volume also provides an insight into the attitudes of Viennese Jews—of both ‘western’ and ‘eastern’ origins—towards Galitsianer immigrants in the Leopoldstadt during the First World War and interwar period. See Beckermann, Die Mazzesinsel.
Prior to the large migration of Galician Jews during the early decades of the twentieth century, there were individuals and families from Austria’s eastern crownlands who settled in the imperial capital. Like their Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian counterparts, many of these Jews had already acclimatised themselves to the ideals of Bildung and Deutschtum. Among those Galician Jews who settled in Vienna prior to the later wave of Galician immigration were the parents of Sigmund Freud, the writer Karl Emil Franzos, and Moritz Szeps, the newspaper magnate and father of renowned salonnière Berta Zuckerkandl-Szeps.69

The easternmost provinces of the Habsburg Empire were increasingly seen as the last frontier before the barbarity of the Orient, if not barbarism itself. This is highlighted in the novels and stories of Galician-born Franzos (1848–1904), of which Robert S. Wistrich writes:

Those tales entitled Aus Halb-Asien (Out of Half-Asia), published in two volumes in 1876, ostensibly described the border regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Galicia, Bukovina, Romania, western Russia). In fact, they were ‘not merely a geographical designation but a condition of the mind,’ a metaphor for Europe as a realm of light and love, in opposition to its polar opposite, Asia, a jungle of darkness, barbarism, and violent hatreds. The Ostjuden were ‘half-Asian’ precisely because they lived within these social and cultural boundaries. They were an unfortunate product of this unredeemed world of religious fanaticism, national oppression, superstition, and backwardness. It was in this special sense that Franzos coined his famous formula ‘Every country gets the Jews it deserves.’70

This sarcastic observation cannot be truer in the sense that every country gets the people it deserves. The conditions of those lands shaped the behaviour of the Jews no more nor less than it did the behaviour of its Gentile inhabitants. But

69 On the acculturation efforts and communal organisation of ‘early’ Galician migrants, see Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt, 140–41.
Franzos and other ‘Germans’—both Jewish and non-Jewish—were mistaken if they thought that barbarism and violent hatreds were exclusively endemic to Asia or the easternmost parts of Europe. The same petty hatreds existed even within the supposedly enlightened imperial capital. This ‘half-Asian’ image that was so freely applied to the Ostjuden lulled the Westjuden into a false sense of security. They believed they were European, when they too, like their more ‘primitive’ coreligionists, were seen by other Europeans as equally half-Asian who had learnt the ways of the cultured nations of Europe—an ape in a dinner jacket, as in Franz Kafka’s 1917 short story, Ein Bericht für eine Akademie [A Report to an Academy].

However, the binary model of Viennese Jewry, Germanised Jews and Ostjuden, is far too limited to explain the complexities and issues pertaining to notions of Jewishness in Vienna. Nor are the terms ‘Germanised’ or ‘German Jews’ suitable. Viennese Jewry was, by and large, linguistically German regardless of geographical origin, socio-economic class or degree of religiosity. Even those segments of the Jewish population that commonly used Yiddish, Hungarian or other languages among themselves were proficient in the German language. In reality, Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be divided into further subcategories, such as the assimilated, acculturated, Jews of varying degrees of Orthodoxy, Hasidic, secular but culturally Jewish, and the multiple varieties of Jewish nationalism (such as Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism).

Individuals in these categories could be found in all socio-economic classes. They lived in different types of homes, furnished their homes in varying aesthetic styles, educated their children in different manners, spoke different languages, practised different leisurely activities, were members of various cultural and

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71 See for example, Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, eds, Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna.
political organisations, practised a variety of professions and occupations, and, of course, dressed differently. This was, of course, often determined by an individual’s socio-economic status and cultural milieu. For example, while a poor immigrant from Galicia (or elsewhere) may not have been able to afford to buy his clothes at the men’s tailoring atelier Goldman & Salatsch or one of the other luxury men’s outfitters and had to resort to acquiring them from a cheaper, ready-made clothing warehouse, such as those advertised in the city’s Jewish newspapers, photographic evidence reveals that poorer members of the community readily adapted to conventional sartorial fashions. Many Viennese Jews, regardless of socio-economic status or origin, possessed many mutual values, particularly with regards to family and education. The lower-middle-class or working-class immigrant Jews from Galicia, for example, were closer to their Germanised middle- and upper-middle-class counterparts than Gentile members of the same socio-economic classes in the value they placed on education.

Eva Bostock (née Lemler) was born in the working-class district Ottakring (XVI) in 1919 to Orthodox parents from Galicia. The family, like many of their neighbours (both Jewish and non-Jewish), was very poor and lived in a small flat with a shared toilet and sink on the outside landing. Her father, Berl Lemler (also known as Bernhard), a native of Kraków, worked occasionally as a cantor and doing odd jobs at the local synagogue. Her mother Lina (also known as Liba, née Beutel) came to Vienna with her Hasidic father and siblings from the Galician shtetl Złoty Potok (Zolotyi Potik), and upon arrival in the Austrian capital taught herself to read and write in German. Given the relatively small Jewish population

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73 See for example, Jüdisches Volksblatt 1 (March 3, 1899): 3 which advertised many clothing companies.
75 Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph, 58.
of Ottakring, most of Eva’s interaction with other Jews took place at home or at the synagogue, while most of her school peers were Christian.\textsuperscript{76}

Despite their traditional origins, the Lemler family was part of a growing number of \textit{Galitsianer} Jews who had moved away from a purely traditional lifestyle. Although they attended synagogue regularly, kept a kosher home and observed the Sabbath, Berl and Lina Lemler maintained the sartorial appearance of ‘modern Europeans’. In photographs, Berl and Lina wear modern attire: Berl in a suit, white-collar shirt and tie, with trimmed moustache and Lina in a dark floral blouse (or possibly dress) and with a fashionable waved hairstyle (Figures 4 & 5). Their children, too, appear in clothing typical of the period. In particular, in a photograph from 1935 of their son Adolf with friends that appears to be have been taken in a rural setting with mountains in the background, ‘Dolfi’ wears a \textit{Trachtenjanker}—the typical boiled wool jacket worn as Austro-Bavarian folk costume, and also popular among urban visitors to the country (Figure 6). Only Lina’s father, Zvi Hersch Beutel, retained the appearance of the ‘typical’ \textit{Galitsianer} Jew. Eva recalls her grandfather as an elderly Hasid who sat at home and studied Talmud all day.\textsuperscript{77} Visually Zvi Hersch Beutel lived up to his granddaughter’s descriptions. In an undated photograph he sits, in shirtsleeves and wearing what appear to be pyjama trousers, clasping a cane and deeply engrossed in a book. His long white beard and large satin \textit{yarmulke} clearly mark him as an Orthodox Jew (Figure 7). Although only a generation removed from the urbane style of his daughter and son-in-law, the cultural divide appears far greater.

The Lemler family was by no means an anomaly. Many publications, including memoirs and biographies, particularly those published in English, have focused largely on Jews residing in the \textit{Dreieck} (districts I, II and IX), regardless of social class. A recent publication by Evelyn Adunka and Gabriele Anderl documents the vibrant Jewish life in Ottakring and Hernals, exploring the heterogeneous

\textsuperscript{76} Eva Bostock in discussion with the author, September 2, 2015. See also Leah Apfelbaum, ‘This is My Life: Eva Bostock,’ unpublished memoir (Hunters Hill, NSW: The Montefiore Life History Program, 2010).

\textsuperscript{77} Bostock, discussion.
character of this small community. Not only were the clothing choices of Berl and Lina Lemler part of a wider rural-to-urban adaptation that also characterised migrants from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, but the generational divide between older and younger immigrants from Galicia was very common during the period. The dress habits of this family were typical. While some Galician immigrants retained their traditional lifestyles and patterns of appearance, many adopted the modern styles of dress worn by their Viennese-born coreligionists. In his memoir, George Clare described how his mother’s Galician family had adopted the aesthetic codes and tastes of the Viennese bourgeoisie. Referring to a Passover Seder [a ritual feast or ceremony] at his maternal grandparents’ apartment on the Türkenschanzplatz (district XVIII), he writes:

We were fourteen sitting around the extended dining-room able with its gold-damask tablecloth, sparkling glasses, gold-rimmed plates and shining silver. The ladies wore long dresses and were adorned with their best jewellery, the men had dinner jackets, and on their heads bowler hats instead of the traditional yarmulkas, the skullcaps of the Orthodox Jews. At Stock Exchange Councillor Schapira’s Seder evening city hats were de rigueur.

Many Jews from Galicia and other parts of Eastern Europe had been influenced by modernism and societal change, therefore abandoning ‘traditional’ garb long before migrating to ‘Western’ cities like Vienna. Photographs of the Edelstein family, who migrated to Vienna from Galicia during the First World War, reveal the tendency of youth to adopt modern sartorial styles with a greater willingness than their elders. In a photograph taken sometime after their arrival in Vienna (or perhaps just prior to), the family poses somewhat precariously in a studio: parents, elderly grandmother and children (Figure 8). It is not that they appear as stereotypical Ostjuden in kaftans, fur caps or tattered clothes; on the contrary, other than the grandmother wrapped in a shawl and headscarf, they wear

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79 Clare, Last Waltz in Vienna, 83.
‘Western’ styles. However, rather than the type of garments they wear—father Osias and son Max in three-piece suits, white collars and ties, and mother Rosa and daughter Anna in satin dresses, their hair neatly coiffed—it is the way in which the garments are worn that gives them an appearance of incomplete acculturation. Despite the selection of clothing, the family appears somewhat dishevelled; this is particularly noticeable in the creased suits of the men. In contrast to later images of the family when they more established in the Austrian capital, their clothing here identifies them as less privileged members of society.

Later photographs indicate the family’s improved financial situation. In one image taken some time after their arrival in Vienna, the siblings Max and Anna pose for the camera in what appears to be a garden (Figure 9). Anna relaxes in a garden chair, while Max leans casually by her side, his left hand resting on her shoulder while a cigarette dangles nonchalantly between the fingers of his right. Although not differing greatly in terms of style, the clothes worn by the siblings in this image appear far less dishevelled than those worn in the portrait with their parents and grandmother. Particularly with regards to Max’s attire, small details suggest a more advanced stage of acculturation, such as a ring on one of the fingers of his left hand, and a tiepin, possibly pearl.

Over the years Max’s sartorial habits continued to develop, as is apparent in studio portraits from the 1920s that reveal not only his own maturation of style, but also the course of fashion over the early decades of the twentieth century. One portrait in particular, although displaying only his head and chest, clearly displays his clothing choices (Figure 10). His shirt, tie and suit are all striped. The jacket’s break is higher than in previous images and the lapel is peaked rather than notched. A plain handkerchief pokes out from his breast pocket in a seemingly blasé, but probably carefully draped, manner.

On the opposite end of the spectrum were the so-called Jewish élite. These were immensely wealthy families—sometimes elevated to the lesser nobility by the

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Habsburg rulers as a result of their immense wealth and financial and industrial activities—who commonly built, or purchased, luxurious palaces on the Ringstrañe and its vicinity. Among the Jewish Ringstrañenpalais, those owned by the families Ephrussi, Epstein, Gutmann, Lieben-Auspitz, Königswartzer, Schey von Koromla, Todesco and Wertheim can be counted.81 These palaces, built in what came to be called Ringstrañenstil [Ringstrañe style], were among the array of buildings designed in conflicting historicist architectural styles that lined the wide Ringstrañe, prompting the architect Adolf Loos to refer to the Austrian capital pejoratively as a ‘Potemkin’sche Stadt’ [Potemkin city].82 Other families of the same social and financial standing built similarly styled palaces in the vicinity, such as that of Baron Albert von Rothschild, whose eponymous Palais stood at the present-day Prinz-Eugen Strañe 20-22 in Wieden (Vienna’s fourth district).83

Often, these families were nominally Jewish. They were, like all other Jews in Vienna—those who had not resigned from Judaism by either converting to Christianity or declaring themselves konfessionslos—members of the IKG, and other community bodies and organisations. They participated at various levels, from tax-paying members to being actively involved in community affairs. Many families in this socio-economic tier were completely secular and did not participate in the religious or cultural aspects of Jewish life; that is, they did not attend synagogue regularly or celebrate the Jewish holidays, and some even converted to Christianity. Nonetheless, they were not assimilated, and remained in a very ‘Jewish’ milieu, socialising with and marrying other converted Jews and even attending church services with their former coreligionists.84 They were the

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83 Designed by the French architect Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur and built between 1876 and 1884, the French Renaissance-style palace later acquired a sinister connotation after it was seized by the Gestapo in 1938 and used as its headquarters, as well as Adolf Eichmann’s Central Agency for Jewish Emigration in Vienna. Sandgruber, Traumzeit für Millionäre, 239.
84 Moriz Gallia, a Moravian-born Jew who converted to Catholicism with his wife Hermine in 1910 (some years after having their children baptised) left money in his will to the Jewish
polar opposite to families like the Lemlers, both culturally and economically. In
the social hierarchy of Vienna's Jewish population, the Ringstraßenfamilien sat
firmly at the top, while poor, traditionally Orthodox immigrants from the east
found themselves at the bottom.

The palaces of this Jewish elite, often home to more than one branch of the
family, each occupying a different floor of the building, were decorated in the
most resplendent of styles with highly sought-after works of art lining the walls
and custom-made furniture and fittings. Moriz and Hermine Gallia, perhaps
slightly lower down the social ladder from the Ringstraßenfamilien [Ringstraße
families], owned and lived in a grand apartment house at Wohllebengasse 4, a
mere few minutes' walk from Palais Albert von Rothschild. The building was
designed by the architect Franz von Krauß, and many of the rooms by the
celebrated Secession architect and designer Josef Hoffmann.85 A house on
Wohllebengasse, a short lane several streets back from the bustle of the Innere
Stadt, conveyed a very different sense of identity to those residing in
Ringstraßenpalais. The Gallia family's existence was by no means modest. Like
the Ephrussis and other Jewish élite, they lived in the lap of luxury, albeit of
differing tastes. While those on the Ring styled themselves and their
environments in mock-aristocratic, historicist opulence,86 the Gallias and others
moved with the popular fashions in sartorial habits, art and décor. However, an
apartment house on the Wohllebengasse, albeit a luxurious one, was somehow
less conspicuous than the brilliance of the Ringstraße—or 'Zionstraße von Neu-
Jerusalem' [Zion Street of New Jerusalem].87

85 Ibd., 130–38.
86 Roman Sandgruber notes that some of the élite families, such as the Rothschilds and Ephrussis,
rejected modern art and decorated their homes only with old masters and antique furniture. See
Sandgruber, Traumzeit für Millionäre, 30, 33.
87 In his satirical work Franz Friedrich Masaidek wrote: ‘Die Ringstraße—die Zionstraße von Neu-
Jerusalem—is heute die prachtvollste Straße der Kaiserstadt. Die Paläste, welche dieselbe
schmücken, sind fast durchgehends Eigenthum von Millionären des „ausgewählten Volkes“; blos
[sic] einige wenige sind im Besitze von christlichen Eindringlingen, die man aber auch einen nach
dem andern zu vertreiben sucht.’ [The Ringstraße—the Zionstraße of New Jerusalem—is today
the most grandiose street of the Imperial City. The palaces, which decorate this street are
uniformly in the property of millionaires of the 'chosen people'; only a few are in the possession

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The dress patterns of these two classes, however, differed only slightly. In his account of his Viennese ancestors, De Waal describes his great-grandmother Emmy Ephrussi’s (née Schey von Koromla) expensive dress tastes and penchant for dressing up for the camera in historicist costume, alongside her husband Viktor’s more studious and less flamboyant appearance, following the stereotypical modes of gendered sartorial consumption. Similar gendered patterns of attire are visible in those visual representations of the Gallia family. Gustav Klimt’s famous portrait of Hermine Gallia (1904) presents the subject dressed in an exquisite avant-garde gown similar to those worn in a number of Klimt’s other portraits of the wives of wealthy, often Jewish, art patrons. Hermine’s attire in the painted portrait reflects the same Secessionist aesthetic identity the family sought to embody in their apartment on the Wohllebengasse. And yet, this mode of dress does not correspond with Hermine’s dress habits as they appear in the photographs included in the family history written by her great-grandson Tim Bonyhady. Although in the photographs included in Bonyhady’s book Hermine is by no means ‘plainly dressed’, her attire is conservative, following accepted bourgeois fashions, rather than the Secessionist styles of Klimt’s portraits. Few images of her husband Moriz appear throughout the book, and in those that do, including a 1901 portrait by Ferdinand Andri (1871–1956), he appears in the stereotypical role of conservative, Jewish plutocrat in a dark suit and tie, white collar, clasping a cigar between his fingers. This same model of conservative and sober male sartorial respectability alongside a more elaborate and flamboyant femininity was common across Vienna’s upper and middle classes. For Jews, in particular, adhering to these gendered sartorial codes possessed the dual meanings of social respectability and conforming to Gentile society.

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of Christian intruders, but they are also trying to expel them one by one.] Masaidek, Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottpvogelperspektive, 30.

88 De Waal, The Hare with Amber Eyes, 154–64. See also Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class.

89 The portraits in question depict Serena Pulitzer Lederer (1899), Marie Henneberg (1901), Margaret Stonborough-Wittenstein (1905) and Fritza Riedler (1906). In addition to the similarity of the gowns worn by these sitters, Klimt accentuated their dark ‘Semitic’ features, that is, dark hair and eyes against their pale, sometimes olive-tinted skin.

90 See Bonyhady, Good Living Street.
Vienna’s large Jewish educated middle class [Bildungsbürgertum]—among which the Gallia family can be counted—was situated lower down the socio-economic ladder, between the Ephrussis of the Ringstraße and the Lemlers of Ottakring, and gave birth to many renowned literary and cultural figures. Sigmund Freud, Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Karl Kraus and Stefan Zweig can be counted among its more famous sons. These men were the sons of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, industrialists and businessmen and many went on to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Some, such as Schnitzler, Beer-Hofmann and Zweig, were the Viennese-born sons of immigrant parents from other parts of the Dual Monarchy, while others, such as Freud and Kraus, were immigrants themselves, arriving in the capital as children or as young men. The Jewish Bildungsbürgertum lived typically in the Jewish districts (I, II and IX) but also elsewhere. Often they were upwardly mobile and looked towards the Jewish financial nobility for their cues on the social graces. Stefan Zweig spent his childhood and youth in the Ring’s vicinity, first in a family apartment on the Schottenring, later as a student in rooms in Buchgasse—a fitting name for one who would go on to become one of the most renowned and widely translated authors during his time—and Tulpengasse. His parents, Moriz and Ida Zweig, like other Jews of their socio-economic class, placed a great deal of importance on education, and had Stefan educated at the Gymnasium on Wasagasse in Alsergrund.

The importance placed on education crossed class boundaries among Vienna’s Jewish population. Despite his family’s financial situation, a child’s education was very important to Berl Lemler, who had been educated at the music academy in Kraków, and his wife Lina. Their daughter Eva was sent to study at a Humanistisches Gymnasium with the hope that she would go on to study

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91 Well-known writers were representatives of this segment of the Jewish population. Stefan Zweig, for example, kept an apartment in the eighth district (Kochgasse 8) prior to relocating to Salzburg after the First World War, Karl Kraus in the fourth (Lotriingerstraße 6), while Richard Beer-Hofmann commissioned the architect Josef Hoffmann to design his villa in the eighteenth (Hasenauerstraße 59).

92 Buchgasse translates as ‘book lane’.

medicine at university and graduate as a doctor. Great importance was also placed on ‘classical’ culture, which included violin lessons and participation in the school’s orchestra, and trips to the opera house and theatre. It was commonly held that rigorous primary and secondary schooling would prepare a student for university. In his memoir, Zweig commented on the symbolic meaning for Jewish families of having at least one son graduate with a doctorate, especially when fathers had been unable to study themselves as a result of restrictions placed on the numbers of Jewish students. While his brother Alfred was sent to work in their father Moriz’s textile business, Stefan, already having shown an aptitude for writing as a Gymnasiast, was sent to university. To Zweig this was pure vanity, and in a letter to Hermann Hesse, dated 2 March 1903, he lamented the pressures placed upon his shoulders as a result of his parents’ ‘vanity’.

The Bildungsbürgertum was usually secular. Like the Jewish Ringstraßenfamilien, their connection to Judaism was mostly in name. In his biography of Stefan Zweig, Oliver Matuschek describes how the Zweig family celebrated neither Hanukkah nor Christmas. They were Jews and they did not hide the fact, but nor did they embrace it. This was not uncommon among other Jews of this class, both those famous and unknown. In an undated postcard, post-stamped 23 August 1922, to Hetty Landstone—Arthur Schnitzler’s English translator—her mother Rosalie writes of an evening spent visiting the writer, but mentions that there was ‘nothing to make “Shabos” [sic] [Sabbath] with.’ Other families of the

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95 Apfelbaum, This Is My Life, 6.
96 Zweig, The World of Yesterday, 32–33.
98 Matuschek, Three Lives, 30.
99 Postcard from Rosalie Landstone to Hedy (Hetty) Landstone, National Library of Israel, ARC4*1509/3.
same class took a more traditional approach to Judaism and Jewish culture. There are numerous references to Jewish identity and culture and the Jewish milieu of his upbringing in Friedrich Torberg’s *Die Tante Jolesch: oder, der Untergang der Abendlandes in Anekdoten*.\(^{100}\) Harry Rich (né Reich), born in 1926 to typical middle-class Jewish immigrant parents from Bohemia, recalls a ‘traditional’ Jewish upbringing in Alsergrund, regularly celebrating the Jewish holidays and occasional visits to the local synagogue on Müllnergasse.\(^{101}\)

Similarly, Lisl Ziegler (née Schacherl), born in 1917, also grew up in Alsergrund. Although her family was not particularly religious, her atheist father would dutifully take Lisl and her sister to synagogue on the Jewish holidays, when they would deliver flowers to their more traditional mother.\(^{102}\)

Likewise, Fritz Stern (1904–1992), a grandson of the Viennese Rabbi Aron Friedmann (1833–1911) and nephew of the renowned pedagogue Friederike Friedmann (1882–1968),\(^{103}\) was raised in the Orthodox household of his maternal family after the death of his mother. Until the age of sixteen, Stern dutifully lay tefillin [phylacteries] and recited his prayers every morning, according to the wishes of one of his more Orthodox aunts.\(^{104}\) As an adult, Stern eschewed his religious upbringing and went so far as to leave Judaism and declare himself *konfessionslos* in 1923.\(^{105}\) According to his daughter, Eva Engel (born in Vienna in 1932), Fritz was ‘ardently Austrian’ in a cultural and political sense. A photograph from the interwar period shows Stern and his wife Grete (Margarethe) (née Czopp), the daughter of a Galician father and Hungarian mother, standing in a field by a wire fence with a third person (likely a friend) lying down on the grass beneath them with his head poking out from between their legs (Figure 11). Fritz and Grete are dressed in styles that publicise their

\(^{100}\) Friedrich Torberg, *Die Tante Jolesch: oder, Der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2013).

\(^{101}\) Harry Rich in discussion with author, April 19, 2016.

\(^{102}\) Lisl Ziegler in discussion with author, August 19, 2015.


dedication to ‘Austrian’ culture: Grete in a Dirndl-like dress and apron with her hair covered by a scarf, and Fritz in a Trachtenjanker with contrasting pocket flaps, sleeve cuffs and lapels, Lederhosen and long white socks, and a Tirolerhut. Despite their rural attire, the couple wear certain elements of apparel that indicate their urban Viennese identity rather than a rural ideal: Grete wears what appears to be fashionable, possibly high-heeled, shoes, while Fritz wears a smart collared shirt and a loud polka-dotted tie.106

Fidelity to Jewish traditions was an issue that varied among Viennese Jewry. Among the families of earlier arrivals (during the post-1848 era) in the city from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, religious practise varied between traditional Orthodoxy, Liberalism (with services in Hebrew and Aramaic and sermons in German) and secularism.107 To many, Judaism was both an ethnic and confessional identity that worked in tandem with their German cultural identity. Like their Christian German and Germanised Czech counterparts who adhered to either the Catholic or Protestant faith, their religious persuasion and membership of the IKG was simply a formality of civic society, albeit one that played a large role in Austrian bureaucracy. As in neighbouring Germany, of all the Jewish organisations active in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only the IKG was state-sanctioned and recognised as being responsible for all civic and religious matters of the community.109 This mirrored the state’s acknowledgement of the Jewish identity as a purely faith-based one—Austrian citizens of the mosaish [Mosaic] faith, similar to nineteenth-century assimilatory aspirations in neighbouring Germany.110 Such importance placed on religion in the socio-political identity politics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

106 The adoption of elements of the Volkstracht [folk costume] by Viennese Jews while holidaying in rural environs is addressed in more detail in Chapter 7 ‘Strangers in the City: “Rootless” Jews and Urbanity in Vienna’.
107 Freidenreich, Jewish Politics in Vienna, 119.
108 Rozenblit, ‘The Struggle over Religious Reform in Nineteenth-Century Vienna’. Rozenblit describes the communal politics with regards to the desire for some within the Viennese community to reform their style of worship along the lines of German Reform Judaism and those who preferred traditional style of worship.
110 See Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry.
made the accepted Jewishness of religiously-unaffiliated Jews all the more difficult to reconcile and complicated the notion of who was Jewish.

This chapter has demonstrated that Viennese Jewry was not the homogenous group so often depicted in the contemporary antisemitic press. Neither was this segment of Viennese society divided into the two conflicting binaries that are often portrayed in memoirs, biographies and popular culture. Vienna’s Jewish ‘community’ was a vibrant population that was made up of diverse social, cultural, religious, economic and political communities. Herein lay vulnerability. Rather than help in its favour to reject xenophobic representations of Jews, its heterogeneous character only further complicated notions of Jewish identity and Jewishness, allowing this oft-maligned and socially isolated segment of Viennese society to be later attacked from all sides of the cultural and political arena.
Chapter 4. Refashioning the self: Viennese Jews and dress

INTRODUCTION
Clothing and other aspects of visual self-fashioning played a central role in the acculturation and urbanisation of Vienna’s Jewish population. It was both by adopting ‘general’ modes of dress and their participation in creating and transmitting fashions to the wider society—as designers, manufacturers, retailers, fashion journalists and consumers—that Viennese Jews publicly expressed their status as modern, urban cosmopolitans and equal participants in Viennese culture. This sartorial self-reinvention among immigrant Jews gave rise to a recurring trope in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe: the accusation that Jews, particularly those acculturating and assimilating, were somehow attempting to hide their Jewishness.¹ Using examples from literary fiction, contemporaneous fashion and lifestyle magazines, photographs and other visual examples, this chapter explores the role of Viennese Jews in that city’s fashion and dress industries,² as well as the role of dress in the acculturation process.

PARTICIPATING IN FASHION: JEWS AND DRESS
For assimilating and acculturating Viennese Jews, their complete emancipation in 1867 had signalled the permission to enter wider Gentile society. However, the dismantling of administrative discrimination had not extended to the social sphere, and many within the Dual Monarchy continued to harbour prejudices against Jews. The logical solution for some Jews was the complete rejection of their past.³ This generally meant a change of name, religion, residence, and—if not already undertaken—the adoption of both modern styles of dress and the

¹ The adoption of given and family names common among co-territorial Gentile populations was one form of self-fashioning that resulted in the antisemitic accusation that Jews were ‘masking’ their identity. See Gelbin and Gilman, Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews, 92.
² Fashion and dress are distinct concepts. The former refers to a cycle of change and consumption connected to the capitalist system, while the latter comprises everything worn by or adorning the body. Not all forms of dress and adornment are part of the fashion system, and not all fashion is sartorial in nature. See Entwistle, The Dressed Body, xvi.
³ Bauman, Modernity and Ambivalence, 71.
language and culture of the majority. The abandonment of all traces of Jewishness would, in theory, facilitate complete assimilation. However, more often than not this was not the case. Many of those Jews who left Judaism by changing their religion—as many affluent and middle-class Jews did—or by declaring themselves konfessionslos, remained ‘Jewish’ in their social interaction with their social milieu, which consisted largely of other converted or irreligious Jews. Whether an individual was able to assimilate successfully, or merely acculturate him- or herself to the dominant German culture was often determined by factors beyond his or her own control. An individual may have desired to assimilate—to disappear into the dominant cultural and ethnic group—but desires and intentions did not guarantee complete assimilation. As Peter Gay explains, among the various forms of German antisemitism that emerged parallel to the emancipation and acculturation of Jews during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, a common form was one that targeted Jews expressly for their eagerness to become German and their increased rate of acculturation.

The assimilatory process of most Viennese Jews did not extend past the first stage (acculturation). Gay argues that assimilation ‘took several generations, several intermarriages, possibly a change of name and of residence, before the past of the new Christian faded into invisibility.’ Thus, their incomplete assimilatory process left them as acculturated Jews, regardless of whether they chose to practice Judaism or not. Both those Jews desiring full assimilation and

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4 Most Jewish immigrants to Vienna prior to the large-scale arrival of Jews from Galicia and Bukovina during the First World War had already adopted the German language and culture, and modern styles of dress prior to their arrival in the Austrian capital from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary. See Chapter 3 'Jewish Identity and Jewishness in fin-de-siècle Vienna' for more detail.
5 See Beller, Vienna and the Jews.
7 Ibid., 98.
8 These acculturated Jews who either abandoned religious practice, or those whose parents had before them, have been described as Grenzjuden [borderline or marginal Jews]. Jacob Golomb, for example, describes this phenomenon as those Jews who, ‘were alienated from their religion and tradition, but had not been fully absorbed into secular Austrian society’. See Jacob Golomb, 'Stefan Zweig's Tragedy as a Nietzschean Grenzjude,' in Jüdische Aspekte Jung-Wiens im Kulturkontext des ›Fin de Siècle‹', ed. Sarah Fraiman-Morris (Tübingen: Max Niemayer Verlag, 2005), 79. Using I. J. Singer's multigenerational novel The Family Carnovsky (written in Yiddish in New York, 1943), Sander L. Gilman describes the acculturation of German Jewry as a borrowed value system that led to a both loss of identity and the external perception of masking the Jewish self. See Sander L.
those content to remain Jewish participants in German culture faced accusations of masking their Jewishness.\(^9\) Franz Friedrich Masaidek warned his readers that the ‘anständigen’ [respectable—which is to say, acculturated] Jews were far more dangerous than their traditional coreligionists, as they deceived Christians about their true intentions.\(^10\)

The accusation against Jews of masking their religious or ethnic identity was often related to their clothing choice, with the belief that true Jewish garb was that of the shtetl and not modern European fashions. What made this sartorial artifice ‘dangerous’ in the eyes of its detractors was its historical connotation with sin, seduction and perversion of nature.\(^11\) The satirist Karl Kraus agreed that clothing was unable to mask the body or aspects of human identity, but rather, ‘articulate[s] the unconscious essence of man with the greatest clarity. It tells us directly and bluntly about the innermost part of man from which all desires, thoughts, and experiences arise.’\(^12\) This trope commonly appeared in antisemitic literature in which Jewish figures were caricatured dressed in opulent styles and the latest fashion, while still retaining the behavioural patterns and ethnic characteristics of the Ostjuden. The Viennese bi-weekly satirical magazine *Kikeriki* (1861–1933) regularly contained xenophobic content ridiculing Austria-Hungary’s various ethnic groups; however, those targeting Jews and Czechs tended to be more aggressive than others. This regularly included grotesque caricatures of Jews that followed traditional physical and behavioural stereotypes. One telling example features an elegantly-dressed sow in fashionable dress and wide hat on her way to attend the theatre (Figure 12). The caption reads: ‘Pfui, man kann in gar kein Theater gehen, alles viel zu

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\(^{9}\) The philosopher and psychiatrist Frantz Fanon described a similar accusation levelled against acculturating Afro-Caribbean and Africans who adopted French language and culture. Much of what Fanon describes regarding the acculturation aspirations of France’s colonial subjects shares a resemblance with the experience of European Jews during the broad period of emancipation and acculturation. See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986).


schweinisch!’ [One simply cannot go to the theatre; everything there is just too piggish!].

Although not explicitly commenting on the sow’s Jewish identity, the German term schwineisch [piggish] is a euphemism for jüdisch [Jewish]. Along with the coffeehouse, the theatre developed a reputation for being one of the preferred sites of Jewish recreation, in contrast to Gentiles visiting the Heuriger [wine gardens on the city’s outskirts]. The message conveyed in the caricature is quite clear: despite adopting fineries, the Jew cannot mask his or her true identity. Additionally, the caricature comments on the connection between acculturated Jewish bourgeoisie and the theatre in relation to the notion of artifice. This ‘Jewish’ figure dismisses the theatre, and yet dressed in styles of hyperbolic proportions she too appears in a costume, and thus is a product of this realm of falsity.

As a result of the linking of an underlying Jewishness with an external layer of fashionable clothing it was inevitable that the much more ancient figure of the parvenu would come to the fore. Fashionable clothing came to be seen as inherently ‘Jewish’, in contrast to the simple clothes of the working-class Christian, or the Tracht [traditional/folk costume] of his rural counterpart. Therefore, the adoption of fashionable styles of dress came to affirm rather than negate Jewishness. This widespread notion was internalised and purveyed by Jews themselves. The characters in Arthur Schnitzler’s 1924 novella Fräulein Else are undoubtedly members of the Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie.

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13 Kikeriki 35, no. 99 (December 12, 1895): 1  
14 The use of a pig to represent a Jewish figure is significant. Within the German realm the relationship between the figures of the Jew and the pig was a common trope in anti-Jewish representation from the thirteenth century, with the Judensau as a common image appearing within woodcuts and Church carvings. This motif commonly featured a group of Jewish men surrounding a large sow, suckling at its teats and licking its excrement. On antisemitic iconography within historical European Christianity see Eric M. Zafran, ‘The Iconography of Antisemitism: A Study of the Representation of the Jews in the Visual Arts of Europe 1400–1600’ (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973).  
15 See Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt, 242. See also Jeanette R. Malkin and Freddie Rokem, eds., Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010) on the central role Jews played in German and Austrian theatre during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.  
never outwardly stated, it is expressed through the title character’s internal monologue. When Else is implored by her mother in a letter to request the financial aid of one of her fellow guests at the South Tyrolean resort of San Martino di Castrozza, a certain Herr von Dorsday d’Eperies, she describes her family’s would-be-benefactor as ‘still quite nice-looking with his pointed beard, going grey. But I don’t like him. He’s a social climber. What good does your first-class tailor do you, Herr von Dorsday? Dorsday! I’m sure your name used to be something else …’

Else continues:

No, Herr von Dorsday, I’m not taken in by your smartness, and your monocle and your title. You might just as well deal in old clothes as in old pictures . . . But, Else, Else, what are you thinking of? Oh, I can permit myself a remark like that. Nobody notices it in me. I’m positively blonde, or reddish blonde, and Rudi looks like a regular aristocrat. Certainly one can notice it at once in Mother, at any rate in her speech, but not at all in Father. For that matter, let people notice it. I don’t deny it, and I’m sure Rudi doesn’t.

This is an outright confession of her own Jewishness without actually naming it. There is a sense of self-deprecation and simultaneously a sense of guilt about the internalised societal antisemitism and its influence on her own sense of Jewish identity. The passage is revealing, as it suggests ‘normalised’ Jewish views on Jewishness and their complicity in the perpetuation of this negative image. Here, through his fictional character Else, Schnitzler gives a voice to the complex nature of Jewish identification in contemporary Vienna. Else’s internal monologue presents the conflicting views of identifying as a Jew: shame, scorn, pride and indifference. This is underpinned by Else’s reference to Jewishness in all but name. The readers know exactly what she is referring to—the ‘Jewish look’ or a particularly ‘Jewish’ manner of speaking (Mauscheln) influenced by Yiddish—despite not daring to utter it. And Schnitzler takes this notion of masking one’s true identity further through the use of dress. Dorsday is

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20 Ibid., 24.
described by Else as a sort of fop—a follower of fleeting fashions rather than adhering to the conventions of respectable dress—dressing in an inappropriate manner—‘His tie is too loud for an elderly man. Does his mistress choose them for him?’—alluding to the stereotype that Jewish men—and women—have no sense of style, that Dorsday must turn to others for advice, even if that advice is incorrect. Furthermore, Dorsday is portrayed as a stereotypical Jewish coward, a huckster and a murderer, with its connotations of the biblical figure Judas Iscariot, in contrast to the innocent Else, who is a victim of the crimes of others. However, Dorsday is not the only character to possess stereotypical characteristics of Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie. In addition to Else’s reference to her mother’s obvious Jewishness, her brother Rudi and cousin Paul are presented as Jewish playboys, her father as the crooked Jewish speculator, and her Aunt Emma as an hysterical snob who, following Else’s psychotic breakdown, comments to her son, ‘You don’t really suppose, Paul, that I’ll travel to Vienna in the same carriage with her like this. One might have unpleasant experiences!’

The connection between upwardly mobile Jews and clothes as a form of self-fashioning that Schnitzler highlights through his characters was often used in satirical caricatures depicting the failed attempt of an individual to hide his or her Jewishness. Postcards from Vienna and other parts of the empire commonly depicted scenes of individuals with stereotypical, grotesque Jewish features (such as large noses, misshapen bodies, dark, curly hair, thick lips and protruding ears) dressed in fine clothing; characters made all the more grotesque through the juxtaposition of corporeal ugliness and material beauty. A postcard in the archives of Vienna’s Jewish Museum (date-stamped 1912) depicts a throng of middle-aged and elderly men with stereotypical Jewish features loitering in front of the Viennese stock exchange. The grotesque, misshapen features of the men are complemented by their finely tailored suits and coats in the latest fashions. The men appear to be haggling over stocks and

21 Ibid., 45.
22 Ibid., 97–100.
23 Ibid., 100.
24 See Chapter 8 'Der kleine Cohn: Laughing at Jews and Fashion through Caricatures' for a more detailed discussion of this recurring theme.
sharing the latest gossip in fraternal camaraderie (Figure 13). Another example (date-stamped 26 July 1903) depicts a crowd strolling in the Prater: fashionably-dressed Jews, a flamboyantly-attired fop, and ramrod-straight, impeccably-groomed officers of the Austro-Hungarian army. The Jews affect aristocratic airs and stroll in a manner conveying confidence and comfort with their place in this society (Figure 14). However, such caricatures present a one-sided, negative view of Jewish assimilation. They convey the notion that Jews wished to assimilate into mainstream society at all costs and do not take into account the possibility that Jews may have used acculturation and the adoption of modern dress to develop modern Jewish identities.

MODERN COMMERCE AND THE DEPARTMENT STORE
Jews participated in the world of fashion and created identities independent of external, often negative, characterisation, through their engagement within the fashion industry. In the purveyance of sartorial fashions Jewish entrepreneurs and designers were able to take control of their visual appearances and present new styles to the wider society. One sector of the clothing industry in which they excelled, particularly in the German-speaking world, was the development of the department store. During the second half of the nineteenth century, these establishments developed simultaneously in London and Paris from earlier enterprises, including dry goods stores, drapers, clothing warehouses and novelty stores. Department stores spread across Europe during the nineteenth century, across the Atlantic to North America, to the Ottoman Empire and to European colonies in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Uri M. Kupferschmidt observes that department stores ‘in Paris itself, and elsewhere in Western Europe and North Africa, . . . were initially called bazaars’, perhaps a reflection of nineteenth-century European notions of exoticism and orientalism. In contrast, Paul Lerner dismisses the notion that the department store was the heir to the Ottoman bazaar, in that unlike the latter where customers and vendors haggled

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26 Jüdisches Museum Wien Archive, Inv. Nr. 11779.
27 See Shapira, Style and Seduction.
over goods, the former displayed fixed prices and both accepted returned goods and exchanged them, offering a greater degree of transparency than the market stall or small shop.\textsuperscript{29} Initially designed to provide a luxury retail experience, with businessmen eager to generate profit, the department store evolved over time into establishments catering to different socio-economic classes.\textsuperscript{30}

Although Jews were not instrumental in the development of the early department stores, over the course of the nineteenth century many Jewish businessmen, particularly in the German-speaking world, took advantage of the newfound rights that came with their emancipation and the changing retail patterns in the larger cities. For example, the cousins Théophile Bader and Alphonse Kahn, both Alsatian Jews, opened the iconic Galeries Lafayette in Paris in 1912 and they were only two of the increasing number of Jewish businessmen who involved themselves in this growing industry.\textsuperscript{31}

In many ways, the prevalence of Jews in the development of department stores can be viewed as an extension of traditional Jewish involvement in the ‘rag trade’—a result of Jews being denied entry to craft guilds and other professions during earlier periods. In his study of Jewish-owned German department stores, Paul Lerner highlights the connection between department stores and traditional Jewish professional patterns, particularly the Jew as a pedlar. Like the Jewish pedlars, he claims, who were dependant on their ability to conduct trade across national, ethnic and linguistic boundaries,

\begin{quote}
The department store in a sense institutionalized the circulation of the itinerant peddler, bringing diverse goods and populations together under one roof, but in a setting where the consumers, modern mobile
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{29} See Paul Lerner, ‘Circulation and Representation: Jews, department stores and cosmopolitan consumption in Germany, c. 1880s–1930s,’ \textit{European Review of History} 17, no. 3 (June 2010): 408.


spectators, circulated around stationary displays of commodities that had come to rest after their long journeys.32

The rise of the department store was also built in part upon the earlier development of the ready-made clothing industry, which provided an important segment of the apparel sold in early incarnations of such establishments.33 The rise of the ready-made clothing industry created a divide between its customer base and those who continued to frequent tailors and dressmakers for bespoke garments. These ready-made clothes were often of poor quality because their production was ‘organised by “clothiers”—that is, merchants—many of whom had themselves never made a suit and whose artistry was manifest instead in the profitable coordination of cloth, labor, and credit’.34 This model of business was a contrast to the artistry of tailors who had not only honed their skills over a longer period, but also engaged directly with a customer’s body.35 The contrast was also manifest in language. Writing of the ready-made clothing industry in North America, Michael Zakim notes that ‘[b]y the 1840s New York City business directories published two separate listings for men’s clothing stores: clothiers’ “warehouses” and tailors’ “establishments”’,36 not only separating the physical spaces in which the trade took place, but also dividing the customer base by the common, working-class and traditional, elitist notions denoted by these spatial descriptions. However, as Christopher Breward has shown in his study of male sartorial patterns in nineteenth-century London, the class boundaries between customers of the ready-made clothing and those who frequented bespoke tailors were not fixed. Many men, including those who moved in the upper echelons of society, would purchase certain garments from bespoke tailors and source others from other retailers.37

34 Zakim, Ready-Made Democracy, 70.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Breward, The Hidden Consumer, 28.
The development of the Konfektion [ready-made clothing] and department store industries in Germany and Austria-Hungary was largely due to the efforts of Jewish entrepreneurs.\(^{38}\) While Paris was a dominating force in the world of fashion during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and known for its haute couture, Berlin and Vienna held a similar role for Konfektion.\(^{39}\) A close exchange of creation and ideas developed between these cities, and what was known as ‘Parisian’ style in the Konfektion industry, was often the product of German and Austrian firms. Peter McNeil observes that the trade journal Chic Parisien: journal spécial pour modèles des Paris et Vienne, distributed throughout Europe, as well as Australia and New Zealand, was printed in Vienna between 1898 and 1940 by the publishing house A. Bachwitz.\(^{40}\) This publishing house, with its offices at Löwengasse 47 in Vienna’s third district, published other fashion-related material, including the early twentieth century trade journal and catalogue for tailors, Herren-Mode-Welt [Men-Fashion-World]. Founded by the German Jew Arnold Bauchwitz (1854–1930), who later changed his name to Bachwitz, the eponymous firm was one of Austria’s leading publishers of fashion-related material during the early twentieth century. In her 1935 study of German fashion magazines, Lore Krempel stated that Bachwitz alone published 40 different titles in various European languages, including German, French, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Czech, Italian, Serbian, Hungarian and Dutch.\(^{41}\)

Many leading department stores in the German and Austro-Hungarian empires—and later in the Weimar Republic and Austria-Hungary’s successor states—were owned and/or founded by individuals of Jewish origin; of note, Adolf Jandorf’s Kaufhaus des Westens (KaDeWe), Hermann Tietz’s Warenhaus Tietz in Berlin, and August Herzmansky and Alfred Abraham Gerngroß’s

\(^{38}\) See Lerner, *Consuming Temple*; Kremer, ed., *Broken Threads*.


\(^{40}\) Ibid., 146.

eponymous department stores in Vienna. Uri M. Kupferschmidt explains that the prevalence of Jewish-owned department stores was as much a result of ‘mobility and migration’ as ‘entrepreneurial imagination and flexibility.’ Nor did the German and Austrian Jewish department store owners and Konfektion manufacturers and retailers confine their professional activities to Central Europe. The father of Viennese-born Fritzi Ritterman (née Mährischl), Wilhelm Mährischl, worked in the Konfektion industry exporting ready-made men’s garments and accessories to other European countries, including Norway and Switzerland. Branches of Jewish-owned department stores were also opened beyond Europe’s borders, such as the renowned Orosdi-Back stores in the Ottoman Empire.

JEWS IN THE VIENNESE TEXTILE AND DRESS INDUSTRIES

In Vienna during the second half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, Jews were disproportionately represented in the textile and luxury industries. In his 1936 volume on the so-called ‘Jewish Question’, Georg Glockemeier boldly claimed that Jewish-owned business dominated Vienna’s main shopping streets:

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43 Uri M. Kupferschmidt, European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers: The Orosdi-Back Saga (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007), 16. However, Kupferschmidt asserts that Jews never had an absolute monopoly on the department store industry—neither in Europe nor the Ottoman Empire—and had many competitors of non-Jewish origin. Ibid., 15–16.

44 Fritzi Ritterman, in discussion with the author, August 5, 2015. Mrs Ritterman, 102 years old at the time the oral history interview was conducted, recalled that despite—or perhaps as a result of—her father’s work in the Konfektion industry the family did not purchase their clothes from department stores or ready-made clothiers, but rather frequented the services of dressmakers and tailors.

45 Kupferschmidt, ‘Who needed department stores in Egypt?’ The chain of stores was launched by members of the intermarried Osrosdi and Back families—Austro-Hungarian Jews who had settled in Istanbul and opened branches of the firm throughout the Ottoman Empire. The progenitor of the Orosdi family—Adolf Orosdi, who had Magyarised his name from the German-sounding Schnabel—had been an officer in Lajos Kossuth’s army during the failed 1848 revolution in Hungary, after which he fled with Kossuth and other officers to the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the Pressburg-born Sigmund Mayer, an active member of the Viennese Jewish community, opened a branch of his Konfektion business in Cairo with his brother Albert in 1866. See Sigmund Mayer, Ein jüdischer Kaufmann, 1831 bis 1911: Lebenserinnerungen (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1911), 210–20.
Noch in den letzten Jahren hatte jedermann, der mit offenen Augen durch die Straße ging, Gelegenheit, sich selbst von diesem Vordringen zu überzeugen. Er konnte sehen, wie die Juden in den guten Geschäftsstraßen ein Geschäft nach dem anderen eroberten. In der Hauptgeschäftsstraße Wiens, der Mariahilferstraße bis zum Gürtel, hatten die Juden vor dem Kriege rund 30% der Geschäfte inne, heute zirka 60%. Legt man die Frontlänge der Geschäfte zugrunde, so sind heute rund 80 bis 90% der Mariahilferstraße jüdisch.46

[In the last years anyone who walks down the street with open eyes had the opportunity to convince themselves about this intrusion. One could see how the Jews took over one shop after the other in the good shopping streets. In Vienna’s main shopping street, the Mariahilferstraße—up until the Gürtel—the Jews held about 30 per cent of the shops before the war, today approximately 60 per cent. On the basis of the shopfronts, today about eighty to ninety per cent of the Mariahilferstraße is Jewish.]

Published during a period of increasing concern over the 'Jewish Question' and Austria’s own concern for its national image, Glockemeier’s volume was likely clouded by contemporary anxieties. Although based on anecdotal evidence, this account is preceded by statistics outlining the proportion of Jews in various Viennese industries. These statistics included, for example, those relating to textiles and apparel: 45 per cent of men’s hatmakers, 40 per cent of jewelers, 67.6 per cent of furriers, 25 per cent of leather merchants,47 34 per cent of

47 Among this group were the Karl and Ella Reich, immigrants from Bohemia. Karl treated raw leather and made gloves and other accessories that were sold by his wife Ella (also known as Elly) in a boutique at Währingerstraße 106 in Vienna’s eighth district. Adolph Lehmann’s Allgemeiner Wohnungsanzeiger for the year 1937 lists Reich as a glove maker; see Wiener Adresenbuch: Lehmanns Wohnungsanzeiger 1937: Erster Band (Vienna: Österreichische Anzeigen-Gesellschaft A.G., 1937): 1036. The couple’s son Harry Rich, born in Vienna in 1926, claims that it was the leather industry that was responsible in getting the Reich family out of Vienna after the Anschluss. After leaving Austria the Reich family were able to settle in Australia, where Karl Reich continued to use his expertise in leather goods. Harry Rich in discussion with author, April 19, 2016.
milliners, 60–80 per cent of shoe manufacturers and merchants, 9.5 per cent of bag makers, 73.75 per cent of the textile trade, and 93 per cent of linen trade.\textsuperscript{48} It is the case that Jews dominated fashion retail; therefore, much of Vienna’s population was wearing clothes designed, manufactured or retailed by Jews.

Such large Jewish involvement in these industries had not always been the case. In the eighteenth century, Vienna was a leader in neither women’s nor men’s fashion.\textsuperscript{49} Nor were Jews, who were prohibited from residing and working within the city without express permission from the emperor, strongly represented in these fields. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Austrian capital’s population had grown exponentially from 231,049 (1800) to 1,364,548 (1890)—with the Jewish population growing respectively from 903 to 118,495—\textsuperscript{50} and Vienna had slowly developed into a fashionable and sartorially innovative city.

The Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) was partly responsible for the change in Vienna’s status in the world of fashion. The Congress drew fashionable aristocrats and their modes of dress from all over Europe, and has been characterised as ‘the catalyst in the development in a distinctive Viennese style’.\textsuperscript{51} The visiting statesmen and aristocrats—and their wives and families—required the services of skilled tailors and dressmakers to cater for their military and civilian sartorial needs. This brought the clothing styles of differing European aristocracy to Vienna, in particular that of the English, who ‘had long been isolated by the continental blockade and therefore had developed fashions and behaviours that seemed strange to the rest of Europeans’.\textsuperscript{52} In the year after

\textsuperscript{48} Glockemeier, \textit{Zur Wiener Judenfrage}, 71–82. For the same period Michael John and Albert Lichtblau offer alternate figures: 67.6 per cent of furriers, 39.8 per cent of jewellers, 73.3 per cent of those involved in the textile trade, and 53 per cent of shoe merchants. See John and Lichtblau, \textit{Schmelztiegel Wien}, 34.


\textsuperscript{50} Rozenblit, \textit{The Jews of Vienna}, 17.


\textsuperscript{52} Monica Kunzel-Runtscheiner, ‘The Magic of the Uniform: Dress Codes, Fashion Dictates and the Spread of Civilian Uniforms through the Congress of Vienna,’ in \textit{Fashion Drive: Extreme Clothing in
the Congress, 1816, Vienna’s first fashion magazine, *Wiener Modezeitung*, aimed at the social and cultural élites of Viennese society, was published.53

The evolving textile and dress industries of the nineteenth century helped many Jewish families on the road to financial respectability and offered them an entry ticket into the so-called ‘second society’. Stefan Zweig characterised this as only the means to achieving the true Jewish desire, namely, the acquisition of knowledge:

> Getting rich, to a Jew, is only an interim stage, a means to his real end, by no means his aim in itself. The true desire of a Jew, his inbuilt ideal, is to rise to a higher social plane by becoming an intellectual. Even among Orthodox Eastern Jews, in whom the failings as well as the virtues of the Jewish people as a whole are more strongly marked, this supreme desire to be an intellectual finds graphic expression going beyond merely material considerations—the devout biblical scholar has far higher status within the community than a rich man. Even the most prosperous Jew would rather marry his daughter to an indigent intellectual than a merchant.54

Zweig’s words carry a modicum of truth. The efforts of fathers involved in manufacture resulted in comfortable financial situations that afforded sons, such as Zweig himself, the opportunity to occupy themselves with more intellectual and creative concerns.55 Additionally, wealthy families often supported the arts. In 1903, the designers Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann (neither of whom were Jewish), together with textile manufacturer and arts patron Fritz Waerndorfer, founded the design collective known as the Wiener Werkstätte. In addition to Waerndorfer, a number of other wealthy Jewish families and

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53 Kessler, ‘Viennese Biedermeier Fashion,’ 43.
individuals were among the Werkstätte’s financial patrons and company board. Evolving out of the Vienna Secession—the fin-de-siècle art movement concerned with creating new artistic forms for a new century and a new supranational Austrian identity in rejection of historicist traditions (of which Moser and Hoffmann were among the founding members)—the Wiener Werkstätte offered a wide range of carefully designed products, including furniture, ceramics, silverware, decorative art, graphics, stationary, textiles and sartorial accessories, that were very popular among Vienna’s Bildungsbürertum. Many Jews were included in this segment of society. The Jewish customer base grew so important that by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Werkstätte offered a series of Rosh Hashanah [Jewish new year] greeting cards depicting patterns from its range of popular textile designs (Figure 15). The Werkstätte opened stores in places outside Vienna frequented by this segment of society, such as the popular Bohemian spa towns Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) and Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně)—a ‘fashion’ town where the British King Edward VII, a regular guest, was followed by journalists studying his clothes—as well as Zürich and New York. Jewish individuals were involved with the Werkstätte beyond the roles of financial backers and customers—there were also many Jewish designers. The Wiener Werkstätte was dissolved in 1932, but many of the Jewish-owned department stores and fashion houses continued to operate until their forced closure or ‘Aryanisation’ after the Anschluss in March 1938.

56 Waerndorfer (1868–1939), who had been born Friedrich Wärndorfer and raised in a Jewish family but converted to Protestantism and anglicised his surname, was by far the Wiener Werkstätte’s most prominent patron of Jewish origin. See Elana Shapira, ‘Modernism and Jewish Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna: Fritz Waerndorfer and His House for an Art Lover,’ Studies in the Decorative Arts 13, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 2006): 52–92. Another prominent Jewish associate of the Werkstätte was the industrialist Moriz Gallia (1858–1918). See Bonyhady, Good Living Street.
60 In some cases, such as that of Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe, and Kniže, the firms continue to operate out of their pre-war premises to this day, albeit under a new ownership. See Georg Gaugusch, Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe: 150 Jahre einer Wiener Firma—Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe: 150 Years of a Viennese Company, in Kauft bei Juden? Geschichte einer Wiener
The Aryanisation of the Jewish firms not only destroyed this Jewish industry, but also led to the loss of the city's title as a European (and worldwide) fashion capital, a loss from which Vienna has never recovered.\textsuperscript{61}

Textile and \textit{Konfektion} manufacture and department store ownership were not the only segments of the dress industry in which Viennese Jews engaged. A number of Jewish families or individuals established luxury fashion salons and tailoring ateliers catering to the élite of Viennese society. Of note was the tailoring shop Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe. Established as a ladies' tailor in 1874 by the childless Wilhelm Jungmann (1838–1914), a native of Sankt Georgen (Svät Jur), and his nephew Wilhelm Dukes (1849–1938) from Komorn (Komárom/Komárno),\textsuperscript{62} the store was awarded the title of \textit{kaiserlicher und königlicher Hoflieferant} [Imperial and Royal Court Purveyor] in 1881, and later through the Archduchess Maria Josepha (mother of the last Habsburg emperor Karl I) \textit{Hoflieferant} to the Italian monarchy, to Princess Pauline von Metternich and to the Duchess of Württemberg.\textsuperscript{63} Catharina Christ observes that Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe was among the most renowned stores in Vienna at the turn of the century, and many members of the aristocracy and imperial family were counted among its regular customers.\textsuperscript{64} By the 1920s, the business had expanded to cater to male customers as well. A customer registry from the 1920s and '30s provides addresses in various middle- and upper-middle-class Viennese districts (as well as addresses outside the Austrian capital) and lists many names common among Viennese and other European Jewish communities, such as Abeles, Austerlitz, Breuer, Deutsch, Eckstein and Fleischmann.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{61} Kremmer, \textit{ed.}, \textit{Broken Threads}.
\textsuperscript{62} Catharina Christ, ‘Jüdische k. und k. Hoflieferanten in der Textilbranche mit Niederlassung in Wien in der Zeit von 1870 bis 1938’ (MA diss., University of Vienna, 2000), 66–67. In addition to being Wilhelm Jungmann's nephew, Wilhelm Dukes was also his brother-in-law. Dukes's mother Fanny was the sister of Wilhelm Jungmann, as well as the mother of the latter's wife Rosa. See Gaugusch, 'Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe,' 96.
\textsuperscript{63} Christ, ‘Jüdische k. und k. Hoflieferanten in der Textilbranche mit Niederlassung in Wien in der Zeit von 1870 bis 1938,’ 65–66. Wilhelm Jungmann opened his first shop in 1866 at Rudolfplatz 1 before moving shortly to a new address at Salvatorgasse 3, both in Vienna's First District. With Wilhelm Dukes he reopened the shop in 1881, under the new name at Albertinaplatz 3.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 71.
\textsuperscript{65} Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe customer register, private collection of Georg Gaugusch, Vienna.
Wilhelm Jungmann & Neffe was not the only prominent Jewish-owned clothier/fashion atelier in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the many renowned Viennese establishments catering to either male or female customers or at times both, Goldman & Salatsch, Kníže & Comp., Maison Blanc, E. Braun & Co., Heilmann Kohn & Söhne, Heinrich Grünbaum, Heinrich Grünzweig, G. & E. Spitzer, and Ludwig Zwieback & Bruder can be counted. On 24 January 1925 the Ball der Mode was first held (in the likeness of the French Bal de la Couture) in the Wiener Konzerthaus, an advertisement of sorts for many of the city’s fashion salons and department stores. Attendees were awarded gifts from a variety of establishments upon arrival. Die Bühne, a society magazine dedicated to the arts and popular culture, reported:


[Big surprises are in store for the visitors of this festivity. Upon entering the hall, each lady will draw from an urn a sealed envelope that contains an order for one of the very expensive gifts, among them at least 50 fashion items of exceptional value.]

Gerda Buxbaum lists the firms that contributed to the door prizes, including Heinrich Grünbaum, Heinrich Grünzweig, G. & E. Spitzer, the avant-garde Schwestern Flöge, Wiener Werkstätte, and Ludwig Zwieback & Bruder. Those firms were, with the exception of the Schwestern Flöge, Jewish-owned.

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67 ‘„Ball der Mode“ – „Ball der Bühne“: Die Sensation des Faschings,’ Die Bühne, no. 10 (January 15, 1925), 18.
68 Buxbaum, Mode aus Wien, 128–129.
Additionally, the Wiener Werkstätte included many Jews among its staff, designers and board, indicating the central role Jewish clothing designers and merchants played in Vienna’s fashion industry during the interwar period.

Like Jungmann and Dukes, the founders of these firms were commonly immigrants to the Imperial and Royal Kaiserstadt from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary.69 These men were of the generation that saw official barriers preventing Jewish involvement in other fields begin to crumble. However, resistance to Jewish involvement in wider society remained socially entrenched, and was often expressed in rhetoric regarding the destruction of traditional—that is, ‘German’—retail cultures by the emergence of large Jewish-owned department stores and fashion salons offering wares of supposedly ‘foreign’ origin.70

VIENNESE MALE FASHIONS DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Vienna’s fashion industry had ‘foreign’ influences long before Jewish entrepreneurs and designers became involved. Dora Heinz explains that, prior to large-scale Jewish immigration to the Austrian capital, nineteenth-century Viennese men’s fashions developed largely in the shadow of other societies, dominated by English and other Western European styles.71 Similarly, Reingard Witzmann argues that Viennese originality lay in its adaptation of foreign attire, rather than innovative new forms of dress; ‘[T]hey never adopted a style without adding certain distinctive touches of their own.’72 The Congress of Vienna was instrumental in developing a Viennese style based on the sartorial modes of other European societies. Despite being a ‘German’ city, in terms of the dominant ethno-linguistic group, Viennese fashions, unlike those of Austria’s German provinces, ‘always eschewed the “German national costume” in favor of more

70 Lerner, ‘Circulation and Representation.’
71 Heinz, ‘Viennese Men’s Fashions,’ 102.
modern continental fashions." This was evident in the predominance of French and English sartorial fashions, as well as other aspects of those countries’ cultures.

Perceived as the pinnacles of Western culture, France and England were held in high esteem by Vienna’s acculturated Jewish bourgeoisie and upper classes, not in spite of but in conjunction with their dedication to Bildung and German culture. Gerda Buxbaum asserts that Paris ‘dictated’ Vienna’s cultural milieu at the fin de siècle, not only with regards to dress fashions, but all aspects of Viennese culture. The families of the writers Stefan Zweig and Peter Altenberg, for example, immersed themselves in the language and culture of France. French was regularly spoken in the Zweig household, which served the young Stefan well later in life when working on German translations of poetry by French and Belgian writers, and fostered a deep love for the language and culture in which he felt as at home as in his native German. In his biography of Zweig, Oliver Matuschek postulates that the central character Edgar in Zweig’s story Brennendes Geheimnis [Burning Secret], first published in 1911, whose bourgeois mother regularly addresses her son in French, is the author’s fictional double. Similarly, Peter Altenberg, a decade older than Zweig, was also exposed to French language and culture at a young age by his Francophile father.

73 Heinz, 'Viennese Men’s Fashions,' 102.
75 Buxbaum, Mode aus Wien, 89.
76 Matuschek, Three Lives, 32.
Sartorially France and England had a great impact on both female and male fashions in Vienna. Fashion salons catering to middle- and upper-class women continued to look towards France for inspiration and direction; and men’s tailors and outfitters looked towards the English for cues to sartorial respectability. However, gendered clothing fashions were not rigidly divided between either French or English style; for example, the eponymous store on the Graben owned by the Jewish businessman Heinrich Grünbaum specialised in both French and English women's fashions.\textsuperscript{78} Buxbaum comments on the strong influence English culture exerted over Viennese women sports and leisure clothing, as a result of the Empress Elisabeth’s preference for sport and modest, functional attire.\textsuperscript{79} The dominance and prestige of English male fashions is clearly evident in the regular use of English sartorial terms in male fashion magazines during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as well in as the names of men's fashion houses. Heinrich Neumann's fashion salon on the Kärntnerstraße, which catered to Vienna’s élite,\textsuperscript{80} was called Old Bond Street, while the Neumann family’s men's Konfektion outfitters traded as the Metropolitan Clothing Palace; these serve as just two examples of English-language names used as an expression of quality.\textsuperscript{81} The notion of England as the cornerstone of male elegance continued into the 1930s, which meant that there were regular references to English culture and fashion in Viennese men's fashion and lifestyle magazines. In an article about men's wet weather outerwear in the magazine \textit{Der Herr von heute: ein Monatsblatt für die Herrenwelt}, published in Vienna’s seventh district by L. Beck & Sohn, the editor extolled the virtues of the Burberry trenchcoat as suitable for both wet and dry weather.\textsuperscript{82}

The English influence on Viennese male dress was apparent not only in the common use of English sartorial terms but also in the styles themselves. The fin-

\textsuperscript{78} Buxbaum, \textit{Mode aus Wien}, 201.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 203. Buxbaum notes that in the later years Neumann’s wife Theres and son Paul, who had studied fashion design in Paris, began importing and selling French styles.
\textsuperscript{81} Sandgruber, \textit{Traumzeit für Millionäre}, 59.
\textsuperscript{82} “Eine aktuelle Frage: Wie steht so Ihrer „Regenausrüstung“?” \textit{Der Herr von heute: ein Monatsblatt für die Herrenwelt} (March 1931): 5.
de-siècle tailoring journal *Fashions for Gentlemen*, published in Vienna by R. de Waldheim, Jos Eberle & Cie [Rudolf von Waldheim and Josef Eberle], offered readers a series of monotone and colour plates (printed in Austria by L. Patois, Paris) of the latest male fashions, with drafting and cutting instructions as well as information on the new styles printed in both English and German. The journal’s title clearly indicates the perceived superiority of English male fashions, but the listing of offices in Paris, London, New York, Vienna, Berlin, Milano, Copenhagen, Brussels and St. Petersburg implied that the fashions advertised were truly international. The styles depicted in the 1912 issues include, for example, ‘modern’ sack suits with both single- and double-breasted jackets and tapered trousers with turned up cuffs, in light-coloured, pinstripe fabric; knee-length frock coats; a morning coat with contrasting, pinstriped trousers; a short sport-coat [*Sportüberzieher*] and a raglan coat. The detailed garment information provided with the fashion plates and drafting instructions not only enlightened readers about appropriate fabric types but also compared the new styles with the old in great detail. For example, the April 1912 issue said the main differences between the modern morning coat [*Das modern Jackett*] and former styles were the fuller and wider design of the collar and lapels, the higher position of the front button closure, the narrower sleeves and the overall longer jacket (Figure 16).

Waldheim and Eberle also published a similar journal during the same period under the title *Wiener Herrenmode*, with text in both English and German. Like *Fashions for Gentlemen*, *Wiener Herrenmode* provided fashion plates (both colour and monotone) along with tailoring instructions and information about the new styles. The fashion plates in this publication featured both young and mature-looking gentlemen in various sack suits (single- and double-breasted), frock coats, morning coats, overcoats in various styles and cuts (again, single- and double-breasted, with exposed and hidden buttons, fitted and loose, and some with contrasting collars and lapels), evening wear, including both full evening

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83 The firm Josef Eberle & Comp. also advertised music-related prints, including sheet music for cantors, in the Jewish weekly, *Die Wahrheit* (1885–1938). See for example, *Die Wahrheit*, no. 4 (January 25, 1899), 1.
84 *Fashions for Gentlemen* 4 (April 1912).
dress (white tie and tails) and dinner suits (black tie, satin lapels), sport and leisure clothing (including breeches and Norfolk jackets for hunting and riding). The models carried canes, wore a range of footwear (shoes with spats, patent leather slippers, riding boots, hobnailed boots) and headgear (Zylinder [top hat], bowler, panama, homburg or cap), depending on the social occasion they were dressing for. The fabrics varied as well: plain, striped or tweed (particularly for leisure clothing) in black, brown, various shades of grey, blue and green. Overall, the styles depicted in Wiener Herrenmode were the same as those appearing in Fashions for Gentlemen. What differed in the Wiener Herrenmode fashion plates was that many of the plates depicted models in recognisably Viennese surroundings: on the Ringstraße, before the Austrian parliament building, outside the Wiener Hofoper and in the Prater. Presenting fairly generic styles as Viennese to an international audience, the publishers sought to stake a claim for Vienna in the world of male fashion.85

During the early twentieth century Viennese publications dedicated to male style encouraged their readers to take an interest in their dressed appearance. In its first issue, the short-lived (1916–1918) Viennese journal Die Herrenwelt assured its male readers that the time had come to pay more attention to their dress, and that concerning oneself with one’s sartorial identity and fashion was no longer ‘unmanly’, the concern of the ‘mentally deficient’ or those ‘who had not much else going on upstairs’.86 The time for man to air his intellectual superiority through disregarding his dress had come to an end.87 According to the Die Herrenwelt editor, dressing tastefully was as important as cleanliness.88 In this manner, the magazine focused not only on ‘tasteful’ attire, but on all manner of ‘tasteful’ masculine lifestyles. The clothing styles featured the ubiquitous lounge suit and morning and frock coats, all in dark, subdued colours. The illustrations were

85 Along with German and English the journal was also printed in French and Hungarian.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
printed in black and white; however, the advice for colour combinations included (overwhelmingly) black, white and various shades of grey, blue, brown and green. In the journal’s first issue, dated January 1916, for instance, a table titled ‘Wie man sich richtig kleidet’ [How one should dress properly] listed various social occasions and the correct combination of garments to be worn to each, including advice on colours. For an afternoon visit or 5 o’clock tea [5 Uhr-Tee], gentlemen were advised to wear a black jacket with a waistcoat in the same fabric with a white insert or unicolour ‘fashion vest’ [Modeweste], black trousers with grey stripes, a ‘Zylinder oder Melon’ [top- or bowler hat], a dark overcoat, white shirt with faint white or black horizontal striped breast and white linen cuffs, a not-too-high turndown stand collar, a black-grey patterned ascot, middle-grey or dark brown buckskin gloves, lace-up patent leather shoes with buckskin or cloth inserts, or spats in the same colour as the gloves. Finally came the jewellery: gold or platinum cufflinks, with coloured precious stones the same as the tiepin, and a thin gold watch-chain.

Die Herrenwelt presented its readers with the correct, gentlemanly modes of dress and behaviour, thereby offering them an insight into the lifestyle of the nobility and financial élite. And yet, members of these social tiers would have had no need for such a journal as they already knew how to behave and dress. Rather, the journal’s readership was drawn from those who wanted to fashion themselves in the same manner. Gesa C. Teichert maintains that although an important source of information for sartorial self-fashioning, fashion journals and guides could teach its readers only so much. It was important for men to learn how to dress properly through upbringing and bourgeois socialisation. Publications like Die Herrenwelt would have been particularly important supplements for both assimilatory- and acculturation-minded Jews, both those who had already become culturally assimilated and those who were in the

89 A few colour photographs do appear throughout the issues; however, these generally feature accessories displayed in the manner akin to a shop window, rather than models or mannequins wearing the garments described or featured in illustrations.
91 Mary Gluck describes the similar role of etiquette magazines aimed at the aspiring middle class in Budapest during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. See Gluck, Invisible Jewish Budapest, 181–85.
92 Teichert, Mode. Macht. Männer, 112.
process of doing so, particularly so in the case of those so-called Ostjuden who had arrived in the city since the start of the war. For those already assimilated and acculturated, the magazine would confirm what they knew about the correct fashions (both clothing and other aspects of lifestyle) of the Viennese upper classes. For those who had set out on the difficult journey of acculturation (for example, Galitsianer Jews who had arrived from Austria’s eastern crownland during the years this magazine was published, as well as other Jewish immigrants from the Dual Monarchy’s other provinces), the publication could serve as a manual for how to dress and conduct oneself in both the public and private spheres.

Published in the midst of the First World War, Die Herrenwelt displayed an amount of patriotism that appealed to anti-English sentiment, asserting that the English tailoring industry had been devastated due to the internment of the superior Viennese tailors, thus robbing the English of their best practitioners. Unsurprisingly, the English influence on the Viennese bourgeoisie, indeed on dress and its terminology, continued to run deep, and despite the Anglophobic language, the magazine continued to display these same ‘English’ styles and reference English male fashions, but with subtle allusions to the superiority of Austrian and German products.

Certain editions devoted more attention to ‘Austrian’ (or rather ‘German’) sartorial identities. The fourth issue of the journal, published in July 1916, focused specifically on the gentleman’s correct appearance while on the Jagd [hunt], including the various social situations an individual might find himself in while on a hunting trip. It is apparent throughout memoirs, biographies and photographs that while many Viennese Jews saw themselves as urban

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94 For example, in reference to male cosmetics and perfumes the magazine notes: ‘Die erwähnten Parfums sind zumeist englischen Ursprungs; sie sind aber bestimmt nicht besser als die österreichischer und deutscher Provenienz [The fragrances mentioned are mostly of English origin, but they are certainly not better than those of Austrian or German provenience].’ See ‘Briefkasten,’ Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode 2, no. 1 (February 1917): 23.
cosmopolitan Viennese (and not völkisch peasants of Austria’s Alpine provinces), they were not averse to engaging in the supposedly ‘German’ leisure activities such as the Jagd or Wanderung [hike], and altered their dressed appearances accordingly.95

Photographs of Selma and Max Imbermann, a middle-class Viennese Jewish couple with origins in Galicia, with another, unidentified, couple hiking in 1927 show Max and the other man dressed in a manner similar to the rugged tweeds and breeches worn with long socks and hobnailed boots shown in the hunting issue of Die Herrenwelt, even though the photographs were taken a decade after that issue (Figure 17). For Viennese Jews like the Imbermanns, asserting a modern and ‘Viennese’ identity meant engaging in such typically ‘Austrian’ (or German) leisure activities that presented the individual at once as both an urban cosmopolitan and a member of the nation.96

Such styles of dress were commonly adopted by many members of Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie, as well as by Jews in other parts of the Dual Monarchy and its successor states. Numerous photographs of Jewish individuals in Vienna during the 1920s and 1930s reveal a similar mode of dressing to that of the Imbermanns (Figures 18 & 19). The styles correspond to those featured in a variety of Viennese men’s fashion and lifestyle magazines from the same period: Der gut angezogene Herr: das Blatt für die elegante Herrenwelt, Der Herr von Heute, Der Herr und seine Welt, and Die Bühne, this last a magazine dedicated to theatre and other aspects of Viennese culture.97 By the 1920s, perhaps indicating a break with the popular styles of the pre-war era, the attire featured in Viennese men’s fashion magazines had evolved from the stark blacks, greys and whites of the pre-war era into a greater variety of colours and fabrics for the ‘well-dressed

96 In his memoir Ulrich R. Furst describes regular trips to the Wiener Wald, skiing, and hiking expeditions as a boy scout and on family holidays. During the 1920s his parents joined a Jewish alpine club after they, along with other Jews, were expelled from the Deutsche und österreichische Alpenverein. Ulrich R. Furst, ‘Windows to my Youth,’ unpublished memoir, LBI (1993), ME 902. MM II 14, 47–50.
97 Although these fashion magazines were published in Vienna they were also circulated in Germany and Switzerland, and contained advertisements for men’s outfitters and other apparel companies in those countries alongside those in Austria.
gentleman’, with multiple options for a variety of social situations. An editorial in the autumn/winter 1936 issue of *Der gut angezogene Herr* preached individuality through dress, but implored the reader to trust the advice of his ‘fashion expert’ [*Modefachmann*] and the magazine continued to supply charts and tables indicating the correct combination of garments, fabrics and colours to be worn for different social occasions, albeit less rigid than those printed in *Die Herrenwelt.*

Linked to the middle-class ideals of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*, these publications regularly preached simultaneous refinement of dress and behaviour, as well as the harmony of a man’s dress with both his environment and peers. In his editorial on the correct dress choice for weddings, the editor of *Der gut angezogene Herr* asserted above all the importance of environmental harmony before a dedication to specific styles. He used the example of a guest appearing in evening dress at a ceremony where the bridal couple were dressed in simple *Tracht* [folk costume] as being ‘arrogant and almost ridiculous’ [*überheblich und fast lächerlich*]. In the same manner, urban dressing revealed a delicate balance between environmental harmony and individuality. In his memoir, Ulrich R. Furst, nephew of the famous Prague-born writer Leo Perutz (1882–1957), recalled his father’s ridicule when he deviated from conventional bourgeois modes of dress in favour of his own individual tastes:

> There was a time when I needed a new suit. Mother went with me to buy one and, for the first time, I could pick it myself. I selected a

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99 Although the author does not indicate how *Tracht* appears in this instance, the terms *Tracht* and *Volkstracht* refer to the traditional folk costume worn by rural populations for special ceremonies and events, and the readers would know what styles the editor was referring to. Although *Volkstracht* varies between different regions and communities, common examples for men include *Lederhosen* [leather shorts and suspenders], *Janker* [fulled wool jackets, often in grey, green or brown, with horn or metal buttons], and *Tirolerhut* [felt alpine hat with cored band and decorated with feathers of Gamsbart—a tuft of chamois hair]; and for women a cotton or linen *Dirndl* skirt and bodice commonly worn with puffed sleeves and apron. For a detailed description of common forms of *Volkstracht* as well as its influence on the Austrian fashion industry—the so-called *Trachtenmode*—see Buxbaum, *Mode aus Wien*, particularly Chapter ‘Tracht und Mode,’ 329–47.
medium-dark reddish brown suit, as I was tired of the dark grey suit Father and all the other men of the older generation wore and wanted something a little more youthful. When I brought it home, Father made one of his famous dry comments: ‘You look like a pig breeder from the Puszta’. But I liked my new suit despite this nasty remark, and wore it quite often.101

Accessories also played an important role in a man’s overall appearance. Magazines implored men to pay as much attention to their accessories (such as scarves and ties) as they did to their evening wear and furs.102 What was important was maintaining an elegant outward appearance. This could be achieved by following strict codes of dress rather than falling prey to popular fashions. In 1931, Edgar Liss warned readers of Der Herr von heute of the dangers of excess and extreme in sartorial patterns. Elegance was achieved through attention to detail, while inelegance could be easily seen in those who displayed exaggerated styles, such as too-wide shoulder pads and trousers, garish ties and pointed shoes. In sum, Liss warned, ‘the line [between elegance and inelegance] is difficult to describe, but all too easily crossed.’103

A number of Jewish individuals regularly appeared in Viennese men’s fashion and lifestyle magazines, as both journalists and subjects; however, their Jewish backgrounds are not mentioned. The Viennese cabaret performer Paul Morgan (1886–1938)—born to Jewish parents and named Georg Paul Morgenstern104—appears in a photograph in the August 1931 issue of Der Herr von heute alongside an article about summer hats (Figure 20). In the photograph Morgan is

101 Furst, ‘Windows to my Youth,’ 40–41. The Puszta is the Hungarian term for the Pannonian Steppe: a large grassland that stretches from the Austrian Burgenland in the west through Slovakia, Hungary and Serbia to Rumania and Bulgaria in the east.
102 The original text reads: ‘Und Sie sollen auch nicht weniger auf Ihren Schal oder Ihre Krawatte achten als auf Ihren Smoking oder neuen Pelz. Wählen Sie was Ihrem Geschmack entspricht’ [And you should pay no less attention to your scarf or your tie than to your dinner suit or new fur (coat). Choose whatever suits your taste]. ‘Wählen Sie meine Herren!’ Der gut angezogene Herr (autumn-winter 1936/37): 6.
104 After the Anschluss Morgan, as a high-profile personality of Jewish descent, was deported to Buchenwald concentration camp where he perished in December 1938.
grinning at the camera while chomping down on a thick cigar. He is wearing a pinstripe suit jacket with peaked lapels, a dark (possibly even black) tie beneath a small, white turned-down collar and a high-crowned panama hat with a dark band. At no point is Morgan’s Jewish identity mentioned. The magazine, like others of the same era, preached the correct sartorial styles for the modern man, regardless of religious or ethnic background. As a successful performer, Morgan was a product of the widespread cultural assimilation of Viennese Jewry. Despite his father Gustav Morgenstern’s desire for his son to follow in his footsteps and graduate from university as a lawyer, Morgan studied acting under the renowned German actor and critic Ferdinand Gregori. Morgan’s dress, like other Central European Jews of a similar bourgeois background, followed the styles outlined in men’s fashion magazines of the early twentieth century, revealing no signs of visual Jewishness, as might be revealed in the styles favoured by Vienna’s poorer Ostjedeen, or those in Eastern Europe.

REFASHIONING THE SELF: THE ROLE OF DRESS IN ACCULTURATION

Central to the acculturation process was the notion of self-fashioning. This refers to the manner in which the individual recreates his or her identity and for a variety of reasons, in the case of acculturating Viennese Jews to facilitate a smoother integration into wider urban society, or else a to develop new identities as an alternative to accepted conventions. The concept of self-fashioning was made familiar by Stephen Greenblatt in his study of early modern English writers. The fashioning of self involved the creation of an identity that an individual desired to broadcast to society, ‘a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving’. Greenblatt’s notion of self-fashioning focused on literary tastes and

behaviour rather than sartorial modes. Nevertheless, clothing and material culture play an important role in the shaping of identity. As John Styles argues, clothes play a central role in the fashioning of the individual, as they are ever-present and highly visible, and very deliberately reveal and conceal certain aspects of the body.\(^{109}\) Self-fashioning, like assimilation and acculturation, is an essentially personal process that must be undertaken by the individual, but can be undertaken by groups of individuals with the same goal.

Within the context of this study, Viennese Jews actively engaged in sartorial and behavioural self-fashioning as a way of asserting membership of modern German culture and society. The adoption of German as the dominant vernacular by Habsburg Jews was one way by which they hoped to facilitate their integration into co-territorial Gentile society.\(^{110}\) Parallel to linguistic self-fashioning were the visual and behavioural counterparts described by Steven Beller and Marsha L. Rozenblit in their respective studies of Viennese Jewry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beller asserts that Viennese Jews took their cultural cues from the Protestant northern German realm, rather than the ‘reactionary’ Catholic south of both the German and Austrian empires. This, too, was common for many Austrian Jews living outside Vienna.\(^{111}\)

\(^{109}\) Styles, ‘Fashion and Innovation in Early Modern Europe,’ 34.

\(^{110}\) With the growing nationalist movements in the nineteenth century Austrian Empire—after 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Empire—formerly German-speaking Jews would, in large numbers adopt the dominant languages of the co-territorial non-Jewish population, such as Czech, Hungarian and Polish. With regards to the latter two, Jewish Magyarisation and Polonisation came as a result of the 1867 Ausgleich with Hungary, and the large degree of autonomy bestowed on the Polish ruling class in Galicia. Not until the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 did Jews living amongst other Slavs (for example, Slovaks, or the various South Slavic ethno-linguistic groups that then made up the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) take up the Slovak, Slovenian, or Serbo-Croatian languages in any great numbers, and often these Jews continued to remain culturally and linguistically tied to the former German and Magyar overlords. Egon Sonnenschein, born in 1930 in Ptuj, at the time part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (today Slovenia) grew up speaking German, Croatian and Slovene. His parents Albert and Erna (née Metsch) Sonnenschein, from Ptuj (known at the time in German as Pettau) and the Bosnian town Derventa respectively, both continued to speak the German language and maintain an interest in German culture after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Egon Sonnenschein in discussion with author, November 19, 2015. See also Paul Benjamin Gordiejew, *Voices of Yugoslav Jewry* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); and Rebekah Klein-Peňšová, *Mapping Jewish Loyalties in Interwar Slovakia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

The family of the renowned Viennese writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) serves as an appropriate case study to map the multi-generational acculturation process through dress habits. Like many of his contemporaries, Zweig's Jewish parents had come to the Austrian capital from other parts of the empire, taking advantage of Franz Joseph I's dismantling of anti-Jewish restrictions on residential and professional activity in the Kaiserstadt.

The Zweig family can be traced back to Stefan Zweig's great-great-grandfather Moses Josef Zweig (1750–1840) in Proßnitz (Prostějov), Moravia. In the preface of archivist Julius Röder's 1932 Zweig family tree, Felix Zweig, a cousin of Stefan, asserts that Moses Josef Zweig was the son of Josef Petrowitz, who was recorded in 1755 as the part-owner of house number 39 in the Proßnitz Jewish quarter. Similar to their shtetl-dwelling eastern coreligionists, pre-emancipatory Habsburg Jews lived in sections of provincial towns (and sometimes larger cities) designated for Jewish residency, commonly known as the Judenstadt or Judengasse. The Jews of Proßnitz were no exception. On account of its burgeoning and prominent Jewish community, with its synagogues, houses of learning, yeshivot [rabbinical seminaries] and prominent rabbis, Proßnitz came to be known as the Jerusalem of the Hána [a region in central Moravia]. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Proßnitz Jewish

112 Moses Josef Zweig was named after his paternal grandfather, Moses Petrowitz. Julius Röder indicates that this family was of the Levite caste, following the tradition that they originated from the ancient Israelite tribe of Levi, one of the 12 sons of the patriarch Jacob. See Julius Röder, ed., Die Nachkommen von Moses (Josef) Zweig und Elka (Katti) Chaja Sarah Spitzer: eine Nachfahrenliste (Olmütz, 1932), 10.
114 A similar system of residency was also required of many German Jews; however, the absence of a unified Germany until the founding of the German Reich in 1871 meant that the conditions of Jewish inhabitation varied from place to place. The Jews of Frankfurt, for example, were confined to an area known as the Judengasse until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Amos Elon describes the Frankfurter Judengasse as, 'a single dark lane … foul smelling and dank, sunless because of its narrowness and its tall, overcrowded houses.' See Elon, The Pity of It All, 26.
115 Michael L. Miller, 'Prostějov,' YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, accessed October 10, 2016, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Prostejov. One of Vienna's most prominent rabbis, Adolf Jellinek (1821–1893)—whose paternal ancestors were alleged Hussite converts to Judaism during the eighteenth century—studied in a Proßnitz yeshiva under Talmudist Menachem Katz. After further studies in Prague and Leipzig, Jellinek served as a Rabbi in the latter before serving as second rabbi to Isaac Noah Mannheimer at Vienna's Leopoldstädtische Tempel in 1856. Regarded as a reformer of sorts, Jellinek championed Talmudic morality and world Jewry's role as cosmopolitan mediators between the peoples of the world, while at the
community was one of the most renowned in Moravia, second only to Nikolsburg (Mikulov). As a result of the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II’s Toleranzpatent and Toleranzedikt (1781 and 1782 respectively), all Jews living under the Habsburg crown were required to take German family names; very often these names were simply allocated to Jews by the authorities. Josef Petrowitz’s children chose the names Zweig and Löwinau. The adoption of German-language names can be understood as one of the first steps in the process of self-fashioning.

Moses Zweig and his family lived their lives according to the contemporaneous conventions of Ashkenazi Jewish ritual and culture, quite unlike the Bildung-obessed, culturally assimilated household of his great-grandson Moriz Zweig. As stated previously, prior to their emancipation, Proßnitz’s Jews were confined to the Judenstadt. Moses Zweig and his siblings were no exception. Leo Spitzer observes that they spoke a language that was commonly known as Judendeutsch, observed Kashrut [Jewish dietary laws] and the Sabbath, regularly attended synagogue and were members of communal organisations. An 1832 engraving of the Zweig family progenitor Moses included in Röder’s 1932 Zweig family tree remains the sole visual evidence of the family’s dress patterns, depicting a pious-looking man with heavily lidded eyes, a long, greying beard, tuft-like sidelocks that stick out below his large, dark yarmulke, and he wears a dark overcoat with large upturned collar and lapels. In the guise of a pre-emancipatory, ‘traditional’ Jew whose dress was similar to that of his

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119 Spitzer, Lives in Between, 82.
coreligionists in other parts of Eastern Europe, Moses Zweig appear worlds away from his famous great-great-grandson (Figure 21).  

The edicts of toleration of the late eighteenth century set the wheels in motion for a change in the culture of Habsburg Jewry. By the nineteenth century, Proßnitz Jews were exposed to greater professional opportunities. In the generation of Stefan Zweig’s grandfather Hermann (1807–1884), Jewish men had long abandoned peddling and moved from commerce to industry. In 1850, Hermann Zweig relocated his family to Vienna. His son Moriz as an adult followed in his footsteps, finding work as a textiles trader. This was a common profession among Central European Jews during the second half of the nineteenth century and Hermann eventually established a textile mill in the Bohemian town of Ober-Rosenthal bei Reichenberg (Liberec) in 1878.

In contrast, Stefan Zweig’s mother Ida, née Brettauer (1854–1938), came to Vienna from Ancona, Italy. Her father, Samuel Brettauer, was a native of Hohenems in the Austrian Vorarlberg, not far from the Swiss border, and her mother Josefine, née Landauer, was born in Hürben, Bavaria, to a father from the same village and a Brettauer mother from Hohenems.

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120 For a detailed study of the dress patterns of Eastern European Jewry from the seventeenth century onwards see Somogyi, Die Schejnen und die Prosten.
121 This was also the first generation that a member of the Zweig family earned a professional degree. Spitzer, Lives in Between, 89–90. Spitzer explains that Hermann Zweig’s cousin ‘Elkan (1840–1906), Germanized his first name to Eduard and became the first in the family to earn a professional degree as a lawyer.’
123 Michael Johan and Albert Lichtblau explain that by 1934 73.3 per cent of all Viennese textile merchants were Jewish. See Johan and Lichtblau, Schmelztiegel Wien, 34.
124 However, Moriz continued to work mainly in the Austrian capital and employed a secretary to manage the mill in his absence. Matuschek, Three Lives, 23–24.
125 Zweig, himself, wrote about his mother’s Italian upbringing and its influence on his own life and tastes, and Elizabeth Allday, in her biography of the writer, has argued that Italy and its culture had a major impact on Ida Zweig, going so far as to assert that she and her family were Italian. Allday argues that the Great War was responsible for creating a rift between Zweig’s family on account of his maternal and paternal families coming from opposite sides of the front lines; see Elizabeth Allday, Stefan Zweig: A Critical Biography (London: W.H. Allen, 1972), 93–94. However, Ida Zweig was Italian only by the place of her birth and childhood, and not cultural heritage.
The first Jews arrived in Hohenems in 1617, after they were invited to settle in the town by the *Reichsgraf* [Imperial Count] Kaspar von Hohenems, who hoped they would help develop the town’s economy. In 1676 Graf Franz Karl expelled the Jews from Hohenems, only to invite them to return twelve years later (1688). Unlike the Moravian Jews, who were mostly pedlars and other small traders, the Jews of Hohenems were occupied in the cattle and horse trades—something they had in common with Jewish communities in Switzerland and southern Germany. In 1773, when Herz Lämle Brettauer (1742–1802), patriarch of the Brettauer family and great-grandfather of Ida Zweig, settled in Hohenems, Jews made up 10 per cent of the total population, and lived in twenty-four houses. The Hohenems Jewish population during the late eighteenth century was a fraction of that in ‘Jerusalem of the Hána’.

Herz Lämle Brettauer married Brendel Uffenheimer, the daughter of the wealthy commercial agent for the Austrian imperial court, Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer. Working as a jeweller and moneylender, Herz Lämle Brettauer became one of the most prominent members of the Hohenems Jewish community. Like the Zweig family, the Brettauers also underwent a professional transformation with younger generations moving into industries.

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128 See, for example, William Zvi Tannenbaum, ‘From Community to Citizenship: The Jews of Rural Franconia, 1801–1862’ (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1989).
129 In 1779 Hohenems Jewish population numbered 227; while in Proßnitz the number of Jews was 1,393 in 1713, and 1,459 in 1793. See Spitzer, *Lives in Between*, 76, 214. For a more detailed description of Moses Josef Zweig’s living quarters see Röder, *Die Nachkommen von Moses (Josef) Zweig*, 10–11.
132 Spitzer offers a comparison between the financial situations of Herz Lämle Brettauer and Moses Josef Zweig, the former whose house (no. 37 in the *Judenstadt*) was valued at fl. 3000—more than double that of Zweig’s at 400 Rhenish Gulden. See Spitzer, *Lives in Between*, 79.
that had previously been closed to Jews. Herz Lämle’s oldest sons and grandsons were involved in the textile industry, primarily in importing and exporting. His grandson Samuel Brettauer (1813–1879), father of Ida Zweig, followed his brother Hermann (1804–1883) to Ancona, Italy, where the latter’s import-export firm was transformed into a successful banking house. During the 1870s, Samuel Brettauer closed the business and relocated to the Austrian capital with his wife Josefine and daughters Ida and Fanny.

Ida and Moriz Zweig were both born into families that had already begun the process of refashioning the Jewish self. Aspects of German culture and modern forms of dress had been adopted by their families long before their birth. They themselves did not undergo a process of cultural assimilation, but rather reaped the benefits of their parents’ and grandparents’ efforts, and in their own way continued this process of self-fashioning.

The sartorial patterns of the Zweig and Brettauer families were not those of the stereotypical ‘Jewish’ look associated with the Zweigs’ eastern coreligionists, or that of their ancestors in pre-emancipatory Central Europe, but rather one that corresponded largely with the co-territorial middle-class Gentile populations. Ostjuden in Galicia and the Russian Pale of Settlement, in contrast, dressed in a manner (although not homogenous) that clearly marked them as different to the co-territorial Gentile (overwhelmingly Slavic) population. The Hasidic men, for example, maintained very particular modes of dress, with styles varying slightly between the different dynasties, but generally including a fur hat of some kind (for example shtryml, spodik or kolpak), a silk or wool frockcoat (bekeshe or kapote), and knee-breeches with stocking or trousers. Hasidic male attire derived from the dress of sixteenth-century szlachta [Polish nobility].

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134 The son of Ludwig Brettauer and Fanny née Mannes.
135 Spitzer, Lives in Between, 83–86. Among the banks clients was the Vatican.
136 Ibid., 96.
137 The difference of dress between the Hasidic dynasties was (and remains) determined through details rather than an overall ‘look’, of which at a superficial level the members of differing dynasties appear to share. See Silverman, A Cultural History of Jewish Dress, 115–19, 124–25.
who were not members of Hasidic sects often dressed in styles more modern than those worn by Hasidic Jews. However, these non-Hasidic Ostjuden were distinguished from their Gentile countrymen in lifestyle, clothing preferences (especially if living in rural shtetls in the vicinity of Gentile peasants wearing traditional garb), and other non-sartorial visual signifiers, such as beards and sidelocks. These ‘eastern’ Jews differed from their ‘Western’ and culturally assimilated coreligionists in their very conscious visual dissociation.

Surviving portraits of Moriz Zweig’s relatives from previous generations reveal an earlier management of dress in accordance with a new self-vision. Röder’s Zweig family tree includes undated portraits of Moses Josef Zweig’s son Marcus Zweig (great-uncle of Moriz Zweig) and his wife Netti Zweig (Figures 22 & 23). The couple are dressed in contemporary fashions, Marcus in a dark double-breasted jacket, waistcoat and trousers, white collar and shirt front with a plain dark bowtie, and watch-chain across his waistcoat, and Netti in a dark, corseted and buttoned bodice and skirt, with a dark bonnet atop her head. Only one generation later, Marcus Zweig in his tailored suit bears no resemblance to the sartorial modes and style of grooming favoured by his bearded father with his heavy coat and large yarmulke.

Hasidic men have maintained elaborate sartorial practices in contrast to European men of the latter half of the nineteenth century, who exchanged more elaborate styles for more sober styles of dress. See Silverman, A Cultural History of Jewish Dress, 119. Hasidic dress practices, clearly marking the wearer as different from others, can also be understood in relation to what Barbara Goldman Carrel describes as the construction of ‘protective fences around those precepts to guarantee safe distance from either consciously or unconsciously transgressing Jewish law.’ See Barbara Goldman Carrel, ‘Hasidic Women’s Head Coverings: A Feminized System of Hasidic Distinction,’ in Religion, Dress and the Body, ed. Linda B. Arthur (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 164. Thus clothing could serve as a reminder of supposed Jewish difference and prevent the wearer from engaging in behaviours forbidden in Judaism—conformity through social pressure.


Even in larger ‘Western’ cities Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe often celebrated their particular Jewish identities as opposed to assimilating into the established, culturally assimilated Jewish population. Galician immigrants in Vienna, for example, developed their own community organisations—Landsmannschaften—separate to the official Jewish establishment in a conscious decision to maintain their Galitsianer religious and cultural identities. See Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt; Rosenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 151–53.

In addition to being married, Marcus and Netti Zweig were uncle and niece, the latter being a daughter of the former’s older brother Michael Löb Moses Zweig—Moriz Zweig’s grandfather. See Röder, ed., Die Nachkommen von Moses (Josef) Zweig und Ela (Katti) Chaja Sarah Spitzer, 12–13.
Likewise, portraits of Moriz Zweig’s parents Nanette (née Wolf) and Hermann Zweig, the latter a cousin and nephew of Netti and Marcus, expose the family’s continued self-fashioning (Figures 24 & 25). Nanette sits proudly on a finely carved chair and next to a thick, patterned curtain wearing a dark dress with billowing skirts that appears to be made of silk taffeta or similar fabric. Like Netti, she wears a bonnet atop her neatly brushed hair that appears to be pulled back into a bun. Hermann, in contrast, stands before a screen depicting a marble balustrade topped with a vase of flowers overlooking a castle on a wooded hill. He stands stiffly next to a simple bentwood chair, gripping its back with his right hand. His clothes, corresponding to his stiff posture, are stark: a dark frock coat with bound edges, stiff white collar and dark bowtie, a waistcoat, light-coloured straight trousers and leather shoes. The portrait can be compared to one of his son Moriz taken during the latter’s youth (Figure 26). The portraits share a degree of similarity with regards to the carefully styled studio décor—in this case a patterned rug, richly upholstered chair with a delicately carved frame and equally intricate side table topped with two books in front of a thick curtain—and the sartorial styles of both men. However, the young Moriz looks far more at ease (despite the stiff posture reflecting the conventions of nineteenth-century photography) than his elderly father. Perhaps Moriz’s proud, almost haughty, stance in contrast to his father’s uneasy stiffness exposes the relative comfort and familiarity members of the younger generation felt in the Bildung and Deutschtum in which they had been raised, in contrast to preceding generation that had taken a more active role in learning the dominant culture.¹⁴²

The marriage of Ida Brettauerv and Moriz Zweig took place in Vienna on 22 September 1878.¹⁴³ Their first son, Alfred, was born a year later, on 14 October 1879. The couple were living in an apartment at Schottenring 14 and the family

¹⁴³ Incidentally, this was the same date on which Moriz’s great-grandfather, the patriarch of the Zweig family, Moses, died thirty-eight years earlier. The entry for their marriage in the Trauungs-Buch für die israelitische Cultusgemeinde in Wien (innere Stadt) records their fathers, Hermann Zweig and Samuel Brettauerv as being present as witnesses. The digitised Trauungsbuch can be accessed via the FamilySearch genealogical database. See ‘Austria, Vienna, Jewish Registers of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1784-1911,’ FamilySearch, accessed October 17, 2016, https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/2028320.
was still living at this address two years later when Stefan was born on 28
November 1881. As the only children of an upper-middle-class family, Alfred
and Stefan were pampered and raised in a manner that was befitting the family’s
social status. A portrait from the studio Winter (Reisnerstraβe 11a in
Landstraβe, Vienna’s third district) presents Stefan and Alfred as young boys
dressed in matching velvet jackets and satin bows (Figure 27). Stefan sits atop
what appears to be a marble balustrade with classical motif moulding. His
matching velvet shorts are visible, as are his woollen stockings and leather boots.
He gazes into the camera lens as he balances precariously, perhaps a little
uncomfortably, atop the narrow balustrade. His older brother, who stands
behind the balustrade leaning up against him, a handkerchief and metal chain
poking out of his left breast pocket and his hand resting on a worn book, seems
to look beyond the lens, a little off to the side. The photograph’s setting on and
around the marble-look balustrade and the use of a book as a prop is no
accident; they symbolise the dedication of Ida and Moriz to Bildung and
Sittlichkeit, which they hoped to instil in their sons.

The dress habits of the Zweig family followed the conventions of middle-class
Viennese sartorial elegance. For members of this segment of society, the
‘educated’ middle-class, both Jews and Gentiles, following correct dress practice
was synonymous with their dedication to the ideals and values of Bildung and
Sittlichkeit. Dressing in a correct manner was not simply a means of presenting
oneself as visually respectable, but fine clothing, as it was claimed in the men’s
fashion and lifestyle magazine Die Herrenwelt, had transformative powers that
not only shaped the individual’s outward appearance, but also his inner
countenance. In short, dressing respectfully would allow the individual to feel
respectful and in turn behave accordingly, or so it was believed.

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144 In line with their families’ Jewish tradition, Ida and Moriz Zweig had both sons circumcised
and given Hebrew names to be used in religious practice. Alfred was given the Hebrew name
Yosef [Joseph], after Ida’s maternal grandfather Josef Raphael Landauer who had died the
previous year. Stefan’s Hebrew name Shmuel [Samuel] was given in honour of Ida’s deceased
father Samuel Brettauer. See Eva Plank, ‘Das Geheimnis um Stefan Zweigs jüdischen Vornamen,’
salzburg.at/pdf/zweigheft/zweigheft_15.pdf.
145 ‘Die Religion der Kleidung,’ Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode 1, no. 5 (September
From the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna, like other European cities, saw the advent of radical dress reform, led by Secessionist artists and designers such as Gustav Klimt and Emilie Flöge. This reform was inspired by nineteenth-century European doctors who had lobbied against the fashion industry for promoting unhealthy and restrictive modes of dress.\textsuperscript{146} In his memoir, Zweig observed the ‘ridiculous’ female fashions of his childhood, relegating women as slaves to a prison of corsets, cloth and trimmings:

Her body is cut in two at a wasp-waist obtained by a whalebone corset, her skirts billow out in an enormous bell, her throat is enclosed right up to the chin, her feet covered to the toes, her hair piled up into countless little curls and rolls and braids, worn under a majestically swaying monster of a hat, her hands carefully gloved even in the hottest summer—this creature, long ago consigned to history, gives the impression of pitiable helplessness, despite the perfume wafting around her, the jewellery weighing her down and all the costly lace, frills and trimmings.\textsuperscript{147}

Zweig’s mother Ida, as she appeared in surviving photographs, may have served as possible inspiration for this image of the women enslaved within an exaggeratedly feminine silhouette. In their biographies of Ida’s famous son, Oliver Matuschek and George Prochnik take pains to point out Ida’s relatively plain and understated day-to-day appearance, asserting her carefully made up dressed identity in photographs was an exception she assumed when having her portrait taken.\textsuperscript{148} An undated, youthful portrait of Ida, by J. Lafranchini’s photographic salon in Vienna, depicts a brooding young woman in the role of demure daughter of bourgeoisie (Figure 28). Her long, brown hair is pinned up

\textsuperscript{147} Zweig, The World of Yesterday, 93.
artfully and decorated with flowers. She wears a simple light-coloured bodice with lace collar, large, pendant earrings and a ribbon choker with hanging pendant. By no means does Ida appear a member of Vienna’s Jewish élite. Her attire is simple, albeit of quality, and her countenance submissive.

Later photographs, taken at the studio of Dr Josef Székely in Vienna,\textsuperscript{149} show Ida Zweig in the more mature role of wife and mother. In these photographs she appears far more confident than the shy girl of former years, and yet, this confidence does not stray into haughtiness. Here too, Ida is dressed plainly, albeit tastefully; her hair pinned up and her body adorned with flowers and modest jewellery (Figures 29 & 30). Matuschek asserts that despite her relatively plain everyday attire, Ida was a customer of Vienna’s leading dressmakers until 1914.\textsuperscript{150} Her appearance and bearing in later photographs, despite her age and the change of sartorial fashions, remains unaltered. As a wife and mother in Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie, Ida knew and accepted her station in life. This is suggested through her clothing preferences, seemingly following the accepted fashions of the period. In a later photograph (c. 1936), Ida as an 82-year-old woman sits proudly between her two middle-aged sons (Figure 31). In a dark blouse with what appears to be a small, white floral or spotted pattern, and lace collar and bow below her chin, Ida appears very much the elderly matriarch.

If Ida Zweig played the role of the family’s queen, her husband Moriz was cast into that of ‘retiring and conciliatory “prince consort”’.\textsuperscript{151} In descriptions of Stefan Zweig’s family origins in various biographies, Moriz Zweig plays a secondary role to that of his wife,\textsuperscript{152} and his attire is rarely discussed.\textsuperscript{153}


\textsuperscript{150} Matuschek, Three Lives, 29.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 26.

\textsuperscript{152} Friderike Zweig, the one biographer with the deepest insight to the Zweig family, barely mentions her former father-in-law in her biography of her second husband. She dedicates a very short paragraph to Moriz in the chapter that focuses on Stefan Zweig’s childhood and the
Surviving photographs of Moriz depict a stern-looking, bespectacled man whose appearance adapts with the times. Moriz's clothing choices correspond to the notions of male respectability as outlined in men's fashion and lifestyle magazines, as well as those described by the architect Adolf Loos (1870–1933). For Loos, being well-dressed meant 'to be correctly dressed.'\textsuperscript{154} Essentially, this meant that a man should dress in the styles common among English 'gentlemen'.\textsuperscript{155} But this 'Anglomania' was not introduced to Viennese society by Loos; the architect had simply built on an already existing lust for all things English that had emerged in the last third of the eighteenth century, the culture of the English gentry to be specific. In Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it became fashionable for the upper- and middle classes to employ English (or French) governesses to educate their children. Some sons of bourgeois families, such as Leopold Goldman, the son of the businessman Michael Goldman who employed Loos to design the interior of his men's outfitters on the Graben,\textsuperscript{156} were even sent to England to study or work for a period after completing their secondary education.\textsuperscript{157} Moriz Zweig did not study in England but he was, along with French, fluent in English,\textsuperscript{158} and his dress preferences correspond to correct 'English' style.

A portrait of a youthful Moriz Zweig, taken by the German-born Austrian court photographer Fritz Luckhardt (c. 1860s/70s), depicts the young man with thick, middle-parted, dark hair and long, fuzz-like growth of whiskers on his cheeks (Figure 32). Despite his youth, reinforced all the more by the not-yet-mature growth of facial hair, his stern countenance, the finely-shaped nose upon which his pince-nez perches, full lips with slightly downward pull, and heavily-lidded

\textsuperscript{153} Donald A. Prater, for example, dedicates one line to Moriz's sartorial appearance insofar as it contrasts with that of his wife Ida. See Donald A. Prater, \textit{European of Yesterday: A Biography of Stefan Zweig} (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3.


\textsuperscript{155} Jules Lubbock, 'Adolf Loos and the English Dandy,' \textit{Architectural Review} 174, no. 1038 (1983): 44.

\textsuperscript{156} The younger Goldman would later employ Loos to design his shop on the Michaelerplatz opposite the imperial residence, the Hofburg.

\textsuperscript{157} Shapira, \textit{Style and Seduction}, 196.

dark penetrating eyes under straight brows, and his plain, dark attire, consisting of a tightly-buttoned jacket with a high roll line in what appears to be a corduroy-like fabric, and cravat with a plain, line motif, all give him a mature appearance. This overall ‘sober’ style was maintained and Moriz appears in similar guise in later portraits by the photographer Jan Nepomuk Langhans (with studios in Prague and Marienbad) and by the Viennese Atelier Reuter & Pokorny (Asperngasse 2). Present in both images are his Franz Joseph-style whiskers and moustache, pince-nez, dark, high-buttoned jackets and stiff, white collars (Figures 33 & 34), evincing the same, cautious, conservatism Stefan Zweig refers to in his memoir.\footnote{Ibid., 27–31.}

Moriz Zweig’s sons Alfred and Stefan came of age in an era of change, both political and cultural. The inauguration of the Christian-Socialist politician Karl Lueger as mayor of Vienna in 1897 paralleled the advent of both political and cultural Zionism during the same period, in line with other burgeoning nationalist ideologies. The beginning of the twentieth century saw the development of new and conflicting artistic styles, such as the Vienna Secession, with its rejection of historicism and the exploration of the new, and Adolf Loos’s notions of rationality in design, which rejected completely what he considered was the Secession’s unnecessary applied ornamentation. Alfred and Stefan Zweig, like other young men of middle-class background, rejected the regimented simplicity of their father’s attire and embraced modern styles. This is not to say that either brother was particularly avant-garde in his clothing choices; indeed, their habits of dress remained within the confines of accepted middle-class fashions. But their choices were less restrained than those of their father. Alfred, for example, adopted a more playful appearance, wearing his hats at rakish angles and carrying a cane, as he does in one photograph where he appears as a fop, the antithesis of Loos’s well-dressed man (Figure 35). Stefan, in contrast, appears to have limited his sartorial indulgences to the fine details: striking tie fabrics and trinkets such as his pearl tiepin, ring and cufflinks. The
brothers’ preferences reveal their dedication to modern European culture and their evolving role of men in the realm of dress politics.160

CONCLUSION

Accounts of the sartorial preferences and patterns of Viennese Jewry commonly focus on those of the financial élite (the so-called Ringstraßenfamilien) or those individuals who stood out as contributors to the general development of Viennese modernist culture. As individuals of inflated social rank with high financial or cultural status, these members of the Viennese Jewish community often had the ability to cross social boundaries that were closed to their less prominent coreligionists. Stefan Zweig, for example, although privately concerned with the issues affecting his ‘race’, befriended many cultural luminaries not only within Austria, but also across Europe, all the while remaining a member of the Viennese Jewish community.

This chapter has probed the relationship between Jews and dress with regards to the acculturation of Viennese Jewry and the development of a modern Jewish identity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examining the dress of Stefan Zweig’s lesser-known relatives explores the influences on not only his own multifaceted identity, but also that of other Viennese cultural luminaries of a similar background and the many unknown members of the Jewish bourgeoisie. His origins, albeit of privilege, were not dissimilar from many of his unnamed coreligionists whose forebears also hailed from various parts of the Dual Monarchy. For him, as for others, Bildung and Sittlichkeit were of utmost importance, while Judaism (and Jewish identification), despite his irreligiousness, played an interlinked role that would strengthen one’s dedication to a modern European identity comprising all influences and aspects of the ideal persona.

160 Later photographs of the brothers in middle age reveal this contrast: Alfred maintaining the tailored precision of a man concerned with dressing in a correct, or even stylish manner; and Stefan wearing softer suits, and at times—particularly when at home in Salzburg—in shirtsleeves and open-collar. See more on the sartorial habits of the Zweig brothers in Chapter 7 ‘The Man in the Suit’.
INTRODUCTION

One of the most celebrated architects and design thinkers of late nineteenth-century Vienna was Adolf Loos (1870–1933), a relatively young man at the time of which I write. This chapter connects middle-class Jewish men and their sartorial fashions to the work of Loos: both his writings on modern masculine style and his architectural designs. Although better known for his architectural designs and creations, Loos was a frequent commentator on the state of Austrian society and all areas of its design industry, including clothing. For Loos, writing about clothing and other aspects of the designed world went beyond an interest in aesthetics. He strongly believed that design was an indicator of a society’s place in the modern world and a tool by which to measure the extent of its modernisation. Austria, according to Loos, despite its wealth, was a backward society desperately in need of a design reform that would lead it into the twentieth century and modernity. In both his architectural projects and the essays that appeared in the Viennese press, Loos sought to educate the Austrian population and encourage it to reform its retrograde manners, including abandoning the popular taste for Jugendstil or Art Nouveau.

Dress was particularly important to Loos. Loos saw dress as built structures, architecture for the human body. How could society truly become modern in his new and rationally designed buildings if human beings continued to dress in outdated, irrational clothing? To be modern was to exist in a modern environment, wear modern clothes and use modern appliances. To Loos, historicising styles included Jugendstil, which had links to Rococo, Japonisme and eighteenth-century taste.

Loos, like so many of his colleagues in the various fields of the Wiener Moderne [Viennese Modernism], was an immigrant to the Habsburg Kaiserstadt. A native

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of the Moravian capital, Brünn (Brno), Adolf Franz Karl Viktor Maria Loos² was raised solely by his mother Maria from when he was nine years old, after the death of his stonemason father. His mother likely considered Bildung to be of great importance, for her young son was educated locally in Brünn, and then for a short period at a Benedictine Gymnasium in Melk, Lower Austria, where he failed his exams. Loos’s education was turbulent and saw him shifted from one institution to another: Reichenberg (Liberec), Brünn, Dresden, Vienna and Dresden again. Finally, after living three years in the United States (1893–1896), Loos returned to Austria-Hungary and settled in Vienna.³

ADOLF LOOS AND THE JEWS: DESIGNER AND PATRON

Many of the individuals in Loos’s professional and personal circles were Jews. As Janet Stewart explains in her study of this architect and his cultural criticism, Loos wrote very little regarding Jews, partly because he found himself very much in a liberal bourgeois milieu that was largely made up of the acculturated Jewish population.⁴ In this sense, the ‘Jewish difference’ of the individuals Loos associated with was irrelevant. These were individuals whom he believed had already set out to adopt modern European culture and were centrally placed to modernise Austrian society.⁵

Although notions of inherent Jewish difference were as widespread in Vienna as in the rest of the German-speaking world, they were not universally held. Loos was one figure who dismissed concerns of racial difference and actively sought to develop a modern Viennese identity that would include Gentiles and Jews alike.⁶ Indeed, Loos’s writings on the topics of male dress and style are of central importance to the study of Jewish men and their dress in fin-de-siècle Vienna.

² Named after (in the order of each name) his father, all four grandparents (both grandfathers were named Franz, while his grandmothers were both named Franziska), two uncles, and mother.
³ For a comprehensive study of Loos’s life and work see Burkhartd Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982). On his education in particular see Ibid., 14–16.
⁶ Ibid.
Loos played an important part in the response to the Jewish crisis of identity in Vienna during this time. Enjoying strong relationships with members of Vienna’s Jewish Bildungsbürgertum, he worked actively with patrons and financiers, both Jewish and Gentile, to refashion modern male identities. Like other architects of the time, Loos recognised the importance of sartorial style in the fashioning of individual identity in a modernist aesthetic system, and regularly published articles in the Viennese press on topics concerning men’s dress and style. Many of his clients were members of the men’s apparel trade. These included the Jewish-owned tailoring firm Goldman & Salatsch, whose new tailoring workshop and shop interior in 1896 were among Loos’s first professional commissions.

Adolf Loos was not Jewish, either by religion or ancestry, but, as noted above, many of his friends, colleagues, students and clients were Jewish. Among his closest associates can be counted Karl Kraus and Peter Altenberg, who were anachronisms in acculturated, middle-class Viennese Jewry. Both were well-known critics of the very class from which they had sprung. Like these two Jewish friends and colleagues, Loos criticised what he considered the hypocrisy and excess of the acculturated Jewish upper-middle class, some of whom served as patrons to Secessionist artists and designers, including his arch-rival Josef Hoffmann. To Loos, Secessionist style, with its applied ornamentation and organic forms, was an indication of the failed assimilation of Viennese Jews on account of their disproportionate representation among the movement’s patrons. Like Hoffmann, Loos also catered to many Jewish clients, but his stark, geometric designs, devoid of applied ornamentation and neo-Rococo references, were the antithesis of the ostentatious styles of the Secession. In an undated essay titled ‘Die Emanzipation des Judenthums’ [The Emancipation of Jewry], Loos compared the Jewish patronage of Secessionist artists and designers to a return to traditional Jewish garb:

8 See Chapter 6 ‘The Man in the Suit’.
Jews who have long since put aside their caftans are happy to be able to slide back into one again. For these Secession interiors are only caftans in disguise, just like the names of Gold and Silberstein, like the names of Moritz and Siegfried. One could recognize them by it. True, there are Aryan Moritzes and Siegfrieds, just as there are Aryan owners of Hoffmann interiors. They are exceptions. One recognizes them by it. Let me not be misunderstood. I have nothing against a strong, vigorous emphasis on the Jewish. I do not take issue with the man in the caftan. I respect the man who calls himself Moses or Samuel. But I deplore the man who wishes to overcome his caftan and his name of Samuel and relapses into Olbrich and Siegfried. That would bring us back to the same patch. In the new ghetto. And these unfortunates believe that they are emancipating themselves from Jewishness with Olbrich or Siegfried. Just eating ham isn’t enough.10

In this short undated piece, Loos encapsulates the issue of assimilation and acculturation in Vienna: the strong desire of many to discard their Jewish identity but their failure to do so as a result of deeply-rooted antisemitism in the society and a lack of understanding of its hidden codes.11 Loos’s tone is symptomatic of the general attitude towards Jews and Jewishness in many parts of Europe at the fin de siècle, when acculturating and assimilating Jews were commonly seen as disingenuous and therefore a greater threat to the Gentile body politic than their coreligionists who were visibly and unashamedly Jewish.

As Elana Shapira has demonstrated, many Jewish patrons of the arts were not fixated on obfuscating signs of Jewishness, but rather focused on creating new forms of secular Jewish identity independent of the Gentile élite.12 In doing so,


12 See for example, Shapira, Jewish Identity, Mass Consumption and Modern Design. Shapira also offers the Jewish-born co-founder of the Wiener Werkstätte Fritz Waerndorfer (1868–1939) as an example of an assimilating Jew who used his Jewishness to promote new artistic styles.
they commissioned artists and designers to design living quarters and workplaces that broke away stylistically from former modes of the bourgeois milieu with its penchant for historicism and heavy ‘Biedermeier-style’ furniture that conveyed a sense of stability and sobriety. By being among the first to adopt novel architectural and decorative styles (in the same way that they had previously adopted the changing patterns of dress over the course of the nineteenth century), wealthy Jewish patrons boldly asserted their identities as modern ‘Europeans’ moving into a new century.

As the antithesis to Hoffmann and the Secession, Loos offered his own design principles for Jewish acculturation. In the context of Viennese modernism, acculturating Jews who were eager to fashion a place for themselves in Viennese society, while at the same time choosing not to conform to middle-class conventions, were happy to join Loos in a partnership of refashioning the modern Viennese self. Architectural historian Frederic Bedoire contends:

Loos, clearly, saw the Jewish establishment as the nearest representatives of this new cultivated human being. Two of his wives were Jews, most of his friends and clients were Jews, and so were his pupils Richard Neutra, Oskar Strnad, Paul Engelmann, Josef Frank and Oskar Wlach. In 1919 the group to which Loos, Karl Kraus and Arnold Schönberg belonged were accused of harboring an extremjüdische Richtung, der Bolschewismus in der Kunst—an ultra-Jewish tendency: Bolshevik art.14

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13 Memoirs and family histories that take Central European Jews as their subjects often make vague references to the use of furniture and interior décor as a way of asserting cultural or social capital. Andrew Riemer, for example describes the pompous milieu of his forebears in Sopron and Budapest. In particular he recalls his paternal grandmother who lived in Budapest but looked to Vienna as the epitome of cultural and spiritual achievement. Upon marrying she had ordered custom-made Biedermeier furniture from the Austrian capital, and continued to live in the same, ‘old-fashioned’ flat long after separating from her husband. See Andrew Riemer, A Family History of Smoking (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 63–64. Similarly, George Clare remembered that growing up in the 1920s his grandmother’s flat remained as a museum piece from the 1880s: ‘Not a chair, not one of the heavy plush burgundy curtains, not one antimacassar had been replaced. Everything remained exactly as it had been on the day when Dr Ludwig Klaar and his young wife Julie moved into the house at Josefstadterstrasse so many years before.’ Clare, Last Waltz in Vienna, 38.
This partnership was not simply that of designer (Loos) and patron (Jews), but a reciprocal one in which they worked together to fashion new masculine identities for a new century. Shapira offers the professional relationship between Michael Goldman and Loos as an example of this partnership: ‘Goldman supplied Loos with a suit appropriate for presenting his cultural agenda in public, and Loos tailored his authorship to “suit” the need of Goldman, an assimilated Jewish businessman, to succeed at the center of a European city among the leading representatives of major society.’

Jews rarely appear in Loos’s writing. He does not specifically distinguish them from ‘Austrians’, whom he characterises as distinct from ‘Germans’, despite the widespread German national feeling among the German speakers of Austria-Hungary. Stewart asserts that Loos points to Jews as an example of the sartorial modernisation of Austria’s citizens. In arguing for the adoption of the modern suit in preference to Volkstrachten [folk costume], Loos says, ‘that he has never heard a Jew argue that the Jews in Galicia should continue to wear the caftan.’

Thus, acculturating Jews are presented as a contrast to Germans in the fashioning of a modern Austrian identity. As a mixture of languages, ethnicities and cultures, Loos’s Austria, ‘has more in common with English culture than with the customs of the Upper Austrian peasant who, although geographically closer, is temporarily dissociated from modern Austria’, and is appropriately positioned to adopt the culture of the Anglophone world. This includes, primarily, the adoption of modern clothing and conveniences over folk lifestyles and aesthetics.

MALE SARTORIAL POLITICS IN VIENNA: THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

While, as mentioned above, Jews rarely appear in Loos’s writing, his connection to the so-called Jewish Question and self-fashioning undergone by many Jewish men was primarily achieved through his interactions, both professional and

16 Stewart, Fashioning Vienna, 110. In this case the kaftan (also spelled caftan) refers to a variety of long robes or frockcoats worn by Hasidic men in Eastern Europe. These garments were known by specific names such as ‘bekeshe’ or ‘kapote’.
17 Loos [1898] quoted in Ibid., 54.
personal, with individual Jews, as well as his ideals of male sartorial respectability. At the fin de siècle, Loos wrote a series of short essays dealing with topics ranging from interior and architectural design, dress and apparel—even plumbing—that were published in Viennese newspapers and journals, notably the liberal, Jewish-owned Neue Freie Presse that included many Jews among its editorial staff and subscribers. Several of these pieces dealt with various topics of men’s dressing that all came down to the single argument: a man should be well-dressed.

To be dressed correctly! I feel as if I have revealed in these words the secret that has surrounded the fashion of our clothes up until now. We have tried to get at fashion with words like ‘beautiful,’ ‘stylish,’ ‘elegant,’ ‘smart,’ and ‘strong.’ But this is not the point. Rather, it is a question of being dressed in such a way that one stands out the least. A red dress coat stands out in a ballroom. It follows that a red dress coat is unmodern in the ballroom. A top hat stands out at the ice-skating rink. Consequently it is unmodern to wear a top hat while on the ice. In good society, to be conspicuous is bad manners.

It is apparent that Loos’s notion of correct dressing follows dandyist methods of simple, albeit meticulous, modes of dress. Not only is this evident in Loos’s own dress patterns (Figure 36), but so too in the way his architectural and interior designs are devoid of applied ornamentation. The dandy as an historical figure who has passed into semi-mythical status became the yardstick by which sartorially elegant men were measured. Originating as an archetype from the ‘arch-dandy’ George ‘Beau’ Brummell, the dandy as a socio-cultural type refers to the man for whom dressed appearance, or appearance in general, is of

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paramount importance.\textsuperscript{21} Like Loos, it is not enough for the dandy to appear beautiful; rather, he must be well-dressed, meaning maintaining an appearance of effortless elegance. A man who obviously strives to appear elegant fails.\textsuperscript{22} To Loos, a man’s appearance should be carefully contrived but never conspicuous.

Loos’s rejection of applied ornamentation did not equate with ‘minimalism’. On the contrary, the architect maintained a distinction between decoration and ornamentation.\textsuperscript{23} Panayotis Tournikiotis asserts, ‘[f]or Loos decoration—the purposeful use of simple forms and the honest use of materials—was indispensable in his otherwise spare constructions.’\textsuperscript{24} His lack of applied ornamentation came from a rejection of what Gottfried Semper celebrated as his \textit{Bekleidungstheorie} [theory of cladding] in his two-volume work \textit{Der Stil in der technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder Praktische Ästhetik} [Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or Practical Aesthetics] (1860–1863). To Loos, cladding represented unnecessary surface dressing.\textsuperscript{25} This is evident from photographs of Loos’s own sitting room (a reconstruction of which exists at the Wien Museum in Vienna). While free of ornamental architectural motifs and surface dressings that were present in both historicist architecture of the previous generation, as well as the designs of Loos’s rivals at the Viennese Secession, the room is not free of objects or decorative elements. Rather, the objects that make up this milieu—books, a clock, \textit{objets d’art}, and Persian rugs—indicate his preference for a level of comfort and function over the accumulation of material culture.\textsuperscript{26}

In his writings on men’s style, Loos rails against the ‘Gigerl’, which has often been mistranslated as ‘dandy’. In fact, the two terms denote very different figures. While a dandy can be understood as a social critic who often sets the tone of stylish consumption external to contemporary accepted fashions, the \textit{Gigerl}—

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\textsuperscript{21} See Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Brummell famously remarked that the greatest triumph was when someone described him as well dressed but could not pinpoint why. See Teichert, \textit{Mode. Macht. Männer}, 154.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{25} See for example, Lubbock, ‘Adolf Loos and the English Dandy,’ 46.
\end{flushright}
more suitably translated as ‘fop’ or peacock—is a man frivolously concerned with his outward appearance and a keen follower of conventional fashions (Figure 37).27 As Loos notes, ‘the [Gigerl] always wears only that which the society around him considers modern’—rather than becoming one who dictates fashions himself.

To Loos, clothing, like architectural form, went beyond serving as protection from the elements and ornamentation of the body. Loos believed the archetypes of the dandy and Gigerl were manifested in the national characters of England and Germany respectively. Being well-dressed—that is to say, a ‘dandy’—meant dressing in the reserved and practical manner of the English, rather than that of the Germans, who ‘express their individuality though odd styles and unusual wardrobe creations and through rather adventurous neckties.’29 As a nation of GigerIn, the Germans were accused by Loos of concerning themselves with being beautiful rather than being correctly dressed, in contrast to the English, whom Loos characterises as the arbiters of sartorial taste. The latter clearly understood that correct dressing meant dressing appropriately for any given social situation and not, like the Gigerl, ‘standing out’.

It was in English dress and interiors that Loos found an answer to the question of Jewish acculturation. For a people who were considered ‘citizens of the world since presumably they did not have their own country’,30 Loos fashioned his Jewish clients’ homes and businesses in ‘English’ style with its traditions of sartorial prestige and precision. By dressing his Jewish clients as English gentlemen, both in their clothing styles and in the interiors they inhabited, Loos made a clear statement that acculturating Jews were not GigerIn pitifully chasing after emerging and fleeting fashions, but rather ‘guaranteed that his clients would be identified with the cultural persona of the English gentleman and

27 Stewart, Fashioning Vienna, 189.
30 Shapira, ‘Adolf Loos and the Fashioning of the “Other”’, 226
therefore appeared as respected and distinguished members of Western society.'

In addressing the clothing peculiarities of the Germans and English, Loos seems to dissociate the Northern German of Berlin from the Austrian of Vienna. An immigrant from Moravia, Loos had this in common with many Jewish immigrants who belonged to the same liberal bourgeois segment of Viennese society that took many of its cultural cues from the ‘North’. Steven Beller asserts that in a society of mounting conservatism, Viennese Jews tended to associate more strongly with the cold rationality of Protestant Northern Germany and its Enlightenment culture than with the emotional Catholic South—Austria and Bavaria. However, this North/South divide was not played out strictly along national lines. The Viennese, he seems to argue, were far more advanced in sartorial matters than the Germans, following the lead of the English. According to Loos, this was not evidence that Austria had attained the cultural ideal. In his short-lived periodical, Das Andere: Ein Blatt zur Einführung Abendländischer Kultur in Österreich [The Other: A Journal for the Introduction of Occidental Culture in Austria], Loos lamented the backwardness of Austrian society as ‘preventing Austria from reaching the happy position of modern America’. Indeed, even the publication’s title suggests that Austria was yet to join the Western cultural sphere, sitting instead on the edge of European culture. It is possible that Loos was influenced by contemporary notions regarding the non-existence of an Austrian national character as a result of Austria-Hungary’s multi-ethnic populace and the multitude of cultural and ethnic influences on its character. Vienna, however, was in Loos’s mind an exception, a beacon of Western cosmopolitanism amidst the Austro-Hungarian ‘Halb-Asien’, to borrow Karl Emil Franzos’s expression.

31 Ibid., 229.
32 This is evident in the high proportion of Jewish apostates who chose to convert to Protestantism rather than Catholicism. While Catholicism remained the predominate denomination of choice for converting Jews, Jews made up a higher proportion of new Protestants than those from other denominations. Beller, Vienna and the Jews, 152–53.
34 Stewart, Fashioning Vienna, 49.
35 Franzos, Aus Halb-Asien.
Along with England, Loos looked to the United States of America as a model for cultural improvement. While Loos considered the former to be decades ahead of Austria and much of Europe in cultural terms, he believed that it was to the latter that all modern societies should look. It was not that America represented the zenith of modern culture, but rather that America had reached a level of modernity that Austria could aspire towards, as Stewart asserts, ‘[i]n Loos’s texts, “America” stands for a bourgeois culture in which social difference has been overcome.’ 36 Loos’s representation of America was inspired by an idealised version of that society based on the Anglo-American identity ‘celebrated in the Chicago World’s Fair’, 37 during Loos’s time in that city in 1893, a society free from the traditions of hereditary class structures that existed in Europe.

However, when Loos spoke of English and American culture being far more socially advanced than Austria, 38 an Austrian national culture per se did not actually exist. Rather, Austria—a political entity—was comprised of a collection of competing cultural and linguistic ‘nations’. English and American cultures in theory represented supranational identities that superseded the lesser identities, regions, ethnicities and religions upon which they were built. England and America represented ‘an idealisation of Western culture and therefore of modern culture.’ 39 The failure of Austrian culture was its failure to achieve what the English and Americans had. Clothing was therefore an important factor in this equation, for it not only served as an exclusionary criterion for specific cultural identities, but also surpassed them. To Loos, America, with its competing traditions of homespun and ready-made clothing, was an example of the triumph of modernity. As an individual who paid close attention to the centrality of dress in the fashioning of modern male identity, Loos recognised the important role dress played in the so-called American Dream:

An American philosopher says somewhere, ‘A young man is rich if he has a good head on his shoulders and a good suit in the closet.’ That is

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36 Stewart, Fashioning Vienna, 49.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 44–45.
39 Ibid., 59.
sound philosophy. It demonstrates an understanding of people. What good are brains if they do not express themselves in good clothes? For both the English and the Americans demand of an individual that he be well dressed.40

More than a passive reflection of identity, clothing was a sign of conscious self-fashioning. Michael Zakim argues that the suit ‘aspired to wed dynamism to self-control, two latently conflicting principles whose unity was fundamental for industrial success.’41 For ‘modern’ or ‘modernising’ men, the suit was equally important in that these two ‘latently conflicting principles’ could be expressed through sartorial identity, therefore providing an image of stability for society. Thus, ‘[i]n his idealised England and America, in comparison, the eradication of traditional dress codes means that everyone has the right to be well-dressed.’42

When visiting the brother-in-law of his uncle on a farm in rural Pennsylvania, Loos presented the differences between the American and European rural farming populations, both in their places of residence and their sartorial habits.43 In America, unlike Europe, a poor man who worked hard and became wealthy was able to better his social position and wear respectable clothes.44 Loos found an example in the wife of this wealthy farmer ‘uncle’. Due to her family’s economic success, the farmer’s wife had been able to purchase a dress from a fashionable Viennese salon while visiting Europe (a rarity for the average rural American at this time) which she wore when in town.45 If the Austrian ‘nation’—with its various national influences—was to modernise, it would have to follow the model set by the English and the Americans, not that of the Germans. In his writings, Loos asserts the fundamental differences between the Old and New

40 Loos, ‘Men’s Fashion,’ 11.
41 Zakim, Ready-Made Democracy, 96.
42 Stewart, Fashioning Vienna, 66.
43 Rukschcio and Schachel, Adolf Loos, 22.
44 Loos was mistaken in the belief that sartorial self-fashioning did not exist in Europe, where, like in America, mass-produced clothing was readily available to the working public. See for example Anja Meyerrose, Herren im Anzug: Eine transatlantische Geschichte von Klassengesellschaften im langen 19. Jahrhundert (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2016). Perhaps it was not the nature of sartorial consumption that differed on either side of the Atlantic but a more rigid class structure in Central Europe.
45 Rukschcio and Schachel, Adolf Loos, 22–23.
Worlds. However, the idealised Anglo-American culture of Loos's writings was an exaggeration. Here, Loos romanticised American culture as a utopia without socio-economic class boundaries.

INTIMACY, DRESS AND MASCULINE SPACE
Public/private has been an important structuring device in much cultural investigation but is problematic and has been contested in a great many disciplines. However, the personas that developed in the public and private arenas did not exist in a binary model, but rather as a fluid continuum that adapted to the setting the individual found him or herself. In fin-de-siècle Vienna, the ever-adapting public personas found manifestation in public arenas, including the street, office, shop and coffeehouse. Tag Gronberg asserts:

Selbstdarstellung, the public and theatricalized representation of the self, has often been cited as a distinctive feature of nineteenth- and turn-of-the-century Vienna as an urban stage, as a city structured for, and by, the display of the self. The daily afternoon stroll (Korso) along the Ringstrasse epitomized this culture of appearance.

The intimacy of the home played a similar role in the development of private personas. Although a number of scholars have addressed the notion of differing public and private personas that developed through cultural forms such as architecture, decorative arts and literature, clothing and the spaces in which they are worn have played an important role in defining these identities. Loos was acutely aware of this. His designs for houses like the Moller and Müller houses in Vienna and Prague respectively, and for apartment renovations, made

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48 Ibid.

use of warm, textural materials that fostered a sense of Gemütlichkeit [cosiness or congeniality] in spaces of appropriate and varied scale—not that of the Biedermeier era but a modern intimacy that his patrons were able to share with their guests. In these rooms, particularly those used for entertainment, such as sitting- and dining rooms, Loos used rich wood panelling, marble in warm tones, various fabrics and he nearly always included Persian rugs. Although these materials, furnishings and décor were sometimes bulky, their use allowed the rooms, often with built-in sitting- or reading nooks and fireplaces, to draw inhabitants into the space and its furnishings. Loos’s interiors for entertaining guests were never cold and cavernous, but inviting. They worked with space, materials and lighting to create multi-sensory environments that were never stark.50

Although the space through which the body moved or came into contact with was an important vehicle for the refashioning of self, clothing, which came into direct contact with the body, was doubly important for the manner in which an individual both perceived him- or herself and was perceived by others. Wrapped in clothing, the body does not exist external to its sartorial trappings, but is directly defined by them—what Anne Hollander characterises as the complete body.51 Different clothing styles came to denote different meanings and were thus adopted for particular situations in which the individual found him- or herself. The philosopher Denis Diderot, for example, addressed this notion of privacy and clothing in a lament for his discarded dressing gown.52 More than simply a eulogy for a garment that made him feel secure and fostered creative productivity, Diderot’s essay conveys the notion that different garments carry different contextual meanings. His dressing gowns, as garments worn in the intimacy of the home, denote not only the private sphere, but also his craft as a writer carried out in this space, as opposed to the publicity of the street.

Although Diderot wrote this essay in the eighteenth century, the idea of intimate clothing that he addressed developed further throughout the following century.

Loos approached this idea in his essay ‘The Poor Little Rich Man’. Upon welcoming a celebrated architect into the home he has designed, the ‘poor little rich man’ is chastised by the former for his choice of slippers. ‘But, Herr Architect! Have you already forgotten? You yourself designed the shoes!’ The master architect replies that he designed the slippers specifically for the bedroom and that their design conflicts with the visual coherency of the room. More than a veiled satire of designers like Josef Hoffmann and Secession ideals of Gesamtkunstwerk [total work of art], Loos’s short story addresses the question of location-appropriate dressing. It is not so much that Loos rejects the notion of different modes of dress for the private and public spheres, rather he attacks the tense performativity of highly considered modes of dress that ‘must’ express aesthetic harmony in highly ornamental Secession interiors. For Loos, location-appropriate dress was paramount. He returned to this idea again and again in examples like the Secessionist designer he satirised in his story or the impropriety of wearing a Zylinder at an ice-skating rink. But a truly modern man was less constrained by sartorial and spatial aesthetic harmony than by the values and meanings embedded in specific garments.

ADVICE ON CLOTHES

During the early decades of the twentieth century, various visual and written materials served as evidence of contextually different clothing styles that followed similar notions of the meanings attached to specific styles of dress. Men’s fashion magazines and journals offered readers clear examples of the types of garments to wear in different situations. Often, these how-to-dress-appropriately guides focused on dress for public situations. The Viennese men’s journal Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode (1916–1918) ran a series titled ‘Wie man sich richtig kleidet’ [How to dress correctly] that outlined in

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53 The essay was originally published as ‘Vom armen reichen Mann’ in the Neues Wiener Tagblatt, April 26, 1900, 1–2.
54 The original German reads: ‘Aber Herr Architekt! Haben Sie schon vergessen! Die Schuhe haben Sie ja selbst gezeichnet!’ See Ibid., 2.
tables the correct garment combinations to be worn for specific social situations and times of day. Interestingly, the social occasions listed in this series included only those in which the reader found himself in the role of visitor, never the visited. Some of these occasions or meetings took place in a more intimate environment, such as a morning visit or afternoon tea. Here the same sober, dark lounge suits or morning coats that Loos writes of, Zylinder or Melone[bowler] are advised, never the colourful smoking set or dressing gown that a male host might wear when entertaining his peers at home.\textsuperscript{55}

Later Viennese men’s fashion magazines, too, offered examples of dress suited to the public arena and ceremonial occasions, in contrast to the intimate clothing of the private sphere.\textsuperscript{56} The implication was that the refashioning of self should address (foremost) the outer character that was visible to others. Naturally, not all men took the advice offered in male fashion journalism. The writer Peter Altenberg was one example of men who not only completely disregarded such advice, but deliberately subverted it. Altenberg actively blurred the boundaries between public and private personas, and performed his own hybrid characterisation in both public and private arenas.\textsuperscript{57}

In his essay on men’s fashion, Loos claimed that it was the Viennese who brought correct men’s tailoring firms—that is, following English conventions—to the German capital, prior to which ‘the Berlin court was forced to have a good part of its wardrobe made at Poole’s in London.’\textsuperscript{58} The Viennese, he contended, understood the art of correct dressing, thanks to the close relationship between the Austrian and English nobility, and he went on to list a number of notable tailoring firms, namely, E. Ebenstein, A. Keller, Uzel & Sohn, Franz Bubacek, Goldman & Salatsch, Anton Adam, Alexander Deutsch, Joseph Hummel and P.

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\textsuperscript{55} See for example ‘Wie man sich richtig kleidet,’ \textit{Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode} 2, no. 1 (January 1917): 12–13.

\textsuperscript{56} See for example ‘Was ich unbedingt auf meiner Urlaubsfahrt mitnehmen muß,’ \textit{Der gut angezogene Herr} (Summer 1936): 15. See also Daniel Delis Hill, \textit{American Menswear: From the Civil War to the Twenty-First Century} (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 47–49, 65.

\textsuperscript{57} On Altenberg’s dress patterns see Chapter 6 ‘The Man in the Suit.’

\textsuperscript{58} Loos, ‘Men’s Fashion,’ 12.
Kroupa, along with their particular strengths.⁵⁹ It is unsurprising that one of Loos’s early professional commissions included the store and tailoring workshop of Goldman & Salatsch in 1896. Loo’s redesign of Michael Goldman’s tailoring rooms and shop on the Graben, and his later designs for the company’s new address under Goldman’s son Leopold on the Michaelerplatz (1909), were particularly important in creating the perception of a well-designed space facilitating production and therefore resulting in a superior commodity.⁶⁰

The aesthetic harmony between Loos’s spaces and the clothes worn by his clients was achieved through an overall rationalisation of design. Elana Shapira has demonstrated that Loos worked in partnership with his client Leopold Goldman to achieve such aesthetic harmony: Loos was responsible for the built environment and Goldman for its sartorial counterpart.⁶¹ Although making a public statement on the aesthetic condition of Viennese society by designing a comparatively ‘stark’ modernist house for Goldman amidst Vienna’s historicist Innere Stadt and opposite the Hofburg [imperial palace], Loos’s interior architecture with its dark albeit warm materials created a sense of intimacy removed from the very public space of the Michaelerplatz outside.⁶² In this warm and intimate setting, aspiring Viennese gentlemen were provided with the tailoring expertise of Goldman and his staff. In this manner, Loos and Goldman combined their aesthetic values of space and dress to provide their clients with a transition between the public and private spheres. In the warm, mahogany-panelled shop interior and consultation rooms, clients were assisted in

⁵⁹ Ibid., 12–14.
⁶⁰ The notion of a connection between the quality of commodity and the place of its production was widespread, see Breward, The Hidden Consumer, 105; and Shapira, Style and Seduction, 197–99. See also Ludwig Abels, ‘Ein Wiener Herrenmodesalon,’ Das Interieur: Wiener Monatsheft für angewandte Kunst, vol. 2 (1901): 145–151. The article describes and contains images of Michael Goldman’s shop interior but does not refer to it by name. Also, Wiener Salonblatt 31, no. 49 (December 9, 1900): 16, praises Loos’s use of certain materials as innovative. Such descriptions of retail and craft facilities contrast to widespread notions of the plainness of men’s dress culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While male attire may not have been as opulent or flamboyant as some female fashions, the richly styled interiors in which garments were fashioned and acquired served as a kind of ‘proof’ of the high quality of textiles and craftsmanship employed in their creation.
⁶¹ Shapira, Style and Seduction, 202–03.
⁶² Ibid., 199.
fashioning new sartorial identities secluded from the turmoil and splendour of the city outside.

Although Loos advised aspiring ‘modern’ men how best to dress, his advice was general and never reached the level of detail offered in fashion guides or journals. By explaining what he believed were the fundamentals of correct aesthetic taste, Loos provided his readers with the ‘tools’ to personalise their wardrobes, in much the same manner that he preferred his clients to furnish their newly renovated homes to their own taste. By designing interiors in a ‘correct’ modern style, Loos believed his clients would be influenced to decorate in an appropriate manner. So too their dress had to accord. In Loos’s design of a villa (1930) in Prague for František Müller, the (non-Jewish) co-owner of the Müller & Kapsa construction company, the gentleman’s dressing room is notable. The dressing room is simple, unostentatious and far less decorated—both in terms of moveable pieces of décor and furnishing and in its architectural elements—than some of the villa’s other rooms, particularly those used for entertaining, such as the dining room, living room, library and the ‘Japanese-style’ summer dining room. Whereas the public rooms of the house used richly coloured and textured materials like marble and complicated spatial relationships, the dressing room, like other private spaces in the villa, was somewhat sparse. A photograph of the room’s reconstruction (Figure 38) shows a Persian rug (a common feature in Loos-designed interiors) covering the floor, a toiletry table and what appears to be a Windsor chair beneath the window, while a simple divan upholstered in a dark fabric is placed against the wall. The man dressing in this room was thus undistracted by the weight of history that may have come from historicist décor and furniture. This unpretentious oak-panelled room with simple furniture might be understood as an architectural equivalent to the sobriety and rationality of the male lounge suit. It was in the privacy of this

63 Tournikiotis, Adolf Loos, 74.
64 The City of Prague Museum’s webpage for the Villa Müller states that the original furniture in this room did not survive and those on display, including the Windsor chair, are reconstructions. See ‘Gentleman’s dressing room,’ City of Prague Museum, accessed November 1, 2018, http://en.muzeumprahy.cz/gentleman-s-dressing-room/. If this reconstruction is accurate, the original chair can likely be attributed to the Jewish Viennese (later Swedish) architect and designer Josef Frank (1885–1967), a colleague of Loos. I am grateful to Dr Virginia Wright for this information.
sober environment that Müller would construct his sartorial identity, influenced by the very room in which he was dressing as well as Loos’s notions of men’s style.

THE KAFFEEHAUS: HOMOSOCIAL ARENA

The Wiener Kaffeehaus [Viennese coffeehouse] was an equally important institution in these modernising efforts. A counterpart to the intimacy of the home or the salon, the coffeehouse had long been a site of socialisation, information sharing, cultural development and masculine bonding. Loos recognised the coffeehouse’s importance in his modernising efforts, and sought to harness the institution’s existing role in male self-fashioning in his coffeehouse designs. For acculturating Jews, this very ‘Viennese’ institution was equally important to their own refashioning of self. As a liminal environment between the private sphere of the home and the public arena of the street and official institutions, the Wiener Kaffeehaus served as a refuge from both the intolerance of wider society and the traditional Jewish milieu many of them had abandoned.

In contrast to the home where an individual was able to invite guests into his or her intimate sphere, the coffeehouse was public space where individuals were able to visit without receiving an invitation. Although a public arena that was (technically) open to men of differing class backgrounds, the Wiener Kaffeehaus as an intimate realm of human socialisation sat on the border between the public and private spheres. The coffeehouse was a primarily interior space removed from the highly public arena of the street (although some coffeehouses did offer seating on the pavement in front of the establishment, known locally as a Schanigarten) in which patrons were afforded the possibilities to interact with each other or else remain solitary spectators, the intimacy of the coffeehouse was significant in fostering a sense of fraternity among male patrons, and was vital to the fashioning of new male identities.65 The sense of Gemütlichkeit, combined with the twin notions of Bildung and Sittlichkeit, was fostered through

the relationship between dress and spatial design, the architecture/fashion nexus that has been addressed for some time by authors such as Elana Shapira and Mark Wigley.\textsuperscript{66} To Loos, the fashioning of modern male identities, indeed any modern identity, encapsulated all facets of the designed, including, most importantly, clothing and space. In his advice to ‘modern men’, he encouraged a harmony of aesthetics based on pure and simple design.

In 1899, three years after his renovation of the first Goldman & Salatsch store on the Graben, Loos was commissioned to design the interior and façade of the modernist Café Museum,\textsuperscript{67} which Panayotis Tournikiotis asserts was designed to reproduce ‘classical’ Viennese coffeehouses of the 1830s.\textsuperscript{68} Café Museum served as a meeting point for a number of Viennese and foreign writers, including those who were engaged in the development of Jewish national literary culture through their writing in Hebrew and Yiddish.\textsuperscript{69} Like the Goldman & Salatsch shop beforehand, Café Museum marked an important point in Loos’s architectural career. It served as an architectural reflection of Loos’s sartorial image; in the words of Elana Shapira, it ‘served as a distinguished business card that reflected Loos’s correct self-presentation.’\textsuperscript{70} Utilising design motifs and typologies of architecture associated with a gentlemen’s club, and prints by the American artist Charles Dana Gibson (which were highly ‘fashionable’) in the café’s eponymous back room (designed as a ladies room),\textsuperscript{71} Loos made a clear statement on the perceived masculine ideal of the coffeehouse. But it was not through Loo’s architectural design alone that the importance of masculine self-fashioning was addressed. Although not always explicitly referenced in his architectural designs, sartorial self-fashioning played a central role in Loos’s performance of identity. This meant that dress was deeply embedded in all aspects of his endeavour to design the modern man, even when not obvious.

\textsuperscript{66} See Shapira, Style and Seduction; and Wigley, White Walls, Designer Dresses.
\textsuperscript{67} Shapira, Style and Seduction, 182.
\textsuperscript{68} Tournikiotis, Adolf Loos, 51.
\textsuperscript{70} Shapira, Style and Seduction, 182.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 180–81.
Several years later (in 1907–1908) Loos designed his American Bar (also known as the ‘Kärntner Bar’) in a side passage from the Kärntnerstraße in Vienna’s first district. More than his previous coffeehouse design, Loos’s American Bar actively engaged with questions of male identity in fin-de-siècle Vienna due to the design of the space, specifically his use of colours, lighting, choice of textiles and other materials, and the manner in which they dealt with issues of gender and public space.72

While coffeehouses did not make a habit of prohibiting female patrons entry, Loos’s American Bar actively enforced a policy of male-only patronage.73 In contrast to the homosocial feminine environment of the Kaffeehaus, Loos’s new bar74 offered

... an alternative space to the coffeehouse—a male sanctum influenced by the model of American bars and British gentlemen’s clubs, in which Loos uses a masculine architectural language to both articulate a stance in opposition to the ornamental decorative ‘feminine’ style of the Secessionists, and to provide a setting in which the social structure of coffeehouse culture is redefined to exclude women.75

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72 In her study of Loos’s bar and its replica at Trinity College at the University of Dublin, Mary Costello notes that the choice and use of materials in the American Bar’s interior architecture and furnishings have been characterised as ‘masculine’. This is not only due to their selection, such as ‘hard, polished surfaces, dark colours, and materials such as leather and mahogany’, as well as English textiles, but also the way in which they were used to create a space that required its inhabitants to move and sit in a certain manners that were considered masculine behaviour. See Mary Costello, ‘Adolf Loos’s Kärntner Bar: Reception Reinvention, Reproduction,’ in The Viennese Café and Fin-de-Siècle Culture, ed. Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg and Simon Shaw-Miller (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), 139–40; and Otakar Máčel, ‘American Bar (Kärntner Bar),’ in Cafés and Bars: The Architecture of Public Display, ed. Christoph Grafe and Franziska Bollery (New York: Routledge, 2007), 140–44.

73 Neue Freie Presse, January 31, 1909, 13.

74 According to Shapira, the first of its kind in Vienna; see Shapira, Style and Seduction, 183.

Writing for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (22 February 1909), Peter Altenberg defended the prohibition against female patrons, based on what he considered unsuitable furnishings for the female body and its dressed appearance. By designing a coffeehouse/bar that followed what he believed to be American standards of design (if ignoring the supposed democratic nature of such American institutions), Loos wished to create a space in which men could fashion a new identity on a blank plane unencumbered by the ‘fairer sex’, by the femininity of Secession style, or by traditional Viennese modes of masculinity. Rather, in line with his overall view about male style and behaviour, Loos took the example of the Anglophone world in rejecting the *Schlamperei* [slovenliness] of Vienna’s cultural milieu.

FASHIONING OF MASCULINE ‘JEWISH’ SPACE

The ambiguity of the Viennese coffeehouse that Loos sought to address in his own designs played a crucial role in developing the image of Viennese bourgeois culture beyond both the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of the street during the second half of the nineteenth century. As a space neither entirely public nor private, the coffeehouse was an appropriate setting for the development of ‘alternative’ cultures that did not fit into the accepted canon of dominant or national cultures. Numerous texts have highlighted the importance of the coffeehouse both in the metamorphosis of Central European Jews into modern Europeans and in the simultaneous development and assertion of Jewish identity in the Austrian capital. But the strong Jewish presence in the coffeehouse was not welcomed in all quarters. In May 1900 a piece appeared in the feuilleton section of the *Wiener Zeitung* under the title ‘Wiener Kaffeehäuser’ penned by the paper’s chief editor Friedrich Uhl. In the piece, Uhl described the *Kaffeehäuser* of past times—of Alt-Wien—highlighting the period between 1830

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and 1870. There is subtle subtext concerning the change in the nature of the Kaffeehaus after 1870. This period in which Austrian Liberalism reigned supreme saw a greater civic integration of Jews into Viennese society (indeed, three years earlier all Austrian Jews had been granted full civil rights) and the exponential growth of the Cisleithanian capital’s Jewish population. With their integration into Viennese society, Jews became a more visible element in the public sphere, including the coffeehouse.

The idea that the coffeehouse was a fertile ground for the cultivation of artistic and intellectual discourse was not a development of the fin de siècle. The coffeehouse evolved as one of the significant sites in the development of the public sphere throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and continued into the nineteenth century as a site of male socialisation and information sharing. The coffeehouse’s role in the social milieu of Vienna’s acculturated Jews is noteworthy. With the abandonment by many Viennese Jews of their traditional religious practices, Steven Beller observes that the coffeehouse became a secular replacement for the synagogue and Beth Midrash [house of study], traditional sites of Jewish socialisation and learning, creating consequences for the image of Viennese coffeehouses in general. Indeed, the prevalence of Jewish coffeehouse patrons can be understood as a result of the coffeehouse’s public status where no one was barred entry, in contrast to other social environments, such as the Habsburg court, aristocratic salons or

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80 Between 1869 and 1880 Vienna’s Jewish population grew from 40,230 to 73,222, or 82 per cent. See Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 17–18.
81 Although Jürgen Habermas explained that the coffeehouse was instrumental to the development of cultural life and the dissemination of critical discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, he claims that the public discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became overshadowed by mass press consumption. Charlotte Ashby, however, asserts that this thesis cannot be applied to the Wiener Kaffeehaus due to the political situation in Austria prior to 1848. Charlotte Ashby, ‘The Cafés of Vienna: Space and Sociability,’ in The Viennese Café and Fin-de-Siècle Culture, ed. Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg, and Simon Shaw-Miller (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 10–11. See also Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.
nationalistic Burschenschaften [student fraternities]. Mary Gluck argues that the coffeehouse, existing between the private and public realms, 'created a new public space receptive to protean, destabilizing energies of modern life.' In this alternative public arena, the notion of Jewish difference, indeed, the perceived oriental nature of Jews in European society, was able to exist in harmony with the myths surrounding the genesis of Viennese coffeehouses. Coffeehouse orientalism provided a fertile environment in which the Jew could exist as an ‘insider’ and not an alien Other. The coffeehouse was a venue that did not bar patrons from entry based on ethnic or religious background; hence many urban Jewish men flocked there, both to socialise and conduct business. As a result, as highlighted by Uhl’s short essay, the fin-de-siècle Kaffeehaus received a particular ‘Jewish’ coding. In contrast, the Heuriger—the ‘provincial’ wine garden on the city’s outskirts—was seen as ‘ultra Aryan’ and a refuge from the ‘Jewish’ urban environment.

Visualisations of fin-de-siècle Viennese coffeehouses offer a compelling view into the nature of male socialisation in Vienna with regards to the insider/outsider status of coffeehouse patrons. Carl von Zamboni’s photograph of Vienna’s Café Griensteidl (prior to 1897) that first appeared in the Viennese illustrated newspaper Die vornehme Welt depicts the groups of male patrons in the coffeehouse’s salon (Figure 39). Despite its designation as a coffeehouse, there appears to be little actual drinking of coffee taking place. In fact, among the pile

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83 Ibid., 54. Burschenschaften had not always been closed to Jewish members. Prior to the renewed wave of antisemitism during the 1870s, German and Austrian Jewish students had often participated in Burschenschaften, even those of a more right-wing, pan-German variety—such as Theodor Herzl’s involvement in the Akademische Burschenschaft Albia. For a comprehensive study of German Jewish university students during the nineteenth and their involvement in the social and cultural spheres of universities see Keith H. Pickus, Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany, 1815–1914 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999).

84 Gluck, The Invisible Jewish Budapest, 189.


86 See Beller, ‘The Jew belongs in the Coffeehouse’.

87 Ibid., 52. The Heuriger—Austrian German for ‘new wine’, literally ‘this year’—was a particular Viennese institution: a kind of wine garden set amidst the vineyards on the outskirts of Vienna. Traditionally, the proprietor of the Heuriger served wine to his customers who were required to bring their own food. The modern Heuriger serves both the year’s yield and traditional Austrian cuisine. Steven Beller argues that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Heuriger and the Kaffeehaus came to be coded, as a result of their regular patrons, as ‘German’ (or völkisch) and ‘Jewish’, respectively. See Beller, The Vienna and the Jews, 183.
of newspapers strewn haphazardly across the centre table only glasses of water—complimentary with a customer's order of coffee—appear. It has been argued that the actual consumption of coffee was secondary to the main function of the coffeehouse: a site for recreation, social interaction and disseminating ideas. In this manner, Uhl described the coffeehouse’s superiority to other similar venues (such as taverns, beer and wine gardens) in its ability to facilitate the socialisation of its patrons:


[One goes out for a beer, a wine, or a dinner, but less to the coffeehouse—if so, then primarily for a chat. The Viennese used to love, and still do, company, like best being among the cheerful. Thus, actually dinking coffee at the coffeehouse has always been of less importance.]

The men in Zamboni’s photograph might serve as a visualisation of what Uhl describes. These men, middle-aged and elderly, sit at their tables, caught in mid-conversation, reading an issue from the complimentary array of international and local periodicals, a few peering at the camera’s lens in a bemused manner. They are dressed in ubiquitous dark lounge suits and leather shoes. Although the lounge suit—generally black or other muted colours—of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became a uniform of sober, modern, masculine respectability across professional and class boundaries, the occupants of this photograph are by no means identically dressed. Darker jackets are paired with trousers in lighter fabrics, while some of the men wear suits of what appears to be matching fabric. Lapel height and style vary among the coffeehouse patrons, as do jacket lengths. Variety can also be seen in the cut of each man’s collar, or

88 See Ashby, ‘The Cafés of Vienna’.
89 Uhl, ‘Wiener Kaffeehäuser,’ 3.
90 Breward, The Suit, 52.
whether he wears a necktie, cravat or bowtie around his neck. Heads are bare, as is appropriate for an indoor setting, with hats and coats hung by the back wall. A sole behatted figure wearing the *Zylinder*, popular among men in Europe and colonial territories during the period, hovers in the doorway—either arriving or leaving. All men have grown some form of facial hair; most sport a moustache of some sort, but a few have short, neatly trimmed beards. The female cashier provides a contrast to this hirsute masculinity, standing among four men in the doorway to the male-dominated environment.

As sites of male Jewish socialisation, there was a connection between the Synagogue and the *Kaffeehaus*, drawn through the similarity of dress styles worn in both.91 The sartorial styles adopted by the men in Zamboni’s photograph resemble those portrayed by the Jewish artist Emil Ranzenhofer (1864–1930) in a series of watercolours depicting Viennese synagogues (1902)—not the small, Orthodox prayer rooms frequented by Vienna’s *Ostjuden*, but the large, palatial synagogues that catered to Vienna’s upper- and middle-class Jews.92 The construction of such exquisite palatial synagogues—in Vienna and other European cities—during the nineteenth century can be understood as a symbol of the confidence in and expectations of their position in a wider European society that Jews had. Rudolf Klein asserts, ‘there has seldom been such a strong and constant link between architecture and ethnic, religious and cultural identity as there was in the synagogues that the emancipated Jews erected.’93

Like Zamboni’s coffeehouse photograph, Ranzenhofer’s synagogue interiors present an absence of women. The figures who dominate are men, dressed in frock coats and *Zylinder* or other hats (for a Jewish man must keep his head covered in the ‘house of God’, unlike in the *Kaffeehaus*), with prayer shawls thrown over their shoulders as they pray in their pews during a service. In this series of paintings, the women’s gallery in the balconies above the men’s

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91 Eric Silverman observes that Jews have long reserved their best clothing for the synagogue, especially on high holidays. See Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress*, xvii–xviii.
92 The series of watercolours were presented to the chairman of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*, Heinrich Klinger on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1902.
sanctuary remains ominously vacant, perhaps a reference to the supposedly masculine nature of the Synagogue (Figure 40). At the very least, these male-dominated images might be understood to comment on the active participation of men in Orthodox synagogal proceedings, in the face of the passive female role. Women appear in one scene depicting a marriage ceremony in the Moorish-revival Synagoge in der Tempelgasse (also known as the Leopoldstäder Tempel). In this scene, they are in the background and out of focus, albeit in brightly coloured dresses, in sharp contrast to the dull greys and browns of the men (Figure 41).

The types of clothes depicted in Ranzenhofer’s synagogue interiors are the typical bourgeois styles of male sobriety and respectability, and do not in any way appear particular to a religious environment. The dress patterns of Ranzenhofer’s male figures resemble those worn by the subjects of Zamboni’s photograph. This photograph is an indication of the power of the suit in permitting men of different faiths and ethnic backgrounds to participate in modern society. Although the identity of the men depicted remains unknown, it is possible that some of them are Jewish; after all, this particular coffeehouse was a favourite meeting place of the renowned Jung Wien literary group, many members of which were Jewish. Additionally, given the prevalence of antisemitic bodily stereotypes at the time this photograph was taken, it is possible that some of the men in this image may have been perceived as Jewish due to their physical characteristics.

The Wiener Kaffeehaus played host to Jews of differing identities. Acculturated Viennese Jews who had estranged themselves from their religious inheritance found a home in this quintessentially Viennese institution. The Wiener Kaffeehaus played host to Jews of differing identities. Acculturated Viennese Jews who had estranged themselves from their religious inheritance found a home in this quintessentially Viennese institution.

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94 Vienna’s Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the official state-sanctioned community body, followed the Orthodox rite, and therefore men and women sat separately in its many synagogues. In contrast to Orthodoxy, women played a more active role in Reform Judaism. See Michael A. Meyer, ‘Women in the Thought and Practice of the European Jewish Reform Movement,’ in Gender and Jewish History, ed. Marion A. Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 139–57.

Kaffeehaus also played host to those Jews who remained loyal to Jewish identity and/or the religious traditions of Judaism. The consequence was the ‘Judaisation’ of the Kaffeehaus, which according to Steven Beller, like Jews themselves so central to the development of a modern Viennese identity, remained on the periphery as an outsider. The clothes these Jewish men wore in the Kaffeehaus were likewise important in the assertion of their identities. As a ‘private’ or intimate public space, the coffeehouse demanded public respectability and decorum of its patrons. The clothes a man wore to the Kaffeehaus corresponded to those he would wear to other ‘public’ arenas. As a hybrid space that existed between the privacy of the home (or the exclusive ‘Jewishness’ of the Synagogue) and the publicity of the street and other public arenas, the Kaffeehaus served its Jewish patrons as a transitional arena between their specific (Jewish) and general (Viennese) identities.

96 For example, Jewish periodicals included advertisements for kosher restaurants, taverns and Konditoreien among their pages. See for example Die Wahrheit.
97 Beller, “‘The Jew Belongs in the Coffeehouse’”, 53.
Chapter 6. The man in the suit

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the dress patterns and practices of six well-known Viennese Jewish writers in the Austrian capital during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These writers are:

- Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the ambivalent ‘godless Jew’ who, although a self-professed atheist, remained a proud member of Vienna’s Jewish community
- Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the bourgeois self-appointed spearhead of Jewish national political identity
- Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), acculturated Austro-German Jew and literary bon vivant
- Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), cosmopolitan European and marginal Jew [Grenzjude]
- Peter Altenberg (1859–1919), assimilationist and critic of his bourgeois upbringing, and
- Karl Kraus (1874–1936) another self-appointed prophet—albeit a ‘prophet of doom’—who took it upon himself to warn Viennese Jewry of its impending moral destruction.

The six were selected based on the different ways they approached their Jewishness in relationship to their role as Jewish cultural icons at the time. Georg Simmel, whose aforementioned notion of the stranger might be employed here in understanding these Jewish protagonists’ simultaneous insider/outsider position within Viennese society and cultural milieu, characterised fashion as a form of imitation. Fashion, he argues, can only exist along the lines of inclusion and exclusion. The wearing of the suit as a standard and conventional form of Western male dress is relevant here. All six wore a suit in some form or another,

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1 Parts of this chapter, in particular those sections on Stefan Zweig and Peter Altenberg appear in Kaplan, ‘Looking and Behaving’.
3 Simmel, ‘The Stranger’.
whether following strict established codes of male sartorial respectability as Herzl did or subverting these codes and adopting more eccentric styling like Altenberg. In the same manner that wearing a suit can signal the wearer’s desire to conform, the way it was worn and the details of its styling allowed its wearer to reject some of the more uniform notions the suit symbolised and express individuality. It was both in the styling of the suit and the accessories worn with it that men chose to conform to or reject societal norms.

This was certainly true for many Jewish men in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The six writers whose dress patterns are addressed in this chapter are examples of different approaches to wearing the suit. Whether they were immigrants (Freud, Herzl, Kraus) or the sons of immigrants (Altenberg, Schnitzler, Zweig), these men were all raised in Vienna’s Jewish Bildungsbürgertum with its dedication to the notion of Bildung und Besitz [self-cultivation and property]. Not only did they approach their own Jewish identities from different perspectives, the way in which they dealt with Jewishness and the so-called Jewish Question differed as well. Altenberg and Kraus, like others of their generation, took the definitive step of publicly distancing themselves from the Jewish middle class; the former in particular renounced not only his hereditary cultural-religious identity, but also the sartorial and aesthetic norms of this milieu. Herzl, Freud, Schnitzler and Zweig, on the other hand, navigated their Jewish identity and the notion of Jewishness from a different perspective. They did not renounce Judaism nor did they reject the Jewish community as Altenberg and Kraus had; however, the ways in which they approached their individual Jewish identities were not identical. Herzl, the self-appointed leader of the ‘reborn’ Jewish nation, who was pilloried as ‘The King of Zion’ in the press, in particular by those periodicals heavily staffed with Jews, actively strove to integrate Jews into the international brotherhood of nations. At the same time, he adhered strongly to his German-centric bourgeois upbringing and utilised its ideals and values in the refashioning of his ‘nation’. Freud and Schnitzler actively and candidly addressed the Jewish Question

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6 In Herzl’s case the Budapest Jewish bourgeoisie, having only arrived in Vienna at the age of eighteen.
throughout their writings, unapologetically portraying the Jewish bourgeoisie as they felt it was best represented. Zweig, however, tended to avoid frank discussion of the so-called Jewish Question in his published writing, relegating it instead to his private correspondence with intimate associates. Like Altenberg and Kraus, Herzl, Freud, Schnitzler and Zweig’s different approaches to their Jewish identities also found manifestation in their individual dress patterns, practices and preferences.

SIGMUND FREUD: GODLESS JEW
The ‘father of psychoanalysis’ Sigmund Freud maintained a conscious practice of dress that placed him squarely in Vienna’s educated middle class. Freud’s background was typical of Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie during the second half of the nineteenth century. Born Sigismund Schlomo in the Moravian town of Freiberg (Příbor) to Jakob Kolloman (or Kalman) Freud and his third wife Amalia Nathanson—migrants from the Galician towns of Tysmenitz (Tysmenytsia) and Brody⁷—the young Sigmund spent his early years in Moravia before the family relocated to Vienna by way of Leipzig. The wealth of literature on Freud’s life and work highlights his relationship to Jewishness and Jewish identity.⁸ However, absent from texts that focus on Freud’s Jewish identity is a discussion of the effects his background had on his dress habits. A number of factors had a strong influence on his sense of Jewish identity, and thus his self-presentation, including his family’s Galitsianer origins, the lack of religious observance in the parental home, and his coming of age in the period directly after the 1867 Ausgleich and the emancipation of Austro-Hungarian Jewry. Jakob Freud relocated his family to Vienna in 1860 after the prohibition of Jewish residency in the Austrian capital had been rescinded, but prior to Jews being granted equal status to Gentiles. Although the family arrived in Vienna during a period in which Jewish migration

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⁷ Jakob Freud had come to Freiberg with his maternal grandfather, Abraham Siskind Hoffmann, a Galician travelling salesmen who dealt in fabrics and raw goods. His wife Amalia had been raised in Galicia and Odessa before her family moved to Vienna, where the couple married before Jakob Freud returned to Freiberg with his young bride. See Peter Gay, Freud: A Life for Our Time (London: Papermac, 1989), 4–5; and Weissberg, ‘Ariadne’s Thread’.

to the city included a small number of Galician migrants compared with the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next, there were other Galician Jews who made the capital their home. The early Galician migrants were for the most part acculturated like their Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian counterparts. The young Sigmund grew up in the Jewish environment of the Leopoldstadt which, though not the satellite shtetl it would become several decades later, was home to a large Jewish population.

Freud is of course best known for his pioneering work on psychoanalysis, a man concerned foremost with plumbing the depths of human psyche. However, he also placed a great importance on material objects, attested to by his love of collecting ancient artefacts. His Viennese and London offices were decorated with his large collection of artefacts and fetishes from varying cultures, his most prized possession being a Persian rug, of which Liliane Weissberg notes:

Too precious to put on the floor, perhaps, or to hang on the wall, the rug found its place in a quite specific location, and as an object in a peculiarly liminal site. He placed it on a couch, or divan, on which his patients would rest during treatment time. Thus, it became not only one of Freud’s most prized possessions, but quite literally the foundational object of psychoanalytic treatment itself.

Although much has been written about Freud’s collecting habits, little attention has been given in the scholarship to Freud’s choices of attire. Like that of other middle-class Viennese Jewish men, Freud’s dress patterns have been overlooked as visual markers in discussions of Jewish identity, assimilation and acculturation because of their supposed sameness to the styles favoured by middle-class Gentile men. In his memoir, Martin Freud (1889–1967) presents his famous father as an elegant man concerned with his appearance. He describes his father as a typical member of the bourgeoisie, greatly concerned with

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9 Hödl, Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt, 140–41.
common notions of sartorial decency corresponding to an individual’s station in life:

He was not the slightest bit vain in the common meaning of the word. He merely submitted without objection to the deeply entrenched medical tradition that a doctor should be well turned out: and so there was never a hair out of place on his head nor on his chin. His clothing rigidly conventional, was cut from the best materials and tailored to perfection.11

In this manner, Freud the son highlights in his father’s clothing choices what British psychologist John Carl Flügel described as an ‘adherence to the social code’.12 As Elana Shapira explains, Freud recognised the importance of clothing in the acculturation experience of Viennese Jews. Referring to a dream of Freud in which he was caught by a Gentile maid in a state of undress, Shapira asserts the connection between a sense of anxiety derived from undress or disorderly dress and that concerning appearances among acculturating Jews in a hostile environment.13

It is true that in a number of surviving photographs Freud appears at first glance to be attired in a manner not only identical to that of other Viennese middle-class men—Jewish and Gentile—but also identical to other photographs of himself. For example, in many photographs depicting Freud in middle and old age, he appears in dark, three-piece lounge suits, white collared shirts and cross tie. A cursory glance might suggest that the doctor’s sartorial tastes and styles hardly changed over the course of his adult life, save for the obvious change of lapel, collar and jacket styles of the wider male fashion world. A 1926 photograph of Freud sitting bent over at book at a white-clothed table presents his appearance as typical of an elderly member of Vienna’s Bildungsbürgertum of the period (Figure 42). He wears a dark, worsted three-piece suit, shirt with a faint stripe and a necktie in a light, patterned fabric, and a watch-chain hangs from his

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11 Freud, Glory Reflected, 25.
13 Shapira, ‘Adolf Loos and the Fashioning of “the Other”,’ 221.
waistcoat. There is nothing particularly remarkable about Freud’s clothing choices here—he looks like many other older, middle-class men of the era. His clothing, similar here to that worn in other images, adopts the role of an upper-middle-class intellectual’s uniform.14

Part of a series of photographs by the renowned photographer Ferdinand Schmutzer (1870–1938) on the occasion of Freud’s seventieth birthday, in which the latter poses at the table with his newspaper, documents or cigar, the aforementioned portrait has been carefully designed to evoke the seriousness and importance of Freud’s status. It is in the styling of this image as well his own bearing and sartorial styling that Freud’s status as an esteemed medical practitioner and thinker is distinguished from other men of his class. Looking up from his newspaper, with his spectacles left on the white-clothed table before him, he stares back at the camera’s lens in a somewhat bemused if not defensive manner, his mouth slightly open as if about to offer an expert opinion to a patient—or else a man momentarily interrupted in his intellectual pursuits. But it is no accident that Freud adopts this bearing. Appearing as he does in this image, surrounded by props that evoke middle-class values, Freud assumes the guise of both wise old man and esteemed father of psychoanalysis.

During the same year that Schmuzter took his portrait, Freud was interviewed by the German-American writer George Sylvester Viereck (1882–1964) who would publish an article about their meeting. This was the first time that Freud received an immense amount of public recognition in the wider media.15 In his article, Viereck quoted Freud describing his relationship to the so-called Jewish Question:

My language . . . is German. My culture, my attainments are German. I considered myself a German intellectually, until I noticed the growth in

14 Christopher Breward discusses the role of clothing in the construction of public personas and its centrality to middle-class ideals of professionalism. Breward writes, ‘professional standing was presented as a position to be striven for and earned. The onus on duty and respectability that it entailed ensured a greater concentration on the correctness of its physical manifestations.’ Breward, The Hidden Consumer, 77.
15 I am grateful to Dr Elana Shapira for this information.
anti-Semitic prejudice in Germany and in German Austria. Since that time, I consider myself no longer a German. I prefer to call myself a Jew.¹⁶

Perhaps the sense of defensiveness in the Schmutzer portrait can be understood as linked Freud’s relationship to antisemitism. During his career Freud was often regarded as a renegade of sorts within the medical field, facing ridicule due to championing a novel science that challenged the academy—a science often ridiculed as ‘Jewish’ due to the fact that many of his close colleagues and patients were Jews. Freud was well aware of the antisemitic nature of this criticism, claiming in a letter to his colleague Karl Abraham (1877–1925) that the rejection he faced was certainly a result of widespread antisemitism.¹⁷

Within Schmutzer’s series of photographs, Freud’s attire varies, albeit subtly: a change of suit, shirt, and neckwear styles. A further comparison of a wide collection of photographs—both formal portraits and more casual images—confirms that Sigmund Freud responded to the change and appeal of sartorial styles. For example, a photograph (c. 1906) (Figure 43) of Freud in middle age by Ludwig Grillich presents him in formal setting, sitting proudly in a Biedermeier-style armchair. The sense of formality is not conveyed through his rather casual pose and styling of his clothes—his left leg crossed over the right at the knee, and his jacket lying open—but rather in his straight-backed posture in which he gazes solemnly into the camera’s lens. Posed in a semi-relaxed manner that follows the conventions of painted portraits, he is a proud member of Vienna’s Bildungsbürgertum, exuding cultural, intellectual and financial stability in his posture. Although his double-breasted jacket with satin or silk lapels and trousers are in dark colours, they appear to be of different fabrics—common for the times.¹⁸ As in other photographs, he wears a short, dark crosstie under his white collar, which itself is a crisp, lower collar in contrast to the popular high, starched variety. His waistcoat, however, is patterned: a dark base fabric with lighter chequered diamonds, bars and crosses. This slight burst of pattern amidst

¹⁶ Freud quoted in Gay, Freud, Jews and Other Germans, 90.
¹⁷ Ibid., 76–77.
¹⁸ Peter McNeil, ‘Despots of Elegance,’ 236.
an overwhelmingly even range of fabrication is typical of such garments. Gesa C. Teichert characterises the male waistcoat as sitting on the border between garment and accessory, especially in its incarnation as a bright or textured piece of attire amidst an overall sober male suit, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century.\(^\text{19}\) Although after 1860 the resplendent waistcoat was replaced with one that more closely corresponded to the overall look of the suit, patterned waistcoat styles were a common male fashion of the time across age barriers.\(^\text{20}\)

It is interesting to compare the waistcoat worn by Freud in the aforementioned Ludwig Grillich portrait to that which appears in an undated photographic portrait of Stefan Zweig’s brother, Alfred. This image, most likely taken during the previous, if not the same decade, shows the elder son of a successful textile manufacturer in waistcoat and jacket styles similar to those worn by Freud (their collar and tie styles, however, differ) (Figure 44). Although the fabric patterns of Freud’s and Zweig’s waistcoats differ, since the latter is in gridded dots, the cut of the waistcoats, including lapel and roll height, and of the jackets appear similar. The similarity of styles adopted by these men of different generations raises the issue of intergenerational following of fashion. Stefan Zweig in his memoir recalled the tendency of young men to style themselves in a fashion that made them appear older than their years for the purposes of social and professional advancement:

Newspapers advertised methods of encouraging your beard to grow, young doctors of twenty-four or twenty-five who had only just qualified as physicians sported heavy beards and wore gold-rimmed spectacles even if they had perfect eyesight, just to impress their patients by looking experienced. They wore long black frock coats and cultivated a measured tread and, if possible, a slight embonpoint in order to achieve that desirably staid appearance, and if they were ambitious they took a


\(^{20}\) Ibid., 158.
good deal of trouble to dissociate themselves from the suspect
immaturity of youth, at least in their outward appearance.\textsuperscript{21}

The excerpt from Stefan Zweig’s memoir seems to suggest that his older
brother’s choice of attire followed that of their father’s generation. Likewise,
Teichert asserts that although younger men were granted greater flexibility in
adopting bolder fashions, older men were expected to dress in a sober manner
that expressed respectability.\textsuperscript{22} However, whether Alfred Zweig was dressed in
styles favoured by an older generation, or Freud in those of the younger, the
photographs indicate that Freud was aware of and receptive to popular male
dress fashions. This also appears to confirm the notion that both Freud’s clothing
as well as the portrait styling (the Biedermeier-style chair to be specific) were
carefully selected in order to create a visual identity that demanded respect and
the right to be taken seriously by his peers and clients. Freud’s son Martin
expressed the same notion in describing his father as ‘well-turned out’ and
insisting on travelling to clients in a \textit{Fiaker} [two-horse carriage] rather than an
\textit{Einspänner} [one-horse carriage] or public transport—as was more fitting of the
family’s financial situation and social status—in order to generate an image of
bourgeois respectability.\textsuperscript{23}

In another photograph dated 1911 (Figure 45), Freud is in his study, sitting bent
slightly forward in a chair with the stub of a cigar or cigarette dangling between
his fingers. Surrounded by some of his collected artefacts, such as pottery and
tile fragments, a framed image and what appears to be a reproduction of
Michelangelo’s \textit{Dying Slave}, Freud, the aging Jew in elegant clothing, is
juxtaposed with the sublime beauty of the naked youth. It is in the décor of this
room that Freud’s \textit{Bildung} can be observed. The finely carved, albeit sturdy
wooden furniture, valuable antiques, the framed image on the wall behind him
and the parquet floor underneath are the trappings of his monetary success and
upper-middle-class status. Freud, although not formally positioned, leans
forward, one arm resting on the arm of his seat and the other held in front of his

\textsuperscript{21} Zweig, \textit{The World of Yesterday}, 56–57.
\textsuperscript{22} Teichert, \textit{Mode. Macht. Männer}, 175.
\textsuperscript{23} Freud, \textit{Glory Reflected}, 24.
body; he is casual yet aware of the photographer’s presence and alert to any potential harm to his person. This serves as a contrast to the youth who leans back in a highly erotic manner, his body offered to the viewer’s gaze and desires. In contrast, the layering of Freud’s clothing, albeit following the fashions of the times, serves as an additional shield for his body. He is elegantly attired, but his clothing is casual, suited to the intimacy of interior spaces. Atop his waistcoat and striped trousers Freud wears a velvet smoking jacket that is possibly black or another dark colour, with bound edges. The combination of velvet jacket and cigarette, with its connotations of intimacy and the private sphere, link Freud to the provocative youth and Freud’s writings on the human subconscious and its desires. Like the pleasure he took in collecting artefacts of past cultures with which to furnish his rooms, Freud’s subtle, albeit distinct, sartorial tastes were carefully chosen to generate his identity as a modern, cosmopolitan European.

Of the wealth of surviving photographs of Freud, a large proportion consists of images of Freud as an elderly man. Many of them are studio portraits, as are the majority of the images discussed above. However, there are a number of less formal images in which Freud, at various stages of his life, poses casually, alone, with members of his family, or with colleagues. Such images are important pieces of evidence into the life of Freud the man, the private citizen, rather than the famous psychoanalyst. Of particular interest are those images in which Freud poses with relatives, such as a family portrait from the 1870s, including his parents, siblings and cousins, various images of Freud with his children at different stages of their lives, and those in which he appears in the guise of a kindly old man sitting happily with his grandchildren. The importance of these images is not simply that they offer an insight into Freud’s private persona but that they also shed light on the various dress habits of his middle-class Jewish milieu.

There is a well-known photograph of Freud and his youngest daughter Anna (1885–1982), an accomplished psychoanalyst in her own right, from 1913

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Holidaying in the Dolomites (at the time still part of Austria), Freud and Anna are walking arm in arm across what appears to be a field on the edge of a forest or patch of trees. Their dress stands out in contrast to that worn in most other photographs. Whereas Freud generally appears dressed in an urban, middle-class manner (for example the tailored lounge suit discussed above), both his and his daughter’s dress in this photograph indicate another type of middle-class attire: that worn while holidaying in rural Sommerfrischen. Anna, like many middle-class Viennese women and girls, wears a simple Dirndl with puffed sleeves and an apron. Although resembling a form of female Volkstracht, Anna’s attire is not that of the local costume, which, like others in rural Austria, Bavaria and Tirol, had its own specific characteristics and details. Instead, her dress can be described as a form of more ‘generic’ Trachtenmode that was popular among urban visitors to rural provinces. In contrast, Freud’s attire is far less völkisch. He wears what appears to be a felt hat (perhaps a dark green—the image is black and white) with a tuft of Gamsbart [chamois hair] poking out of the band—a typically völkisch form of Sommerfrische fashion. However, his overall attire, with its a belted Norfolk jacket, knickerbockers worn with long socks and boots and a white collared shirt, appears more influenced by English country fashions. Carrying a walking stick and clutching his pipe, Freud appears the country squire in tweeds, rather than a Lederhosen- and Janker-attired local. He and Anna pause mid-stroll, glancing at the camera in a placid if somewhat curious manner, as if momentarily interrupted from an intimate discussion.

The ‘natural’ appearance of their ‘rural’ dress and their contented nature in this rural environment suggests a sense of comfort in the dominant German culture of Cisleithania, not a self-conscious assimilatory drive. The attire depicted in the photograph matches that purportedly worn on a hiking expedition in South Tyrol (incidentally the same region where the 1913 photograph with Anna was taken) described by his son Martin:

25 See for example Freud’s son Martin’s memoir in which he describes the differences between the Tracht he and his brothers wore while holidaying in Berchtesgaden, and the local Tracht worn by Bavarian men and boys: ‘The Berchtesgaden man wears bows of green silk, while the Styrian peasant is content to show stag-horn buttons. Both have chamois embroidered on the leather, but while the Austrian beast looks severe and quiet, the Bavarian animals seems gay, laughing and even a little bit drunk.’ Freud, Glory Reflected, 94.
Father wore a conventional country suit with a soft shirt with collar attached and a tie. My mother, who ordered all my father’s clothes, tried to reach absolute perfection, always taking the greatest care in ordinary well-cut clothes made from British cloth. Thus he appeared as respectable as he did in Vienna in his dark suits and black ties. Both of us had rucksacks and both wore suitably nailed boots. . . . As a contrast to my parent’s respectable appearance, I wore well-used leather shorts and the usual Tyrolean outfit. Although I was only sixteen, I was taller than my father and very thin at the time.²⁶

Such styles of rural dress were common and conventional. In addition to donning Trachtenmode while relaxing on Sommerfrischen or during hiking expeditions, some middle-class Viennese Jewish men also chose to attire themselves in a ‘conventional country suit’ that aligned them sartorially and thus symbolically with the culture of the English gentleman, rather than the German—as Adolf Loos preached in contemporary newspapers.²⁷ Through such choices of attire, Freud embraced a wider ‘European’ identity rather than limiting himself to the local cultural identification.

THEODOR HERZL: BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST

Theodor Herzl used sartorial styles to express his political and cultural sentiments. Although leader of a Jewish nationalist movement, Herzl’s political endeavours to create a Jewish national home and new modes of Jewish identification should not preclude him from being considered a cosmopolitan. His political visions were, after all, the product of his cosmopolitan, bourgeois background—his own German, middle-class upbringing in Budapest, transnational family connections, and professional positions in Vienna, Salzburg and Paris.

²⁶ Ibid., 125.
²⁷ Loos, ‘Men’s fashion’.
Like many of his contemporaries, Herzl did not undergo a metamorphosis from the kaftan-wearing Ostjude to the Frack-wearing Westjude. Born in 1860 to Jakob and Jeanette Herzl, members of Budapest’s Jewish bourgeoisie who had already embraced the notions of Bildung and Sittlichkeit before the birth of their son, it was in this city that the young Theodor (also known in Hungarian as Tivadar) would live until the family relocated to Vienna in his eighteenth year after the death of his older sister Pauline. Herzl's early life, until his embrace of Zionism, has been characterised as one of discernible assimilation and estrangement from his Jewish background. This, however, was not the case, with the family living in the heart of Budapest’s ‘Jewish’ quarter, next door to the city’s main synagogue on the Tabakgasse (Dohány utca), and the other strong family-based Jewish influences during his upbringing, all of which is apparent in his own biographical writings and diaries.28

Georges Yitshak Weisz and Robert S. Wistrich have demonstrated in their respective studies how the Herzl family was steeped in Jewish tradition and maintained connections with a number of rabbinical figures, providing the young Theodor’s childhood with a very ‘Jewish’ colouring.29 Indeed, it was only after joining Albia, a German nationalist Burschenschaft [fraternity] while studying law at the University of Vienna that he turned away from his Jewish origins in favour of the German nationalism popular during the final decades of the nineteenth century. He resigned from Albia as a protest against the fraternity’s toxic culture of antisemitism, indicating his strong sense of Jewish identity despite his dedication to German culture.30 After graduating from university, Herzl worked briefly as a legal clerk in Vienna and Salzburg before devoting himself to writing and journalism. He wrote a number of plays, stories, feuilletons and other articles, some of which were published in the Berliner Tageblatt, before he was finally offered a position as the French correspondent for the Neue Freie Presse,

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28 See for example Theodor Herzl, ‘Selbstbiographie,’ in Theodor Herzls Zionistische Schriften, ed. Leon Kellner (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920), 7–10; Theodor Herzl, Theodor Herzls Tagebücher, 3 volumes (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1922).
while travelling through the south of France with his wife Julie (née Naschauer) in 1891. It was in Paris that Herzl witnessed the notorious Dreyfus Affair, which many have credited with leading him to Zionism as the answer to the ‘Jewish Question’.

However, prior to his embrace of Zionism, Herzl had other plans for the ‘grand’ refashioning of the Jewish people. One early idea focused on the mass conversion of Europe’s Jews, with the Viennese leading by example. Vienna’s Jews, Herzl surmised, would be paraded through the streets of the Austrian capital, converging on St. Stephen’s Cathedral where they would undergo a mass baptism, recalling imagery of a biblical nature. So theatrical a scenario is symptomatic of what Michael Burri describes as Herzl’s self-styled nobility as a result of his bourgeois upbringing, explained by Steven Beller as typical of Herzl’s fascination with the pomp and ceremony of the aristocracy. ’Herzl was so plainly a dandy, an aesthete and a snob, fascinated by aristocrats and ideas of chivalry’, remarks Beller. His grand plans were also likely influenced by the 1879 pageant along the unfinished Ringstraße in celebration of the Imperial couple’s (Franz Joseph I and Elisabeth) silver wedding anniversary.

His Zionist ideals were different from the national revivals of Central Europe that were inward-looking and self-idolising, that actively rejected external influences as detrimental to the survival of a pure national culture, or at best, re-characterised borrowed elements as indigenous. On the contrary, Herzl’s Zionism celebrated little ‘Jewish’ national culture at all, but rather borrowed enthusiastically from the ‘indigenous’ cultures amongst whom European Jews

31 Ibid., 58.
32 Weisz, however, attests that it was probable that the young Herzl had been influenced by his grandfather Simon Löbel Hezl (1784–1879), a close follower of the Sephardic, Sarajevo-born Rabbi Judah Alkalai (1798–1878), who wrote about the Jewish return to Zion. See Weisz, Theodor Herzl, 48–49.
33 Herzl, Tagebücher: Band I, 8. See also Avineri, Herzl, 100–101; and Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 147.
35 Beller quoted in Ibid., 118.
36 The pageant took place in the year following the Herzl family’s move to the Dual Capital of the Habsburg Empire and it is probable that it made an impression on the young student Theodor.
lived, specifically Germans. Indeed, as a member of Vienna’s and formerly Budapest’s Jewish Bildungsbürgertum with its dedication to Bildung, Sittlichkeit and Deutschtum, Herzl wished to fashion his Jewish state by borrowing many elements from German culture. His views are evident in the utopian novel Altneuland [Old-New Land] he authored as well as his pamphlet on the Jewish State [Der Judenstaat]. Disappointed by growing antisemitism, Herzl redirected his love of the German culture into a new form of Deutschtum. Essentially, the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, Argentina, Uganda or elsewhere would constitute the creation of a culturally German colony of Jews, in which ungebildete Ostjuden would be transformed through the adoption of German culture as their own. In so doing, they would also serve as proxy colonisers for ‘real’ Europeans, bringing enlightened German culture to the uncivilised native inhabitants of the land.

Aesthetics and style played an important role in Herzl’s political fancies, particularly in the integral role clothing played in the refashioning of self. Although references to sartorial styles and their effect on an individual’s bearing are scarce in Herzl’s writings, those instances in which explicit mention of clothing is made are telling because of the manner in which they slot easily into his wider discussions of self-ennoblement. For example, in his pamphlet on the establishment of a Jewish national state, Herzl proposed that prior to their departure from European ports the poor, un-acculturated emigrants—the Zionist pioneers who would provide the state’s first citizens—would be provided with new clothing, not, ‘as alms, which might hurt their pride, but in exchange for

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38 Herzl’s dedication to Deutschtum, or at least his identity as a ‘German Jew’, might also be apparent in other sartorial forms adopted, like many of his coreligionists and Gentile counterparts, when holidaying in the Salzkammergut. A number of photographs depict Herzl at the fin de siècle dressed in knee breeches, Loden jackets and long socks, a man of leisure spending time with his family at popular lakeside villages.
old garments’, imbuing the emigrants with, ‘the symbolic meaning. “You are now entering a new life.”’

Likewise, the year following the publication of his 1896 treatise, Herzl insisted that delegates to the First Zionist Congress in Basel dress in white tie, as ‘festive clothing makes most people stiff. From this stiffness a respectful tone emerged.’ Both his sartorial choices and the manner in which Herzl has been visually depicted confirm his attitudes towards clothing and behaviour. Yet, whether much of Herzl’s image was self-constructed needs to be tested against the role of visual conventions in shaping depictions, either via portrait photographers or other visual artists.

Arthur Kamczycki explores the manner in which Herzl’s noble image was developed through artistic representation. The Galician-born German Zionist graphic artist Ephraim Moses Lilien (1874–1925) frequently depicted Herzl in biblically themed illustrations. The images ignored Herzl’s role as cosmopolitan journalist and political lobbyist, instead showing him in the guise of biblical figures of power and esteem, such as Moses, Joshua, angels from various biblical episodes and powerfully-built slaves and farmers. A 1908 lithograph depicts the protagonist of the biblical Book of Joshua dressed in ‘oriental’ garb—consisting of striped keffiyeh-like headwear, bejewelled headband and a striped robe that resembles a tallith [Jewish prayer shawl]. Joshua holds his sword aloft before the walls of a fortification, a reference to the walls of Jericho that Joshua is purported to have breached in leading the Israelites into the Promised Land (Figure 47). It is no accident that the figure Joshua bears a strong resemblance to the face of the Zionist leader. In presenting Herzl as the personification of the Israelite warrior who led his people into the Promised Land after the death of their saviour Moses, Lilien’s image not only expresses the

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42 Ibid., 103.
hope of a future Jewish return to the land of their ancestors, but presents the Zionist foundations laid by Herzl in biblical proportions. Lilien’s choice to dress this Joshua/Herzl figure in styles resembling dress contemporary in Ottoman Palestine rather than historical clothing is not an accident. By presenting the Zionist leader in stylised contemporary Levantine garb, the division between Herzl’s highly tailored appearance and the Zionist notion of Jewish return to the land of their ancestors is diminished. Here Herzl’s Jewish—that is to say, ‘foreign’ or ‘oriental’—identity is brought to the forefront to argue the case for Jewish statehood in Palestine.

There is a peculiar contrast in Lilien’s naked, scantily-clad and oriental-garbed depictions of the Zionist leader—a strong, sculpted body drawing allusions to classical mythology and contemporaneous naturalist cultures celebrating male virility and strength—and Herzl’s polished sartorial identity. By representing heroes of Jewish history through Herzl’s personage, Lilien creates a direct link between contemporaneous discourse on Jewish national (spiritual and physical) revival with its demands of redemption through physical labour, and the urban gentility of Herzl’s milieu, a milieu completely unsuited to the physicality his discourse called for.

Lilien was not the only Jewish artist who cast biblical allusions onto representations of the Viennese Zionist leader. Richard I. Cohen notes that the 1908 portrait of Herzl by Polish-Jewish artist Leopold Pilichowski (1869–1933) was inspired by earlier representations of Moses (Figure 48). Cohen describes

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43 Herzl died in 1904, four years prior to the creation of Lilien’s illustration.  
44 Hildegard Frübis notes the strong resemblance between the lithograph and a photograph titled *Junger Mann mit weißem Kopftuch (Young Man with a White Keffieh)* taken during Lilien’s 1906 visit to Palestine. See Hildegard Frübis, ‘Ephraim Moses Lilien: The Figure of the “Beautiful Jewess,” the Orient, the Bible, and Zionism,’ trans. Andrew Boreham, in *Orientalism, Gender, and the Jews: Literary and Artistic Transformations of European National Discourses*, ed. Ulrike Brunotte, Anna-Dorothea Ludewig and Axel Stähler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 88.  
46 See for example an article chastising the lethargy of so-called ‘Kaffeehausjuden’ steeped in ‘Gojim naches’ as the antithesis to healthy individual who thrives with physical exercise amidst nature. Erich Burin, ‘Das Kaffeehausjudentum,’ *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 11, no. 5/6 (May–June 1910): 74–75.  
the manner in which Herzl is dressed: in ceremonial black, his hat and cane in his left hand, ‘overlooking the Promised Land, to which his right hand points limply.’48 The overall mood is sombre and even a little foreboding. The dark landscape behind Herzl is certainly no land flowing with milk and honey, as described in the Torah, but rather gloomy and swamp-like, as many early Zionist pioneers found it after arriving in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the large body of water Herzl stands above is the Sea of Galilee, and the gloomy landscape a reference to fin-de-siècle Zionist efforts to rid the areas of Jewish settlement of malaria by draining the swamps.49 In this manner, the detail of Herzl’s figure in contrast to the more abstract representation of the landscape, such as his regal stance, the serious expression on his face and his tailored European attire, suggests a wish to recreate the land in the Zionist image.

Unlike Lilien’s illustrations depicting Herzl in art nouveau styles swathed in Levantine robes (when dressed), in harmony with an orientalist depiction of Palestine, Pilichowski’s subject is dressed in a manner more accurately representative of Herzl’s clothing patterns. Here the Zionist leader, proudly surveying the land, appears in the guise of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European ‘explorers’, divorced sartorially, culturally and ideologically from the object of their colonising efforts. However, Pilichowski’s sartorial representation of Herzl is not far from the truth. Although dressed in regal black—tonally reminiscent of the seventeenth-century Spanish fashions present in Dutch portraits of male respectability and power—the formality of European dress as divorced from the reality of Levantine culture can be observed in those photographs taken during Herzl’s 1898 tour of Ottoman Palestine. In one photograph taken prior to an audience with the German Kaiser Wilhelm II (Figure 49), Herzl poses solemnly dressed in Frack and white tie, his Zylinder and gloves in his hand, with other similarly dressed members of the Zionist delegation before the walls of Jerusalem and the Tower of David. Standing in eveningwear beneath a clear sky and amidst the harsh Levantine landscape of dry shrubs and rubble, it is apparent that Pilichowski’s portrait is no

48 Ibid.
exaggeration. Adopting *Frack* and *Zylinder* as the uniform for his role as Zionist ‘statesman’, Herzl’s common clothing does not differ in tone. The sobriety of attire—what John Carl Flügel referred to as the ‘Great Masculine Renunciation’[^50]—was by no means exclusive to Herzl. His colleagues dressed in the same manner, the formality of their dress an influence of the ideals of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit* and their corresponding translation into sartorial self-fashioning. This sober masculine style was not one of simplicity. Rather there is a sense of dandyish precision in Herzl’s dress patterns (like that of Adolf Loos); his attire is carefully selected for the situation at hand, in this case to declare his role as self-styled statesman and the perceived ‘nobility’ and importance of his task.

Although he regularly appeared attired in monochrome, there was both diversity and thought in his sartorial styling. One particular photographic portrait of Herzl is worth mentioning. Taken at the turn of the century, this photograph is important not only because of the man it presents, but because of the solemnity and dignity it conveyed (Figure 50). The portrayal was considered so iconic that it was later cropped and used as a de facto official portrait of Herzl and hung in the Independence Hall in Tel Aviv (at the time a room in the Tel Aviv Museum of Art) where David Ben-Gurion declared Israeli Independence on 14 May 1948. The uncropped, original version presents Herzl standing in three-quarter profile, his hands gripping the back of a chair while he stares contemplatively ahead. Although his clothing here is similar to that worn in other portraits, it is representative of the public dressed identity he wished to convey: a black frock coat with half-satin lapels, lapelled waistcoat, high white collar and black bowtie. This outfit is not an evening *Frack* for a formal setting but rather the more casual version used for business, presenting Herzl as a man of action. Unlike the dress Sigmund Freud chose, which often consisted of a lounge suit in softer tones (also popular and acceptable attire for middle-class men of his time), Herzl chose the dandified black of self-styled nobility.[^51] With his elegantly stark attire and stern countenance, Herzl conveys the noble dignity he wished to instil in the re-fashioned Jewish nation and the seriousness of this mission. Gripping the back of

the chair, he stares thoughtfully ahead, perhaps ruminating on the future of his ‘nation’. In addition to his dress, other aspects of his styled appearance, such as his neatly brushed hair and his long greying beard, express a sense of seniority, wisdom and respectability. Kamczycki attests to the important role that Herzl’s beard played in his self-ennoblement. In the final decade of the nineteenth century, while living in Paris at a time when the culture of ancient Mesopotamia became fashionable, Herzl grew a full ‘Mesopotamian’ beard. In this way, Herzl attempted to fit in with local French fashions. Upon returning to Vienna where his ‘oriental’ beard visibly marked him as non-German, that is to say, as Jewish, his newly-acquired hirsute fashions made a clear and unabashed statement about Jewish identity. Herzl’s revised ‘Jewish’ appearance at this time corresponded to his changing views on the Jewish Question, and stood in contrast to both his former German-styled grooming and his unsavoury opinions about his coreligionists.

ARThUR SCHNITZLER: LITERARY BON VIVANT
The widely-read dramatist and novelist Arthur Schnitzler fashioned his role as a critic of the Viennese educated middle class for whom he wrote. A product himself of this class, Schnitzler used its dress modes to simultaneously express his participation in this class and his self-appointed role as its observer and critic. This dual internal-external position manifested itself in Schnitzler’s youthful rebelliousness. In 1894, the Jewish Viennese salonnière Berta Zuckerkandl-Szeps (1864–1945) wrote to her sister Sophie Clemenceau in Paris (sister-in-law of the later French president Georges Clemenceau) describing a dinner invitation to the home of the renowned laryngologist Johann Schnitzler (1835–1893). During dinner the seat next to Berta at the table remained vacant until its occupant arrived after the entrée [Vorspeise]: ‘a strikingly handsome, blond man, very elegant. A lock of hair fell across his forehead. I did not see his eyes as he had lowered his eyelids. A cool bow and then he sits down next to me.

52 Kamczycki, ‘Orientalism’.
53 Ibid., 97–98.
54 Ibid., 91–93.
55 The date of the dinner party is not provided; however, it would have had to have taken place some years prior to the 1894 letter as Johann Schnitzler died in 1893.
He is the son of the house, Arthur Schnitzler. Berta was thoroughly unimpressed with the young Schnitzler’s blasé conduct and complained to her husband, the anatomist Emil Zuckerkandl (1861–1921) on their way home. The image of the beautiful, blond youth contradicts the prevalent stereotype of the ‘ugly’ and ‘dark’ Jew. Berta Zuckerkandl’s description of the younger Schnitzler as an aloof and handsome man who stood out from the crowd at an evening among Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie is one that may have been plucked from one of Schnitzler’s own short stories or novellas. Zuckerkandl herself might have been a character from the pages of Schnitzler’s fiction. A cultural critic and writer, the daughter of a Galician-born newspaper magnate and sister of chief editor of the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, Zuckerkindl played hostess (in the spirit of earlier German-Jewish women Fanny von Arnstein, Rahel Levin and Henrietta Herz) to a salon that first met in her Döbling (district XIX) home and later in the Palais Lieben-Auspitz on the Ringstraße that drew artists, writers, and other cultural figures from Vienna and across Europe. The individuals depicted in Schnitzler’s literary canon strongly resemble this upper-middle-class segment of society of which he and Zuckerkindl were both a part. Regarding Schnitzler’s writing, Martin Swales complained ‘that the actual social range of his portrait gallery is limited. He tends to confine himself to a prosperous, upper-class milieu, concerning himself particularly with artistic and intellectual circles where so many of the chief participants were Jews.’ This is not surprising; after all, these were the circles in which Schnitzler himself moved. In addressing

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57 Ibid., 32.
58 Moriz Szeps (1835–1902) and Julius Szeps (1867–1924) respectively.
questions of social discourse, Schnitzler employed the milieu he best understood as an example of a wider, *universal* human condition.

Schnitzler was born in the Leopoldstadt (District II) to Hungarian-immigrant parents; his father Johann was from Groß-Kanizsa (Nagykanizsa) and his mother Louise from Güns (Kőszeg). By Schnitzler’s own account his parents came from different socio-economic backgrounds. He describes his paternal grandfather, Josef Schnitzler, as an alcoholic carpenter whose behaviour resulted in the family falling into debt. In contrast, his maternal grandfather Philipp Markbreiter, the grandson of a court jeweller, was an accomplished physician who enjoyed playing the piano, and had been raised in an environment dedicated to the ideals of *Bildung*, only to later fall prey to a gambling addiction. Through her mother Amalia, Louise Schnitzler (née Markbreiter) was related to the illustrious Jewish Schey family, a scion of which commissioned the building of a large palace on the Ringstraße during the 1860s.

Johann and Louise Schnitzler had settled in Leopoldstadt prior to the birth of their eldest son Arthur. Because of its sizeable Jewish population, the district was known as the city’s Jewish quarter even prior to the migration from the east. The Schnitzlers’ world, although decidedly Jewish, was one of the upper-middle classes with familial and professional connections to wealthy Jewish professionals and members of the city’s artistic milieu. Upon graduating from the *Gymnasium*, Schnitzler, a dutiful son of the Jewish bourgeoisie, followed in his father’s footsteps and enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1879 to study medicine. From there he received a doctorate of medicine and went to work at his father’s medical clinic. As Ritchie Robertson asserts, ‘Schnitzler found medicine uncongenial’, only exacerbated by a tense relationship with his

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father.\textsuperscript{63} It was the death of his father and suffering from ‘auditory hallucinations’ and tinnitus during the early 1890s that helped Schnitzler find a way out of the world of medicine and the opportunity to embrace his literary passions.\textsuperscript{64} During this same period, Schnitzler became involved with the writers who would become the fin-de-siècle literary group \textit{jung Wien} [Young Vienna],\textsuperscript{65} meeting regularly at Café Griensteidl in Vienna’s first district.\textsuperscript{66}

Schnitzler’s foppish sartorial patterns and tastes can be understood as a reaction to the social discourse of Jewishness in late nineteenth-century Vienna, such as the increasing antisemitism that Karl Lueger utilised in his populist Christian Social mayoral platform. However, unlike those Jews who chose to reject and hide their Jewishness in the wake of growing antisemitism, Schnitzler remained a member of the \textit{Israelitische Kultusgemeinde}, marrying under the auspices of the rabbinate,\textsuperscript{67} and recording the birth of his children in the community records.\textsuperscript{68} As an artist who made no attempt to hide his Jewish identity, and openly addressed the so-called Jewish Question throughout his writing, Schnitzler’s carefree, foppish appearance was both a sign of his social artistic milieu and a refutation of perceived visual markers of Jewishness. Playing with the idea of the


\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., x.

\textsuperscript{66} Although the non-Jewish dramatist Hermann Bahr (1863–1934) was the group’s most famous member and unofficial leader, many of its members were of Jewish origin, including Peter Altenberg, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Felix Dörrmann, Leo Ebermann, Karl Federn, Paul Goldmann, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (a Catholic writer whose paternal grandfather had converted from Judaism to Catholicism, although as Steven Beller rightly points out, although not Jewish himself, Hofmannsthal was undoubtedly the result of the assimilatory process and married a Jewish woman), Jacques Joachim, Eduard M. Kafka, C. Karlweis, Julius Kulka, Rudolf Lothar, Felix Salten, Gustav Schwarzkopf, Richard Specht, Leo van Jung, Stefan Zweig, and—before his break from them in 1897—Karl Kraus. See Beller, \textit{Vienna and the Jews}, 12–13, 22.


dark, ‘oriental’ Jew vis-à-vis the blond German, it is possible that Schnitzler took advantage of his blond handsome appearance that Zuckerkandl referred to in order to refute notions of Jewish bodily difference. Moreover, he dressed in a manner that rejected the notions of male sartorial conventionality that permeated Jewish bourgeois circles to broadcast their dedication to Bildung and Sittlichkeit. Schnitzler saw himself as simultaneously Jewish and German; to him there was no contradiction. In an undated letter found some time after his death, Schnitzler wrote of his status as a German writer of Jewish origin:

Neither Jewish-Zionist resentment nor the stupidity and impudence of German nationalist[s] will make me doubt in the least that I am a German writer . . . I should find it proper that authors whose language is Hebrew should call themselves Hebrew writers or Jewish writers. Neither could I object if poets of Jewish background who have hitherto written in another language became outraged at the stupidity of anti-Semitism, which would deny them membership in a nation on whose territory they were born, in whose speech they were reared and which they even helped to shape; and if, as a result, these poets abjured the beloved language hitherto employed by them and turn to Hebrew as the medium for their creative works. Such poets would thereby have obtained the right to designate themselves as Jewish poets. But as long as they continue to write in German, they must call themselves German poets . . . They are German poets as surely as Heine, Boerne, Gundolf, and a hundred others of Jewish origin are German; as surely as Brandes is a Danish writer and Proust a French writer. Just ask any genuine living German poet, ask Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Gerhart Hauptmann, Hesse, Unruh, whom they feel to be more German: Wolzogen, Dinter, and that crowd, or Wassermann, Werfel, Beer-Hofmann, and a dozen others of Jewish orogin [sic] that I could name.69

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69 Schnitzler quoted in Harry Zohn, ‘The Jewish World of Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931),’ *The Jewish Quarterly* 10 (1963): 29. By referring to ‘genuine German writers’, there is still an implication that the German-Jewish writer is not as genuine as his or her Gentile counterpart.
Like many Viennese Jews of his era when an individual’s nationality was (officially) determined through language, Schnitzler approached his identity in the tripartite manner described by Rozenblit: ethnically (and religiously) Jewish, culturally German and politically Austrian.\footnote{Rozenblit, Reconstructing a National Identity, 4.}

What influence did Schnitzler’s self-identification as both Jew and German have on his self-fashioning and how did this manifest itself in his dress patterns? In youthful photographs, Schnitzler appears in the same guise as the young bachelor Zuckerkandl described in the letter to her sister: bright-eyed, his messy hair parted at the side and brushed up in a debonair manner. Those portraits depicting Schnitzler as a youth in the late 1870s clearly display his foppish attire. In one portrait in particular (c. 1878) (Figure 51) by the well-known photographer Josef Székely (1838–1901), Schnitzler as a Maturant [secondary school graduate] wears velvet jacket and waistcoat with bound edges and a large, spotted bow bellow his turndown shirt collar. His fair locks are brushed back and high, and with his sparse growth of moustache, the roughly sixteen-year-old Schnitzler looks the part of dreamy aesthete in styles not dissimilar (albeit less unconventional) to those worn by Peter Altenberg a number of decades later (see below). However, as a young man in his teens, Schnitzler lived in the confines of the parental home and the rules of the Gymnasium. Opportunities for a young man to express himself through sartorial modes were, at this point in his life, somewhat curtailed.\footnote{See for example Clare Rose, Making, Selling and Wearing Boys’ Clothes in Late-Victorian England (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), in particular Chapter 1 ‘Raggedness and Respectability,’ 23–54, dealing with these twin notions in society and the role of clothing in generating a boy’s image.}

In images of Schnitzler ranging from young adulthood to his advanced years, there is a persistent sense of the boyish foppishness highlighted in Zuckerkandl’s letter. His hair is tousled, his fringe long and brushed up and to the side. As he moves through different stages of his life his scanty moustache grows into a full, pointed goatee and wide moustache that lend him an appearance of hirsute
In two photographs taken decades apart, Schnitzler’s style of hair and facial hair changed little.

In the first, a studio portrait taken in 1885 at the time when Schnitzler was still a medical student, Schnitzler sits ‘casually’ while his friend and fellow student Friedrich ‘Fritz’ Kapper (1861–1939) leans next to him (Figure 52). Although the photographer’s sitters pose themselves in a manner that expresses studied nonchalance, these two young Jewish men hold themselves in a highly considered manner to express their identities as young, modern men-about-town. Schnitzler crosses his legs at the knee while simultaneously balancing an open book on top and he holds a pen between the fingers of his left hand. Bent at the elbow, his left arm is held aloft, perhaps simulating the casualness of one resting his arm on the top of his upholstered chair. However, his arm does not rest comfortably. Rather it is fixed in the air in a manner reminiscent of a marionette or carved figurine. While Kapper rests his hand directly on Schnitzler’s shoulder, his pose is no less rigid. With his left leg crossed over the right, and his right hand placed on his hip, Kapper bends forward slightly and leans against his friend, careful not to place too much weight on him. The stiffness of their ‘nonchalant’ posing is the result of contemporary conventions of photography and the exposure time that required sitters to hold their poses for a longer period of time, which Graham Clarke describes as reflecting ‘the method and not the medium.’

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73 Clark, The Photograph, 15.
The use of an open book as prop is notable, not only as a conventional tool in nineteenth-century studio portraits, but as a symbol of Schnitzler’s dedication to literature, even though he was still at this stage of his life destined to follow his father into a medical career. It is not only the open book and pen that express Schnitzler’s rebellion against the bourgeois conventions of his Jewish milieu; his hairstyle and dress are equally important. Like Kapper, he wears his beard neatly pointed and a sharp moustache. Unlike his friend, however, Schnitzler’s hair is not neatly trimmed and brushed, but worn longer and swept up across his forehead in an untidy fashion. Likewise, the dress choices of these two friends differ. Kapper wears a typical lounge suit with a high closure, a wing collar and discreet black bowtie. Schnitzler’s dress, however, is more elaborate and matches his more ‘debonair’ pose: The roll of his jacket lapel is much lower which, like that of his waistcoat, has bound edges. Like his friend, he wears a white wing collar, but with a large patterned necktie beneath, and what appears to be a pearl tiepin in its knot. The portrait’s sepia tone obscures the colours of the men’s attire, but the tone of the image and the manner in which the light falls across the fabric of the suits suggests they are not black, but perhaps a lighter shade of brown, grey, blue or even green.

In the second image (Figure 53), taken almost four decades later by the celebrated portrait photographer Franz Xaver Setzer (1886–19139), Schnitzler’s attire, from what is visible in a portrait of only the writer’s face and upper torso, is more severe, more akin to the sober conservatism of Kapper’s sartorial appearance than his own foppishness in the 1885 portrait, and more suited to a mature gentleman, as per middle-class conventions. He appears to be dressed in a dark—possibly black—single-breasted dinner jacket with a high break point, and matching waistcoat beneath. In contrast to the patterned ties of his youth, he wears a simple, black bowtie beneath what appears to be a wing collar partially obscured by his pointed beard. Gazing seriously at Setzer’s apparatus, Schnitzler is no longer a young and carefree medical student, but rather a mature and respected writer, chronicler of Vienna’s Bildungsbürgertum. Nonetheless, there is

75 Teichert, Mode. Macht. Männer, 137.
still a sense of playfulness in the appearance of the sixty-year-old Schnitzler. Here too, his hairstyle is similar (although one that slopes downwards across his forehead rather than brushed up) and he wears the same beard and moustache, albeit fuller than in his youthful days.

The manner in which Schnitzler wore his hair and trimmed his facial hair were only two ways in which he developed a particular image of youthful rebelliousness—something that Zuckerkandl remarked in the 1894 letter to her sister.76 His choice of sartorial styles also exposes the development of identity that was at once distinct from his middle-class milieu and borrowing elements from it. In a family snapshot from 1905, he stands on the balcony of his apartment at Spöttelgasse 7 with his wife Olga (née Guszmann) and son Heinrich (Figure 54). Here his attire is largely concealed by his arms crossed over his chest and a large, light-coloured coat draped over his shoulders. Leaning nonchalantly against the balcony’s sturdy balustrade, he stares defiantly into the photographer’s lens—a contrast to a more placid Olga. He does appear to be wearing a dark suit—the manner in which the light falls across the contours of the fabric suggest his jacket may be velvet. His haughty, solemn stance, and the manner in which the drape of his coat evokes a cape or cloak, recall portraits of the aristocracy. Leaning against the balustrade and holding a cigar between his fingers, he seems to be caught in a typical moment of private life, rather than a staged situation. This defiant manner in the face of supposed bourgeois respectability is reminiscent of Schnitzler’s character Heinrich Bermann in the novel he published three years later, Der Weg ins Freie [The Road Into the Open]. Bermann, a middle-class Jew and son of a lawyer and politician, is a sharp critic of the mannerisms and obsessions of Vienna’s Jewish Bildungsbürgertum.77 To Bermann, like to Schnitzler, nothing in the world is sacred and beyond reproach. Yet, his criticism comes from the perspective of an insider, and not one who has

76 Zuckerkandl, Österreich intim, 32. What Zuckerkandl related to her sister in Paris concerned Johann Schnitzler’s dismay towards his son’s desire to embark on a literary career, rather than follow him into the medical field (in which the younger Schnitzler had also been trained). In his treatise of fin-de-siècle Vienna, Carl E. Schorske addresses the question of young literary figures—Schnitzler included—and argues their embrace of the arts and development of new forms was a firm rejection of the world of their fathers. See Schorske, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna.
rejected his people, like Peter Altenberg, Karl Kraus, or Otto Weininger did. Bermann/Schnitzler is at once both proud Jewish member of the bourgeoisie and its uncompromising critic.

In some images, Schnitzler’s clothing preferences are somewhat subdued and embrace the favoured dark tones of middle-class masculine respectability. But his dark suits are not dull. Embracing the sober tones of Victorian masculinity, the writer, like other men of his period, embellished his dressed appearance with accessories such as watch chains, neckwear, jewellery or striking cufflinks (Figure 55). Nor were the clothes themselves plain. In a 1908 portrait from the studio of the celebrated Jewish Viennese photographer Madame d’Ora (Dora Kallmus, 1881–1963) (Figure 56), Schnitzler poses, knees crossed and left hand buried in his trouser pocket, the right hand resting on his thigh, in a sharp, three-piece suit of dark, woollen material. The edges of his waistcoat, jacket lapels and turned up sleeve cuffs are carefully bound (perhaps in a satin, although it is impossible to tell from the photograph), as are the side-seams of his trousers. He stares outward, his expression serious, perhaps judging the viewer. In the same year that this portrait was taken, Schnitzler published his novel Der Weg ins Freie, his most explicit critique of his bourgeois Jewish milieu. His choice of attire conformed to middle-class conventions, but his piercing gaze expresses a sense of discontent. Images like this are important because they reveal not only the clothing preferences of individuals, but also offer an insight into the manner in which men straddled the conflicting influences of societal discourse on male sobriety and a desire to appear sartorially splendid.78 In Schnitzler’s case, this visual negotiation of masculine expectations also gives meaning to his dual role as a critic of the Jewish bourgeoisie and a member of that class.

A 1910 portrait of Schnitzler and his family by Madame d’Ora conveys this sense of carefully constructed sartorial identity along class and gendered lines (Figure

Posing behind Olga, and children Heinrich and Lili who sit on a couch upholstered in a striped fabric, Schnitzler and his family have cultivated an image of the carefree bon vivants decked out in sartorial splendour. The clothing choices are somewhat exaggerated, with an obvious preference for volume, as can be seen in the wide skirt of Olga’s taffeta dress (at a time when the silhouettes of female fashions were beginning to narrow), the wide-brimmed hats of both parents and young Heinrich, the puffed sleeves of Lili’s white dress, and Heinrich’s velvet suit with large lace collar and sleeve cuffs. The family’s chosen styles clearly reference popular middle-class fashions of the period, and yet the sense of exaggeration allows Schnitzler to present himself and his family as standing somewhat beyond the strict confines of Vienna’s Bildungsbürgertum. Consider, for example, his own dress. Overall, the light (possibly woven straw) hat and dark suit he dons are similar to mainstream fashions, such as those fashion plates included in the supplement of the contemporary tailoring journal *Wiener Herrenmode* (Figure 58). However, it is the details of his dressed appearance—the hat worn at a jaunty angle and the wide, somewhat low collar—and the manner in which Schnitzler stands defiantly, clenched fist held against his chest, that dramatise his visual appearance and underscore his role as a social critic, both embedded in and removed from the society he scrutinises in his writing.

**STEFAN ZWEIG: COSMOPOLITAN EUROPEAN**
Youthful photographs of Stefan Zweig depict an elegant, neatly groomed young man whose bearing suggests a sense of pride in his external presentation. Zweig was raised in a wealthy bourgeois family and his early poetry was published in 1897 while he was still a student at the Gymnasium Wasagasse in Vienna’s ninth district. After completing his secondary education, Zweig enrolled at the University of Vienna where he completed a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of the French positivist critic Hippolyte Taine in 1904. Zweig would go on to create an illustrious career as an author, writing in various genres and fraternising with literary and cultural figures across Europe and further afield. At the time of his untimely death by suicide in Brazil (1942), Zweig was one of the most widely translated authors in Europe. However, more than his identity as a renowned
writer, Zweig’s sartorial appearance reveals much about his self-identification as a Jewish ‘European’ and his bourgeois family milieu.

The bourgeois younger son of a Moravian textile manufacturer father and Italian-born, Austrian mother, Zweig has at times been referred to as an aesthete for his fastidious mode of dress and attention to material and visual culture, both in his writing and his private life. In his short stories, novellas and sole novel, he gave careful attention to the dress of his characters and the descriptions of their material surroundings. The carefully selected accessories and trinkets that he wore, such as neckties in unobtrusive patterns, adorned almost always with a pearl tiepin, cufflinks and a discreet ring on the little finger of his left hand, and the signature purple ink in which he wrote his letters and manuscripts (including a purple typewriter ribbon), reinforce his reputation for fastidiousness.

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79 For further detail on Stefan Zweig’s family background see Chapter 4 ‘Refashioning the Self: Viennese Jews and Dress’.  
81 See for example Zweig’s novel Ungeduld des Herzens (1939) in which dress and materiality serve as literary devices for, among other things, the assimilation process. The sobriety of Lajos von Kekesfalva’s (alias of the Jew Lammel Kanitz) black suit symbolises his role as an industrious plutocrat and simultaneously his misguided attempt at assimilating into the rural Magyar élite. In contrast to Kekesfalva, the novel’s protagonist Lieutenant Anton Hofmiller’s ubiquitous military garb presents him as an in-between figure; at once an élite of sorts and at the same time removed from civilian life. This odd pairing of Kekesfalva’s middle-class uniform and Hofmiller’s military attire creates a precarious bond between these two men, both examples of Zygmunt Bauman’s stranger in this provincial Hungarian society: the former as an interloping Jewish businessman and the latter as a transient stranger who represents the simultaneously foreign and familiar imperialism of distant Vienna. See Bauman, Ambivalence and Modernity, 53–84; Stefan Zweig, Beware of Pity, trans. Phyllis and Trevor Blewitt (London: Cassell, 1953).  
82 It should be noted that the ring in question is not a wedding band. A photograph (c. 1915/1916) taken while in the service of the war archives in Vienna depicts a youthful-looking Zweig—at the time in his mid-30s—elegant in his military uniform, leaning against a lectern before a large pile of ledgers as he stares dreamily into the distance. The ring is present—as in other later photographs—on the little finger of his left hand, which rests against his head. Zweig did not marry his first wife, Friderike von Winternitz (née Burger) until 1920.  
83 Ink seems to have been a coded message amongst late nineteenth century writers, green ink being associated with the circles of aesthetes and Oscar Wilde. Peter McNeil observes that the colour green was equally ‘associated with the “diabolism and artificiality” that came to characterize fin de siècle art and literature,’ and the goddess Venus, thus conveying erotic connotations. See Peter McNeil, “Everything Degenerates”: The Queer Buttonhole,’ in Floriographie: Die Sprache der Blumen, ed. Isabel Kranz, Alexander Schwan and Elke Wittrock (Berlin: Wilhelm Fink, 2016), 401–03.
A photograph (c. 1898) taken at the Kunst Salon Pietzner in Vienna’s Innere Stadt (district I) depicts a seventeen-year-old Zweig standing next to his nineteen-year-old brother Alfred, who is seated, patrician-like, on a sturdy chair with elaborately carved back and armrests (Figure 59). In contrast to his older brother, who looks confidently at the camera with his curled, waxed moustache and hair trimmed in a vaguely militaristic manner, the young Stefan standing demurely behind Alfred with his hands hidden behind his back, in his tightly-buttoned frock coat, carefully pomaded hair, faint smudge of moustache, and delicate pince-nez perched precariously on the bridge of his long nose looks very much the gentle, romantic aesthete as he gazes thoughtfully into the camera’s lens.

Presenting the sharp contrasts between the two brothers, the photograph serves, in a sense, as an indication of the separate paths their lives would take and their roles in the family. Alfred was destined as the elder son to take over the family textile business in Bohemia, while Stefan, the baby of the family, already having shown an aptitude for writing as a Gymnasiast, would become a much celebrated author both in the German-language realm and in the world at large. These contrasts also point to two of Vienna’s Jewish types: the Germanic and somewhat militaristic precision and bearing of Alfred’s outer appearance, alluding to his position as a member of the Jewish bourgeoisie with its simultaneous dedication to Bildung und Besitz, and Stefan’s softer, delicate stance marking him as one concerned foremost with intellectual pursuits, and his almost naïve dedication to and belief in internationalism and the brotherhood of all people.

The styling of this photograph places the brothers squarely in Vienna’s middle-class Jewish milieu. As Tanya Sheehan highlights in her study of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studio photography practices among minorities in the

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84 Prior to the Second World War, Stefan Zweig enjoyed huge literary success, and was one of the most widely translated European authors of the period. His work was translated into multiple languages both in Europe and the Western Hemisphere and beyond, including Arabic and Turkish. Friedhelm Hoffmann, ‘Zur arabischen Stefan-Zweig-Rezeption,’ Zweigheft 17 (July 2017): 27–34.

United States of America, photographers employed middle-class material elements and posing conventions in the styling of portraits in order to allow their sitters to feel as though they were participating in the context of white bourgeois respectability: 86

These included books, prints and paintings of the ‘finest’ quality, historic ephemera, stained glass draped with ‘splendid curtains,’ classically styled vases and marble busts, and even brightly colored singing birds. Taken together, these fine things—literature, art, furnishings and music—were closely tied to ‘pleasing expressions’ under the skylight precisely because they were highly valued in the bourgeois cultural imagination. 87

The sturdy, expensive-looking furniture, plush drapery, houseplant and painting hanging on the papered wall behind the Zweig brothers lend the studio an appearance of domesticity that not only express the sitters’ class values, but was a common tool used by portrait photographers in putting their sitters in a ‘genial, elevated tone of sentiment and emotion.’ 88

Zweig’s appearance, both in the Kunst Salon Pietzner portrait and in others is quite normal. He does not appear bohemian in any sense but rather very much the privileged son of the Viennese bourgeoisie, having absorbed its notions of sartorial and behavioural respectability [Sittlichkeit]. 89 Such preferences were common among other Jewish men of a similar background. The Zweig brothers were raised in a culturally assimilated household. Although strict observance of Judaism had long been discarded, the family had not adopted Christianity—either out of religious conviction or for professional and social advancement. Moriz and Ida Zweig, the parents of Alfred and Stefan, ‘remained Jews in more

87 Ibid., 130.
88 Ibid., 130.
89 Elizabeth Allday, however, argued that Zweig adopted a bohemian sartorial appearance while spending a semester studying in Berlin; however, an examination of photographs of Zweig during his student days provides no evidence of such dress patterns. See Allday, Stefan Zweig, 31–32.
than a nominal sense’, maintaining connections to the official Jewish community, fasting on Yom Kippur, and commemorating the B’nei Mitzvah of their sons.\textsuperscript{90} In this way they instilled a lasting sense of Jewish identity in their sons; neither Stefan nor Alfred converted to Christianity, even after marrying Catholic women.\textsuperscript{91} For many acculturated Viennese Jews, their Jewish identity and Jewishness were merely a matter of fact. Stefan Zweig neither denied nor made a point of emphasising his Jewish identity. He maintained relations with members of the Jewish Bürgertum in which he was raised and made a point of maintaining membership, albeit nominally, with the official Jewish communities in the places where he lived (Vienna, Salzburg, England, Brazil).\textsuperscript{92} However, as an artist and a public persona, he was able to foster friendships with others outside this segment of society—something not always available to many of his coreligionists. Unlike Schnitzler, whose literary works often included overtly Jewish characters and themes, Zweig’s literary canon tended to avoid them. In short, Zweig, like many of his fellow middle-class Jews, conducted himself in a manner that appeared to correspond with the maxim coined by the Russian Maskil Judah Leib Gordon (1831–1892): ‘Be a man in the street and a Jew at home’. His sartorial habits, modern and following the accepted male fashions of the era, confirm this approach.

Both brothers’ dress choices in the 1898 Pitzner portrait would transform over time, reflecting both their maturation and the wider change in men’s fashions. Although Alfred would go on after completing his secondary education at one of Vienna’s Realgymnasien [technical gymnasiums] to work for Moriz Zweig’s

\textsuperscript{90} Spitzer, \textit{Lives in Between}, 98.
textile firm, and was described by his one-time sister-in-law Friderike Zweig as maintaining a ‘purely commercial standpoint of a prominent industrialist’, surviving photographs lead to the conclusion that he did not inherit his father’s ascetic dress habits or tastes. In contrast to his more severe sartorial appearance in the Pietzner portrait, other photographs depict the young Alfred dressed in no less fastidious a manner, but in styles more akin to those favoured by what Adolf Loos referred to as the Gigerl: hats worn at rakish angles, at times sporting a cane, high collars and sharply tailored suits. As he grew older, Alfred’s choice of clothing became less ‘foppish’ but no less carefully considered. One image depicts a middle-aged Alfred Zweig sitting on a cushioned bench at a polished wooden table by a white stucco wall (Figure 60). Perhaps this undated photograph was taken at a summerhouse or Heuriger. Alfred, in the midst of entering information into what might be a business ledger, pauses to stare sternly into the photographer’s lens. His greying, receding hair is neatly combed and he sports the same moustache as his famous brother. His well-cut (what might be described today as slim fit) three-piece suit is in a tweed-like woollen fabric, and attention has been paid to smaller sartorial details such as the striped shirt and vari-toned, diagonally striped tie. He also wears cufflinks and rings on both hands. His sharply tailored attire puts him in stark contrast to his rustic surroundings.

Such careful attention to dress was typical for Alfred Zweig. Numerous photographs of Alfred and his wife Stefanie (née Duschak) on holidays in the snow-covered Swiss Alps during the 1930s show him very much at odds with the environment. Dressed in outerwear—either belted trench coats or heavy overcoats with fur collars—breeches, tie and collar, and carrying a cane, Alfred Zweig does not appear in the guise of a man suited for skiing or hiking through the mountains. Nor do his adopted sartorial styles correspond to those more rustic styles advertised in contemporary Viennese men’s fashion magazines of the period, such as Herren-Mode-Welt, The Gentlemen, and Der Herr und seine Welt.

93 Zweig, Stefan Zweig, 219
94 For an analysis of Moriz Zweig’s sartorial habits see Chapter 4 ‘Refashioning the Self: Viennese Jews and Dress’.
To complete this image of the urban, sartorially-conscious cosmopolitan—and in the context of the rise in nationalist and antisemitic sentiments during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—such an image of the fashionable visitor had connotations of Jewish difference and evoked the irreconcilable divide between the völkisch, rural German and the urban, rootless Jew.95 One image from a holiday spent in Arosa in 1934 features Alfred sitting on a wooden bench outside a rustic chalet or ski-hut with one of his beloved dachshunds (Figure 61). In stark contrast to the simple, raw setting, Alfred leans back comfortably against the bench. At first glance, he appears suitably attired for the snow in a coat, knitted hat, long scarf and sunglasses to protect his eyes from the snow’s glare. A closer observation reveals the coat’s rather thin fabric and his white collared shirt and necktie. A ring can be seen on the little finger of his left hand and the handle of his cane can be seen poking up between the wooden slats of the bench. Even his beloved dachshund has been dressed in a knitted rug and studded harness, which Alfred grips with his right hand.

In contrast to Alfred, Stefan’s dressed appearance blends more easily into provincial environs. Images from Salzburg depict Stefan Zweig in far more casual attire, often without a tie, with an open collared shirt, and at times wearing short trousers. In photographs from this period of his life, Zweig adopted a more leisured, rural attire: light summer suits with short trousers, tweeds and even traditional leather shorts with long socks (Figures 62 & 63). Oliver Matuschek explains that Zweig’s adoption of the local Tracht, or at least a variation of it, differed from that common among many Austrian and German Jews of the same period aggressively asserting their loyalty to German culture. Rather, Zweig’s casual völkisch attire was adopted as such styles were the latest sartorial fashion in Salzburg.96 However, with this adoption of local styles for the purposes of visual conformity with the local population, there is still a sense of the individual asserting his or her loyalty to or identification with the culture of the dominant society. Thus, whether Zweig adopted the local Tracht out of a sense of

95 Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 22–23.
96 Matuschek, Three Lives, 250.
deliberate identification with the local, dominant *Volk*, or rather simply for the purposes of visual coherence, a sense of the former is still present. In her biography of Zweig, Friderike Zweig (Zweig’s first wife) recalled the designer and purveyor of fashion Sepp Lanz in particular, whose *Tracht*-inspired designs became so popular with both local and international visitors to the annual *Salzburger Festspiele* that he was later able to establish a business in Hawaii.97 But Zweig’s adopted provincial sartorial identity was not accepted warmly by everyone, and ‘attracted the unflattering sobriquet of *Salontiroler*, in some quarters—roughly, “Alpine Tourist”.’98

These and other photographic examples correspond to written accounts of Stefan Zweig and his familial milieu. Like his relaxed and ‘völkisch’ Salzburger attire, the clothes he wore during other periods of his life match his dedication to universal (read ‘European’) culture. As a proud ‘European’—and not simply an Austrian or German99—he made a point of not standing out. Unlike his contemporaries Peter Altenberg and Arthur Schnitzler, his clothing preferences were not unusual but carefully followed the maxims of correct male dressing. This is not to say that Zweig’s dress patterns were mediocre. The German writer Irmgard Keun (1905–1982) once described Zweig on a visit to Ostende during the 1930s as looking ‘very decorative—exactly like a cinema-goer’s notion of a famous writer. Cosmopolitan, elegant, dapper, with a gentle melancholy in his dark gaze.’100 Surviving photographic evidence confirms that he took great care in the selection of his clothing and accessories. Photographs of Zweig taken during the 1920s and ’30s reveal his conservative but considered attire. His sartorial preferences evidently adapted to the changing fashions of the times—

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99 Herzog, *Vienna is Different*, 51–52.
wearing suits that varied in cut, colour, texture and weight of fabric, his shirts were either plain or patterned, as was his choice of neckwear (Figures 64 & 65).

As a Jew coming of age during a period of increasing antisemitism, Zweig found that his answer to the Jewish Question rested on a dedication to universal human values. A Jew, as he declared through his public silence on the matter, was unremarkable and had no need to stand out from the crowd by emphasising his difference through political activity or by adopting extraordinary sartorial practices. At the same time, his cosmopolitan nature and belief in lack of territorial bonds placed the Jew in a position specially situated to deal with the question of nationality. Zweig believed strongly in the Jew’s role as a mediator among the peoples of the world, and therefore regarded the establishment of a Jewish national state as a negation of the Jewish destiny. Although unexpressed, Zweig’s sartorially conservative appearance was evidence not simply of Jewish assimilation and acculturation (albeit a product of this milieu), but was strongly representative of his views regarding the Jew’s role in Western civilisation.

PETER ALTENBERG: BOHEMIAN ASSIMILATIONIST

Peter Altenberg stands out for the peculiarity of his dress among the Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie. A number of surviving photographs, such as one from 1912 (Figure 66), mark Altenberg’s choice of attire as eccentric. In this photograph, he wears a wide overcoat of a light-coloured fabric (presumably wool) with a faint check. The sleeves are wide (with a tab at the cuff on the seam-side of the sleeve), as is the coat’s collar. A flat, tartan tam o’ shanter-like bonnet perched on his head and his large, drooping ‘walrus’ moustache give him the appearance of a stereotypical Scot (sans kilt) and not the son of a Jewish merchant. With his left hand, he clasps his (leather or suede) gloves and cane, while his right hand is buried in his coat pocket as he stares stoically ahead. Although there is a sense of seriousness common in photographic portraits of the late nineteenth and early

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twentieth centuries, Altenberg consciously turns his gaze away from the camera, as if to reject the social conventions of portraiture.\footnote{Clarke, \textit{The Photograph}, 105.}

There is nothing in Altenberg’s physiognomy or bearing that can be coded as particularly ‘Jewish’, neither in the stereotypical traits attributed to poorer \textit{Ostjuden} newly arrived in Vienna from the empire’s easternmost provinces (or those former \textit{Ostjuden} who had already transformed themselves into so-called parvenus), nor in any of the sartorial habits or visual codes that were prevalent among Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie. Altenberg’s rejection of conventional aesthetic and sartorial styles does not translate into an elimination of style; rather, as Susan Sontag notes, ‘antipathy to “style” is always an antipathy to a given style’, in favour of another.\footnote{Susan Sontag, ‘On Style [1965],’ in \textit{Against Interpretation; and Other Essays} (New York: Picador, 1966), 18.} Thus, at a time when ‘the Jew came to represent the counter-ideal of beauty in the popular German imagination’,\footnote{Sharon Gillerman, ‘Samson in Vienna: The Theatrics of Jewish Masculinity,’ \textit{Jewish Social Studies} 9, no. 2 (2003): 79.} Altenberg’s \textit{atypical} styles of dress can be understood as a definite attempt to distance himself from Vienna’s middle-class Jews.

Peter Altenberg was born Richard Engländer to middle-class Jewish parents—Moriz Engländer, a migrant from Pest, and the Viennese-born Pauline Schweinburg—in the ‘Jewish’ environment of the Leopoldstadt where he spent his early childhood.\footnote{Richard Engländer adopted the nom de plume after a childhood (unrequited) romance with a young girl nicknamed ‘Peter’ and ‘Altenberg’ after a town on the Danube. See Shapira, \textit{Style and Seduction}, 175.} During his childhood, the family moved to an apartment in the \textit{Innere Stadt} in the vicinity of Vienna’s main synagogue (\textit{Stadttempel}) in the Seitenstettengasse. Despite exposure to Jewish society at a young age, in both the first and second districts,\footnote{Until 1873, the family lived on the small street Am Bergl in the vicinity of the present-day Seitenstettengasse and Rabensteig. A photograph included in Heinz Lunzer and Victoria Lunzer Talos’s volume on Peter Altenberg depicts Am Bergl in 1897. Visible on the right is the shop of Wolf Bandl, which includes Hebrew in its sign and appears to sell Judaica. See Heinz Lunzer, ‘Kindheit, Jugend in einer wohlhabenden Kaufmannsfamilie,’ in \textit{Peter Altenberg, Extrait des Lebens: einem Schriftsteller auf der Spur}, ed. Heinz Lunzer and Victoria Lunzer-Talos (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2003), 22. Early issues of the Viennese Jewish weekly \textit{Die Wahrheit: Unabhängige Zeitschrift für jüdische Interessen} (1899–1938) contained advertisements for the}
household dedicated to the ideals of Bildung, with their father more interested in French culture and literature than in imparting his children with a strong Jewish identity. Altenberg recalled of his father:


[My father is a merchant. He has one peculiarity: he only reads French books. For 40 years. A wonderful portrait of his idol hangs over his bed: ‘Victor Hugo’. In the evenings he sits in a dark red armchair and reads the ‘Revue des deux Mondes’ while wearing a blue gown with wide velvet collars à la Victor Hugo.]

Like many sons of middle-class Jewish families, Altenberg enrolled in a law degree at the University of Vienna in 1877 after completing his secondary schooling, only to change two years later to a medicine degree. Like his contemporary Arthur Schnitzler, Altenberg came to a realisation that he was unsuited for a career in medicine. Withdrawing from his studies again in what Harold B. Segel refers to as ‘an emerging pattern of instability’, Altenberg relocated to Stuttgart in order to undertake an apprenticeship at Julius Weise’s Hofbuchhandlung in 1880.108 After further failed attempts at study and work, Altenberg was declared unfit for work by a psychiatrist and drifted further into a bohemian lifestyle, living at first with his brother Georg and then in numerous hotels.109 It was during this period that Altenberg began to spend much of his

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109 Ibid., 111.
time in coffeehouses, particularly the cafés Löwenbräu, Griensteidl and Central.\(^{110}\)

It was, in fact, in Café Central that Altenberg was first ‘discovered’ as a writer. According to his own recollection, Altenberg was writing a sketch based on a report of a local girl who disappeared en route to a piano lesson when Arthur Schnitzler and his literary colleagues Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Felix Salten, Richard Beer-Hofmann and Hermann Bahr entered the café and noticed him writing. Schnitzler read his piece and passed it on to his colleagues and Beer-Hofmann arranged a literary evening at which the sketch was read aloud. After this, members of Vienna’s literary milieu began to take an interest in Altenberg’s writing, which was subsequently sent to the renowned Berlin publisher Samuel Fischer who published the work and, in Altenberg’s own words, ‘so wurde ich!’ ['And so I came to be!']\(^{111}\) Altenberg joked that had he not been writing a sketch but rather a bill for all the unpaid coffees he had consumed over the past months, he might never have been discovered as a writer, and thus he came to be a *Schnorrer* [sponger or freeloader].\(^{112}\)

Altenberg was indeed known as a *Schnorrer*, living off the benevolence of friends and acquaintances between paychecks. Although as an author he wrote multiple sketches and short poems—cultivating the Kleinkunst [short prose] style\(^{113}\)—he was more famous for his physical image. Andrew Barker asserts that Altenberg was a widely recognised character in Vienna at the fin de siècle, and was often caricatured in the works of other writers.\(^{114}\) His visual appearance was carefully constructed to reflect his becoming not only the writer, but also the individual he wished to be.

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\(^{110}\) Ibid.

\(^{111}\) Peter Altenberg, ‘So wurde ich,’ in *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus*, ed. Kurt-Jürgen Heering (Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2013), 123.

\(^{112}\) Ibid., 125.

\(^{113}\) Segel, ‘Peter Altenberg,’ 120.

Like many of their contemporaries, Altenberg and two of his four siblings officially resigned from the IKG and converted to Catholicism.115 Indeed, after his resignation from the Jewish community in 1900, he became increasingly hostile to Viennese Jewry, using common antisemitic tropes that quite clearly placed both acculturated affluent and middle-class Jews in the same racial and cultural categories as their poorer, traditional coreligionists. He also made a point of underlining his supposedly ‘non-Jewish’ appearance and manners, and his ability to pass as Gentile116—likely influenced by the rising antisemitism in Vienna. Altenberg became convinced about and fixated upon the notion of not looking Jewish. Of a visit to Gmunden in the Salzkammergut, he wrote of his ability to pass as a Gentile: ‘Ich bin der einzige Jude hier, der einzigste. Und wie ich mich benehme. Wie der Luchs schleiche ich an dem Antisemitismus vorbei, trinke abnorm viel, kämme die Sechser u. bin von einer scheusslichen Bescheidenheit [I am the only Jew here, the one and only. And how do I behave: like a lynx I creep past the antisemitism, I drink an awful lot, count my pennies, and am abominably humble]’117—employing language that evokes a supposed Jewish deviousness.

His rejection of conventional middle-class male dress expressed a conscious decision to reject his Jewish upbringing. It was not simply that Altenberg often appeared in oversized or loose clothing. In a photographic postcard from 1915 addressed to his friend Béla von Gomperz, Altenberg stands in what appears to be a rural environment, leaning on his cane while holding a vase of flowers in his other hand (Figure 67). He wears a short, double-breasted pea coat with a high closure, metal buttons, wide trousers, a soft turndown collar and satin bow. A light-coloured Tiroler-style hat perches on his head at a slight angle, with what appears to be a feather poking out of its braided band. Although this somewhat casual attire gave him a völksch appearance and was thus not too peculiar for a provincial setting—albeit different to the Trachtenmode adopted by other Viennese in rural environs—he appears to have retained elements of this

117 Altenberg quoted in Ibid., 54.
dressed appearance in studio portraits and other photographs from Vienna as well. Writing of the meaning of *Volkstracht* during the following decade, the Swiss journalist Rudolf von Tavel (1866–1934) argued for its importance in signifying the wearer’s membership to a certain *Volksstamm* or class.\(^\text{118}\) By adopting a *völkisch*-style hat as part of his everyday appearance rather than a form of holiday fashion, Altenberg may have been signalling his desire to appear less ‘Jewish’ and a member of the German *Volk*.\(^\text{119}\) This attire appears in a number of portraits. In a photograph from 1916, he wears the same jacket, albeit with a slightly different hat—a porkpie hat rather than the *Tirolerhut* (Figure 68). His attire is completely at odds with his middle-class background. Beneath his jacket he wears a soft shirt with a turndown collar and its loud striped fabric clashes with the stripes of his bowtie.

The surviving images exist in black and white or sepia tone, which renders the colours obscure. Without other evidence, it is impossible to know if the colours were as eccentric as the garments themselves. A 1913 coloured sepia tone photographic postcard addressed to his brother Georg Engländer suggests one scenario (Figure 69). His chequered overcoat is green, the tweed jacket in a shade of brown, his patterned bowtie is orange, the chequered shirt red and the *Tiroler*-style hat cream or white with a green braided band. The fact that the garments were depicted in these colours does not mean the colours were correct; however, given the eccentricity of Altenberg’s garment choices, it is probable that the choice of colours matched the reality.\(^\text{120}\) Alternatively, Altenberg may have been expressing artistic licence in imagining a flamboyant dressed appearance. In any case, his ‘suit’—both its supposed colours and the individual garments—subverts notions of accepted male sartorial sobriety.

\(^{118}\) Rudolf von Tavel, ‘Was ist uns die Volkstracht?’ *Heimatschutz: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Vereinigung für Heimatschutz* 22, no. 6 (1927): 82.

\(^{119}\) Altenberg’s choices of attire also point to the urban/rural divide that will be further addressed in Chapter 7 ‘Strangers in the city: “rootless” Jews and urbanity in Vienna’.

\(^{120}\) The practice of colouring photographs by hand was common throughout the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries. See Mike Crawford, ‘Hand Colouring and Hand Toning,’ in *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Photography: Volume 1: A–F*, ed. Lynne Warren (New York: Routledge, 2006), 669–70.
A photograph taken several years later, in 1918, by his friend Emil Franzos, presents the writer standing in Vienna’s Rathauspark during summer (Figure 70). Altenberg stands smugly, eyebrow cocked, right hand on his hip and a book clasped in his left. His clothing looks particularly out of place for both the time and location of this photograph. He wears a long, mid-calf length, dark overcoat, a pinstriped jacket of some sort with a belt around his waist (so that this style resembles a military tunic; relevant considering this photograph was taken a few months short of the end of the First World War) and at a jaunty angle so that the buckle sits in line with his left thigh. From this belt hangs his pince-nez. His shirt collar is low and soft, as opposed to the high, white starched style prevalent at the time, and he wears an untidily knotted tie around his neck. His trousers are in a chequered fabric. The clash of patterns—the jacket’s stripe and the check of the trousers—definitely disregards all manner of correct male dressing as espoused by his close friend Adolf Loos and the men’s fashion and lifestyle magazine Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode, published during the years of the First World War.

Most striking about this ensemble is Altenberg’s choice of sandals. These are likely the same ‘Holz–Sandalen’ [wooden sandals] he refers to in a letter to Emil and Lotte Franzos, that he was known to wear. The sandals appear to be out of place not only with the rest of his attire, but with regards to the location of this photograph, too: the Rathauspark, an inner-city park in front of Vienna’s Neo-Gothic Rathaus [town hall]. Posing for Emil Franzos’s camera, Altenberg looks more suited for a day at the seaside than a stroll through cosmopolitan Vienna. The Ringstraße, onto which the Rathaus faces was, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the kind of public space that served the individual as a stage upon which he or she could parade before society. Altenberg’s

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122 Loos, ‘Men’s Fashion.’
124 See De Waal, The Hare with Amber Eyes, 116–25; Gronberg, ‘The Inner Man,’ 71. The Ringstraße was an appropriate location for the act of parading oneself before society. For Loos,
strange collection of garments garnished with his sandals showcasing his bare toes would have been a particularly peculiar sight among the upwardly mobile upper-middle-class men and women dressed in their Sunday best.

The Viennese bourgeoisie during this period maintained a fascination with the English, particularly with the culture of the English gentry. Male dress and lifestyle magazines from the early decades of the twentieth century contained numerous references to English male fashions and the notion of dandyism, particularly in reference to Beau Brummell. Altenberg’s overall soft dressing and bold choice of footwear point to another possible English connection. During this period in Great Britain, the English socialist poet and homosexual rights activist Edward Carpenter campaigned for the radical reform of male dress. Among Carpenter’s ideas of male dressing was the adoption of softer, less restrictive garments, as opposed to the man in the suit, of whom he wrote in 1886, ‘might almost as well be in one’s own coffin as in the stiff layers upon layers of buckram-like clothing commonly worn nowadays’. One particular element of this campaign was the call to adopt sandals as a rational form of male

who referred to the Austrian capital as ‘Die Potemkin’sche Stadt’ [The Potemkin City] for its abundance of conflicting ornamentation and architectural styles, the Ringstraße and parvenu slaves to fashion went hand-in-hand. See Loos, ‘Potemkin City’.

125 See Chapter 4 ‘Refashioning the Self: Viennese Jews and Dress’.

126 For example, Die Herrenwelt; Der gut angezogene Herr; Der Herr von heute; Der Herr und seine Welt. The continued reference to English male fashion articles, particularly in reference to garment types, in the publication Die Herrenwelt, published in the midst of the Great War, continues a long conversation between continental Europe and England that was already well established by the mid-eighteenth century, the period of Anglomania. At a time when Austria was at war with Great Britain, the English names of garment types (i.e. Chesterfield, Ulster, cutaway, smoking etc.) remained unchanged, whereas other English-language words common in Vienna were censored and substituted for a German equivalent, sometimes with awkward results. In fact, in its July 1916 issue, the journal’s editor ran an article that was highly critical of the debates taking place in the Berlin Chamber of Commerce [Handelskammer] regarding the Germanisation of ‘foreign’ words used in the menswear trade. The author of the article rejected any attempts by government bodies to Germanise non-German words that were in common use, arguing that such matters would disrupt business and create confusion among consumers. See ‘Das Fremdwort in der Herrenmode,’ Die Herrenmode: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode, no. 6 (July 1916): 13. It indicates how tenacious English expressions were in men’s fashion practice, just as French terms are very common in women’s (such a comparison would require further study). Karl Kraus references this in the manner of workmen plastering over the signs of foreign-sounding shops and businesses at the beginning of the war in his satirical masterpiece Die letzten Tage der Menschheit [The Last days of Mankind]. See Karl Kraus, The Last Days of Mankind, trans. Frederick Ungar (New York: F. Ungar, 1974), 23–26.

127 Carpenter quoted in Breward, The Suit, 39.
footwear.\footnote{Michael Bronski, ‘The Male Body in the Western Mind,’ \textit{Harvard Gay & Lesbian Review} 54 (1998): 28–31.} This was relevant not only in the adoption by both men of a specific type of footwear, but also in that both were concerned with the re-styling of masculine self and a rejection of the strict conventions of contemporary men’s dress. Altenberg, for example, has been described as attempting to develop a markedly ‘feminine’ style, both in his ‘softer’ sartorial preferences and in his cultivation of a typically ‘feminine’ style of handwriting.\footnote{Shapira, \textit{Style and Seduction}, 175–76.} Like Carpenter’s male dress reform, Altenberg’s clothing choices reveal his conscious decision to challenge the perceived norms of masculinity in fin-de-siecle Vienna.\footnote{Altenberg was by no means the only Viennese icon of Jewish origin during this period to challenge the masculine norms. The industrialist, collector and patron Fritz Waerndorfer, for example, addressed issues of ‘Viennese’ and ‘Jewish’ masculinity through architecture and interior design; see for example, Shapira, ‘Modernism and Jewish Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna’.}

KARL KRAUS: RENEGADE JEW

One of the most striking characteristics of portraits of Karl Kraus (1874–1936) is the rigidity of his dress practices. His stark dressing suggests a lack of interest in fashion beyond the desire to be correctly dressed. Such patterns of dress—sharp, un-extravagant, and unwavering in their consistency—correspond to his general attitude towards the written word and its bastardisation by others. Kraus was a steadfast proponent of the ‘purity’ of the German language and culture. Accusations levelled against him as a ‘self-hating Jew’ were often made in reference to his acerbic criticism of fellow Viennese Jews who distorted the sacred language for what he considered to be their own gain—they were likely to be the ones most interest in style, taste and fashion.

Kraus was born in Gitschin, Bohemia (Jičín), the eighth child of a wealthy paper manufacturer Jakob Kraus and his wife Ernestine (née Kantor), who relocated to the Austrian capital three years after his birth. After leaving university without a diploma, a short-lived and unsuccessful career as an actor, and turning on his fellow members of \textit{Jung Wien}, Kraus was employed as Viennese correspondent
for the *Breslauer Zeitung* in 1897.\(^{131}\) During this period, Theodor Herzl published his pamphlet calling for the establishment of a Jewish state (1896). In his dreams of a grand Jewish reawakening, Herzl strongly utilised the ideals of *Bildung*, *Sittlichkeit* and *Deutschum*. What was presented as an ideology of Jewish self-ennoblement and self-determination was actually a project in German cultural colonisation. Jews, as a colonised people, would act as agents of German colonialism in bringing the ideals of *Bildung* and German culture to an ‘uncivilised’ Palestine (or wherever else the Jewish state might be founded), as well as to the ‘uncivilised’ *Ostjuden*.\(^{132}\) For Kraus, the self-appointed defender of the German language against its misuse (particularly by other Jews), it was not enough to simply laugh at Herzl’s grand plans, as many of Vienna’s Jewish *Bildungsbürgertum* did. Rather, these plans needed to be shattered—in both an ideological and a linguistic sense.\(^{133}\)

Kraus’s attacks on Herzl’s Zionist ideology and his boss, the editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*, Moriz Benedikt (who had unsuccessfully attempted to purchase Kraus’s allegiance by offering him a position on his editorial staff)\(^{134}\) stemmed not only from his devotion to the German language but from the added dimension of his strained relationship with Jewishness. A keen supporter of Jewish assimilation, Kraus converted to Catholicism in 1899, later renouncing that denomination, too, for Protestantism.\(^{135}\) The most frequent victims of Kraus’s vitriolic attacks in his self-published journal *Die Fackel* [The Torch] (1899–1936) were members of Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie, in his eyes the worst offenders of the bastardisation of the German language. Harold B. Segel


\(^{132}\) Herzl, *The Jewish State*.

\(^{133}\) Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens*, 269–70.

\(^{134}\) Paul Reitter, *The Anti-Journalist: Karl Kraus and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 82–83. Moriz Benedikt (1849–1920) the Moravian-born long-time editor-in-chief of the *Neue Freie Presse* (NFP) was a strong supporter of Austrian Liberalism, an opponent of his feuilleton editor Herzl’s Zionist project, and one of Kraus’s main targets in his attack of the Jewish bourgeoisie. See Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Austrian National Library], ed., *Handbuch österreichischer Autorinnen und Autoren jüdischer Herkunft 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, A–I, 1–4541 (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2002), 95. For more on Benedikt’s reaction to Herzl’s Zionism while the latter was employed at the NFP, see Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph*, 446–49.

\(^{135}\) Ibid., 514.
notes that Kraus ‘never lost an opportunity to expose the Jew behind an assumed non-Jewish name or to knock the putative Jewish features, mannerisms, or style of speech of his adversaries.’\textsuperscript{136}

Referred to at times as a self-hating Jew, Kraus did not so much hate other Jews as believe, according his own explanation, that they had gone astray from the true path of righteousness because of what he saw as their debauched aping of the Gentile élite.\textsuperscript{137} This was most apparent in his abhorrence of the feuilleton genre, particularly that of the \textit{Neue Freie Presse} with Herzl as its feuilleton editor. He viewed the feuilleton as a representation of the ‘mixing of literary modes, which undermined the moral and artistic integrity of the writer’\textsuperscript{138} in its pastiche-like path to prominence, unsympathetic to proper literary forms and morals. He may even have been jealous of other Jewish men in Vienna who so uncaringly went about their daily lives as a way of hoisting themselves into the role of a new cultural élite, a path that had previously been closed to them. This is also suggested in his attack of the converted Jew Heinrich Heine, who can be seen as the progenitor of converted Jewish artists.\textsuperscript{139} Wistrich argues that despite Kraus’s repeated attacks on Jewish individuals in Vienna’s cultural and literary milieu during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the moniker of self-hating Jew does not fit, as Kraus’s attacks of the reactionary aristocracy and the Gentile bourgeoisie were no less virulent. Rather than attacking Jews as Jews, Kraus devoted himself to condemning what he considered was the bastardisation of language and morality at the hands of these individuals,\textsuperscript{140} a bastardisation that he juxtaposed with the metaphor of the ancient Israelites forsaking God in favour of false idols.\textsuperscript{141} However, the poor

\textsuperscript{136} Segel, ed., \textit{The Vienna Coffeehouse Wits}, 60.


\textsuperscript{138} Wistrich, \textit{The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph}, 501.

\textsuperscript{139} Heinrich Heine’s conversion to Christianity is said to have been purely a means of rising to social and professional prominence. In the poet’s own words, he wrote a letter to Moses Moser (dated 4 December 1825) that he would not have undergone conversion ‘if the law permitted stealing silver spoons’. Quoted in Endelman, ‘Gender and Conversion Revisited,’ 175.

\textsuperscript{140} Wistrich, \textit{The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph}, 505.

\textsuperscript{141} In the October 29, 1913 issue of \textit{Die Fackel}, Kraus wrote, ‘I believe I can say this about myself, that I go along with the development of Judaism up to the Exodus, but that I don’t participate in the dance around the Golden Calf—and from that point on share only in those characteristics which were also found in the defenders of God and in the avengers of a people gone astray.’
company Kraus kept in figures like the racial theorist Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels (1874–1954) and the British-born philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1885–1927)—both proponents of antisemitic racial theories—may have distorted post-WWII judgement of Kraus. While he himself was no pedlar in racial antisemitism, his associations, perceived friendships and professional collaboration with figures who were racists, bring into question the validity of his critique of Viennese Jewry.

Despite Kraus’s antipathy to Herzl (‘der König von Zion’), both men shared a similar view of the middle-class Jewish milieu from which they sprang. Herzl’s 1902 utopian novel Altneuland depicts Vienna’s Jewish Bildungsbürgertum in a similarly unsavoury light. The hypocritical, self-loathing, materially and morally debauched manner of this milieu—particularly evident in the sarcastic, self-deprecating characters of Grün and Blau at the dinner party hosted at the home of the wealthy clothing merchant Moriz Löffler—is contrasted with the industrious and altruistic nature of the New Society some two decades later in an autonomous Jewish federation in Ottoman Palestine.142 Both men highlighted the elements of their milieu that appalled them; what differed was the manner in which they sought to address the ‘problem’. Herzl advocated for Jewry’s transformation through self-ennoblement and national rejuvenation. In contrast, Kraus supported assimilation and linguistic purity as the remedies for all that was wrong with contemporary Jewry.143

But how did Kraus’s aversion to what he saw as the hypocrisy of Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie manifest itself in sartorial terms? In truth, he appears to have dressed in the same manner as those he lampooned in the pages of Die Fackel. Unlike his friend Peter Altenberg, to whom he often played the role of patron, his rejection of the Jewish milieu of his childhood did not take on a deliberate

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142 Theodor Herzl, Altneuland (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, [1902]).
143 In addition to his resentment of the Jewish bourgeoisie, Kraus both pitied and reviled Ostjuden and the Yiddish language, which he characterised as ‘oriental enclaves in European civilization’. See Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph, 513–14; also Günter Schütt, Karl Kraus und sein Verhältnis zum (Ost-)Judentum (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2017).
subversion of conventional male dress practices. His sartorial patterns were
plain, perhaps even a little conservative. In contrast to his close friend, the self-
styled expert on modern aesthetics Adolf Loos,144 who by the 1920s appears to
have adopted soft, turndown shirt collars in keeping with fashion,
contemporaneous photographs of Kraus well into the 1920s (indeed, leading
into the 1930s) indicate his persistent use of the stiff, wingtip variety. Indeed, in
the tight-buttoned, stiff conservatism of Kraus’s sartorial habits there is a sense
of formality—not pomposity and ceremony, as was the case with ‘der König von
Zion’ but a sense of seriousness that can be observed in his overall appearance.

In an 1888 portrait by Nickolaus Stockmann, Kraus as a fourteen-year-old looked
mature beyond his years (Figure 71). Despite his youthful face and swept
hairstyle in a similar manner to the young Schnitzler, he poses confidently, his
arms crossed against his chest, leaning in a semi-casual manner against a table or
plinth covered with a damask cloth, a chair with plush upholstery off to the side.
He wears a dark jacket and waistcoat, light trousers with a faint check pattern
and a white shirt and simple black bowtie. Unlike the stiff wing collar of later
portraits, his collar is turndown—perhaps symbolic of his youthful career
prospects before his abandonment of formal study and failure to succeed at a
career in the theatre.145 It was during the decade following this portrait that
Kraus refused Moriz Benedikt’s job offer at the Neue Freie Presse and instead
founded his own journal in 1899.

Photographs of Kraus taken in the decade after his founding of Die Fackel
present the writer in a changed light. Gone is the hopeful-looking boy and in his
place is a severe individual with jutting cheekbones and an often pained
expression stretched across his face. His hairstyle, too, evokes a sense of
unpretentious severity, such as the closely-cropped messy fringe he wore in a
series of portraits by Madame d’Ora (1908) (Figure 72) and another photograph

144 When Kraus was baptised as a Catholic in 1911—twelve years after formally resigning from
the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde and declaring himself konfessionslos—Loos served as his
baptismal godfather. See Andreas Stuhlmann, ‘Die Literatur—das sind wir und unsere Feinde’:
literarische Polemik bei Heinrich Heine und Karl Kraus (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann,
2010), 186.
from 1913 in which his uneven fringe is plastered against his high forehead (Figure 73). The almost careless styling of his hair is at odds with his attire. In both instances he wears a typical dark lounge suit with a high cut jacket and his iconic wingtip collar. Whereas in the d’Ora portraits he wears a simple black bowtie, in the later portrait he wears a severe, plain necktie. His posture adds to the sense of frustration and severity, particularly in the second image, where his hands are crossed awkwardly in front of him.

It is not that Kraus was unable to pose comfortably in front of the camera. There are numerous images—both formal studio portraits and informal photographs—in which he appears very much at ease. In his study of photography and its social meanings, Pierre Bourdieu avers that individuals sitting (or standing) before the camera do not pose themselves in a manner that presents the natural self, but rather in a way that commands respect.146 Furthermore, by adopting a certain pose or stance, the individual being photographed ‘presents oneself to be looked at as one seeks to be looked at . . . presents one’s own image.’147 In this light, Kraus’s staged appearance in earlier images can be understood as an expression of his desire to fashion himself as a young literary crusader; his conventional middle-class attire is a sign of his desire to behave in a ‘correct’ fashion while his untidy hairstyle jumps out from his otherwise understated appearance as a comment on his rejection and criticism of ‘decadent’ bourgeois norms. In contrast, the apparent comfort he exudes in latter portraits—particularly those by Trude Fleischmann (Vienna) and Charlotte Joël-Heinzelmann (Berlin)—suggest the sense of self-confidence of a more established writer.

Film evidence from the year 1934 in which Kraus reads excerpts of his writings is revealing of his character.148 In these recorded recited excerpts from Die Fackel and his play Die letzten Tage der Menschheit, Kraus demonstrates the mastery of his public persona as a prophet of doom, speaking in a clear,

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147 Ibid., 83.
evocative voice. He begins his recitations softly and calmly, increasing the momentum of dramatic recital as the pieces progress. But it is not only his vocal style that is remarkable. In his self-appointed role as defender of language sent to arraign bourgeois fellow Jews, there is almost a sense of the seriousness of the Talmudic scholar, particularly in the visual manner of his readings. Kraus’s erratic gesticulations and the manner in which he absorbs himself entirely in his texts recalls Orthodox rabbinical students passionately arguing over Talmud tractates. The drama of Kraus’s manner contrasts with the plainness of his physiognomic and sartorial appearance. A slight, hunched man with shortly cropped hair and delicate spectacles that draw attention to his weak eyesight, Kraus wears a simple, dark jacket, dark bowtie and white shirt, complete with the ubiquitous stiff, wing collar. His clothing is neither ceremonial nor casual but serious and somewhat businesslike, the clothes of a man who has set himself a serious task.

Kraus’s clothing remained unremarkable throughout the surviving photographs taken over the course of his adult life, changing only slightly with the general course of male fashion (apart from his collar styles, it seems, which tended to remain static, unlike his favoured styles of tailoring). Unlike Arthur Schnitzler, Kraus avoided any sartorial extravagance that would mark him as a bohemian writer and, unlike Stefan Zweig, he appeared not to indulge in the fine details of men’s accessories and trinkets. All in all, his dress patterns seemed to correspond to the sober style of the ‘Great Masculine Renunciation’. An exception appears to be a certain plaid smoking jacket with a satin shawl lapel that he wore in a series of photographs from 1928 by the Viennese Jewish photographer Trude Fleischmann (Figure 74). The photographs are not coloured so the colours of the fabrics used for this jacket are unknown, but the plaid pattern and the shiny texture of the satin lapels provide a contrast to the sober conservatism of the plain suits he wore in other photographs.

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149 The German-Jewish theatre critic Alfred Kerr, born Alfred Kempner (1867–1948), described the tone of Kraus’s writing as ‘Talmudic’; see Reitter, The Anti-Journalist, 92.

150 Breward, The Hidden Consumer, 77–79.

151 A digitally coloured version of this portrait depicts the jacket fabric as grey-green, while the satin lapels are in a bright forest green.
Despite his stark sartorial appearance in photographic and film evidence, Kraus was not immune to the influences of fashion. Surviving receipts indicate that he was a customer of the renowned tailoring shop Goldman & Salatsch, both purchasing his clothing from the business and having them serviced there. For example, in November 1917 he was issued with a receipt from Goldman & Salatsch for purchases over the previous year: a sports jacket \[Saccoanzug\] on 7 November 1916, a jacket and waistcoat in silk \[Jaquet und Gilet mit Seide\] on 28 March 1917, and for having a suit cleaned and ironed on 10 April 1917.\footnote{152}

Likewise, receipts have survived from the men’s fashion atelier and tailor Franz Woska—located at Wohllebengasse 19 in Wieden (district IV)—from the years 1908 and 1915 (the latter of which lists purchases from December 1914 to March 1915). Unfortunately, although these receipts list Kraus’s purchases, the garment descriptions are limited largely to garment types, such as ‘\Saco Anzug\’ [sports jacket], ‘\Winterrock\’ [winter jacket], ‘\Überzieher\’ [overcoat], ‘\Reithose\’ [riding breeches], ‘\Mantel\’ [coat], etc. As a result, the appearance of the garments—their fabrics, colours and cut—can only be speculated on based on contemporary male fashions and photographs of Kraus. However the occasional detail, such as ‘\Perl[-]Knöpfe\’ [pearl buttons] does shed some light on Kraus’s clothing preferences and that he showed interest in matters of sartorial taste.\footnote{153}

CONCLUSION

The photographic and other evidence of Freud, Herzl, Schnitzler, Zweig and Kraus, like that of other men of their time, reveals a multiplicity of similar sartorial patterns adopted by these individuals, rather than an identical, uniform dress. With the exception of Altenberg, whom Elana Shapira asserts represents the age-old figure of the wandering Jew,\footnote{154} the similarity in the dress habits of these men can be found instead in their overall conformity to accepted male attire of the period. The dark suits, white collars and neckwear they favoured place them firmly in the sphere of contemporary male clothing consumption, not only in a European context—as outlined by classic studies of male dress by...
Christopher Breward—but in a wider Western cultural sphere that included men as far as North America and Australia.\textsuperscript{155} Although clothing was not a central element of their literary concerns, it both surfaces as a theme or literary device in their writings and played an important role in the construction of the visual and ideological identities of these six men. Their sartorial patterns, practices and preferences reveal that each of these men took pains to fashion his appearance in a manner that best expressed his station in Viennese society. Examining the dressed appearance of these men betrays little about their status as Jews. After all, as this chapter has explained, these men were all from a similar middle-class milieu that, in its dedication to the values and ideals of \textit{Bildung}, \textit{Sittlichkeit} and \textit{Deutschtum}, preferred visual and cultural conformity with the corresponding Gentile socio-economic classes. It is through, what Shapira refers to as their ‘tailored authorship’\textsuperscript{156}—a combination of their attire, gaze and presence within photography—that helped establish them as distinct icons of Viennese modernism. Moreover, it is in the details of male clothing—particularly the suit—in the face of its perceived opacity and uniformity that diversity of style is sharply highlighted. The individual styles they chose did not overtly broadcast their ethnic or religious identities. It is only in understanding the complex and varied relationships these men maintained to Jewishness and their Jewish identities that certain patterns of dress begin to emerge. This explains, for example, why Theodor Herzl, a lover of German culture, might have fashioned himself as a ‘Jewish statesman’ in conventional European formal and business attire, or why Peter Altenberg completely eschewed the sartorial norms and ‘good taste’ of bourgeois respectability.

\textsuperscript{156} Shapira, ‘Tailored Authorship’. 
Chapter 7. Strangers in the city: ‘rootless’ Jews and urbanity in Vienna

INTRODUCTION
This chapter addresses the relationship of Jews to cosmopolitanism and dress within the wider framework of urban culture in Vienna. In order to make the notion of cosmopolitan dress understood, this chapter first outlines the cultural tradition of Jews and cosmopolitanism in a Western context. Fin-de-siècle Vienna, with its growing Jewish population, is examined as a cosmopolitan Weltstadt and a particularly ‘Jewish’ city in contemporaneous popular culture. Although the first part of this chapter does not focus particularly on dress, the examples gleaned from literary fiction are important in describing the widespread social perceptions of both Jews and the Austrian capital. Following this, the dress patterns of Viennese Jews in Austria’s rural provinces are analysed in the context of constructing an Austro-German cultural identity during a period of growing nationalism. Finally, rabbinical garb is examined as a cultural-religious uniform. I argue that these sartorial patterns of rabbis were central to a wider European Jewish modernisation, in their similarity to the uniform of leaders of other faiths.

JEWS AND COSMOPOLITANISM
In fin-de-siècle Vienna, as in much of Eastern and Central Europe, terms such as ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘international’ were often used as euphemisms for ‘Jewish’.¹ This was influenced by a number of factors, not least the ‘transnational’ character of European Jews. Although they were loyal Austrians and dedicated participants in German culture, Viennese Jews maintained familial, professional, religious and even cultural ties to Jews in other cities and towns of the empire and beyond its borders. While Jews were not the only ethnic group in the empire who maintained extra-national ethnic or cultural networks, a prime difference between them and other ethnicities was that they held no territorial claims.

¹ On the connection between cosmopolitanism and Jews, see Michael L. Miller and Scot Ury, eds., Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and the Jews of East Central Europe (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
within the borders. They were, in the minds of many, a rootless, non-European people.²

Citing the French philosopher Denis Diderot, Margaret C. Jacob characterises the figure of the cosmopolitan as 'a stranger nowhere in the world'.³ In the case of European Jews, this notion can be reversed to follow Zygmunt Bauman's notion of the stranger as embodying ambivalence:

There is hardly an anomaly more anomalous than the stranger. He stands between friend and enemy, order and chaos, the inside and the outside. He stands for the treacherousness of friends, for the cunning disguise of the enemies, for fallibility of order, vulnerability of the inside.⁴

However, Viennese Jews did not characterise themselves as strangers. Despite the deep ties they shared with other Jews beyond the empire's border, their complete emancipation in 1867 made them fiercely loyal to the empire and its monarch.⁵ Likewise, the process of acculturation that had begun with the Josephinian Edicts of Toleration at the end of the eighteenth century made them culturally loyal to Deutschtum. A sense of cosmopolitanism—in the manner of being 'worldly'—was a direct result of the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and the dedication to the ideals of Bildung it inspired, in which the appreciation of foreign cultures was part of the project of self-improvement and education.

Michael L. Miller and Scott Ury raise the question of dual Jewish (the specific or national) and cosmopolitan (the international) identities in light of a perceived

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³ Margaret C. Jacob, 'The cosmopolitan as a lived category,' *Daedalus* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 18.

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assimilationist drive in cosmopolitanism.\textsuperscript{6} Being cosmopolitan did not mean an individual abandoned his or her ‘roots’ or culture in favour of others. Historically, the urban European Jew was seen as cosmopolitan not in spite of his Jewishness, but \textit{because} of it. Jews were perceived as cosmopolitan due to their supposed rootlessness, urban residential patterns and tendency to make themselves at home in different societies—often facilitated through local Jewish communities—as well as their practice of maintaining professional practices and relationships with other Jews across national borders.\textsuperscript{7} Stefan Zweig, for example, was considered a cosmopolitan due to his dedication to ‘internationalism’\textsuperscript{8}, and although not religiously observant, was very much concerned with his Jewish identity and issues relating to it.\textsuperscript{9}

But what was the relationship of accusations of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘rootlessness’ to dress, particularly the dress of urban Jews? If the cosmopolitan stranger makes a point of engaging with cultures different from his or her own—that is to say, takes an ‘international’ outlook—then it follows that cosmopolitan dress patterns and styles will incorporate elements of other cultures. The sartorial habits of acculturated, middle-class Viennese Jews as members of the wider middle-class resembled styles favoured by their contemporaries in other major urban centres. The relative uniformity of male dress fashions in modern cities across Europe attests to what Eduard Fuchs refers to as the political power of the bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{10} The standardisation of bourgeois dress was international and a result of industrialisation, which erased national difference and created a sartorial ‘bourgeois social order’.\textsuperscript{11} In a similar manner, Fuchs argues that the

\textsuperscript{6} Michael L. Miller and Scott Ury, ‘Cosmopolitanism: the end of Jewishness?’ \textit{European Review of History} 17, no. 3 (June 2010): 304.
\textsuperscript{9} See Gelber, Stefan Zweig, \textit{Judentum und Zionismus}.
\textsuperscript{10} Fuchs, ‘Bourgeois Dress,’ 318.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 319.
dominance of London in the world of male fashion was a result of England’s dominant role in the development of bourgeois thought and culture, as well as London having ‘become the true enduring metropolis of the bourgeois world’. This puts things into perspective regarding the role of Jews in the bourgeoisie. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century English Jews were a small minority (and a minority in the English bourgeoisie), most having arrived as poor migrants from the Pale of Settlement. How then, if England is historically linked with the development of the bourgeoisie, did the Jew become representative of that class in the German-speaking world? The answer lies first in the Jew’s visibility as a member of the middle class in large German cities, including Vienna, and second in the changing nature of cities towards the end of the nineteenth century.

VIENNA AS A COSMOPOLITAN WELTSTADT

By the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna had grown from a small, walled city into a sprawling Weltstadt—a metropolis—whose burgeoning population was drawn from all corners of the Dual Monarchy. Germans were the most prevalent ethno-linguistic group; however, the city was also home to many individuals of non-German background. Each ‘national’ group maintained its own cultural institutions, churches, schools and periodicals. By the turn of the century, Czechs, for example, constituted the largest non-German linguistic group in Vienna, with 102,974 individuals stating Czech as their primary language in the 1900 census (6.2 per cent of the total Viennese population). Given their shared religion,

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12 Ibid., 320.
13 By 1900, London’s Jewish population numbered 120,000. Although there was an older, established Anglo Jewish community in London, most of London’s Jewish population at the turn of the century were (or were the children of) poor migrants from the Russian Pale of Settlement, escaping pogroms and financial destitution. Michael Ball and David Sunderland, An Economic History of London, 1800–1914 (London: Routledge, 2011), 52. See also Endelman, ‘Native and Foreign Jews,’ in The Jews of Britain.
14 This number includes only those who elected Czech as their primary language and not those individuals of Czech origin who spoke primarily German, such as linguistically and culturally assimilated Czechs or their children. Like the Jews, Vienna’s Czech population was regularly harassed by segments of the dominating German population. See for example Jeffery W. Beglaw, ‘The German National Attack on the Czech Minority in Vienna, 1897–1914, as Reflected in the Satirical Journal Kikeriki, and Its Role as a Centrifugal Force in the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary’ (MA diss., Simon Fraser University, 2004). The figures cited above are from Ibid., 21. Indeed, with such a large number of Czech-speakers, as well as those native-Czech-speakers who had assimilated to Deutschtum, Vienna was home to the second largest Czech population in
despite facing prejudice from Vienna’s German population, Czechs found it easier to assimilate into Viennese German society than Jews, whose residential patterns were far more ethnically segregated.\textsuperscript{15} Czechs had a \textit{Heimat}, albeit one outside of Vienna and Austria’s German provinces, as German nationalists readily pointed out; Jews, however, who were viewed as rootless nomads, did not.

In addition to Czechs and Jews, Vienna was home to a host of other national and ethnic groups, as it had been for centuries. From 1850 to the end of the century, the city and its population swelled from a small, walled city to a bustling metropolis. The first step on the path to Vienna’s expansion saw the incorporation of the \textit{Vorstädte} [suburbs] between the walled old city and the \textit{Linienwall}, the eighteenth-century city fortifications between the suburbs and outlying villages. This was followed by Franz Joseph I’s decision to raze the city walls and commission the building of the Ringstraße, thereby connecting the old city to the newly-incorporated districts (II to IX) (Figure 75). Although fashioned as a grand boulevard encircling the historical city, the Ringstraße did little to bridge the gap between old and new. For the most part, with its administrative buildings and palaces of the nobility and the newly wealthy financial élite, the Ringstraße simply served as a substitute for the old walls. In his scathing attack on the \textit{Kaiserstadt}’s new grand boulevard with its government and administration buildings, and the palaces all constructed in a mixture of

\textsuperscript{15} Jakub S. Benes, \textit{Workers & Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890–1918} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 63. In his paper on the Czech community in Vienna at the fin de siècle, Pavel Kladiwa notes that the actual number of Czechs living in the Austrian capital was difficult to determine for a number of reasons. Both the Czech ‘lobby’ and the dominant Austro-German administration skewed the number of Czech-speakers officially resident in the capital and what it meant to be Czech. The official census takers, for example, insisted on recording \textit{Umgangssprache} [language or daily use or vernacular] as that spoken most regularly. Thus, a Czech factory worker or domestic servant employed in an environment where German was the primary language of communication between employees and employers would be recorded as having German as \textit{Umgangssprache}. The Czech lobby, however, disagreed: \textit{Umgangssprache} should be the language an individual felt most comfortable conversing in. In addition, many migrants to Vienna from the ‘Czech’ provinces of Bohemia and Moravia had a culturally and linguistically German background and were often claimed by both sides, to say nothing of those Czechs who had assimilated into German society, adopting the German language and marrying Austro-Germans. See Pavel Kladiwa, ‘The Czech Community and Czech as a “Language of Daily Use” in Vienna 1890–1910,’ \textit{Prager wirtschafts- und sozialhistorische Mitteilungen—Prague Economic and Social History Papers} 20, no. 2 (2014): 26–47.
conflicting historicising styles (that included Greek revival, neo-baroque, neo-renaissance and neo-gothic), Adolf Loos decried the Ringstraße, declaring it turned Vienna into a ‘Potemkin’sche Stadt’ [Potemkin City]—a laughing stock of the modern world.\textsuperscript{16}

Despite Loos’s misgivings, the city continued to act as a magnet that drew both immigrants and tourists alike. The grand, sweeping Ringstraße, a thoroughfare through which visitors could marvel at the surrounding buildings and upon which the city held numerous parades and pageants, served as a stage where the individual could parade him or herself before and within a new urban society.\textsuperscript{17}

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the villages beyond the city limits were incorporated as new districts and the \textit{Linienwall} separating them from the rest of the city was demolished and replaced with the \textit{Gürtel}, the Vienna Beltway, another ring-like road. With this newly expanded city area and population, architects and designers set about designing new projects, both public and private, to turn the Dual Capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a world-class metropolis.

Vienna remained a city characterised by its sharp contrasts of socio-economic, ethnic and geographic boundaries. The aristocracy and nouveau-riche remained in the \textit{Innere Stadt} (I) and its immediate vicinity and expanded to the garden suburbs in Hietzing, Währing and Döbling (XXIII, XVIII, XIX) beyond the \textit{Gürtel}. Various tiers of Vienna’s middle-class tended to reside in those districts encompassed by the \textit{Gürtel} (II–IX). The districts on the other side of the \textit{Gürtel} (X–XIX), with the exclusion of those aforementioned upper-middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods, became home to Vienna’s working class.\textsuperscript{18}

Vienna’s status as a ‘German’ city made it popular with Austro-Germans from the provincial German centres as well as from the more multi-ethnic areas of the

\textsuperscript{16} Loos, ‘Potemkin City’.
\textsuperscript{17} Timms, \textit{Karl Kraus}, 1:22.
\textsuperscript{18} Favoriten (District X) became home to a large population of working-class Czech immigrants and their descendants. For a thorough analysis of Vienna’s neighbourhoods during the period under investigation, in particular, the residential patterns of Viennese Jews of all socio-economic tiers, see Chapter 4 ‘The Jewish Neighborhoods in Vienna’ in Rozenblit, \textit{The Jews of Vienna}, 71–98.
empires and their migration occurred along the same lines of rural populations relocating to large, industrial cities in other parts of Europe during this period. Likewise, the city’s proximity to the ‘East’ made it popular with eastern Europeans who desired to live in the sphere of ‘Western’ culture. Acculturated and acculturating Jews, both those living as a German-speaking double-minority among a (often hostile) minority ethnic German population and larger Magyar or Slavic populations, and those living beyond the borders of the Dual Monarchy, were particularly susceptible to Vienna’s pull. The Hungarian Jews, who constituted the largest group of Jewish migrants in Vienna during the latter half of the nineteenth century, had been replaced by the early twentieth century by Jews from Galicia. Unlike earlier immigrant Jews who had in many cases achieved a high level of acculturation prior to their arrival in the capital, these newcomers were typically poor, religiously Orthodox, Yiddish-speaking Ostjuden who dressed in styles that marked them as outsiders in the highly acculturated Viennese Jewish milieu. Examples include the early migrants from Galicia, such as the parents of Sigmund Freud, and Moritz Szeps (1835–1902) and Moriz Benedikt (1849–1920), editors of the leading Viennese dailies *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and *Neue Freie Presse*, respectively. These newcomers were considered an embarrassment to their established coreligionists, who were afraid the arrival of ‘uncouth’ migrants would undo the inroads they had made into Austro-German society. However, not all Galitsianer arrivals sectioned themselves off from wider society in the ‘Jewish district’; many desired and made an effort to acculturate just as the migrants in the earlier decades had.

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20 Jews living outside the Habsburg realm, like their Habsburg coreligionists, were also attracted to Vienna and for a variety of reasons, including heightened persecution in their home countries, or the recognition of Vienna as a metropolis with greater opportunities. For example, the family of Arnold Rosé (1863–1946) migrated to Vienna from Jassy (Iași) in the then United Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, in the hopes of providing their sons with greater opportunities for a musical education. For a history of the Rosé family and their fate during the Holocaust, see Richard Newman and Karen Kirtley, *Alma Rosé: Vienna to Auschwitz* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 2003). In his memoir, Elias Canetti recalls his childhood in Ruschuk (Ruse), Bulgaria, where his Viennese-educated Sephardic parents were enamoured of Vienna, its German language and its culture. See Elias Canetti, *The Tongue Set Free: Remembrance of a European Childhood*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (London: Picador, 1989), 26–27.
THE JEW IN THE CITY AND THE GOY IN THE PROVINCE: VIENNA AS DANGEROUS JEWISH METROPOLIS

In July 1890, a poem titled ‘Die armen Antisemiten’ [The Poor Antisemites] appeared in the satirical Viennese magazine Kikeriki lamenting the ‘Judaisation’ of society:

Alles verjudet, alles verjudet,  
Ihr habet wahrlich Recht,  
Die Astronomie schon ist verjudet,  
Sie wird zum Judenknecht.  
Nun will als Normalzeit man wählen  
Wie ist Euch das unbequem,  
Und an Protesten wird’s Euch nicht fehlen:  
Den Meridian von—„Jerusalem“!21

[Everything is judaised, everything is judaised,  
You are truly right,  
The astronomy is already judaised,  
It has become a Jew’s minion.  
And now as standard time shall be elected  
How inconvenient,  
And you won’t be lacking protests:  
The meridian of—‘Jerusalem’!]

It was hardly surprising that Vienna came to be viewed as a large and dangerous metropolis, depraved and populated with degenerates, looming over the ‘pure’, German provinces.22 While Vienna had always attracted migrants from across Europe, prior to 1848 Jews were officially prohibited from residing in the city. Likewise, they were forbidden from settling in any of Austria’s other German

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21‘Die armen Antisemiten,’ Kikeriki 30, no. 58 (July 20, 1890): 2. The term Normalzeit may be a reference to standardised time due to the expansion of long-distance train services. The greater mobility rail travel afforded Austria-Hungary’s population—Jews among them—is a clear reference to modernisation and its consequences for the Viennese population. I am grateful to Professor Liliane Weissberg for pointing this out.

22 Silverman, Becoming Austrian, 22.
provinces. With the emancipation of Habsburg Jews that came with the 1867 Ausgleich, Jews were permitted to settle anywhere in the empire. While small communities formed in other Austro-German locales, Vienna remained the dominant centre of Jewish life in Austria’s German provinces. Vienna, with its large (and growing) Jewish population, came to be seen by the inhabitants of the relatively Judenfrei German provinces as teeming with Jews. Likewise, many Gentiles in Vienna felt that the city had come under the control of Jews. In his satirical travel guide Wien und Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive, Franz Friedrich Masaidek referred to Vienna as ‘Neu-Jerusalem’ [New Jerusalem] and sarcastically noted the presence of ‘German intruders’ [deutsche Eindringlinge]. The truth is, however, that although Vienna’s Jewish population had grown from less than one thousand at the beginning of the nineteenth century to 146,926 at the beginning of the twentieth, the city’s overall population had grown as well. Thus, during the course of the nineteenth century, Jews never accounted for more than 10.1 per cent of the total population. Even during the early 1920s, when the number of Viennese Jews was at its highest point (201,513), Jews accounted for only 10.8 per cent of the city’s population.

It would be easy to attribute the prejudice towards Vienna as a ‘Jewish’ city to mere xenophobia, but the Austro-German variety of antisemitism was a mixture of various factors, including racial, religious and socio-economic bias. The Christian-Socialist politician, Karl Lueger (1844–1910), who served as mayor of Vienna from 1897 until his death, made use of this variegated antisemitism in his political platform, alternating between different segments of the Jewish population as the target of his attacks based on the crowd he was appealing to. He was ‘Der schöne Karl’ presenting himself as a völkisch friend of the people

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23 An interesting exception can be found in the case of Hohenems, a town in the vicinity of the Swiss border in Austria’s western province Vorarlberg, where in 1617 the local count invited a number of Jewish families from Baden-Wurttemberg to settle in the town. See Hanno Loewy, ed., Heimat Diaspora: Das Jüdische Museum Hohenems (Hohenems: Jüdisches Museum Hohenems, 2008).
24 Masaidek also referred to Vienna as a Bohemian suburb as a result of its large Czech population, although, to be fair, the guide is a satirical work, and the author’s surname points to origins in those Czech lands. Masaidek, Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive, 4–5.
26 Freidenreich, Jewish Politics in Interwar Vienna, 213.
who championed the cause of the lower-middle and working classes. In a satirical short story, ‘Der heilige Lueger’ [The Holy Lueger], by the Jewish psychoanalyst and author Fritz Wittels (1880–1950), Lueger is portrayed as a saint-like father of the downtrodden who saves the virtue of a provincial spinster from ruin.

The premise of the tale is that the spinster Athanasia from the Lower Austrian town of Maria-Enzersdorf travels to the capital in order to visit her idol, described as, ‘the most beautiful man in Vienna, affectionately called “the handsome Karl” by the ladies. They were all in love with him, and because he couldn’t marry them all, he didn’t marry at all.’ However, the naïve and kind Athanasia is out of her depth in this dangerous metropolis, and falls prey to a dark-eyed, bearded little man who spoke in ‘light, singing tones’. Not only do the man’s physical characteristics bring to mind Jewish stereotypes, but his sing-song voice can also be understood as a reference to the stereotypical manner in which Jews were thought to speak: a reference to the so-called Mauscheln. The accompanying illustration reinforces the idea of the sinister Jewish villain: the man has beady eyes, a scruffy beard and a large, hooked nose (Figure 76).

Additionally, Athanasia encounters the man in the vicinity of the Taborstraße—the main artery of the heavily Jewish-populated Leopoldstadt. After Athanasia spends the night with him, ‘der schwarze Lueger’ announces his intention to go to the Rathaus and adds (playing up to Lueger’s antisemitic reputation), ‘Oh dear, by ten o’clock I will have already devoured three Jews!’ When Athanasia does

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29 Originally published in a 1909 anthology *Alte Liebeshändel*, ‘Der heilige Lueger’ appeared in a March 1925 issue of the Viennese magazine *Die Bühne*.
30 Fritz Wittels, ‘Der heilige Lueger,’ *Die Bühne: Wochenzeitschrift für Theater, Film, Mode, Kunst, Gesellschaft, Sport* 2, no. 17 (March 5, 1925): 30. The original German reads: ‘der schönste Mann von Wien; die Frauen nannten ihm zärtlich den schönen Karl; alle waren in ihn verliebt und weil er alle nicht heiraten konnte, heiratete er überhaupt nicht.’
31 Ibid., 31. The original German text reads: ‘Er hatte kleine braune Äuglein, war klein und dick und sprach leicht singenden Tönen.’
33 Wittels, ‘Der heilige Lueger,’ 32. The original German reads: ‘Uije, bis um zehne hab’ ich schon drei Juden g’fressen!’
meet the real Lueger and confesses her story, his valet Pumera exclaims incredulously, ‘Really! Can’t you hicks tell the difference between a Jew and our esteemed mayor?’

However, Lueger comforts the spinster, and is portrayed as the chivalrous opposite to the scheming Jew. The moral of the story is not that Jews are sinister and depraved beings ready to sully the virtues of innocent Gentiles at every turn, but rather a satire on the manner in which Lueger was held up to be a saint-like hero of the ‘real’ (German) Austrians, and on the notion of the corrupting nature of the big city, a hotbed of degeneracy, dishonesty and Jews.

Lueger has remained a controversial figure in the history of Vienna, held up both as a vehement antisemite and as a champion of the people who used antisemitism only as a means to rally the masses, toning down his rhetoric once elected to the office of mayor. The Galician-born rabbi and Reichsrat deputy Joseph Samuel Bloch, a tireless opponent of antisemitism in Austrian society and politics, noted, ‘of all our enemies, Lueger gave me the least anxiety’. While Lueger’s antisemitism, however benign and opportunistic, remains deplorable, it is telling that an individual such as Bloch should hold such an opinion of him. Similarly, Lueger was also credited by other Jews for his social welfare reforms and urban improvement of the Austrian capital.

The ‘Jew in the city’, or the urban Jewish resident, became a standard idea anchored in the antisemitic discourse of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Lueger himself was not responsible for its inception, but rather built on a tradition of prejudice. By the turn of the century it was an accepted ‘fact’ in the European medical community that Jews were physically inferior to Gentiles and especially prone to neurasthenia. Jewish doctors, too, notably Cesare Lombroso and Martin Engländer, accepted this notion, but rather than attribute it to

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34 Ibid., 33. The original German reads: ‘Ja könnt’s denn ös G’scherten kan Jud’n von unserem hochverehrten Bürgermeister unterscheiden?’
36 See for example Stefan Zweig’s attitude towards Lueger regarding his antisemitic agitation in Zweig, The World of Yesterday, 83–84.
inherent racial characteristics, they argued that Jewish neurasthenia was a result of environmental circumstances.\textsuperscript{38} The modern city, as a chasm of depravity causing a debilitating sensory overload in its inhabitants, was seen as the cause of mental and physical illness in the modern world, and the Jew, as Sander Gilman notes, came to be seen as ’both the city dweller par excellence as well as the most evident victim of the city’.\textsuperscript{39}

As a contrast, Cisleithania’s German provinces came to be seen as the antithesis of the modern, ’Jewish’ city. The very small Jewish populations throughout the predominantly German crownlands—Lower- and Upper Austria, Salzburg, Carinthia, Styria, Tirol, and Vorarlberg\textsuperscript{40}—also had implications for Vienna’s image after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918, when Austrian Jewry, like the general Austrian population, was limited to a greatly reduced territory. While the Vienna of post-Habsburg Austria has been described as a \textit{Wasserkopf} [hydrocephalus or bloated head] of a severely truncated body, the city’s enormous Jewish population, now cut off from its smaller Austrian satellites scattered throughout the former crownlands of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia and Bukovina, played a role in cementing the notion of the capital as a Jewish metropolis.\textsuperscript{41}

The collapse of the empire and the exiling of the Imperial and Royal family gave way to the Social Democrats, who took over the city’s mayoralty from two decades of Christian Social rule in 1919. A combination of Social Democratic rule,

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 154.
\textsuperscript{39} Gilman, \textit{The Jew’s Body}, 49.
\textsuperscript{40} In addition to Hohenems, there were other small Jewish communities in provincial centres and towns once the ban on Jewish residence had been rescinded 1848. For example, a number of Lower Austrian towns on the outskirts of Vienna, such as Krems, Klosterneuburg, and Baden bei Wien, became fashionable for middle-class Jews during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Communities were also established in larger towns such as Salzburg, Linz and Graz. The old established—and traditionally Orthodox—communities in the Burgenland were considered to be part of the Hungarian part of the empire. The Burgenland became part of Austria when it was annexed 1921. On Austrian Jewish communities outside of Vienna, see for example Hugo Gold, \textit{Geschichte der Juden in Österreich: Ein Gedenkbuch} (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1971). See also Verena Wagner, \textit{Jüdisches Leben in Linz, 1849–1943}, 2 vols. (Linz: Wagner Verlag, 2008).
\textsuperscript{41} Vienna’s Jewish population of 201,513 in 1924 can be compared with Budapest’s Jewish population of 215,560 in 1920 and Prague’s 31,751 in 1921. For a more detailed comparison of the Jewish populations of these three cities during the interwar period, see McCagg, ’The Jewish Position in Interwar Central Europe’.
an enlarged Jewish population, and the overall disproportionately large, multi-ethnic population in the face of the new republic’s more ethnically heterogeneous Austro-German population, made the capital ‘[loom] large as a dangerous “Jewish” metropolis—superficial, ugly, crass, corrupt, depraved, socialist, capitalist, materialist, decadent, modern, and immoral’,42 Thus, the provinces came to be ‘coded as “non-Jewish”—and, therefore, “Austrian’”43—which is to say, ‘German’. This is not to claim that Vienna was suddenly seen as ‘Jewish’ during the interwar period. Indeed, as has been noted above, the city developed this image during the nineteenth century and was often derided as ‘Neu-Jerusalem’ (particularly certain areas, such as the so-called ‘Zionstraße’ and ‘Mazzesinsel’) by the antisemitic press. Rather, the factors outlined above worked in tandem to cement this image during a period of gross uncertainty with regards to Austrian national identity and the state’s future.

An appropriate example of the perceived cultural and social divide between Vienna and the provinces that made an impact on Viennese society during the interwar period can be found in the 1922 dystopian novel Die Stadt ohne Juden [The City Without Jews] (adapted for screen two years later by H.K. Breslauer). Written by the Jewish-born Hugo Bettauer (1872–1925), a convert to Christianity, the novel presented a speculative scenario of societal decline after the expulsion of Vienna’s Jewish population by the Christian-Socialist chancellor Dr Karl Schwertfeger (loosely based on Karl Lueger) as a means of improving the destitution of the city’s population. Die Stadt ohne Juden is presented as a cautionary tale of sorts—perhaps a cleverly written, albeit highly exaggerated piece—that in many ways seemed to foreshadow what was to come some two decades after its publication. In the end it is merely a fictional satire about the destructive nature of xenophobia. The deportation of Viennese Jews results in the Austrian capital’s transformation. Gone are the Jewish politicians, bankers, Konfektion-moguls and Kaffeehausliterate and in their place a former cosmopolitan metropolis has been transformed into a giant provincial town populated by Tracht-wearing provincials. Formerly well-dressed people trade in

42 Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 22.
43 Ibid., 159.
their stylish suits and dresses for rustic styles. Department stores advertise ‘Rough Woollens, Cotton, Muslin and Flannel’ and men dress ‘old and young, in rough wool coats, knickerbockers, and green Alpine hats. And the women! Most of them wore peasant costume, which, while it might have been very charming and graceful in the open country, here looked like a caricature or a bad joke.’ In fact, one of the few elegantly-dressed inhabitants of this dystopian city is the Jew Leo Strakosch, masquerading as a Gentile Frenchman Henry Dufresne, whose ‘dark blue suit, patent leather shoes, and costly silk tie attracted attention,’ in a crowded Wienerwald inn—a highly Aryan-coded environment in contrast to the Jewish-coded Kaffeehaus.

It is not only Vienna’s aesthetic identity that changes in this tale. Economically the city flounders and a disgruntled population realise that they are no better off than before the expulsion of the Jews. The country’s economic crisis results in the expulsion being overturned and the Jews being invited back to the Austrian capital. The novel ends climactically with the mayor Laberl enthusiastically welcoming the protagonist Strakosch to the Rathaus with open opens—‘My beloved Jew!’—amidst the jubilant cheering of his fellow citizens. The publication of the novel and its film adaptation during the 1920s is pertinent to the Austrian capital’s large Jewish population as a result of immigration from Galicia from 1914. The disproportionate involvement of Jews in most spheres of Viennese civic and political life, despite their being a minority, provided Bettauer’s audience with a peculiar speculative situation in the event of an actual expulsion.

TRACHTENMODEN AND SOMMERFRISCHEN
The ‘Jewishness’ of Vienna in the face of the ‘non-Jewishness’ of the provinces was not simply an idea that concerned Austria’s Gentile population (particularly

45 Ibid., 114. The styles described correspond to actual male fashions for Sommerfrischen advertised in the fashion magazines Herren-Mode-Welt and The Gentleman: English Fashion of the 1930s (both published by the Jewish-owned publishing house Bachwitz).
46 Ibid., 115.
47 Ibid., 189.
those harbouring antisemitic sentiments). Many Jews during the latter Habsburg and interwar periods also perceived the provinces to be somehow ‘non-Jewish’ and they dealt with this in different ways. To some Jews, the provincial ‘non-Jewishness’ was attractive, and families or individuals wishing to assimilate into dominant Austro-German society, or at least express their dedication to German culture, purchased holiday homes or rented summer accommodation in areas without established Jewish communities. However, it would be naïve to suggest that certain towns were desirable holiday destinations for upper- and middle-class Viennese Jewry alone. *Sommerfrischen* in the Salzkammergut region became popular during the nineteenth century for both Gentile and Jewish members of the upper and middle classes. Certain towns were esteemed for their distinguished summer visitors, including towns such as Bad Ischl, which had played host to the Imperial Family since the mid-nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{48} Other towns became popular, too. However, although there were Jews such as Peter Altenberg who enjoyed visiting Gmunden\textsuperscript{49}, who preferred those towns without a large visiting Jewish population, many others tended to take their holidays in the same towns\textsuperscript{50}. The ‘non-Jewishness’ of the provinces, it appears, was not the main attraction for most Viennese Jews—in the same way that most Viennese Jews did not consciously attempt to disappear into Gentile society. Rather, as Hanns Haas notes in his study of the symbolic meaning of *Sommerfrischen*,

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{48} Deborah R. Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 17. See also Marie-Theres Arnbom, *Die Villen von Bad Ischl: Wenn Häuser Geschichten erzählen* (Vienna: Amalthea Signum Verlag, 2017). The esteem brought to the town by Franz Joseph I’s presence was attraction enough for acculturated Viennese Jews, many of whom considered themselves among his most devoted subjects. Describing the popularity of Ischl among Jewish *Sommerfrischler*, Friedrich Torberg quoted the Jewish comedian Armin Berg who mused sarcastically, ‘There are 500 million Chinese in the world, and only 15 million Jews… why then does one not see one single Chinese in Ischl?’ See Torberg, *Die Tante Jolesch*, 92. The translation is my own.
\textsuperscript{49} See Chapter 6 of this thesis, ‘The Man in the Suit’.
\textsuperscript{50} See Robert Kriechbaum, ed., *Der Geschmack der Vergänglichkeit: Jüdische Sommerfrischen in Salzburg* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2002). The Cur- and Fremdenlisten published in many Salzkammergut *Sommerfrischen* regularly listed common Jewish-sounding names of visitors from across Austria-Hungary and abroad staying in hotels, pensions or private villas. For example, among the names listed in the Ischlereiliste, for June 16, 1900 were the typically Jewish names Bardas, Bernstein, Freund, Friedmann, Goldberger de Buda, Hirschfeld, Hirschler, Kohn, Kohnberger, Krausz, Löwy, Politzer, Popper, Spitzer, Stein, Stern, Weintraub, and Weiss. Similar publications in other *Sommerfrischen* as well as in Bohemian spa towns listed such ‘Jewish’ surnames. See for example Cur-Liste von Teplitz-Schönau; Franzensbader Curliste; Kur- und Fremdenliste des Badeortes Aussee; Liste der Kurgäste und Fremden in Wildbad-Gastein; Marienbader Curliste.
\end{quote}
spending summer holidays in certain locales was a sign of belonging to Vienna’s bourgeoisie.51

Many Viennese Jews adopted the sartorial modes associated with the provinces and rural populations while holidaying in these environments. Given Vienna’s urban and cosmopolitan environment where modern styles of dress prevailed, acculturated Viennese Jews generally did not adopt Volkstracht or Trachtenmode as everyday dress.52 If they did, they wore Tracht when holidaying in Sommerfrischen where such attire common, as attested to by numerous photographs and memoirs. Lilian Bader (née Stern) remembered the excitement she felt as a child when she was permitted ‘to change from my eternal dresses in sailord style’ into a Dirndl while spending summer holidays in the Salzkammergut.53

In her family memoir, A Story Dreamt Long Ago: a memoir, Phyllis McDuff includes a series of photographs of her mother Bettina Mendl with her brother Otto on their rural family estate. In the photographs Bettina wears Dirndl-like dresses while Otto appears in Lederhosen.54 In the images, Bettina and Otto Mendl—whose father Fritz Mendl (1864–1929), along with his brother Heinrich (1855–1917), founded the baking company Wiener Brot- und Gebäckfabrik Heinrich und Fritz Mendl which would later become the well-known Ankerbrot company that exists to this day55—appear like any other children in rural Austria during the early twentieth century, carefree and, in some images, barefooted,

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52 There were exceptions to Tracht being reserved for wear on holiday in rural environs. The Viennese-born philosopher Kurt Rudolf Fischer (1922–2014) recalled adopting Tracht for everyday attire as a young boy in 1930s Vienna, considering it ‘smart, fashionable and youthful’ [fesch, modisch und jugendlich]. Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, ‘Dirndl, Lederhose und Sommerfrischenidyle,’ in Der Geschmack der Vergänglichkeit: Jüdische Sommerfrische in Salzburg (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2002), 325.
feeding goats or simply enjoying their rural surroundings. Only the stereotypical dark hair and features suggest their Jewish origins.

Likewise, a photograph included in the first pages of Martin Freud’s biography of his famous father depicts Martin and his brothers Oliver and Ernst dressed identically in Trachtjanker, Lederhosen and Tyrolean hats, long socks, boots, white shirts and floral neckties, each holding a (most likely toy) rifle. The three Freud sons appear the image of ‘Volkstum’, and yet Freud, albeit secular, was proudly a ‘godless Jew’. This manner of dressing was not necessarily a means of asserting a strong sense of German nationalism, but rather a means of sartorial conformity with the environment, as such styles were the common fashion in these provincial towns and villages. As Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann stresses, such styles of clothing served as a symbol of ‘ease and intimacy secluded from the everyday world’.

An album formerly belonging to an unidentified Viennese Jewish family, part of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People’s (CAHJP) Austria holdings, includes images that present different urban and provincial sartorial identities. The photographs, many of which were taken in ateliers in Vienna and Brünn (but also in other Bohemian and Moravian towns), tell an interesting story of male dress patterns during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The names of the individuals depicted and the dates of many of these photographs have been lost, but what survives is evidence of how middle-class Austrian Jewry dressed during this period, and, similar to the way people dress themselves today, the sartorial distinction made for different occasions. There are two particular photographs taken at the same atelier (the name of which has been lost) depicting a family (three men, three women and two young boys)

56 See Freud, Glory Reflected.
58 An article published in conjunction with the CAHJP that appeared in a 2016 issue of the Israeli Segula magazine postulates that the album may have belonged to the family of one Ludwig Beran. See Daniela Götz, ‘Looking for Ludwig: An unidentified family photo album leads an archive researcher back to fin de siècle Vienna,’ Segula: The Jewish Journey Through History, June 2016, 64.
standing before the same painted backdrop—an idyllic scene of trees—and curtains. In one photograph, the members of the family stand in a line one behind the other, arranged by height (Figure 77) while in the other they are arranged—some sitting, some standing—in a somewhat casual arrangement before the painted cyclorama (Figure 78). In the second photograph, the older of the two boys lounges (albeit stiffly) on what appears to be a fur or lambskin rug. In both photographs the family is wedged in on either side by a (possibly imitation) marble plinth and balustrade, upon which one of the women (perhaps mother or aunt) sits. Although these images are listed in the finding guide for the CAHJP’s image database as belonging to a Viennese family, perhaps these photographs were not taken in a Viennese atelier, but rather while on holiday in Austria’s provinces.

In both photographs, the members of the family are dressed in somewhat völkisch attire (a contrast to their dark features); two of the women (who appear to be mother and daughter, or sisters, given their resemblance) wear long Dirndln and aprons and simple white blouses, while the third woman wears an apron over a long, spotted dress with lace sleeve cuffs and square collar and buttons down the front of her bodice to the waist. The little boys wear Lederhosen (both of slightly different design)\(^59\), boots and white shirts—that of the older boy is collared and long-sleeved, that of the younger is without a collar and has short sleeves with a decorative border. The older boy wears long, dark stockings while his little brother wears white socks. The attire of the men, however, differs from the völkisch styles of the women and boys. While they all wear breeches with sock and boots that give an impression of a hiking excursion—particularly in the second photograph in which four members of the family carry Stöcke [canes]—their jackets are not the traditional Trachtenjanker of folk costume. Indeed, below their jackets they wear waistcoats and white (soft-) collared shirts. In the second photograph, two of the men wear ties, whereas in the second only the oldest gentleman—perhaps the patriarch or an older uncle—wears a tie while his counterparts wear open collars.

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\(^59\) For example, the older boy’s Hosenträger is decorated with a single embroidered flower, while that of the younger is decorated with three. Additionally, the older boy’s shorts have three buttons at the hem of his trousers, while the younger’s has only two.
In examining these photographs in the context of the album as a whole it is apparent that the sartorial identities present in these two photographs are carefully crafted for the occasion. Other images in the album depict individuals (among whom the older gentleman of the two images described above features categorically in a range of ages) in more urbane dress: well-cut suits, white collars, ties, cravats, and bowties. The different collar and neckwear styles and the jacket lapel details provide an indication of changing male fashions over the course of this family’s life (Figures 79 & 80). What is apparent is that the members of this family, like many others, recognised the different associations of the city and the provinces, and altered their attire according to these locations.

The photographs of this unidentified family serve as only one example of the manner in which different clothing were used to signify the differences between the city and the provinces. Many Viennese Jews changed their sartorial patterns to suit their environment, with varying results.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the dress patterns of Viennese Jews had a direct influence on antisemitism, including accusations that Jews were trying to mask their true origins. Adopting the dress of the dominant group, whether in Vienna or the Sommerfrischen, went beyond trying to erase or mask an individual’s origins. This practice of dressing can be understood as a continuation of the modernisation process Jews underwent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The donning of Volkstracht—like that of modern dress in preference to the kaftan, or High German in favour of Judeo-German or Yiddish—announced an individual’s place in the wider society as both Jew and Austrian. To these Jews, the adoption of popular forms of dress and culture did not signify their rejection of their Jewish identities, but rather that they, too, like other ethnic

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60 Kammerhofer-Aggermann, ‘Dirndl, Lederhose und Sommerfrischenidylle,’ 319.
61 However, acculturated and secular Viennese Jews were not the only ones to visit Sommerfrischen. Vienna’s Orthodox Jews also visited Austria’s rural resort towns, some of which catered to their religious needs with kosher restaurants and hotels. Advertisements for such establishments regularly appeared in Jewish periodicals. For example, the 27 June 1913 issue of Dr. Bloch’s Oesterreichische Wochenschrift advertised a number of kosher hotels and pensions in various European spa and resort towns. Included among those in Austria-Hungary are Hotel Steiererhof (Bad Aussee), Pension Grosz (Abbazia [Opatija]), Restauration Brody (Gainfarn) and Restauration S. Ullmann (Gloggnitz). See Dr. Bloch’s Oesterreichische Wochenschrift 30, no. 25 (June 20, 1913): 467–68.
groups in Austria-Hungary, were modern Europeans and not a relic from the past. Like the suit with its multitude of symbolic registers that promised its wearers the possibility of respectability, equality and invisibility, *Volkstracht* was a highly coded form of dress that offered its wearers a particular visual identity, but often resulted in one that had very different repercussions.62

JEWS AND TRANSNATIONALITY
One factor that separated Jews from their non-Jewish fellow Austro-Hungarians was their status *vis-à-vis* the nationalities question. Although the empire’s Jews were granted equal rights in 1867, they were not considered a separate Volksstamm [nationality or ethnic group], nor was Yiddish approved as an official language of the Dual Monarchy. Most Viennese Jews—as well as other Austrian Jews, excluding the large number of Yiddish-speaking, religiously Orthodox Jews in Galicia and Bukovina—had long adopted High German as their *Umgangssprache*. In light of this and the strong link between officially recognised Volksstämme and languages, German-speaking Jews should have been recognised as German nationals. Indeed they were, officially. In practical terms, however, this was not always the case, and Jews continued to be viewed by many as a separate national, ethnic or racial group. This was particularly evident with the rise of nationalist movements in Central and Eastern Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Acculturated German-speaking Viennese Jews thus found themselves in a precarious limbo between a hostile in-group (Germans) with whom they had been instructed to identify, and an unrecognised Volksstamm with whom they were prohibited from identifying.63

Jews were not the only non-German ethno-cultural group living in Vienna, as has been discussed above. However, one of the differences between Jews and, for example, Czechs living in the Austrian capital was that the latter maintained

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62 This became more evident with the politicisation of *Volkstracht* as a distinctly ‘German’ form of dress, especially after the 1938 *Anschluss* and the introduction of the so-called *Trachtenverbot* in which Jews were prohibited from dressing in *Volkstracht* or styles that resembled it. See ibid., 328–29.

linguistic, cultural, and historical ties to a territory within the borders of the Dual Monarchy. Jews, of ‘foreign’ and non-European origin, who were considered by others and considered themselves as having roots in the Levant, had no national claims or historic ties to particular regions of the empire, and—increasingly after their emancipation in 1867—could be found living in most if not all Habsburg crownlands. Ever since their arrival in Europe during antiquity and for a variety of reasons, including religious, cultural and external factors, Jews were unable to establish fixed and centralised ‘national’ roots in the lands in which they lived—which were, after all, scattered across the length and breadth of the continent—but continued to maintain cultural and religious connections to their spiritual and historic homeland in Palestine. Additionally, at different periods throughout their history in Europe, Jews were granted a degree of autonomy that effectively marked them as a separate nation, which many continued to view themselves as belonging to.

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64 See McCagg Jr., A History of Habsburg Jews.
65 To say that European Jews did not establish themselves in certain cities or towns in Europe is of course an exaggeration. Prior to the advent of the nation state during the nineteenth century, Jews, whether they lived separately or among other peoples of Europe, developed their own ties to the land that differed both from the later doctrines of national territory and the religious traditions of the Jewish connection to the Land of Israel. Thus, whilst they continued to pray for the messianic age that would see their return to Zion, they simultaneously forged territorial connections, beyond political boundaries, utilising intra-communal networks based on trade, scholarship, family and religion. Numerous cities and towns throughout Eastern and Central Europe at different stages of their history became renowned as centres of rabbinic scholarship, and thus drew aspiring rabbinical students from near and far. See for example Gershon David Hundert, ‘Re(de)fining Modernity in Jewish History,’ in Rethinking European Jewish History, ed. Jeremy Cohen and Moshe Rosman (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009), 133–45; and Miller, Rabbis and Revolution.
66 One notable example can be found in the establishment of the Council of Four Lands during the mid-sixteenth century until its dissolution in 1764. The council, known in Hebrew as the Va’ad Arba Arzot (or simple the Va’ad) operated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and served Polish-Lithuanian Jewry in the administration of their civic autonomy through an elected council of delegates that would convene to discuss the taxation of Polish-Lithuanian Jewry and other important issues. Ostensibly, this turned Jews into a separate nation living within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Furthermore, although its authority was limited to the territory that fell within the Commonwealth, the Va’ad came to enjoy reverence by Jewish communities beyond its borders and was at times called upon to serve as a mediator in external disputes as far as Frankfurt am Main and Amsterdam. See Israel Bartal, The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772–1881, trans. Chaya Naor (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 20–22; and Gershon David Hundert, Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 95–98.
67 During the nineteenth century, with the modernisation of European Jews and Judaism, there was a backlash against this transnational identification. Many rabbis—both Reform and Orthodox—sought to highlight the Jews’ loyalty to the nations they lived within, insisting that Jews were simply Germans (or French, Hungarians, Polish, etc.) who practised the Mosaic faith (see discussion of rabbis and their role in modernisation below).
The result of their historic experience and connection to their coreligionists across national and dynastic borders had made Jews into a transnational people. In her study of South Asian women in North America and standards of beauty, Vanita Reddy described the methodology of her study as one ‘that typically takes as its object the act of migration and the crossing of borders as distinctly gendered processes’.\textsuperscript{68} Certainly this is also true of Jewish acculturation, a phenomenon played out across an equally transnational plane. Relying on anecdotal evidence from memoirs and biographies, contemporary newspapers and magazines and other texts, Marion A. Kaplan has examined the dual role of the Jewish mother in imparting to her children both a strong sense of Jewish identity and an appreciation of German culture and dedication to Bildung.\textsuperscript{69} Women, Kaplan demonstrates, were often more traditional in their observance of Judaism than their husbands, a deciding factor being the influence of the home and private sphere on women’s lives in Germany (and other parts of Central Europe) during the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{70} In this sense, Jewish women played a greater role in maintaining the Jewish transnational identity than their male counterparts.

Although Kaplan’s study focuses primarily on Jews in Imperial Germany who lived among an homogenous German population, similar can be said of Vienna, for this city’s Jews, like their German counterparts, had begun the process of acculturation prior to their respective emancipation in 1867 and 1871. Indeed, the stronger sense of Jewish identity in Austria was largely the result of the Vielvölkerstaat.\textsuperscript{71} Like their Germanised Czech and other non-German counterparts in Vienna, acculturated Jews existed (although unofficially) as a distinct Volksstamm and tended to remain connected to one another, moving in the same social circles, marrying other Jews, even after converting to Christianity.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{71} Rozenblit, ‘Jewish assimilation in Habsburg Vienna,’ 239.
(both Catholicism and Protestantism) or having themselves declared *konfessionslos*.72

Indeed, even those Jews who had been thoroughly acculturated and liked to think themselves better than their culturally-unassimilated eastern coreligionists continued to retain a sense of (sometimes reluctant) responsibility to these *Ostjuden*, donating their time and money to charitable causes and joining organisations (such as Joseph Samuel Bloch’s *Österreichisch-Israelitische Allianz*) to safeguard Jewish interests. For example, Hans Stein, whose family lived in a Döbling (District XIX) apartment in the vicinity of the upper-middle-class *Cottageviertel*, recalled:

Every so often men in tattered suits came to pay a visit. We called them Schnorrs, Jews who said they needed money to buy food. Those Jewish men had their well-appointed route in the city. They knew exactly where to go. If they did not come at the usual time, we became worried and talked about them. We did not know their names, so we gave them fictitious names. These customers were mostly Polish Jews, the underdogs of the Jewish hierarchy of Vienna. We were the Western Jews; ‘they’ came from the East, speaking with a distinct accent. The outsiders. We did give them money when they needed it.73

Stein’s candid recollection of his acculturated family’s reaction to their less fortunate coreligionists highlights the derision the *Westjuden* felt for the *Ostjuden*, but also reveals how pity and warmth can co-reside.

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72 An example can be found in the aforementioned Fritz Stern (1904–1992), an aluminium manufacturer, grandson of the Viennese rabbi Aron Friedmann (1833–1911) and nephew of the well-known pedagogue Friederike Friedmann (1862–1868). Stern officially resigned from the Jewish community on 11 March 1923, effectively declaring himself *konfessionslos*. Nonetheless, four years later Stern married Margarethe Czopp (the daughter of Jewish parents from Galicia and Hungary). Their marriage is recorded in the index of the Jewish records of Vienna and Lower Austria. This information was supplied partly by Stern’s daughter Eva Engel (Eva Engel in discussion with author, November 14, 2017). See also Archiv der IKG Wien, *Geburtsbuch der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien, 1904 Jan-June*, entry no. 178. Accessed via FamilySearch [https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-LB29-5B5?i=30&wv=MQB6-82S3A344266801] 2C344266802 2C344501801&cc=2026320, accessed 6 June 2018.
73 Stein, ‘Vienna Childhood Memories’, 5.
As a transnational people, and because of family and professional connections—to say nothing of the Zionists or Diaspora Nationalists whose overseas connections were of a markedly political nature—Viennese Jews commonly maintained connections not only to their coreligionists in Vienna but also to communities abroad.\(^74\) The Ephrussi family, for example, maintained familial and professional connections beyond Austria’s borders in both France and Russia, remaining citizens of the latter until the First World War.\(^75\) Likewise, the wealthy families of other well-known Viennese Jews, such as Stefan Zweig or Bertha Zuckerkandl-Szeps, had connections in countries such as Italy and France\(^76\)—to say nothing of the many Jews with connections in Galicia or across the border in the Russian Empire. In his study of Vienna’s 929 richest individuals prior to the First World War, Roman Sandgruber argues that the Jewish financial élite made up almost two thirds of Vienna’s millionaires.\(^77\) Sandgruber observes how some of the millionaires concerned themselves with the development of Viennese culture, such as the literary salon of Adolf and Mathilde (née Schey von Koromla) Lieben or Viktor Ephrussi’s interest in art and science.\(^78\)

\(^{74}\) It can be argued that in an age of growing Jewish secularisation, acculturation as well as increasing antisemitism, political ideologies such as Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism came to replace religious-based transnationality. By identifying with these ideologies and with other like-minded Jews across national borders, Viennese Jews were connected to Jews of different cultural spheres in a manner that perpetuated a transnational Jewish identity.  
\(^{75}\) De Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes*, 180.  
\(^{76}\) See Chapter 4 of this dissertation, ‘Refashioning the Self: Viennese Jews and Dress,’ in which Stefan Zweig’s family background is addressed in relation to a wider discussion of the importance of dress in the acculturation process. With regards to Berta Zuckerkandl-Szep’s transnational connections, her sister Sophie (1862–1937) was the wife of Paul Clemenceau, who was the brother of the later French President Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929). As the daughter of a successful newspaper magnate, Moriz Szeps (1835–1902), and a highly regarded critic in her own right, Zuckerkandl-Szeps was hostess to a popular literary salon that brought together many members of Vienna’s artistic and scholastic milieus as well as visiting cultural luminaries. See Zuckerkandl, *Österreich* intim.  
\(^{77}\) Sandgruber, *Traumzeit für Millionäre*, 15.  
\(^{78}\) Ibid., 32–33. Sandgruber asserts that Ephrussi was not cut out for his profession in banking (‘Er war nicht für die Arbeit geschaffen’, Ibid., 33), therefore supporting Stefan Zweig’s assertion that education and culture (*Bildung*) were of paramount importance to Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie above their dedication to commerce and amassing wealth. See Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 32–34. Zweig’s own family presents an example of this mindset, with his industrialist father’s consent to Stefan’s own academic and literary pursuits. Indeed, in a letter to Hermann Hesse, Zweig bemoaned the pressures his parents placed on him as a result of their pride in having a university-educated son with a doctorate. Letter from Stefan Zweig to Hermann Hesse, November 1903, in *Stefan Zweig Briefe, 1897–1914*, ed. Knut Beck, Jeffery B. Berlin and Natascha Weschenbach-Feggeler (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 1995), 62.
It was the modernisation and acculturation of European Jewry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that weakened the strong bonds between Jews living in different countries. Raphael Mahler (1899–1977), the Galician-born Israeli historian, for example, deemed, ‘that by jettisoning Yiddish they [Moses Mendelssohn and the Berlin *Maskilim* who encouraged the adoption of the German language and culture] were destroying one of the chief foundations of Jewish culture’. By removing the connecting language between the Jews and encouraging their entry into mainstream, Gentile society, a sense of cultural distinction was indeed eroded. What resulted in the most extreme cases, however, was a group who although culturally indistinguishable from the Gentile majority, were still separated by social, religious, ethnic and class barriers.

RABBIS AND THEIR CLOTHES: PROPAGATING AN INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

The dress of religious leaders is not likely to be encountered in fashion histories, belonging as it does to the history of dress or costume. Yet, religious leaders of varying denominations were prominent in European societies and were heavily represented in the visual arts. Religiously speaking, connections to communities beyond the borders of the empire strongly influenced the notion of transnationality in a manner that was not uncommon in other religious denominations. The interaction and contact between Viennese rabbis and lay leaders to others outside of Vienna and Austria helped strengthen a transnational Jewish identity. European Jewry, with its long history of migration, had an equally long history of transnational rabbinical exchange. Rabbis, who were long exchanged between communities across political and cultural borders, served as more than mere spiritual leaders but often as mediators between their communities and Gentile authorities. The Jewish religion, along with the Hebrew and Yiddish languages, had been uniting factors between communities in different countries and cultural-linguistic spheres. In Vienna alone the most prominent rabbinical figures of the nineteenth century—Isak Noa Mannheimer,

80 Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution*, 44.
Lazar Horowitz, Adolf Jellinek, Moritz Güdemann, and Joseph Samuel Bloch—were migrants to the Kaiserstadt, and only two—Jellinek and Bloch—were natives of the empire. But far from simply fostering and maintaining transnational connections with other Jewish communities, Viennese rabbis played an important role in the modernisation and Europeanisation of Austrian Jewry.

Viennese Jewry could not have achieved the levels of cultural and structural assimilation without the help of various community institutions and organisations. In a city in which the separation between the Catholic Church and state was practically non-existent, Protestantism and Judaism, as minority religions, were mandated and governed by state-sanctioned institutions administering to the spiritual and civic needs (such as births, deaths and marriages) of their adherents. As such, rabbis, like Catholic priests and Evangelical ministers, were not simply spiritual leaders concerned with the spiritual well-being of their flock, but also served as civil servants, mediating between their congregants and the state.

However, in addition to their mediating function, Viennese rabbis, like their counterparts in other European cities, played an important role in the modernisation and acculturation of their communities. It was their work in revolutionising Judaism through reformed synagogue services, Jewish practice and religious writings that transformed Viennese Jewry from a foreign ‘nation within the nation’ to modern Europeans who would eventually be emancipated by the state to enjoy the same rights as their Gentile counterparts. Radical reforms were simultaneously occurring in other Jewish communities in Europe and beyond. Indeed, Vienna was influenced by some of the reforms taking place

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81 The former from Derslawitz (Drslavice), Moravia and the latter from Dulka, Galicia.
83 This is not to suggest that religious reform alone was responsible for the emancipation of Jews in Austria-Hungary; however, the community’s efforts at refashioning its external appearance undoubtedly played a part in attempting to make Judaism and Jewry appear acceptable in a modern European sense.
84 See Meyer, ‘Women in the Thought and Practice of the European Jewish Reform Movement’. 
in neighbouring German congregations. Nor were such reforms exclusive to those who were considered ‘reformists’. A number of ‘traditional’ or ‘Orthodox’ rabbis worked with ‘reformers’ in discarding some of the more obsolete customs in Ashkenazi Judaism. For instance, the Bavarian-born Lazar Horowitz (1803/4–1869), head of Vienna’s Orthodox community during the Vormärz period, in collaboration with his (‘Reform’) colleague and de facto chief rabbi of Vienna, the Danish-born Isak Noa Mannheimer (1793–1865), abolished the practice of *metzitzah b’peh* during the circumcision ceremony in Vienna.

Along with the ritual reforms were the reforms in the structure of the synagogue service. Unlike in neighbouring Germany or Hungary, in which a schism developed between the respective Reform/Neolog and Orthodox communities, the more Reform-minded and Orthodox factions of the Viennese Jewish community came to a compromise that resulted in a particular *Wiener Ritus* [Vienna Rite]. The development of this Viennese rite can be found in the early nineteenth century, several decades before the emancipation of Habsburg Jewry, during a period when only a select number of privileged Jews were permitted to reside within Vienna’s city limits. These early reforms were led not by the community rabbi, but the community itself, desiring to model a variety of Reform Judaism based on those of the Berlin and Hamburg Reform congregations. The main prayers would continue to be recited in Hebrew by the *khazzan* [cantor] with others recited quietly by congregants, while the sermon would be given in German. Men and women would sit separately, with the latter in balconies above the main gallery, or else in another separate side gallery. The community also

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85 Marsha L. Rozenblit explains that although they were influenced by the reforms occurring in other communities, Viennese Jews rejected the radical reforms of some German communities and instead preferred the aesthetic reform of the synagogue service. See Rozenblit, ‘The Struggle over Religious Reform in Nineteenth-Century Vienna’, 190–81.

86 The *metzitzah* custom involved the *mohel* [ritual circumciser] drawing blood away from the wound by placing his mouth on the infant’s circumcised penis, and sucking blood away from the incision. Horowitz and Mannheimer abolished the practice for hygienic reasons, mandating the use of a sponge instead of oral suction. For a brief overview of Horowitz see Grunwald, *Vienna*, 375–78.


proposed the introduction of an organ into the synagogal proceedings; however, as a result of opposition from more traditional factions of the community, the organ was not used during the Sabbath and festival services (unlike in the Hungarian Neolog synagogues)—although some synagogues continued to employ organists. In this manner, and with the employment of an all-male choir supporting the cantor, the Viennese synagogue service was redesigned to resemble the Christian equivalent. Overall, from its beginnings in the early nineteenth century, the Wiener Ritus was foremost concerned with the aesthetic reform of Judaism, with the double aim of making Judaism appealing to a younger generation of Jews and signalling Viennese Jewry’s dedication to the Fatherland.

Viennese rabbis began to reflect the Christian vocational role. The Habsburg administration, in a wider push to turn Jews into loyal and productive Austrians following Joseph II’s Edicts of Toleration in the late eighteenth century (despite not awarding them equal rights), introduced statutes concerning the role of rabbis in society. Rabbis were expected to be proficient in the German language and to broaden their studies beyond Judaism. Additionally, there were expectations from their own congregations. Rozenblit explains: ‘Viennese Jews expected their religious leaders to be trained and to function like a Protestant minister. Instead of traditional talmudical learning, his education had to provide him with a solid grounding in philosophy, theology, and Bible.’ Nonetheless, it appears that traditional Jewish education remained central to an aspiring rabbi’s training, as is evident in Vienna’s leading rabbis during the latter half of the nineteenth century, namely, Isak Noa Manheimer (Figure 81), Adolf Jellinek (Figure 82), and Moritz Güdemann, who had all received, in addition to a secular, German education, a strong grounding in traditional Talmudic learning. In accordance with the aesthetic reform of Judaism that was central to the Wiener

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91 Ibid., 182.
92 Ibid., 186.
*Ritus*, Viennese rabbis, like their counterparts in other European communities, adapted the styles of their synagogal garments to resemble those of Evangelical pastors and Greek Orthodox priests (Figures 83 & 84). This was neither novel nor surprising, for clothing had played an important role in the modernisation of European Jews since the Enlightenment. That rabbis—as pastoral and spiritual leaders—should adopt new styles of dress in preference to the more ‘traditional’ or ‘oriental’ modes that had been prevalent in earlier times and remained in use in Eastern Europe was a natural step on the path to Jewish acculturation.

Prior to the advent of Reform (or Liberal) Judaism, the image of a rabbi dressed in a caftan and fur cap or large skullcap was as common throughout Ashkenazi Europe as the beard and earlocks. Such styles, which continued to be used in the east after the modernisation of many Western and Central European Jewries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are purported to have come from the styles common among the Polish szlachta of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹⁴ Prior to their modernisation, rabbis in the German lands (including Bohemia and Moravia) were as likely to be seen attired in the same manner as their colleagues in Poland and Russia. One reason for this was the fact that many ‘German’ rabbis and yeshiva heads were of Polish origin.⁹⁵

The modernisation of rabbinic dress had its origins in Italian and Dutch communities of the late Renaissance period where, as Asher Salah argues, cantors and prayer leaders dressed in a manner meant to mark their ceremonial role—that is, by wearing a special mantle that was ‘either a particularly sumptuous tallith of silk or a garment similar to the cappa, the mantle worn by university doctors’.⁹⁶ The later sartorial modernisation of nineteenth-century rabbis was not exclusive to those communities following a path of reform.⁹⁷ A lithograph dated 1847 by E. Schier of the German Orthodox rabbi and opponent

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⁹⁵ Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution*, 63.
⁹⁷ Ibid., 60–61.
of Reform Judaism Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888)\(^9\) depicts a young bearded man in dark, cassock-like robe, with white collar and clerical bands and a high, rounded hat (Figure 85). In this manner he appears in similar sartorial mode to Samuel Holdheim (1810–1860) and Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), his contemporaries and proponents of the Reform movement he so strongly challenged.

These forms of dress were not confined to Germany and the German rabbinate. Variations were common in other ‘modern’ European congregations, both Reform and Orthodox. In France, for example, illustrated and photographic examples depict the consecutive chief rabbis Lazare Isidor (1813–1888) and Zadoc Kahn (1839–1905) (Figures 86 & 87 respectively) dressed in similar black cassocks with lace bands. The choice of headwear differs in the low, black, wide-and curled-brimmed hats that resemble the capello romano worn by Catholic clerics.\(^9\) In contrast, the attire of the British Chief Rabbi, the Hanover-born Nathan Marcus Adler (1803–1890) and his son and successor Hermann Adler (1839–1911) appears closer to their German counterparts (Figures 88 & 89 respectively).

Thus, rabbinical sartorial reform in Vienna was simply in line with the wider sartorial modernisation of European rabbis.\(^1\) The larger ritual prayer shawls [tallith, plural tallitot] were exchanged for a narrow, scarf-like variety that could be draped over the shoulders rather than envelope its wearer’s entire body. Rabbis adopted the wearing of a Talar [cassock or gown] similar to Christian preachers, in contrast to the traditional caftans worn by their predecessors and

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\(^9\) Born in Hamburg to Rabbi Raphael Hirsch and his wife Gela (née Herz), Samson Raphael Hirsch was given a traditional Jewish as well as secular, German education, and would go on to become a leading figure of German Orthodoxy. Hirsch has been attributed as being the progenitor of the Modern Orthodox movement. See for example Sorkin, ‘Religious Tradition,’ in The Transformation of German Jewry, 156–71.

\(^9\) It is significant that those rabbis living in a Catholic society like France adopted clerical garb resembling that of their Christian (Catholic) counterparts, in contrast to their rabbinical colleagues residing in societies where Protestantism dominated.

\(^10\) This phenomenon was not confined to Western Europe. Although the image of the Polish rabbi is overwhelmingly associated with that of the shtaymil- and caftan-wearing Ostjude, rabbis of culturally-assimilated congregations—such as the Great Synagogue of Warsaw (1878–1943), formerly located on Tłomackie Street—appeared attired as their counterparts in other modernised congregations throughout Europe.
eastern rabbis, a high white collar and clerical bands and tall, brimless hats reminiscent of the kalimavkion worn by Greek Orthodox clerics. They continue to be worn today by cantors and rabbis in certain European congregations as well as by some who are associated with Anglo-Orthodoxy in the British Commonwealth. These new garments did not necessarily possess religious or spiritual significance (albeit their adoption by faith leaders undoubtedly imbued them with such), but rather were part of a wider attempt to bring decorum into the synagogue, and the adoption of these garments was part of the acculturation of Judaism and the performance of its rituals.

Photographs, painted portraits and engravings depicted Viennese ‘preachers’ in much the same manner outlined above. It is telling that in the absence of the tallith there is nothing in the sartorial appearance of these religious leaders to suggest that they are Jewish. That the rabbinical cassock differed from those of their Catholic and Protestant counterparts in Vienna is evident in the tailoring textbook of the Vienna Tailor Academy during the early twentieth century, which included separate drafting instructions for patterns for the garments of the three religious leaders, and specified the different sleeve styles for each. However, more immediately obvious is the style of headwear donned by rabbis in contrast to their Christian counterparts; in a church, male heads go uncovered as a sign of respect, while the opposite is true of the synagogue. In contrast to the portraits of Christian religious leaders of the period, those of Viennese rabbis dressed in this garb maintain this fundamental difference. The robes and bands may signify mainstream Austrian Jewry’s dedication to Deutschtum and Bildung, but the continued presence of the tallith and rabbinical/cantoral hat (whether resembling the Greek Orthodox kalimavkion or the Catholic biretta) declares a

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101 Salah, ‘How Should a Rabbi Be Dressed?’ 55.
102 Rozenblit, ‘The Struggle over Religious Reform in Nineteenth-Century Vienna.’
103 The adoption of sober black garments, with their connotations of Protestant values of industriousness, by European rabbis also situated wearers in the long tradition of black clothing as a marker of prestige, religious piety, scholarship, and discipline in European Christendom. See for example Harvey, Men in Black, in particular Chapter 2 ‘Black in History,’ 41–69, and Chapter 3 ‘From Black in Spain to Black in Shakespeare,’ 71–113.
104 Franz Tesar, Wiener Herrenkleidung (Vienna: Selbstverlag der Genossenschaft der Kleidermacher Wiens, 1911).
105 The Philippi Collection of ritual headwear identifies the tall hat (of varying shapes) often worn by rabbis and cantors as a mitznefet (also written as mitsnephet or misnafat), the name derived
dedication to a Jewish identity; assimilation—even among the supposedly integrationist Jewish élite—can and will go only so far.

In contrast to such images that serve as a public proclamation of Jewish identity, albeit of a modern, European variety, are those photographs of Viennese ‘preachers’ in ‘private’. Studio photographs of Viennese rabbis dressed in civilian clothing, that is, bareheaded and in modern suits, present an interesting contrast. For example, an undated photograph of Vienna’s chief rabbi Moritz Güdemann (1835–1918), an opponent of the Reform movement,\(^\text{106}\) can be contrasted with ‘official’ portraits in which he appears in the sartorial identity of rabbi. An undated photograph of Güdemann in rabbinical hat and robe complete with white clerical bands (Figure 90) contrasts with another photographic portrait of the rabbi as an older man. In the ‘unofficial’ portrait, Güdemann reclines in a winged chair covered by a fur throw. His head is bare and his dress is modern: double-breasted frockcoat, waistcoat and trousers. Between the index and middle finger he holds a cigar (Figure 91). Unlike the other portraits, which include sartorial clues to his rabbinical identity, Güdemann’s attire appears no different than that of other Jewish and Gentile members of the bourgeoisie. In a peculiar twist, these images reverse the maxim of the Haskalah to ‘be a man in the street and a Jew at home’; his public sartorial identity is very clearly and unambiguously ‘the Jew in the street’ in the face of the more general ‘private’ persona of the ‘man at home’.

\(^{106}\) In his diaries, Theodor Herzl recalled a visit of Güdemann to his apartment where the latter was displeased to find Herzl illuminating the Christmas tree for his children. See Herzl, Theodor Herzls Tagebücher, 1:328.
JOSEPH SAMUEL BLOCH: ASSERTING NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

With the rise of antisemitic sentiment in Austro-German society, it became apparent to many Jews, rabbis included, that it was increasingly difficult for Jews to assert a German national identity and be accepted as such. In the pseudo-scientific rhetoric of the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Jew and the German (or Aryan) were mutually exclusive concepts. The Jew could not be a true member of the German nation as his inherent racial differences were incompatible with the true European races. Jews dealt with this rejection in a number of ways, turning to different models of Jewish self-identification. Some rabbis, too, played a part in this shift, with many in the German-speaking lands who had previously stressed the exclusively religious nature of Judaism—characterising their flock as Germans of the Mosaic faith, rather than Jews—now speaking of Jewish peoplehood, albeit a people who remained loyal to the nations in which they lived and played an important role. Moritz Güdemann, for example, was an opponent of Zionism and claimed in 1895, ‘I have always believed that we are not a nation, or rather more than a nation: I believe we had the historic mission to propagate universalism among the nations and that we were therefore more than a territorial nation.’ Others, such as Joseph Samuel Bloch (1850–1923), the rabbi and Reichsrat deputy for the Galician district of Kolomea (Kolomyia), turned to Jewish nationalism.

Like many of his leading rabbinical colleagues of the time, Bloch was a migrant to the Austrian Kaiserstadt. He had been born and raised by poor, Orthodox parents in Dukla, Galicia, and received both a traditional Jewish and a secular education at a traditional Orthodox khered [traditional primary school], rabbinical seminaries [yeshivot], Gymnasia and universities in Lemberg, Eisenstadt, Magdeburg, Liegnitz (Legnica), Munich and Zürich, receiving his doctorate at the last. Before being engaged as the rabbi of Floridsdorf, a municipality on the outskirts of Vienna (later to become Vienna’s twenty-first district in 1904), Bloch held rabbinical posts in Rendsburg, Kobylin, and Brüx (Most). However, Bloch

107 Sander Gilman explains that the perceived racial or biological difference of the Jew has its origins in Christianity, namely the belief that Jewish bodily corruption is an explanation for the Jewish rejection and betrayal of Christ. See Gilman, The Jew’s Body, 19.

was known less for his rabbinical service than for his fight against antisemitism and for the rights of Jews in the Austrian political arena, for which he drew the ire of the more antisemitic elements of Austrian society. It was his public debate against the antisemitic professor August Rohling regarding the latter’s involvement in the trial of the Tisza-Eszlár blood libel in 1883 that propelled Bloch into the public arena.\footnote{During the trial, Rohling argued as an ‘expert’ that ritual murder for the purpose of using Christian blood during Jewish rituals was widespread. Bloch denounced Rohling in a series of articles published in the \textit{Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung}, after which the latter attempted to sue him for libel. The politician and prominent member of the Viennese Jewish community Sigmund Mayer described Bloch as ‘the only one man in Europe who had the courage to force Rohling into a trial that destroyed the horrible man. I only mean to honour the truth when I say that through this courageous act he has done world Jewry a great service, for which I do not believe sufficient gratitude has been shown’ [my translation]. See Mayer, \textit{Ein jüdischer Kaufmann}, 308.}

Among his accomplishments were the establishment of the \textit{Oesterreichische Wochenschrift}\footnote{Later published as \textit{Dr. Bloch’s oesterreichische Wochenschrift} and \textit{Dr. Bloch’s Wochenschrift}.} in 1884 (in circulation until 1920) and the \textit{Österreich-Israelitische Union} (OIU) [Austrian-Israelite Union] in 1886, with the resolve ‘to elevate and foster Jewish consciousness [\textit{Stammbewusstsein}], to create a front against the rapidly spreading “semitic anti-Semitism” and as much as possible, to supress all tendencies which seek to sharpen religious and racial antagonisms’.\footnote{\textit{Österreichische Wochenschrift}, quoted in Wistrich, \textit{The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph}, 289. Much of this paragraph is based on Bloch’s memoir and Robert S. Wistrich’s chapter on Bloch. See Joseph S. Bloch, \textit{Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben} (Vienna: R. Löwit Verlag, 1922); Wistrich, ‘Joseph Bloch: rabbi, Parliamentarian, and Publicist,’ in \textit{The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph}, 270–309; also Max Grunwald, ‘Joseph Samuel Bloch,’ in \textit{Vienna} (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936), 438–47.}

The variety of Jewish nationalism that was part of Bloch’s political platform differed from Zionism and other varieties of nationalism in its lack of territorial claims. In contrast, Bloch fashioned himself as an Austrian patriot and proud Jew, asserting the right of Jews as equal members of the national mosaic that made up the Austrian state. Rather than identify as Germans, Bloch believed Austrian Jews should adopt a tripartite variety of self-identification, ‘embracing [a] Jewish ethnicity and an Austrian political or civic consciousness while leaving the question of cultural affinity to each individual’.\footnote{Reifowitz. \textit{Imagining an Austrian Nation}, 96.} In an age in which an Austrian national identity was virtually non-existent, and most ‘Austrians’ identified nationally with their \textit{Volkstamm}, Jews wishing to express an Austrian national...
identity, particularly those in Galicia and Bukovina, found themselves in a difficult predicament. For German-speaking Jews in Vienna, Bohemia, Moravia and elsewhere in Cisleithania, identifying as German nationals was easy enough—despite antisemitic discourse that argued they could not—due to the Habsburg administration’s view of nationality being linked to language. Yiddish-speaking Jews in the eastern provinces, however, were unable to identify as ‘Jewish’ nationals, as Yiddish and Hebrew were not recognised languages of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Rather, they were permitted to identify themselves in the censuses and official documents as members of any of the other recognised nations. Many declared themselves to be German or Polish—as the former was most similar to Yiddish, and many Galician Jews had a working knowledge of the latter—despite the widespread social and cultural divide between Jews and these two national groups in the eastern crownlands.¹¹³ And yet, many Galician Jews considered themselves ‘Austrians’ and found themselves enamoured with Franz Joseph I.¹¹⁴ It was into this Jewish subculture that Bloch was born and raised.

On his part, Bloch recognised the loyalty of Jews to the empire as a result of Franz Joseph’s benevolent toleration of his Jewish subjects. The Jews, he claimed, were the true Austrians, the ‘foundation’ of the Austrian nation,¹¹⁵ in contrast to the empire’s other nations that had fallen victim to rising nationalism throughout the Dual Monarchy and further afield. As Bloch’s son-in-law Max Grunwald noted, ‘[t]he Austrian German regarded himself as a German, the

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 319–26. Among other Jewish subcultures in Eastern Europe, Galician Jews were recognised for their dedication to the emperor and a supranational Austrian ideal. The celebrated Yiddish playwright S. Ansky (1863–1920)—pseudonym of the Russian-born Shloyme Rappaport—highlighted this sense of Kaiser-mania among his Galitsianer counterparts and their superiority complex with regards to their coreligionists in Tsarist Russia. See Ibid., 353–54. Likewise, Galician Jews developed a negative image among Jews of the Russian Empire. In her essay on Galician Jewry for The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, Rachel Manekin writes, ‘Galitsianer became a cultural identifier bearing, for the most part, negative connotations. Among the stereotypes attributed to the Galitsianer were the following: a troublemaker, a shrewd operator, a money grubber, a religious fanatic, a spineless compromiser, a speaker of popular, vulgar Yiddish, and someone ashamed of his or her origins who liked to pose as an Austrian.’ See Rachel Manekin, ‘Galitsianer,’ trans. Barry D. Wallish, Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Galitsianer.
Austrian Pole as a Pole, and so on. Only the Galician Jews regarded themselves as Austrians.' For Bloch, the identification with Austria and its supranational identity was important in light of the Jew’s place in Gentile society. It is telling that the title chosen for his periodical identified with Austria, ‘in contrast to the Deutsche Wochenschrift edited by [Heinrich] Friedjung’, Bloch firmly believed that a supranational Austria in which the Jews could gain an equal footing alongside their fellow Austrians of different ethnic identities would provide the most secure environment in which Austrian Jewry could continue to contribute to and participate in the wider society.

Bloch’s dedication to Austria’s supranational identity and Jewish political consciousness aroused the indignation of many in the Austrian political and civic arenas. However, his role as a public Jewish personality, regardless of his political alignment, would have been bait enough for those with antisemitic tendencies. The proud Jew fighting back against discrimination was a growing tendency among various types of Jewish political alignments across Europe. Bloch was savaged in the Viennese press and literary community. For example, Franz Friedrich Masaidek’s collection of Lose Gedanken [Loose Thoughts] refer in large part to Vienna’s Jewish population, and Bloch is one of the handful of well-known Jewish individuals Masaidek mentions by name. In one instance, Masaidek notes, ‘Ein Rabbi Bloch fördert den Antisemitismus mehr als zehn Schönerer’.

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117 Ibid.
118 Reifowitz, Imagining an Austrian Nation, 6–7. This was wishful thinking at best. It was not only Austria’s Jews who were on an unequal footing with the other nationalities. Germans continued to reign until the Empire’s dissolution.
For antisemites Bloch was a manifestation of the arch-Jew in Gentile society, pushily forcing his agenda on poor, decent Gentiles. As arch-Jew, the reality of Bloch’s appearance mattered little to his opponents. ‘Rabbi Bloch’ was no Galitsianer with long beard, peyes [sidelocks] and shtrayml. There is a dearth of surviving images of Bloch; however, in a photographic portrait included as the frontispiece in his 1922 memoir, Bloch appeared as a typical aging urban, middle-class gentleman with neatly trimmed beard and hair, pince-nez and tailored suit, not dissimilar to those ‘private’ photographs of his colleague Moriz Güdemann.121 In contrast, caricatures that appeared in the Viennese satirical magazine Kikeriki present Bloch as the stereotypical rabbi wearing a tall cantor’s hat, long black caftan, with an unkempt beard and long hair, complete of course with protruding lips and large nose.122 In fact, the only resemblance between the real Bloch and his caricatured personage in the Kikeriki is that both wore spectacles (Figures 92 & 93). Like Masaidek, the publishers of the magazine found Bloch a convenient manifestation of Jewish politics in its entirety, regularly appearing in visual caricatured form or mentioned by name in written segments. The divorce between the reality of Bloch’s sartorial (and physical) appearance and his portrayal in the antisemitic press is no accident. Grunwald notes, “‘Doctor Bloch,’ as the Jews called him, or ‘Rabbi Bloch,’ as his enemies called him, became the obvious representative of the Jewish race.”123 As representative of the ‘Jewish race’—who happened to be a congregational rabbi, no less—Bloch would play an appropriate role for the enemies of his people: the meddling Jew, a proponent of multiculturalism jeopardising the efforts of the nationalists in Germanising the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy.

The sartorial identity of Viennese rabbis during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came about alongside a series of deliberate strategies of Jewish modernisation. In adhering to the professional modes of their colleagues in other European societies, Viennese rabbis both knowingly and involuntarily

121 Bloch, Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben.
122 See for example the caricature that appeared on the front page of Kikeriki 30, no. 1 (January 2, 1890).
123 See Grunwald, Vienna, 439.
signified their dedication to the ideals of European inter-cultural exchange that were an important part of the ideals of Bildung held dear by their bourgeois congregants. By donning a specific rabbinical uniform, with slight variations, that was also worn by their colleagues in London, Amsterdam, Rome, Paris or Hamburg that clearly marked their Jewish identities, Viennese rabbis were, in effect, perpetuating the antisemitic stereotype of the rootless Jewish cosmopolitan. Their garb may have resembled those of their Christian counterparts of various denominations, but its distinctiveness as the uniform of Jewish faith leaders highlighted their separateness from local leaders of other faiths, instead drawing them closer to their Jewish colleagues and congregations beyond Austria’s borders.

Thus, it can be argued that the idea of demonstrating and being part of a deliberate strategies of Jewish modernisation—by the Orthodox, Galicians and prominent acculturated Jews—often had negative repercussions for the image of the Jew within antisemitic discourse. In the attempt to modernise their attire, Viennese Jews often found themselves in a sartorial paradigm that would be perceived as somehow ‘Jewish’, regardless of its more universal elements.

As the example of Joseph Samuel Bloch has shown, and in spite of his rabbinical uniform in the synagogue, his sartorial identity in other arenas was typical of urban, middle-class Viennese and thus a demonstration of his self-perception and that of the society. However, his typical bourgeois dress patterns outside of rabbinical ‘office hours’ made little difference to his overall image. Although his professional role as rabbi of the Floridsdorf congregation and its corresponding uniform formed only one part of his multifaceted public identity, it was for his public status as a Jew of note that Bloch came to be recognised. Bloch’s ‘Jewish’ public roles as rabbi and campaigner against antisemitism linked him to the broad network of Jewry beyond the borders of Austria-Hungary, rather than to the Austrian-only political arena within which he struggled for equality for all the peoples of the Dual Monarchy.
Chapter 8. *Der kleine Cohn*: laughing at Jews and fashion through caricatures

CARICATURE: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Caricatures provide a different perspective on dress, and their particular historical development as a visual source needs to be taken into account. Caricatures are important pieces of evidence for historical research because they reveal the moods and anxieties of societies and play an important role in exploiting and cultivating those anxieties.¹ Eduard Fuchs asserts that caricatures are an important tool to gauge public sentiment, and do not simply appear from nowhere.² Fuchs attests to the power of caricature as a ‘source of truth’ [*Wahrheitsquelle*] in historical inquiry; not as a true representation of the subjects depicted, but rather as a means to measure the mood of society.³ Similarly, Thomas Milton Kemnitz argues the importance of such images to historians:

They are direct evidence that certain groups tried to manipulate public opinion. They can give a clear idea of the images projected. They offer contemporary interpretations of events and reveal much of the sense of proportion of their creators. They can give an indication of the depth of emotion about events and politicians. And they can provide insights into the popular attitudes that underlay public opinion, insights that may be more difficult to glean from written material or from other evidence of behaviour.⁴

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³ Ibid., 4.
Such images play an additional role in attempts to shape public opinion and attitudes, and have at various times been utilised for propaganda. In this manner, caricatures are important tools for reading widespread perceptions of Jewishness in fin-de-siècle Vienna, particularly those in connection with clothing. This is because these visual art forms showed the stereotypical and satirical figuring of the Jew in ways that are not necessarily understood from reading written texts.

Although the terms ‘cartoon’, ‘caricature,’ ‘political/satirical print’ have been used interchangeably, Eirwen E. C. Nicholson argues that use of such terms obscures their specific meanings. Caricature, for example, refers specifically to the distortion of the physiognomic features and characteristics of certain individuals (or groups). Satire, however, lampoons not only physical and behavioural attributes, but has often taken widespread opinions and beliefs as subjects. Mark Bills asserts:

The difference between the two traditions typifies the unique position of later satirical imagery and its ability to utilise diverse influence. Caricature, or the systematic distortion or exaggeration of personal appearance, was also associated with high art, with an academic tradition that drew on anatomy, rules and theory. Physiognomy provided the theory, whilst rules and instructions emerged for drawing, identifying it as a distinct discipline. It is an art of wit and politeness. In contrast, satire was associated with low culture. Its images were often symbolic and draw on popular and folk imagery such as the symbolism of popular emblem books. Text was an important element in expounding its point beyond ambiguity. It often lacked humour and can be characterised by its bigotry and service of propaganda at a time of religious and political divide in London.

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5 Ibid., 86.
7 Ibid., 1–2.
Despite the differences in these terms, caricature was often employed in social satire and was central to the creation of stereotypes. Lawrence H. Streicher, for example, argues that caricature ‘underlies [cartoons, comic strips and animated films] and is present in each.’ The images examined in this chapter are all examples of caricature; they represent certain Jewish stereotypes prevalent in Viennese and the wider European culture of the time, but not all are examples of satire.

Scholars have argued that satirical caricatures that have appeared in print media have their origins in the satirical prints that gained popularity in eighteenth-century London, from there spreading to continental Europe and as far as the American colonies. An urban phenomenon, these images were produced by printers and made available to the public for purchase or public display. David Alexander argues that satirical images were considered crass and ‘not suitable for the drawing-room or for female scrutiny’. However, other scholars have demonstrated that satirical prints were widely collected by the upper echelons of society. John Richard Moores argues that the cost of these prints alone rendered them a commodity more easily acquired by the upper and middle classes than those further down the socio-economic ladder.

Sartorial fashions were common targets of caricatures in journals and satirical prints which were circulated among all socio-economic tiers. Writing about caricatures of popular fashions in the Georgian era, Diana Donald argues that the importance of such images is found ‘not only in giving a valid impression of styles of dress in the Georgian period, but also at a deeper level, in conveying

9 Ibid.
10 Lawrence H. Streicher, ‘On a Theory of Political Caricature,’ *Cosmopolitan Studies in Society and History* 9, 4 (1967): 431. Streicher goes so far as to argue that caricature is to visual art what satire is to literature.
social attitudes of the time.'\textsuperscript{14} Ann Taylor Allen asserts that satirical journals and the caricatures they were published in 'can help the historian understand one of the most important and least tangible facets of social change—the concomitant development of the perceptions, attitudes, and values of the people affected.'\textsuperscript{15}

However, there is a danger of treating caricatures as a reflection of society’s mores and visual practices, particularly in relation to fashion, which often existed as visual representations prior to becoming widely adopted sartorial modes.\textsuperscript{16} As Donald stresses:

\begin{quote}
Attitudes to fashion were confused and ambivalent. The comedy of the caricatures connected an underlying anxiety, or, rather, anxiety gave them an edge and a kind of sanction. They were meant, ostensibly at least, to curb the follies of the frivolous, and illustrate the sort of behaviour that right-minded people should avoid; for morality and taste were closely associated in public mind. In this sense caricatures were as important as fashion plates in forming the consciousness of consumers, even if the messages they sent were considerably more ambiguous.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

In Vienna, almost a century after the period Donald refers to, caricatures of Jewish people had a similar function. Over the course of the nineteenth century, Viennese Jews went from being social and political pariahs requiring express permission to reside in the Austrian capital to full citizens with equal rights. Many of the caricatures of Jewish people served a double purpose: they maligned those depicted and simultaneously offered a wider readership a satirical avenue to deal with the changing society around them. Although comical images of Jews appeared in various printed forms such as satirical and humorous postcards, book illustrations and consumer goods such as figurines, walking canes and salt-and pepper cellars, this chapter will deal primarily with those caricatures

\textsuperscript{14} Donald, \textit{Followers of Fashion}, 7.
\textsuperscript{17} Donald, \textit{Followers of Fashion}, 9.
appearing in the satirical Viennese magazines *Kikeriki*, *Der Floh* and *Figaro*. With their heavy visual content and an overall dedication to satire—not only of Jews, but all elements of Viennese society—these three popular periodicals were appropriate and compelling vehicles through which the perception of Jews in wider society can be understood. Although Jews were not the singular focus of the journals (which focused predominantly on contemporary political events in Austria-Hungary and throughout Europe), they remained a regular source of ridicule and were caricatured in both visual and written form.

The journals employed caricature as a typical device with which to consider the ‘Jewish Question’. Caricatured Jewish archetypes were a mainstay of European satirical press. The malicious images that appeared in the pages of journals and magazines had their origins in medieval representations of Jews.\(^{18}\) Although Jew-hatred of the medieval period was predominantly expressed from a religious Christian perspective, the characteristics and features attributed to Jews were reused in the racially and politically based ‘antisemitism’ that developed during the nineteenth century. Like the many woodcuts, engravings, lithographs and carvings of the Middles Ages—for example the notorious *Judensau* that appeared on many churches and other buildings in the German-speaking lands (Figure 94)\(^ {19}\)—the fin-de-siècle caricature employed deformed physical features and corrupt attributes to symbolise the internal character of its subject.\(^ {20}\)

A popular example from the fin de siècle can be found in *Der kleine Cohn*, a deformed dwarf, whom William Collins Donahue refers to as ‘a kind of anti-Semitic mascot of Wilhelmine culture’.\(^ {21}\) Although a satirical figure of Imperial Germany, *Der kleine Cohn* found his way into Viennese culture, appearing in the


\(^{19}\) Berger, ‘The Roots of Anti-Semitism in Medieval Visual Imagery,’ 35–37. A well-known fifteenth-century woodcut of the *Judensau* depicts a group of male Jews caressing a large sow. Some of the men suckle at its teats while others engage with its hindquarters, one even licking its excrement.

\(^{20}\) Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 97.

satirical press and in songs, and was depicted on postcards. Writing of cartoons in the American press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Matthew Baigell argues that Jews were singled out above all minority groups for ridicule: ‘they were money-hungry shylocks and thieving Fagins, social climbers, arsonists ready to claim insurance for property loss, and disagreeable, scheming parvenus who could take advantage of any situation in which they found themselves.’ The same archetypes appeared in the Viennese satirical press. However, not all caricatures of Jews were particularly malicious. There are numerous examples of Viennese satirical images in which Jews are caricatured in order to highlight the hypocrisy of antisemitism or to suggest the industriousness of those depicted.

JEWS IN VIENNESE CARICATURE AND SATIRE: PERSONALITIES AND STEREOTYPICAL TYPES

Caricature was one of the most common visual representations of the Jew in fin-de-siècle Vienna. The political, economic and civic changes in Viennese society during the second half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries had a profound impact on the Jewish experience in Vienna and the symbolic role(s) Jews played in this wider society. The economic prosperity of the Gründerzeit in the post-1848 period created a false sense of security for many Viennese Jews and they—not least the Jewish élite who built splendid palaces and apartment houses on the newly constructed Ringstraße—took advantage of the new professional and social channels now open to them. The May 1873 stock market crash served as a salutary reminder to many Viennese Jews who believed that their newly-granted equality (issued six years previously) had put an end to the anti-Jewish bigotry. In many quarters of Viennese society, Jewish

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stockbrokers—and Jews in general—were blamed for the crash, igniting long-held antisemitic notions of Jewish monetary practices in combination with a new class-based antisemitism. During this period, the notion of antisemitism developed from a variety of anti-Jewish prejudice that was based on race and class rather than religious biases, and was exacerbated by the racial pseudoscience of the nineteenth century. This new form of Jew-hatred was further cultivated by rising nationalist movements throughout the empire, including the pan-German variety and various forms of Slavic nationalism ranging from the Young Czechs to pan-Slavism. A supposed biological Jewish difference was exploited by antisemitic German nationalists, first, to bolster the cause for German cultural, political and racial superiority and, second, to struggle against what they perceived was a reactionary Austrian political entity that combined diverse ethnic and cultural elements.

Jewish difference was highlighted visually in the form of humorous cartoons that appeared in numerous Viennese daily and weekly periodicals. Ann Taylor Allen asserts that the huge increase of Witzblätter [satirical journals] in nineteenth-century Europe was a product of the general development of print media during the period and the increasing literacy levels of the general public. The Jewish caricatures appearing in these Witzblätter regularly used the most extreme behavioural and bodily stereotypes, taking the figure of the immigrant ‘Polish Jew’ or Ostjude (or his parvenu form) as a main frame of reference. It was not only the overtly antisemitic, nationalist periodicals that pursued such a line of


26 Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, for example, were by and large German-speaking and adherents to German culture, with only a minority identifying with Czech culture and language by the end of the nineteenth century. For this reason, Jews were commonly seen as agents of German imperialism and thus enemies of the Czech national cause—in much the same way they served in the minds of non-Magyars as agents of Magyar imperialism in Transleithania. See for example Kateřina Čapková, Czechs, Germans, Jews? National Identity and the Jews of Bohemia, trans. Derek and Marzia Paton (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); and Rothkirchen, The Jews of Bohemia & Moravia, 14.


28 Allen, Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany, 2–3.
Jewish representation; negative stereotypes of Jews appeared in more liberal-leaning journals, including Figaro (1857–1919) and its supplement Wiener Luft.29 The appearance of seemingly antisemitic caricatures in liberal papers is unsurprising. Many middle-class Viennese Jews adhered to Liberalism during the latter half of the nineteenth century and in their desire to assimilate into the wider Viennese bourgeoisie, or to assert their place in society as modern Jews and Europeans or Germans, they eschewed the culturally-unassimilated Ostjude and his ‘backward’ way of life.30

Jews were not the only ethno-religious/ethno-cultural group to be pilloried in the pages of Viennese print media during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Magazines like Kikeriki (1863–1933) attacked other ethnic, national and religious groups as well, such as Catholics, the Ottoman Empire, Russians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Czechs, English and even Germans.31 Likewise, the satirical journal Der Floh (1869–1914) ran a regular piece titled ‘In der Volksküche’ [In the Soup Kitchen], which caricatured the various ethnic groups that made up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By depicting in written form a conversation between a group of men, each representing a different national or ethnic group, the journal drew attention to the stereotypical characteristics and features of each Volksstamm. No one was left unmocked.32 However, despite the regular appearance of caricatures ridiculing Austria’s other ethnic groups, those depicting Jews were often more aggressive.

The guise under which Jews appeared in caricatures published in the Viennese satirical journals varied in form and contained multiple meanings. Just as Jeffery W. Beglaw has demonstrated in his study of anti-Czech caricatures in Kikeriki, Jewish cartoons often appeared as recurring archetypes or themes.33

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29 The Viennese Figaro is not to be confused with the famous French daily, Le Figaro, founded in 1826.
30 Edward Timms describes Austrian Liberalism as ‘the radiant new creed’ to which Viennese and other Austrian Jews devoted themselves. The ‘growing discrepancy’ between Liberalism and the rest of Austrian society ultimately isolated Liberal-minded Jews from the wider society in which Liberalism had lost influence. See Timms, Karl Kraus, 1:20–21.
32 See example in Der Floh, February 16, 1890, 3.
changed over time and were influenced by political and civic events, both locally and abroad, that influenced general attitudes towards and public opinion of Jews and Jewishness. While the physiognomic depiction of Jews in the images remained much the same during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the social and sartorial role of Jewish characters varied. Common Jewish types that appeared in caricatures in satirical journals included the assimilation-minded Jewish parvenu, the wily and money-grubbing Jewish stockbroker or businessman, the Jewish Gigerl or fashion victim and the ubiquitous, workshy and parasitical Ostjude whose characteristics seemed to be the basis for every other Jewish character. These caricatures corresponded to common Jewish archetypes in wider society during the period at both ends of the political spectrum.

A series of postcards produced by A. Baasch (of Plauen, Germany) depicted Jewish archetypes in a comical manner that, although containing a degree of ridicule and stereotype, were not malicious in their overall representation of Jews. These archetypes included the portly, Frack-wearing councillor [Commerzienrath], the banker in typical uniform of the plutocrat complete with Zylinder, the shabbily-dressed, toothless pedlar [Hausierer], the used-clothes dealer [Trödler], the sartorially elegant clerk [Commis], the kaftan-wearing rabbi, the Jewish cattle dealer and exchange agent, the foppish travelling salesman [Commis voyageur] and the ubiquitous Schnorrer or recently arrived immigrant [Der neueingewanderte Staatsbürger]. These caricatures reveal a great deal about the role Jews were thought to occupy in society. Nevertheless, these differing archetypes were two sides of the same coin: the Jewish man (and woman), whether impoverished Ostjude or wealthy parvenu, almost always possessed the stereotypical physiognomic features of dark curly hair, beady, scheming eyes, large fleshy lips, and protruding, hooked noses. What differentiated these caricatured ‘types’ was their clothing. Each figure was differently attired; however, the styles ranged from threadbare rags, such as the kaftan of the Schnorrer and Rabbi, or the ‘European’ but scruffy garments of the

34 Archiv des Jüdischen Museum Wiens Inv. Nr. 11660; 11661; 11662; 11664; 11665; 11667; 11668; 11669.
used-clothes dealer, pedlar and cattle dealer, and the fashionable styles of modern European men worn by the Commerzienrath, banker, clerk and travelling salesman.

The prevalent physiognomic similarity between the various Jewish characters—what Daniel Low referred to as ‘tabs of identity’—at times made the visual distinction between them difficult to ascertain. Thus, written text, in the form of captions below or speech balloons in the images, served an important role in transmitting a Jewish character’s socio-economic, cultural or professional class to the audience. For example, many images depicted Jewish caricatures in the typical dress patterns of Eastern European Jews; however, the captions below the images, present these figures as speaking perfect High German or even the Viennese dialect. These Jewish caricatures can be compared with those whose captions are written in a way that mimics supposedly Jewish patterns of speech (Yiddish or Mauscheln). At other times, Jewish figures, although visually characterised by the material trappings of middle-class respectability (such as fine clothing and expensively-decorated interiors), are presented as speaking in a corrupt form of German, implying that beneath such trimmings, upper- and middle-class Jews were no different from their poor, culturally-unassimilated coreligionists.

THE UGLY/BEAUTIFUL BINARY
One of the most virulently antisemitic examples of Viennese satirical journalism at the fin de siècle was the magazine Kikeriki. Originally published by the journalist and dramatist O. F. Berg (1833–1886) as a liberal and anti-clerical satirical journal, Kikeriki repositioned during the 1890s itself as increasingly hostile to Jews, in particular after the populist antisemitic Christian Social party leader Karl Lueger (1844–1910) was finally appointed as mayor of Vienna in

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35 Daniel Low quoted in Streicher, ‘On a Theory of Political Caricature,’ 436. Streicher notes that these tabs became masks that obscured the individual’s true identity and became ‘more “real” than the subject’s actual face with all its changeability and variations.’ See Ibid., 437.
36 While written text is important in conveying the intricacies of such images, Matthew Baigell notes that ‘it was not always necessary to read the captions’ of cartoons to identify a Jewish subject, who was easily recognisable by stereotyped physiognomy. See Baigell, The Implacable Urge to Defame, 11.
37 O. F. Berg was the pseudonym of Ottokar Franz Ebersberg.
1897. During this time, the publication fashioned itself as an organ of Lueger’s Christian Social party, and depictions of Jews, who had previously appeared in a more light-hearted manner and alongside other comical representations of other groups, became more defamatory. As one of ‘the most widely read . . . and most popular journal[s] in Austria-Hungary’, Kikeriki surely had a large impact on general attitudes towards Jews and Jewishness at a time when political parties were exploiting widespread xenophobia and nationalistic sentiment. While other satirical publications contained blatantly antisemitic cartoons, the extent of their Jew-baiting did not match that of Kikeriki, which by the end of the nineteenth century seemed to have adopted the primary intention of ridiculing and demonising Jews.

A recurring theme in Kikeriki was the notion of the Jewish parvenu using his wealth to buy his way into high society. ‘Ugly’ Jewish figures were caricatured as forcing themselves into a Gentile milieu through bribery or using their wealth to unsuccessfully transform themselves into respectable members of Viennese society. In such images this idea was regularly presented through the adoption of fashionable clothing. However, not all images of Jews were exclusively a comment on perceived Jewish mannerisms. An image appearing in the journal in February 1890 used this trope to highlight a contemporary international issue, the imprisonment of the claimant to the French throne, Philippe, Duke of Orléans (1869–1926), that same month for entering Paris in violation of the 1886 law of exile. Suggesting that had Philippe been a wealthy Jew or masqueraded as one he would have been welcomed with open arms, the cartoon depicts Marianne, the personification of France, warmly welcoming the duke, who struggles under several sacks filled with millions of francs (Figure 95).

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39 For example, in the 18 February 1906 issue of the magazine, only two of the issue’s eight satirical images did not include stereotypically Jewish-looking figures—and this says nothing of those literary satires that explicitly mention or imply Jewishness.
41 Kikeriki 30, no. 14 (February 16, 1890): 4.
grimace, thick, dark, arched eyebrows and heavily lidded eyes. This grotesque physiognomy is contrasted with the duke’s fine clothes: Zylinder, short morning coat, high collar and form-fitting trousers ending in dainty heeled shoes. The implication is not so much concern about the duke’s predicament, but rather that the ugly and foreign Jew can buy his way into respectable society, but will forever be contrasted unfavourably with the beauty of his material surroundings and possessions. Without the caption, this image is easily misread as a comment on Jewish parvenus in France rather than a comment on a specific event. Caricatures and satirical images operate on many levels simultaneously, and this example is no exception; the image refers simultaneously to the political predicament, supposed French hypocrisy and the stereotypical visual and behavioural characteristics of Jews. Although the caricature does not take the Jew as its main subject, by placing the figure of the Jew in the image’s foreground, the cartoonist perpetuates widespread attitudes towards Jewishness. This visual foregrounding would have had direct implications for the audience’s reading of the caricature with regards to an understanding of Jewishness, particularly for those who were illiterate or who may not have bothered to read the caption.

Although a variety of visual Jewish archetypes existed in the Viennese satirical press, the ‘ugly’ Jewish body juxtaposed with material beauty was a common trope used to convey the perceived threat Jewishness posed to Gentile society. Following these concerns, the ugly/beautiful binary was employed by antisemites to separate acculturated middle-class Jews, often visually indistinguishable from their Gentile counterparts, from the body politic. The ugly/beautiful binary thus utilised ‘tabs of identity’ to contrast corporeally ‘ugly’ Jews with material beauty.

Alongside the ‘ugly’ Jew, the ‘beautiful’ Jew was similarly used in satirical caricatures. The caricature of the ‘beautiful’ Jew, or rather the Jew in beautiful clothing, reveals the problematic nature of Jewish acculturation in an age of rising nationalism and racial-scientific discourse. In adopting the language, culture and visual markers (sartorial included) of a Gentile majority over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the fin-de-siècle Westjude
became visually indistinguishable from his Gentile counterpart. A caricature in *Wiener Luft* from 4 January 1890 depicts a stereotypical Jewish couple in their home. Both man and woman have the same features (excluding the male baldness): corpulent, large hooked noses, protruding lips and curly dark hair. Although not grotesquely exaggerated as was the previously discussed *Kikeriki* caricature, these ‘Jewish features’ are contrasted with the couple’s opulent surroundings and attire (Figure 96). By juxtaposing stereotypical bodily and behavioural markers of Jewishness with material elegance, caricatures of lavishly-dressed Jews not only played a part in revealing the ‘true’ nature of acculturated Jews, but also had repercussions for the image of sartorial elegance.

Another similar trope of the ugly/beautiful model is that which juxtaposes Jewish ‘ugliness’ with Gentile ‘beauty’. This binary representation was widespread in European societies and was manifest in both visual and literary forms. The contrast of the Jew’s ‘ugliness’ with the non-Jew’s physical ‘beauty’ was also expressed in the depiction of inner character: the Jew’s corporeal ‘ugliness’ and incorrect attire was a physical manifestation of immoral character while the Gentile’s ‘beauty’ and sartorial respectability was a sign of his or her purity and goodness of character. An image appearing in *Der Floh* highlights this notion. Two ‘ugly’ Jewish men regard a reputable-looking couple strolling in their Sunday best, the ill-fitting and scruffy clothes of the Jews a contrast to the sartorial respectability of the young couple (Figure 97).

Jewish ‘ugliness’, or rather exaggerated Jewish physiognomy, could also be used to highlight negative aspects of non-Jewish behaviour. For example, *Kikeriki* regularly depicted Johann Nepomuk Prix (1836–1894), mayor of Vienna between 1889 and 1894, with stereotypically Jewish features (large nose, protruding lips, high-domed forehead) to highlight negative aspects of his character. For example, a caricature from the front page of the 5 January 1890

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42 *Wiener Luft*, no. 1 (January 4, 1890): 5.
43 *Der Floh* 29, no. 23 (June 6, 1897): 5. The cartoon does not specify whether the young couple are Jewish or not. Given that one of the two Jews comments that he arranged their marriage, it is not unlikely that this handsome couple is supposed to be Jewish as well. However, what is important here is that they are drawn without Jewish bodily stereotypes and therefore serve as a contrast to the two ‘ugly’ Jews.
issue accused Prix of being money-grubbing and mismanaging the city’s funds (Figure 98). This and other caricatures of Prix in Kikeriki bear little resemblance to the mayor as he appeared in various portraits of the period. Another way in which Jewish ‘ugliness’ was used to comment on Gentile behaviour was to highlight the stupidity of antisemitism. For example, a caricature from Kikeriki (27 April 1890) presents a family of ‘ugly’, large-nosed Jews admiring beautiful flowers in the Rothschildgarten while an indignant antisemite with a small button-nose fumes that the Jews with their large noses are stealing the flowers’ beautiful scent (Figure 99). Nonetheless, this caricature can likewise function on another level. Through the character of the antisemite the cartoonist levels an accusation of Jewish avarice, claiming that even their physicality consumes more than they are entitled to, to the detriment of others.

UBIQUITOUS OSTJUDE

The figure of the Ostjude exemplified the cultural perception that Jews were somehow unattractive and remained an ever-present figure in antisemitic discourse and visual representations of Jews. In a similar manner to the ugly/beautiful binary used to separate acculturated Jews from the Gentile body politic, the figure of the Ostjude was employed as the ultimate personification of Jewish difference in Viennese society. This ultimate Jewish difference was manifested in the eastern archetype through various elements of his character: bodily, racially, linguistically, religiously, culturally and, importantly, sartorially. For both the antisemite and the Westjude, the Ostjude’s ‘traditional’ garb or tattered clothes served as a sartorial marker of his inner qualities: depraved, dirty and foreign. Clothing was thus used to highlight two models of supposed Jewish difference: 1) the deception of Jews whose fine clothing did not mesh with the bodies they covered and 2) old clothing as an indicator of outsider status.

A prominent example of clothing used as an antisemitic motif can be found in a caricature titled ‘Ein Surrogat’ from Wiener Luft (1 February 1890) (Figure 100),

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44 Kikeriki 30, no. 2 (January 5, 1890): 1.
45 Kikeriki 30, no. 32 (April 27, 1890): 3.
in which a pair of *Ostjuden*—father and son—dressed in tattered rags converse amidst filthy surroundings. Both wear long kaftans with ragged hems and sleeves, large boots and the stereotypical high-crowned felt hats that, although bearing little resemblance to the actual headwear styles of Hasidic men, were omnipresent in antisemitic caricatures. Both have long, wispy sidelocks [*peyes*] and the father has a ragged beard in contrast to his son's sparse growth—reference to the biblical commandment for Jewish men not to cut their facial hair (Leviticus 19:27). Their living quarters are filthy. The bed is unmade, articles of clothing, shoes and dirty dishes lie about the floor and across a threadbare armchair, ragged coats hang on the wall and there is a dirty decrepit stove at the back of the room. The son scratches himself, a visual indication of not only his uncleanness, but also his discomfort at being unclean. The caption, written in mock-Yiddish with elongated vowels, reveals a family disagreement: the son wishes to visit the public baths, while his father expresses exasperation and accuses him of being a spendthrift (‘As De bist ä Verschwender! Sennen mer nix erst vorgestern bei dem groißen Regen geworden naß bis auf der Haut?’).  

The multi-level meaning conveyed is that not only are *Ostjuden* dirty and foreign (inferred by their incorrect German) but also miserly. This caricature also contains a message of intergenerational conflict, with the added inference that the son will become his father, as he is starting to resemble him. Along with physiognomic and linguistic characteristics, old and tattered clothes are clearly understood as transparent symbols of Jewishness, and correspond contextually to social and medical discourse on Jews and sexually transmitted disease. In this manner, the Jewish father and son depicted in a filthy room, in dirty, threadbare clothing, and discussing personal hygiene appeals to the reader's prior knowledge of social discourse on Jews and venereal disease. Such images also make use of the historical representations of Jewish dealers in used clothing. Depictions of Jews in this sartorial guise are, in a sense, comforting to the

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46 *Wiener Luft*, no. 5 (February 1, 1890): 1. The Yiddishised German caption roughly translates as: ‘You terrible spendthrift! Weren’t we already soaked to the skin the day before yesterday in the rain?’

antisemite: they present the Jew in his supposedly natural form and therefore are rendered less threatening.

The conflation of all Jews with ☐️ was a common theme in such caricatures. The archetype of the Jewish parvenu had his origins in the newly-arrived ☐️: an exchange of the kaftan, shtrayml and sidelocks for Frack, Zylinder and Franz Joseph-style whiskers was a recurring theme. During a period of increased Jewish acculturation in Vienna, which saw Jews across various socio-economic tiers becoming linguistically, culturally and sartorially indistinguishable from their Gentile counterparts, the physiognomic resemblance between the ☐️ and Westjude in satirical cartoons was no accident. Such images were not merely a comment on the shared origins of both ‘types’, but a clear statement about the non-existence of the Westjude in the eyes of antisemites. The social discourse among acculturated upper- and middle-class Jews positioned them as distinct from their eastern coreligionists. In Jewish circles, the figure of the ☐️ was a construction of acculturated Jews to deflect antisemitism away from themselves and onto unacculturated coreligionists.48 However, to the antisemite there was no difference; and this was reflected in caricatures that maliciously characterised the difference between the Ost- and Westjuden as a purely sartorial and material one.49 If clothing and other material trappings were the only things that separated the acculturated Westjude from his eastern coreligionists, then once they were removed what was left was Jewish foreignness.

In addition to appearing as the quintessential visual manifestation of the Jew, the Ostjude’s language was employed as a tab of identity.50 Jews were commonly caricatured speaking Mauscheldeutsch, a Yiddishised grammatically-incorrect German, complete with stereotypical exclamations such as ‘mboh’, ‘chammer’ and ‘e soj’. It matters little whether Jews were dressed in the attire of the Hasidim or

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48 See Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers.
50 While most Jewish caricatures in the Viennese satirical press are depicted as speaking a Yiddishised German, there are some examples of caricatures in which Jews are depicted speaking High German.
modern fashionable garments, the stereotyped form of speech was common throughout caricatures in the various satirical journals. A caricature in *Wiener Luft* (4 January 1890) (Figure 101) satirises the widespread dedication to *Bildung* and European culture among Viennese middle-class Jews. Two men are depicted in mid-conversation. Outwardly there is little to define them as Jewish: they are drawn with stereotypical hooked noses, but their sophisticated facial hair (one with whiskers and moustache and the other with a neat full beard) and their well-fitting modern clothing carry no indication of Jewishness that was otherwise suggested through sartorial ignorance. On the contrary, there is a sense of hyper-stylishness, particularly with regards to the man on the left. Although appearing in the guise of wealthy plutocrat, dressed in a double-breasted overcoat with a fur collar and *Zylinder*, details of his appearance such as his blasé stance, monocle and hat sitting at a slight angle give him the appearance of a fashion-conscious *Gigerl*. His acquaintance, dressed in a coat with an upturned collar, a wide-brimmed hat, long hair and a portfolio under his arm, does not appear as a respected and sober member of the middle class but rather some sort of bohemian intellectual reminiscent of the poet Peter Altenberg (1859–1919). In addition to the details of their attire and their typically Jewish-sounding names—Morgenstern and Sonnenschein—their Yiddishised speech in the caption highlights these men as Jewish:

Morgenstern: Sonnenschein! biste gewest bei der Aufführung der *neunten Symphonie von Beethoiven* [sic]?
Sonnenschein: Mboh! wie hast *neunte* Symphonie? Jach geh’ nur zü erschte Symphenien!

[Morgenstern: Sonnenschein! Were you at Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony*?
Sonnenschein: Mboh! What do you mean *Ninth Symphony*? I only go to *first* symphonies!]

By contrasting the Jews’ respectable dressed appearance with their incorrect German and cultural naivety, the caricature comments on both the supposed
incompatibility of Jews with the ideals of Bildung that so many of them held dear, and it connects the bourgeois Jews of Vienna’s inner districts to religiously traditional, culturally-unassimilated Jews of the Leopoldstadt and Brigittenau (Districts II and XX).51

THE JEW AS UPWARDLY-MOBILE PARVENU

Binary models of Jewish difference have played a large role in the imagining of the Jew in antisemitic discourse, where the ugly/beautiful binary was only one among many. Another common binary model of Jewish representation divided Jews between pariahs and parvenus, as highlighted by Hannah Arendt.52 With the increasing cultural, economic, academic, social and political success of Jews during the latter half of the nineteenth century, satirical magazines in Central Europe would increasingly portray Jews as nouveau-riche parvenus, in contrast to an older model of the Jew as dispossessed pariah.53 It meant little that Jews were not the only members of a growing liberal-minded bourgeoisie. Allen notes, ‘[D]espite his attempts at assimilation, the Jew was never portrayed simply as another ambitious bourgeois, but always as a crude and recognizable racial type.’54

The parvenu/pariah binary was regularly employed in caricatures and satirical cartoons in depicting Jews as crass social climbers or (equally crass) destitute human vermin. Such caricatures were especially effective in that they used all manner of antisemitic stereotypes to ridicule the assimilatory process at all stages, from acculturation to complete integration with the wider Gentile population. A common visual trope was the dishevelled eastern pedlar’s transformation into the corpulent, wealthy Jewish plutocrat dressed in fine clothing.

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51 Additionally, the topic of their conversation ridicules the Jewish dedication towards high culture, accusing Bildung-loving Jews of ignorance of the culture they so strongly admire.
52 Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, in particular 56–68.
53 Allen, Satire and Society in Wilhelmine Germany, 190. Although Allen’s study focuses on the Berlin and Munich journals Kladderadatsch (1848–1944) and Simplicissimus (1896–1967), the same can be said of other European Witzblätter, such as the three Viennese journals discussed in this chapter and the Budapest Borsszem Jankó founded and edited by the Jewish satirist Adolf Ágai (1836–1916).
54 Ibid., 191.
clothing and living in opulently decorated rooms (Figure 102). In the images that utilised this trope, clothing played an all-important role. When the shabbily-dressed Ostjude exchanges his shtetl garb for well-tailored European clothing his change of attire does not simply reflect the amassing of wealth. A change of dress patterns is never simply just a change of clothing; it is also an expression of the individual’s identity. Joanne Entwistle asserts, ‘[t]he body as a vehicle of the self has to be “managed” in daily interaction and failure to manage one’s body appropriately can result in embarrassment, ridicule and/or stigma.’ By changing out of his fraying kaftan, worn boots and typical ‘Jewish’ hat into the ubiquitous lounge suit and a pair of polished boots covered with spats, the Jew candidly expresses his desired entrance into modern European culture and his reinvention as a cultivated European. The presence of this notion in such images is all the more important due to the contemporary antisemitic discourse that denied the Jew the possibility of reinventing himself as anything other than a Jew. The result was the transformation of the pariah into the parvenu.

The figure of the Jewish parvenu was attacked by antisemites and (some) Jews alike for the crass manner with which he sought to insert himself into the upper echelons of society. Theodor Herzl’s utopian Zionist novel Altneuland (1902) is in many ways a critique of what he considered the parvenu behaviour of Viennese Jewish élites. Rejected by the woman he loves in favour of the physically inferior Leopold Weinberger, a personification of contemporary antisemitic stereotypes, the young lawyer Friedrich Löwenberg finds himself disgusted with Vienna’s bourgeois Jewish milieu of which he is himself a part (as indeed Herzl was). Löwenberg decides to abandon civilisation and become the companion of the elderly eccentric American millionaire Kingscourt (a misanthropic, originally Prussian, aristocrat named Königshof). The novel, full of praise for the Zionist project, and the noble pioneers of ‘The New Society’ in Ottoman Palestine, is peppered with contempt for assimilatory-minded Jews

55 Archiv des Jüdischen Museum Wiens Inv. Nr. 11817.
56 Entwistle, The Fashioned Body, 35.
58 Herzl, Altneuland.
who scoff at the idea of Jewish national autonomy. Herzl’s ‘New Jews’, decent, hard-working and consciously proud of their Jewish identities, are sharply contrasted with the decadence and self-destructive parvenu behaviour of the Viennese hypocrites Grün, Blau, Walter Schlessinger and the family Weinberger-Löffler, who are quick to ridicule efforts of Jewish self-determination at the beginning of the novel. The contrasting characters represent what Arendt refers to as the pariah and the parvenu,59 and it is in the New Jew’s proud nature that she/he is able to overcome pariah status.

The binary nature of these groups is manifested in their corporeal and sartorial evolution; at the beginning of the novel the recently-immigrated Eastern European Littwak family is presented as impoverished and physically frail pariahs dressed in rags. After their relocation to Palestine, they are transformed into erudite nobles in the land of their ancestors (using a clear Zionist trope of biblical origins), seamlessly elegant and harmonious in the fine clothing of the modern European and the Oriental surroundings. In contrast, the parvenus of Vienna, living in the lap of luxury, are transformed into the same comical figures depicted in contemporary satirical caricatures, personified by Ernestine Löffler’s metamorphosis from the beautiful and fashionable young society debutante into the corpulent and garishly opulent middle-aged matron who comically tries to hold onto her youth. Setting the Zionist message of the text aside, Herzl’s novel is a classic example of Jewish self-critique and is strongly tied to the so-called Jewish Question in fin-de-siècle Vienna, albeit in a non-satirical manner.60 Such Jewish self-critique, which has been described as a form of self-hatred, is unsurprising. The antisemitic stereotypes in Herzl’s novel were widespread in Viennese society and resemble those in magazines like Kikeriki. As such, the widespread nature of these tropes was internalised even by Jews themselves.61

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60 See for example Gluck, Invisible Jewish Budapest, in particular 35–37 and Chapter 4 ‘The Jewish Humor Magazine and Collective Self-Parody,’ 104–38, in which the Hungarian Jewish humorist Adolf Ágó’s (né Rosenzweig) satirical utopian writings and satirical magazine Borsszem Jankó are examined as an example of Jewish self-reflection in the Hungarian capital.
61 Herzl’s efforts to transform European Jewry from pariahs and parvenus expose his attitudes towards bourgeois Jews. For example, after attending a dinner party in Berlin he wrote to his parents, ‘Yesterday there was a Grande soiree at Treitel’s. Thirty or forty ugly little Jews and
The scorned bourgeois Jews of Herzl’s *Altneuland* are lampooned for their clannishness in the face of their desire to assimilate. The figure of the upwardly mobile parvenu was also mocked for his desire to abandon his Jewishness. One way in which this was attempted was conversion and intermarriage. Fin-de-siècle Vienna was known for having the highest rate of Jewish apostasy of any European city. 62 Viennese Jews left Judaism by either converting to Christianity or declaring themselves *konfessionslos* [without religion]. They did this for a variety of reasons, including genuine religious conviction, a desire to marry non-Jews, to facilitate social and professional advancement and other personal reasons. 63 In this manner, intermarriage was common in Vienna 64 and—along with conversion—was used by antisemites (as well as some Jews) as evidence of Jewish social climbing. Intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles was a common target of ridicule in satirical caricatures (Figure 103). 65 It was not only the perceived aesthetic divide between the ‘ugly’ Jew and ‘beautiful’ Gentile that such images highlighted; they also gave a voice to the double accusation that Jews took Gentile partners purely for self-advancement and thus befouled the Gentile body politic. 66

62 Endelman, ‘Gender and Conversion Revisited,’ 177–78. Marsha L. Rozenblit notes that the actual number of converts from Judaism prior to the First World War did not have any serious effect on the size of Vienna’s Jewish population. See Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna*, 132.

63 ‘Interrmarriage and Conversion,’ in Ibid., 127–46.

64 In offering rates of Jewish intermarriage in Vienna for the years 1895 and 1910 (an average of 3.8 per cent and 8.1 per cent respectively—an increase of over four per cent in fifteen years) Rozenblit cites the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien*; see Ibid., 129. However, these statistics are unreliable, as Rozenblit asserts they focus on Jews married to *konfessionslos* individuals (the only legal inter-denominational marriage at the time) and therefore do not take into account those Jews who had declared themselves *konfessionslos* or converted to Christianity. Likewise, such statistics do not take into account those Jews who married *konfessionslos* partners of Jewish origin, or converted Jews marrying each other—both of which were also common. Thus, the rate of ethnic-intermarriage (people of corresponding Jewish and non-Jewish ethnic origin) is impossible to determine without examining the family backgrounds of the individuals involved, and not simply their legal religious status.

65 *Der Floh* 30, no. 40 (October 2, 1898): 4. I am grateful to Dr Elana Shapira for bringing this particular image to my attention.

66 Sander Gilman comments on the perceived danger intermarriage posed to the Gentile body politic through racial contamination—a notion embraced by the National Socialists decades later. What was more dangerous than male-Jewish and female-Gentile intermarriage—the children of whom would be identifiable by their Jewish surnames—was the reverse, which obscured the child’s Jewish heritage through a Gentile paternal name. See Gilman, *The Jew’s Body*, 102.
Satirical caricatures focusing on the notion of intermarriage also attacked the Gentile party involved. A cartoon from Der Floh from 30 March 1890 pilloried young Gentile women for opportunistic liaisons with Jewish men (Figure 104).67 The cartoon illustrating the life journey of a working-class girl shows her reclining on plush cushions, dressed in a fashionable gown with a fan in hand, as she reaches to caress an older Jewish lover, who looms over her with a case of glittering jewels. His attire is measured—a simple three-piece suit worn with a diagonally striped cravat under his shirt collar—and contrasted to other details of appearance that symbolise power and respect, such as his lustrous whiskers and monocle. Both parties are lampooned for their opportunism: she, the young and beautiful demimonde eager to befoul herself in return for material comfort and he, old and ugly, preying on the young beauty in order to enhance his image in a milieu impressed by appearances, much like his adoption of ‘correct’ masculine attire. This raises an interesting question regarding the nature of the parvenu and assimilation. Such cartoons clearly select as their targets so-called Jewish parvenus hoping to raise their social status and insert themselves into high society. However, exactly which segments of high society the parvenu aspires to is less obvious.

The general accusation—one based on the experiences of a limited number of tolerated wealthy Jews, often in other European capitals68—targeted Jewish ‘infiltration’ into aristocratic and upper-class circles. In fin-de-siècle and interwar Vienna, however, Jewish socialisation with members of the upper echelons of Gentile society were exceptions to the overwhelming social experience of Viennese Jews. Unlike the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy, where wealthy, baptised Jews were ennobled at an unprecedented rate and sometimes married off their children to the Hungarian nobility and gentry,69

67 Der Floh 22, no. 13 (March 30, 1890): 8.
68 For example, the experiences of very wealthy eighteenth-century German Jews and the role of salon hostesses, such as Rahel Levin and Henriette Herz in constructing bridges between aristocrats, artists and wealthy Jews. See Liliane Weissberg, ‘Literary Culture and Jewish Space around 1800: The Berlin Salons Revisited,’ in Modern Jewish Literatures: Intersections and Boundaries, ed. Sheila E. Jelen, Michael P. Kramer and L. Scott Lerner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 24–43.
Viennese Jewish nobility were a more ‘closed’ group, marrying their children to each other, and were often excluded from the Gentile aristocracy. Fears of Jewish infiltration were not unfounded, albeit unlikely. While there were instances of ennobled families ‘assimilating’ into the general aristocracy—such as the family of the famed writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal—the likelihood of Jews from lower socio-economic tiers becoming assimilated into élite Gentile circles was less likely.

THREE JEWS ON A PARK BENCH: JEWS AS INWARD-LOOKING CONSPIRATORS
The close-knit nature of Jewish communities, especially in instances of heightened antisemitism on the part of the dominant co-territorial Gentile population, was a common theme in Central Europe. The classic image of Jews conspiring together was widespread in the German-speaking world. Satirical postcards from various German and Austrian towns and cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries commonly used this archetype in both malicious and sentimental ways. The trio of Jews chatting on a park bench was only one manifestation of this image; at times the number in the group was smaller or larger, and the setting also changed. This archetype, albeit satirising Jewish clannishness, was not simply one of ridicule but one that had far more serious connotations. Although caricatures of Jewish friends or business associates might highlight stereotypical professional habits or cultural peculiarities, these seemingly harmless images carried implications of a Jewish deviousness that was dangerous to Gentile society.

This stereotypical role applied, like others, to both easily identifiable Ostjuden and their sartorially-westernised counterparts. The earlier example from Wiener Luft (Figure 101) of the two seemingly-westernised Jews discussing their artistic tastes is more than a mockery of artistic snobbery and philistinism; it also carries

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In contrast, Marsha L. Rozenblit asserts that most female converts from Judaism were workers and artisans who converted in order to marry Gentile men in the same professional classes. See Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna*, 139.

See Aizenberg, *Hatemail*; and Zadoff, *Next year in Marienbad*, 100-03. Zadoff notes that the antisemitic cards were even distributed by Jewish dealers. Ibid., 101.
the accusation of Jewish domination over Vienna’s artistic scene.\textsuperscript{73} Similarly, a
caricature from the same magazine from January 1890 not only pointedly mocks
Jewish business practices but also makes a statement about the proportion of the
retail trade dominated by Jews (Figure 106).\textsuperscript{74} The caption reveals that the two
Jews, one dressed in the respectable lounge suit, cravat and pince-nez of the
bourgeoisie, the other in a somewhat shabbier coat and hat, discuss the former’s
method of squeezing his competitors out of business through his advertising.
There is no shortage of caricatures concerning the shady business or social
practices of Viennese Jews in which they are depicted as conspirators. For
example, some months later, \textit{Wiener Luft} published an image in which two adult
Jews enthuse over a child’s ‘education’ in his father’s business practices—in
particular the child’s ability to forge his father’s signature (Figure 107).\textsuperscript{75} Such
caricatures highlight the widespread contemporary stereotypes and fears about
Jewish dishonesty and dominance in certain professions and industries.\textsuperscript{76} This
was pointed out in the early twentieth century by Werner Sombart, who
emphasised the link between Judaism and modern capitalism in his 1911 volume
\textit{Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben.}\textsuperscript{77} Sombart was not the first to call attention
to the supposed link between Jews and capitalism.\textsuperscript{78} Such concerns were rife in
European societies, particularly when Jews were a highly conspicuous segment
of urban settings. In Vienna, where in 1890 they constituted 8.7 per cent of the
total population, most Jews were very poor, with only a third of the total Jewish
population being able to afford to pay the IKG taxes.\textsuperscript{79} But none of this prevented
antisemites like Karl Lueger from stirring up fears about Jewish economic
dominance over the lower-middle- and working classes.

\textsuperscript{73} This trope was even expressed among Viennese Jews themselves. In his memoir, Stefan Zweig
asserted, for example, that Jews dominated Vienna’s artistic and cultural milieu, claiming,
‘Anyone who wished to introduce a novelty to Vienna, anyone from outside seeking
understanding and an audience there, had to rely on the Jewish bourgeoisie.’ Zweig, \textit{The World of
Yesterday}, 43.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Wiener Luft}, no. 3 (January 18, 1890): 4.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Wiener Luft}, no. 14 (April 5, 1890): 4.

\textsuperscript{76} See for example Glockemeier, \textit{Zur Wiener Judenfrage}, 71–87.

\textsuperscript{77} Sombart, \textit{The Jews and Modern Capitalism}. However, Sombart differentiated between so-called
West- and Ostjuden, and at a 1912 German-Jewish symposium encouraged German Jews to
distance themselves from their Eastern coreligionists. Aschheim, \textit{Brothers and Strangers}, 48.

\textsuperscript{78} See for example Karl Marx, ‘On the Jewish Question [1843],’ in \textit{Marx on Religion}, ed. John

\textsuperscript{79} Rozenblit, \textit{The Jews of Vienna}, 148.
However, beyond the economic threat that Jews were thought to pose to the fabric of society, equally worrying was the threat many believed they posed by way of their supposed racial and cultural peculiarities. Interestingly, while this racial ‘threat’ was highlighted in caricatures that commented on intermarriage or Jewish-Gentile socialisation, it was more commonly highlighted in those images in which Gentiles were replaced by large numbers of Jews or groups of Jews attempting to enter Gentile-designated environments. Dressed in attire appropriate for the situation—kaftans and fur hats, evening wear, business suits, or the fashionable styles of holiday resorts, including Volkstracht—Jews were depicted in almost every social situation, and often to the exclusion of Gentile figures. The fear embedded in such images was not the racial contamination that Jewish-Gentile socialisation would result in but rather the threat of Jews outbreeding Gentiles and becoming the dominant ‘race’ in Vienna and the provinces. A 1906 Kikeriki cartoon depicts a crowd of Jews in Bad Ischl who wear fashionable attire that marks them as foreign urban visitors in this provincial town (Figure 107).\textsuperscript{80} Not only are Gentiles absent, but its crux, highlighted by the caption, suggests a Jewish ridicule of Goyim. Although the Gentile is invisible in the cartoon, his presence is felt through the little boy’s exclamation: ‘Bape, Bape, auf der Esplanade ist ein Mann, der einen Christen nachmachen kann!’ [‘Papa, Papa, there is a man on the esplanade who can imitate a Christian!’]. In a cruel twist of fate, the Gentile ridicule of the Jew is turned on its head with the Jews in this image laughing over the peculiarities of the ‘Christen’ [Christians]. Not only have Jews ‘replaced’ a Gentile populace, but so too have they become emboldened enough to ridicule them in a prominent public setting.\textsuperscript{81}

FEARS OF ‘JEWIFICATION’: AN INCREASING JEWISH POPULATION
Another typical trope related to the Ostjude that appeared in antisemitic caricatures was the notion of ‘Jewification’, whereby it was feared that Jews were

\textsuperscript{80} Kikeriki 46, no. 53 (July 5, 1906): 3.
\textsuperscript{81} There is an additional joke in this image that concerns the futility and stupidity of judgment and stereotyping. In his surprise at a Jewish man imitating a Christian—surrounded by laughing onlookers—the child also recognises what his parents refuse to discuss: the comical aping of a Gentile majority that the cartoonist accuses all Jewish individuals present of committing.
taking over Vienna. Although Germans had cultural and linguistic hegemony over other ‘nations’ in the Cisleithanian half of the Dual Monarchy, Austria’s status as a Vielvölkerstaat, whereby no single nation was officially dominant over the others, created difficulties for inter-ethnic relations and for the overall notion of Austrian identity. Jeffery W. Beglaw demonstrates that Cisleithanian minister-president Count Kasimir Felix Badeni’s (1846–1909) Sprachverordnung [language ordinance] of 1897 that declared the equality of both the Czech and German languages in the crownlands of Bohemia and Moravia emboldened Czech national confidence while simultaneously placing Germans on the warpath, not only in the crownlands but in the Austrian capital too. Beglaw’s study shows that among the various ‘themes’ addressed in anti-Czech political and social cartoons, a common trope appearing in Kikeriki was the notion of Czech migrants swamping the Empire’s ‘German’ capital. Although Austro-German anxieties about non-Germans taking over the capital were not new, the anti-Czech sentiment at the fin de siècle is an appropriate example of the wider national conflicts during the period.

Likewise, Viennese Germans feared growing Jewish influence in a city that had formerly been closed to Jewish migration. The fin-de-siècle cartoons depicting a Jewish ‘takeover’ of the city were not new. Earlier satirical outputs, such as Franz Friedrich Masaidek’s Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive (1873), satirised in visual and written form the Viennese Germans’ widespread fears about the growing Jewish and Czech communities and the effects they would have on the political, economic and social life of the Austrian capital. Already in the 1870s Masaidek had characterised these concerns in images of city parks overcrowded with Jews.

82 There were exceptions to this German hegemony. In Carniola, for example, Slovenes were granted a degree of linguistic autonomy during the Taaffe era (1879–1893), with the Slovene language used increasingly in schools and the administration, and bureaucrats living in Slovene-speaking areas were expected to have proficiency in the Slovene language. In Galicia, Poles were given almost complete autonomy, with Polish being the primary language in the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria. See for example, Alfred Fischel, ed., Das österreichische Sprachenrecht (Brünn: Friedrich Irgang, 1910), 224; Jonathan Kwan, Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861–1895 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 181–83; and Wolff, The Idea of Galicia.


84 Masaidek, Wien und die Wiener aus der Spottvogelperspektive, 68, 70.
The cartoons addressing these concerns that appeared in the satirical journals, like the ‘Ischl’ cartoon discussed above (Figure 107), often followed a certain formula: they took place in traditional ‘German’ environments, implying a sense of foreign intrusion; the individuals depicted might be dressed in outlandish styles, pointing to a supposed Jewish inelegance and hankering after fashion; and few or no Germans were present, suggesting a complete Jewish usurpation of power. A Kikeriki cartoon from February 1906 suggests the next parliamentary addendum (Figure 108). Among the fictional future ministers of the Austrian parliament are no Gentiles, just ‘ugly’, little Jewish men in ill-fitting ceremonial garb. Particularly (meant-to-be) humorous depictions are the bandy-legged Minister of War, complete in ceremonial officer’s uniform, and the Minister of Religion, who wears a cassock and sports a tonsure but has the appearance of a Hasidic rabbi with his stereotypical Jewish facial features and long, scraggly beard. In addition, the protocol under his arm includes the subtitle ‘Talmud’. The Minister for Trade, in contrast to his colleagues who are at least dressed in ceremonial garb, even if comically ill-fitting, has been drawn simply as the typical Galician pedlar carrying his pack over his shoulder and dressed in typical kaftan and hat. While the other figures engage with each other, the new Minister for Trade breaks the fourth wall, grinning at the readers, possibly expressing amusement at the ‘Jewification’ of Austrian politics.

A later Kikeriki cartoon from 1925 prophesies Stadtparkreformen [city park reforms] and depicts the Stadtpark full of promenading Jews dressed in the latest fashions (Figure 109). The reforms include a direct telephone link to the Viennese Stock Exchange with live updates shown via charts and dials in an advertising column. In this reform, non-Jews are relegated to a minority where one sees ‘only Kohns and Schloimes—even the trees are circumcised!’ Below the cartoon, a caption informs in very small and easily overlooked text: ‘Die Wiener Stadtpark gehört den Juden. Reichsdeutsche Arier sind von seinem

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86 Even his bald head appears like a yarmulke amidst a crown of unruly, dark ‘Jewish’ hair.
87 Kikeriki 65, no. 23 (June 7, 1925): 7.
88 The original German reads: ‘Man sieht jetzt nur mehr Kohns und Schloime, beschnitten sind sogar di Bäume!’
Besuche ausgeschlossen’ [The Vienna city park belongs to the Jews. Reich-German Aryans are forbidden from visiting]. The specific reference to Reichsdeutsche is no accident; in this manner Kikeriki—by this time sympathetic to National Socialist ideals—suggests that Jews have attained dominance over Viennese society in contrast to Germany, and no local Gentile would even consider visiting so strongly ‘judaised’ an environment.

In a similar vein, a satirical image from Wiener Luft comments on the Jewish overpopulation of the city (Figure 110).89 Two clearly non-Jewish gentlemen stand in a public space (perhaps somewhere in the Innere Stadt) filled with people. The visitor to Vienna, dressed in a checked overcoat with fur collar and cuffs and a Zylinder, asks a local, who is far more modestly dressed in overcoat and bowler, where he might find the Judengasse, to which the latter replies exasperatedly ‘Perhaps you could tell me where it isn’t?’90 Although neither of these men possess tabs of identity that would indicate they are Jewish, this sense of answering a question with a question has a strong ‘Jewish’ connotation. Sander Gilman refers to this kind of representation of a particular Jewish roundabout way of speaking as ‘the hidden language of the Jew’, which, like Yiddish and Mauscheln, indicates Jewish deviousness and depravity in antisemitic discourse.91 Upon closer inspection, all the individuals populating the background scene are Jews of all social types. Even the individuals inspecting the crowd from their balconies and the decorative caryatids adorning the building have stereotypical Jewish features. The shop windows, too, display Jewish individuals inside, and their signs announce the typically Jewish names of the owners, such as Veitl, Veigelsto[ck], and Mandelste[in/ern]. In this scene, a ‘genuine’ Viennese sarcastically informs a visitor that the city is so overrun with Jews, a specific Judengasse is redundant, the implication being that the whole city has been reconfigured.

89 Wiener Luft, no. 9 (March 1, 1890): 2.
90 ‘Können Sie mir vielleicht sagen, wo die nicht ist?’
91 See Gilman, ‘The Jewish Voice: Chicken Soup or the Penalties of Sounding too Jewish,’ in The Jew’s Body, 10–37.
REVENGE AND RIDICULE: REACTION TO JEWISH ‘INTRUSION’

By the time *der schöne Karl* was appointed mayor of Vienna in 1897, the antisemitic caricatures appearing in Viennese satirical magazines had taken a more aggressive stance. In particular in *Kikeriki*, which presented itself as an organ of Lueger’s Christian Social Party, anti-Jewish cartoons, satirical verse and prose became more prevalent. Jeffrey W. Beglaw argues that it is impossible to prove whether *Kikeriki* was ‘proactive or reactive’ in the nationality conflicts of the fin de siècle, and instead poses a series of questions regarding why there was an increase in xenophobic sentiment. Although Beglaw’s study concerns anti-Czech sentiment among Vienna’s dominant German population, the same can be argued with regard to the Jews. It is irrelevant whether *Kikeriki* was responsible for influencing antisemitic sentiment in Vienna or was influenced by it; what is clear is that the journal harnessed existing antisemitism and certainly took advantage of the new administration’s antisemitic stance both to entertain its readers and malign the city’s Jewish population. In addition to visually bemoaning the Jewish presence in Vienna, *Kikeriki* cartoons posed ‘solutions’ for the Jewish Question to its readers. Caricatures that ridiculed Jews, making them appear comical bumbling pests, and those that hinted at taking revenge or actively ‘de-judaising’ the city, were prevalent.

A common trope in such images was the ‘revenge’ Lueger would now mete out upon his enemies. The front page of an issue of *Der Floh* just weeks before Lueger’s induction as mayor employed this very theme (Figure 111). Wearing a black toga and reclining on a throne guarded by roaring lions, Lueger, as a Roman emperor, surveys his bowing subjects: political opponents swathed in togas, and two bare-chested, loincloth-clad Jews whose wrists are bound

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92 For example, going through every 1900 issue of *Kikeriki*, I found at least 32 cartoons in which well-known and generic Jews appeared as either central or background figures. In contrast, in January 1897 alone (nine issues) I counted 23 images of this type—not including the cartoon banner for the classified section which appeared in every Sunday issue and regularly included antisemitic caricatures. During the First World War, however, the frequency of antisemitic cartoons and non-visual pieces seemed to decrease, with *Kikeriki* tending to focus more on Europe’s political situation.


94 Like the antisemitic archetypes discussed earlier in this chapter, there was common crossover between these two kinds of caricatures.

95 *Der Floh* 29, no. 12 (March 21, 1897): 1.
together. The caption in Latin reads: ‘Ave Caesar! Morituri te salutant’ [Hail Caesar! They who are about to die salute you]. The caption gives no doubt that the figures before Lueger have been condemned to death (at least in a political sense), but the incoming mayor’s noble stance conveys a sense of justice: punishment shall be meted out swiftly and painlessly. The divide between Lueger’s political opponents, who included the former liberal mayor Raimund Grübl (1847—1898) and the Jewish prisoners, is important. Not only are the two groups spatially divided but their sartorial difference places the former at a higher rank than the lowly Jews. Additionally, Lueger looks at his political opponents, avoiding the gaze of the condemned Jews, suggesting a sense of respect for the former but none for the latter.

A cartoon of a similar mood appeared in Kikeriki three years later; this depicted the Salzgries\(^\text{96}\) in mourning ['Der Salzgries im Trauer']: black banners hanging from every building and crowds of raggedly-dressed Jewish pedlars sobbing inconsolably into each other’s shoulders (Figure 112).\(^\text{97}\) Kikeriki—the journal’s eponymous anthropomorphised rooster mascot—asks a passer-by if the display is the result of the death of a member of the Paris branch of the Rothschild family. ‘But no,’ the passer-by replies, ‘because Lueger is so healthy!’ Lueger’s populist antisemitic rhetoric created the impression that self-assured Viennese Jews were now finally getting their due—and indeed, some of the more vulnerable members of the community (particularly the poor immigrants in the

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\(^{96}\) The Salzgries is a street in Vienna’s first district in the vicinity of the Danube canal and Vienna’s main synagogue and IKG headquarters on the Seitenstettengasse. Many Jews lived and worked in this area.

\(^{97}\) Kikeriki 40, no. 15 (February 22, 1900): 4. It is relevant to note that of the two crying Jews in the left of the image, one appears to be stealing a bunch of garlic from his friend’s pocket. This is a clear reference to supposed Jewish deviousness, where one Jew will have no scruples cheating his fellow. Additionally, garlic had strong Jewish connotations in antisemitic texts and was connected to the \textit{foetor judaicus}—the Jewish smell. Caricatures depicted Jewish figures eating garlic, which was suggested as contributing to their foul odour. See Maria Diemling, “As the Jews Like to Eat Garlic”: Garlic in the Christian-Jewish Polemical Discourse in Early Modern Germany,’ in \textit{Food and Judaism. Studies in Jewish Civilization} 15, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon, Ronald A. Sinkins, and Gerald Shapiro (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2004), 215–34; Jay Geller, \textit{The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity} (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 152–54; Leonid Livak, \textit{The Jewish Persona in the European Imagination: A Case of Russian Literature} (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 94–97; and Andrei Oi teanu, \textit{Inventing the Jew: Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-East European Cultures}, trans. Mirela Adăscălîșei (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 78–81.
Leopoldstadt) did suffer increased abuse at the hands of emboldened antisemites. However, as many liberal-minded, middle-class Jews were quick to point out, there was no reinstitution of anti-Jewish laws at the hands of *der schöne Karl*, who even maintained cordial relations with individual Jews and the board of the IKG. The communal leader and textile magnate Sigmund Mayer (1831–1920), for example, claimed that Lueger did not dislike Viennese Jews, whose business prowess he admired, but rather disliked foreign Jews. Nevertheless, Lueger’s rhetoric undoubtedly emboldened antisemites in their mistreatment of Jews and made it difficult for individual Jews—including those baptised—to feel included in the ranks of the Christian Social Party and wider Austro-German society. As Arthur Schnitzler stressed:

> It was no longer possible for a Jew, especially a Jew in the public eye, to forget that he was Jewish, for others did not forget it—either the Christians or, still less, other Jews. One either had to appear insensitive, intrusive or arrogant, or as susceptible, timid and affiliated with persecution mania. And even if one kept enough detachment and pose to avoid both these attitudes, it was as impossible to remain completely indifferent as it was for a man whose skin has been anaesthetized, but who has to look on with open and wide-awake eyes as he is scratched, even cut, with a dirty scalpel until the blood runs.

Contemporary cartoons highlight this sense of alienation. Two very similar images from *Kikeriki* reflect the sense of hostility and the sharpened division between Vienna’s Gentile and Jewish populations. The first, appearing in February 1900—under the title ‘Der Ball der Stadt Wien’—presents two silhouetted ball scenes side by side: the first consists of three Jewish couples...

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100 Mayer, *Die Wiener Juden*, 475.
with unruly hair, hooked noses and protruding lips and the second of three decidedly non-Jewish couples with proportioned features and neat hair waltzing with more decorum (Figure 113).102 Unlike the Jews, their silhouettes are tidy with discreet attire and a lack of ostentatious jewellery.103 The implied message of the cartoon is that in the past (prior to Lueger’s ascension to the mayoral throne), the city balls were rife with Jews, but now they have recovered their decorum and good taste since the Jews have been removed. The second image, published exactly six years later, also depicts a silhouetted ball scene, this time with Lueger’s recognisable profile in the window, and two lavishly-dressed Jewish Börsianer excluded and watching the scene from outside (Figure 114). As the Jews regard the scene with regret, one bemoans Lueger’s success and popularity in Vienna (‘Waih! Der Luegerleben tanzt sech aber noch ganz rüstig mit der Vindobona!’ [Oy vey! Luegerleben dances still dances so vigorously with Vindobona]).104 The message inferred here is: All is well in Vienna and the troublesome Jews have been put in their place. These two cartoons were part of a wider accusation of Jewish ostentation and ‘Gentile’ retaliation by limiting the power their financial wealth supposedly gave them. A cartoon from January 1900 depicts a group of lavishly-dressed Jews unsuccessfully attempting to buy their way into a court ball (Figure 115). The group leader, a Frack- and Zylinder-wearing parvenu, holds up a hundred-crown note as a bribe, only to be refused entry by the sentry standing guard at the palace’s entrance. A sign posted on the palace wall reads: ‘Entry only for officers, high dignitaries, diplomats, etc.’105 The implied message is that although wealthy, the nouveau-riche parvenu does not belong among authentic, worthy members of society and that Jews should be prevented from buying their way into these circles at all costs.

102 Kikeriki 40, no. 14 (February 18, 1900): 2.
103 Matthew Baigell attests to the importance and ubiquitousness of jewellery in cartoons about Jews, which he sardonically notes, ‘might be assembled in a book titled Jews and Jewelry.’ Although Baigell’s study focuses exclusively on cartoons in the American press, this is no less true of cartoons in the Viennese press. See Baigell, The Implacable Urge to Defame, 44.
105 The original German reads: ‘Eintritt nur für Offiziere, hohe Würdenträger, Diplomaten, etc.’ Kikeriki 40, no. 6 (January 21, 1900): 3.
CONCLUSION
The cartoons appearing in satirical Viennese magazines during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be read as a manifestation of widespread perceptions of Jews in Viennese society. These images are important because they reveal how caricatures in cartoons and satirical images were used to depict Jews and other minorities as ‘Others’ and in doing so employ a range of xenophobic tropes that play on the paranoia and fear of readers. Additionally, these images are critical for how they explore the ways in which clothing contributed to the conceptualisation of Jewish Viennese stereotypes. As this chapter has argued, clothing played a very important role in the fictive imaging of the Jew. The glaring contradictions of Jewish dress in these images, from the miserly Jew in expensive clothing, through dishevelled Ostjuden to fashion-following Jews in ill-fitting, ostentatious attire of the Gigerl, often bedecked with jewellery and other trinkets, reflect the contradictory nature of contemporaneous antisemitic discourse in which Jews were simultaneously accused by antisemites of being dangerous schemers plotting to destabilise the foundations of society, and money-grubbing plutocrats propping up a degenerate and exploitative system. The widespread presence of these caricatured types in the Viennese press served only to bolster notions of Jewish inferiority and immorality. While the Jewish caricatures often bore very little resemblance to the collective they sought to portray—so too with those lampooning Czechs or Magyars—they were effective in the continued circulation of antisemitic tropes. I write ‘collective’ rather than ‘individual’ because the antisemitic caricatures that appeared in the Viennese satirical press rarely attacked Jews as individuals but rather as a group. Even those antisemitic caricatures that did single out specific Jewish personalities targeted them as representatives of Jewry as a whole rather than as individuals.

Whether a reflection of existing antisemitic sentiments or hopeful projections of changing attitudes towards Jews, the caricatures published in the pages of publications like Kikeriki, Der Floh and Wiener Luft are evidence of ways in which Jews were made to feel and be perceived as Others in a larger, ethnically and culturally heterogeneous society. The ‘tabs of identity’ employed to indicate a
caricature’s Jewishness, whether physiognomic, linguistic, behavioural or sartorial—or a combination of these—rarely corresponded to the reality of actual Viennese Jewry, many of whom had acculturated themselves to German culture and the ideals of Bildung and Sittlichkeit. To the antisemites who sought to harangue Jews, this lack of resemblance was of little importance. On the contrary, the more Jews adopted the cultural ideals and trappings of the dominant culture around them and abandoned the external signs of their Jewish identities, the more virulent the antisemitic rhetoric became. The growing visual similarity between acculturated middle-class Jews and their Gentile counterparts meant that antisemites required a way to differentiate themselves from the subjects of their vitriol. More than serving as a device with which to attack Jews, these caricatures were vital in order to allay antisemitic anxieties in a changing society.
Chapter 9. Conclusion

Acculturated middle-class Jews made up only part of a diverse and strong segment of Viennese society. Despite the prevalence of antisemitism, Jewish writers and critics, politicians and industrialists, scientists and artists continued to contribute to the flourishing of Viennese culture. Men, both renowned and unknown, followed sartorial fashions and attired themselves in modes that they felt best expressed their social and political identities. In addition to its use as a form of self-fashioning, clothing and its relationship to the body was important in dealing with hostility, whether through adoption of conventional bourgeois fashions, or eccentric or radical styles that might express allegiance to specific cultural or political ideologies. In the introduction to her edited volume about Jewish life in Vienna’s Leopoldstadt (district II), Ruth Beckermann presents a photo of a ‘typical’ Jewish family. The older generation appear in the guise of typical Orthodox Jews, the patriarch with a large beard and dressed in ubiquitous dark clothing and black felt hat, and the matriarch wearing a wig, in the typical manner of married Orthodox women. The younger generation, however, are dressed in the prevalent styles of the wider society, an indication of the intergenerational acculturation process. Beckermann asserts that it was expressly through their dress that this family’s acculturation as well as the various ways Viennese Jews dealt with their identities could be measured.¹ For the two men, in particular, their dress patterns suggest conflicting notions of Jewish identity, conflicting both with each other and with their parents’ generation. The man who wears a suit and tie, which Beckermann remarks was common among men of various class backgrounds, may have been expressing a bourgeois identity. His brother also wears a suit; however, a tie is absent and his collar is worn open over his jacket lapels, a sign, Beckermann asserts, of his Zionist or Socialist convictions and his desire to distance himself from bourgeois society.²

² Ibid.
What Beckermann describes is not novel. As this thesis has argued, masculine dress and the way in which they were worn could be both opaque and transparent. Sartorial patterns, practices and preferences meant more than a uniform of modern masculinity; for acculturating and acculturated Jewish men, dressed appearances went beyond attempts at visual assimilation. Like the family depicted in Beckermann’s introduction, clothing might express political ideologies, cultural affiliations and even social and professional identities—as the examples of clerical garments and ‘private’ attire of Viennese rabbis have shown.

As Elana Shapira has demonstrated with regards to Jewish patrons of architecture, the dress and fashion industries similarly afforded Jewish men the opportunity to participate in the city’s realm of fashion, by conforming to accepted modes of dress (‘opt in’) as well as actively negating conventions of bourgeois respectability and sobriety (‘opt out’) and they did this as both consumers and purveyors of fashion.\(^3\) Although Vienna took many of its fashion cues from London and Paris, during the interwar period it was recognised as one of Europe’s fashion capitals in its own right, with a reputation for quality. The high proportion of Jews working in the fashion and apparel industries meant not only that Jewish practitioners created and distributed the fashions consumed by most of the population, but that Viennese fashion came to be regarded as somehow ‘Jewish’, even if this was not overtly expressed. Similarly, the acclaim won by the many writers, artists, critics and thinkers of Jewish origin as representatives of Viennese culture meant that, wittingly or not, Jewish men became visual examples of the diverse Viennese male sartorial modes in a wider European arena. Men like Sigmund Freud and Theodor Herzl in their conventional tailored suits could be regarded as Viennese dandies attesting to the quality and respectability of the city’s male fashions, while Peter Altenberg and Arthur Schnitzler with their playful attire represented the more eccentric modes of fashionable Viennese male consumption.

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\(^3\) Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 204.
The period between 1867 and 1938 has often been portrayed as a golden era of Viennese Jewry. Within this span of seven decades, Viennese Jewry, and Austrian Jewry as a whole, not only enjoyed unprecedented legal and civic equality, but involved themselves in all areas of Viennese society, political, scientific, economic and artistic. In his oft-quoted memoir, the German-Jewish writer Jakob Wassermann expressed his bewilderment at the confidence and visibility of Viennese Jewry as he encountered it upon relocating to the Austrian capital from Bavaria:


[I recognised fairly soon that the entire public life was dominated by Jews. The banks, the press, the theatre, literature, society events—everything was in the hands of Jews. One did not have to look very far for an explanation. The nobility was completely indifferent. With the exception of a few non-conformists and outcasts, a few who were aloof and enlightened, they not only maintained an uneasy distance from the intellectual and artistic life, but they also feared and scorned it. . . . The court, the petit bourgeoisie and the Jews gave the city its character. That

4 Jakob Wassermann, Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1922), 102–03.
the Jews were the most versatile group that kept all others in incessant motion is not particularly astonishing. Nonetheless, I was amazed at the quantity of Jewish physicians, lawyers, club members, snobs, dandies, proletarians, actors, newspeople, and poets.]

The Jewish contribution to the development of Viennese culture might be understood as a way of ‘giving back’ to the city and state that had offered them equality, or as well as a way of asserting their enduring and dynamic presence in the city and its culture.

As the preceding chapters have shown, Viennese Jews grappled with their Jewish identities and the concept of Jewishness on many different levels. In a multi-ethnic society in which they unofficially constituted one Volksstamm among many, their Jewish identities were often a fact of life, regardless of whether they engaged with it or not. Even those Jews who converted to Christianity and/or married Gentile partners were aware of the social perception of their Jewish ‘difference’.

The dissolution of the multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic Habsburg Empire and the subsequent creation of successor states like Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia meant that most non-German and non-Magyar Austro-Hungarians fulfilled the desires of national determination that had plagued the Austro-Hungarian political arena for much of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of the various ‘peoples’ of the former empire, Austrian Jews were among those who found themselves an ethnic minority among a largely homogenous German nation. The establishment of Czechoslovakia, for example, saw a large migration of Viennese Czechs, the largest non-German linguistic group, who had often been the subject of parliamentary debate over linguistic and national concerns,

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6 In the 1902 census 102,974 people in Vienna declared Czech as their main language. See Beneš, Workers and Nationalism, 65.
to the new state. Other ethnic groups in Vienna also returned 'home'. However, for many Jews, Vienna was the only home they knew or wanted.

During the interwar period, Vienna suffered from political and civic turmoil, including civil war, political coups, the assassination of the chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss (1892–1934) and political pressure from the neighbouring National Socialist regime. While antisemitism flared up in political and social discourse, and Jewish university students faced abuse from fellow students aligned with the National Socialists, the political movement later to be declared illegal under the Dollfuss regime, most Jews continued their lives as they had under the Habsburgs. As Lisa Silverman has asserted in reference to the tripartite model of Austro-Jewish self-identification first explained by Marsha L. Rozenblit, Viennese Jews felt comfortable in their adopted home city. Despite the prevalence of antisemitism, they felt themselves very much a part of Viennese and Austrian society: politically Austrian, ethnically and/or religiously Jewish and culturally Viennese. Richard Thieberger, for example, recalled writing ‘Austrian’, ‘Viennese’ and ‘Jewish’ when asked for his national, residential and religious information while filling in an official form upon his matriculation.

The Anschluss of March 1938 put a definitive end to both Vienna’s Jewish ‘Golden Autumn’ and its status as a fashion capital. Commencing with the German Wehrmacht crossing the Austro-German frontier on 12 March, the Anschluss culminated with Adolf Hitler driving through the streets of Vienna on 15 March, met by cheering crowds who had eagerly awaited his arrival. On the Heldenplatz in front of the former Imperial Palace [Hofburg], Hitler addressed a glowing crowd of 200,000. The National Socialists set to work at once dismantling the

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8 Of the three Witzblätter discussed in the previous chapter, Der Floh and Figaro ceased publication in 1919, while Kikeriki continued until 1933.
9 Pauley, From Prejudice to Persecution, 96–99.
10 Rozenblit, Reconstructing a National Identity, 4.
11 Silverman, Becoming Austrians, 16.
13 See Spiel, Vienna’s Golden Autumn.
Austrian state and enacting anti-Jewish measures. It has been said that Austrian Jewry experienced from one moment to the next what their German coreligionists had experienced over the course of five years. While in Germany anti-Jewish measures had slowly been built up since Hitler’s induction as chancellor, Austrian Jews were met with a barrage of state-sponsored discrimination as well as virulent local antisemitism. Iconic images from the period show Viennese Jews being forced, on hands and knees, to scrub antisemitic epithets from the pavement while crowds of jeering onlookers surrounded them.¹⁴

For many, the deluge of state-sponsored antisemitism came as a shock, and prompted them into emigration, with the encouragement of the new Nazi government which opened the Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung in Wien [Central Agency for Jewish Emigration in Vienna], headed by Adolf Eichmann and operating out of the former Palais Albert Rothschild on Prinz-Eugen Straße 20–22 in Wieden (district IV). Notwithstanding the difficulties associated with acquiring visas to other countries as well as exit visas from the Reich, a great number of Viennese Jews managed to flee Austria. Of the approximate 170,000 Jews living in Vienna in 1938, close to 129,000 were able to leave the country, the majority to the Americas, the United Kingdom and Shanghai—the latter being one of the few places in the world that still readily accepted Jewish refugees.¹⁵ It is ironic that Viennese Jews, once castigated as ‘rootless cosmopolitans’ whose roots were everywhere and nowhere at once, would be forced out into the world, and often not welcomed enthusiastically.


Among the six writers whose sartorial habits were analysed in Chapter 6, only Sigmund Freud and Stefan Zweig were still alive in 1938. Having left Austria in 1934, Zweig was already living in London at the time of the Anschluss. His brother Alfred and widowed mother Ida, however, were still in Vienna. By the end of March, Alfred and his wife Stefanie, as Czechoslovak citizens, travelled unhindered to Switzerland and eventually settled in the United States. Ida, however, a woman well into her eighties, was too frail to make the journey and died alone in Vienna in August that same year. Freud, as a world-renowned scientist, received a permit for the United Kingdom, obtained on his behalf by his colleague and biographer Ernest Jones, and relocated to London in early June 1938, where he succumbed to cancer the following year.

Most of the Jews who remained in Vienna were deported to concentration camps and ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe, notably Łódź, Minsk, Riga and Theresienstadt (Terezín), where many died of malnutrition, disease, exhaustion and violence at the hands of the Nazis and their local collaborators. Deportations began immediately after the Anschluss, with many Jewish men—particularly political figures—being arrested and interned at Dachau concentration camp near Munich. A small number of Viennese Jews, however, survived the war in the city, either in hiding, protected by Gentile spouses, or by working for the occupying forces.

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16 On the fate of Stefan Zweig's mother and brother, see Matuschek, *Three Lives*, 314–15. Alfred Zweig's American certificate of naturalisation lists his former nationality as 'Czechoslovakian'.


17 At his funeral at the Golders Green Crematorium, eulogies were given by both Stefan Zweig and Ernest Jones. Jones, *Sigmund Freud*, 3:263.

18 Gold, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien: Ein Gedenkbuch* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1966), 132. Many of those deported to the Nazis' 'model camp' at Theresienstadt were later deported to and murdered at Treblinka and Auschwitz extermination camps. See Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, in particular Chapter 9 'Gateway to Death: The Unique Character of Ghetto Terezín (Theresienstadt),' 233–64, and Chapter 10 'The Spiritual Legacy of the Terezín Inmates,' 265–83.

19 In the 'early days', when the German government still encouraged Jewish emigration before WWII, Jewish men interned at Dachau were often released if they were able to obtain entry to another country and promised to leave immediately.

In addition to destroying the once vibrant and large Jewish community, the Nazis also destroyed the city's fashion and apparel industries. Among the thousands of businesses forcibly ‘Aryanised’ were those in the dress and luxury sectors. Only a number of the many famous, Jewish-owned luxury stores still exist, albeit under new ownership: the men’s tailoring shops Kniže on the Graben and Jungmann & Neffe on the Albertinaplatz, and the department store Gerngross on the Mariahilferstraße. The myriad other Jewish-owned clothing establishments, catering to all levels of Viennese society, no longer exist. Some buildings remain, serving as reminders to the once burgeoning Viennese fashion industry, albeit used today for different purposes. The shop on the Graben once housing the textile company E. Braun & Co. now houses a branch of the Swedish fast-fashion retailer H&M,\(^{21}\) and the famous Looshaus on the Michaelerplatz that Adolf Loos designed for Michael Goldman, owner of the Goldman & Salatsch tailoring company, is now home to a branch of the Austrian Raiffeisen Bankengruppe.

The appropriation of Vienna’s Jewish-owned dress and luxury companies had a drastic effect on Vienna’s fashion industry. Just as Hugo Bettauer prophesied in his 1922 dystopian novel, Die Stadt ohne Juden, the expulsion of Vienna’s Jewish population resulted in the city’s loss of status as a fashion capital. Although the result was not exactly as Bettauer portrayed—Vienna did not become a large provincial town whose inhabitants went around in Trachtenmoden—factors such as the destruction of a large segment of the city’s fashion industry, and Nazi notions of beauty and family purity certainly had an effect on the city’s external character.

Beyond the effect that the *Anschluss* and the Shoah had on Vienna was their devastating effect on one of Europe’s largest and most important Jewish communities. Although Vienna’s current Jewish community is vibrant and diverse, it is a mere fraction of its pre-war self. But the particular Viennese Jewish (largely secular) culture that existed before the *Anschluss* was not entirely destroyed. It lives on, albeit in a much-altered form, in the memories and traditions of the refugees and their descendants who are now scattered across the world, notably in Israel, North America, the United Kingdom and Australia. These refugees have been absorbed by their host communities, but still the notion of Viennese Jewry retains high esteem in intra-community mythology, even if only among those of Viennese origins.22 Few of the refugees and survivors of the Shoah returned to Vienna after its liberation.23 Those who did return to rebuild their decimated community were joined by non-Viennese survivors of concentration and extermination camps, mainly Polish. Later waves of immigration, consisting of refugees from communist Hungary and Rumania, Persian Jews fleeing the Islamic Revolution (many of whom used the Austrian capital as a transit on their way to Israel and the United States), and Jews from the former Soviet Union, including a large number of Bukharan Jews, have further changed the character of Viennese Jewry.24 However, today’s Jewish population in Vienna, made up largely of immigrant Jews and their descendants, in a way resembles its pre-war character, albeit on a far smaller scale, because it was also largely made up of immigrants from all corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and their descendants.

The involvement of Jews in Vienna’s fin-de-siècle world of fashion went beyond the roles of consumer, creator and purveyor. Jewish men used fashionable clothing as a way of creating and expressing specific identities—both to

themselves and others. Despite having sartorial patterns, practices and preferences that were maintained by the wider society, their choices continued to play a central role in the persistence of external notions of Jewishness. For a Jew to don the same suit as his Gentile counterpart might seem as innocuous as simply conforming to the social and aesthetic conventions of male dress. However, as has been discussed throughout this thesis, the act of dressing in a particular style sometimes had the effect of perpetuating certain stereotypes of Jews and their dress practices, which in turn had repercussions for the sartorial practices themselves and the way in which those practices were perceived by the wider society. Dressing in a particular style or favouring certain garments is never a passive act, but one by which the dresser frequently makes a clear statement about his or her identity.
Appendix: Illustrations

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**Anschluss**
[German]
Nazi Germany's invasion and annexation of the First Austrian Republic in March 1938. The *Anschluss* commenced with the Wehrmacht crossing the Austrian-German frontier on 12 March and culminated with Hitler's arrival in Vienna by car on 15 March, where he delivered an address to a crowd of some 200,000 Viennese on the *Heldenplatz* [Heroes' Square].

**Ashkenazi (plural -m)**
[Hebrew]
Refers to Jews with origins in Central and Eastern Europe. Although the term initially referred to the ritual practices, customs and liturgy [Hebrew: *nusakh ashkenaz*] of these Jews compared to those of other Jewish populations (such as *Sephardim*—see below), the term also refers to ethnic and cultural background. Most Jews in Vienna at the fin de siècle were Ashkenazi; however, non-Ashkenazi Jews also called the city home.

**Ausgleich**
[German]
Literally: balance. In the context of this study, *Ausgleich* refers to the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise that granted the Kingdom of Hungary autonomy and established the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Under the *Ausgleich*, Austria and Hungary were separate states governed by separate parliaments but headed by a single monarch, Franz Joseph I. One of the results of this compromise was that both Vienna and Budapest shared the role of dual capitals.

**Bekeshe (also bekishe)**
[Yiddish]
A frockcoat commonly made of silk or silk-like fabric (polyester is common today) worn by Hasidic men on Sabbath and festivals. The *bekeshe* is usually black; however, some Hasidic leaders who wear a *bekeshe* during the week adopt a more ornately patterned version for special occasions in gold, silver or white.

**Besitz**
[German]
Literally: property. Within the context of this study *Besitz* refers to the twin notions of *Bildung und Besitz* [self-cultivation and property] that was held by middle-class Austrian and German Jews; in short, it was the belief that a cultivated member of the middle class should also be financially stable.

**Beth Midrash (plural batei midrash)**
[Hebrew, Yiddish: *Beys Medrash*]
Literally: house of learning. A *beth midrash* is a Jewish study hall that is often located within a synagogue building but is a separate ‘institution’ (or room) where rabbinical students study Jewish literature.
Biedermeier
[German]
Originally a caricature of petit-bourgeois culture that appeared in the Munich satirical journal Fliegende Blätter [Flying Leaves/Flying Pages] during the mid-nineteenth century, Biedermeier came to describe the aesthetic, literary and musical tastes in the German-speaking lands between 1815 and 1848.

Bildung
[German]
Literally: education. Beyond the notion of education, ‘Bildung’ refers to the concept of self-cultivation from a cultural perspective. To be ‘gebildet’ was not only to be well-educated in the formal sense, but for the individual to have undergone a conscious self-fashioning along the lines of contemporary cosmopolitan educational and cultural values.

Bildungsbürgertum
[German]
Educated middle class. See ‘Bildung’ and ‘Bürgerlich’.

Bürgerlich
[German]
Adjective: middle-class, bourgeois.

Cisleithania
[Latin]
Literally, ‘on this side [west] of the Leitha’ [River], a tributary of the Danube. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (see above) that created the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, those lands represented by the Empire of Austria were sometimes referred to as Cisleithania. The lands that made up the ‘Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen’ (the Hungarian half of the dual monarchy) were sometimes referred to as ‘Transleithania’ (see below).

Deutschtum
[German]
Germanness. Referring to German culture and the notion of being part of the German consciousness or ‘spirit’.

Frack
[German]
A tailcoat, usually black, and by the end of the nineteenth century a central element of European male full evening dress. It was worn with high-waisted black trousers, a starched white shirtfront, detachable collar, white bowtie, white waistcoat and patent leather shoes.

Galitsianer/Galizianer
[Yiddish]
A Jew from the former Austrian crownland of Galicia, which is divided between present-day south-east Poland and western Ukraine. More than simply referring to Jews who came from this part of Europe, the term ‘Galitsianer’ was used, at
times derogatively, at times celebratory, to refer to a certain Jewish stereotype or subculture that developed in this region. Although Ashkenazim (see above), Galitsianer Jews practised certain customs, pronounced Hebrew differently and spoke a different dialect of Yiddish to their ‘northern’ (i.e., Lithuanian or ‘Litvak’) coreligionists.

**Gemütlichkeit (adj. gemütlich)**
[German]
Cosiness. Often associated with the Biedermeier period (see above), Gemütlichkeit has been used to describe a sense of warmth and geniality associated with certain social and environmental situations. For example, a congenial evening among friends or a quiet domestic situation might be described using this term.

**Gesamtkunstwerk**
[German]
A total work of art.

**Goy (plural -im)**
[Hebrew]
Literally: nation. The term ‘Goy’ appears in the Torah to describe both the Israelites and other nations. In its common usage, Goy is used to describe Gentiles. It commonly appears in adjectival form as ‘goyish’. Although the term is not exclusively negative in nature, it has been used at times to describe Gentiles pejoratively, and therefore has acquired a negative connotation.

**Gründerzeit**
[German]
Literally: founder’s period. Referring to a period of industrialisation and middle-class economic prosperity in the German-speaking lands from the 1848 revolutions to the 1873 stock market crash. Gründerzeit also refers to the styles of design and architecture prevalent during the period, which saw a revival in historicist styles. Vienna’s Ringstraße and many of the civic buildings and private palaces (see below) were constructed in Gründerzeit revival styles (i.e., Baroque, Classical, Gothic, and Renaissance).

**Halakha**
[Hebrew]
Jewish religious law comprising the 613 laws [mitzvoth] derived from the written law (Torah) and the oral law (rabbinic commentary). While Orthodox and Conservative/Masorti Judaism consider Halakha to be very important in Judaism (albeit differing in their interpretations), Reform/Progressive and Reconstructionist Judaism maintain much of Halakha to be superfluous in modern society.

**Haskalah**
[Hebrew]
The Jewish enlightenment of the late-eighteenth to late-nineteenth centuries, predominantly in Central and Eastern Europe. Intellectuals and activists of the
Haskalah (maskilim) encouraged and implemented cultural, ritual and educational reforms within Judaism. Many of its famous sons, among them Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), encouraged Jewish participation within the wider society and culture, while remaining true to the values and teaching of Judaism.

**Heuriger**

[Austrian German]

Literally: this year, in reference to new wine. The Heuriger is a wine garden set amid the vineyards on the outskirts of Vienna. Traditionally, the proprietor of the Heuriger served only wine. In contrast, the modern Heuriger serves both the year's yield and traditional Austrian cuisine.

**Hofjude (plural -en)**

[German]

Literally: court Jew. Hofjuden were wealthy Jews who functioned as financiers to European monarchs and aristocrats in the pre-emancipatory period. Hofjuden were commonly employed by the courts due to the Christian prohibition against usury.

**Kaffeehaus**

[German]

Literally: coffeehouse.

**Kheder**

[Hebrew, Yiddish]

Literally: room. A traditional Orthodox primary school where, historically, Jewish boys were educated in the Hebrew language and the basics of Judaism and its fundamental texts (such as the Torah, Mishna, and Talmud). Historically Jewish boys attended Kheder until bar mitzvah at age 13.

**Konfessionslos**

[German]

Literally: confessionless; a person without a religious confession. Civil marriage did not exist in Austria until after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. Therefore, an individual who wanted to marry a partner from a different religion was first required to convert to the other's denomination or to formally give up his/her own. Individuals who underwent this process were legally described as 'konfessionslos'. Many Viennese Jews underwent this process for the reason described above and others.

**Mauscheln (also Mauscheldeutsch)**

[German]

A derogatory term for supposed manner in which Jews spoke German, that is to say, incorrectly.
**Mazzesinsel**  
[German, Yiddish]  
Literally: matzo-island. Vienna’s Leopoldstadt (district II) was given this nickname because it was the district with the highest percentage of Jews; at its highest in 1923, the Jewish population accounted for 38.5 per cent of the total district population. The word ‘Mazzes’ [matzo] refers to the flat, cracker-like bread eaten by Jews during the week of Passover, when leaven foods are forbidden.

**Neolog Judaism**  
A liberal/reformed Jewish denomination that remains active in Hungary to this day. Neolog Judaism developed in early nineteenth-century Hungary and promoted modernisation and the adoption of the Magyar language and culture, in contrast to the Orthodox who tended to modernise with German culture, or the Hasidim who rejected both and preferred to maintain a specifically ‘Jewish’ culture (i.e., retaining the Yiddish language). Neolog Judaism did not adopt the radical reforms of some contemporary German congregations or those later in the United States. After the emancipation of Habsburg Jewry in 1867, the Neologs came to represent the ‘official’ community. This led to a schism with the Orthodox who seceded and formed a separate community.

**Ostjude (plural –n)**  
[German]  
Literally: eastern Jew. A derogatory term for Yiddish-speaking, Eastern European Jews, especially from the Cisleithanian crownland of Galicia. This term was used by both acculturated ‘German’ Jews who were embarrassed by their unacculturated coreligionists, as well as by antisemitic Gentiles. Increasingly used during the First World War and its aftermath, when both Vienna and many German cities saw an influx of Galician Jews fleeing the advancing Russian army.

**Peyoth**  
[Hebrew, Yiddish: peyes]  
Sidelocks worn by some Orthodox and most ultra-Orthodox and Hasidic Jewish men to conform with the Biblical prohibition against shaving the corners of one’s face.

**Rebbe**  
[Yiddish]  
The *rebbe* is the title used to describe the leaders of a Hasidic dynasty. Each dynasty is led by a *rebbe* who leads his ‘court’ in pseudo-aristocratic style. In past times and still today, Hasidic men who lived away from their *rebbe* would often travel to his court for the high holy-days in order to celebrate in his presence.

**Ringstraßenpalais**  
[German, singular and plural]  
Large ‘palaces’ located on Vienna’s Ringstraße or its immediate vicinity. *Ringstraßenpalais* were commissioned by aristocrats and wealthy industrialists during the 1860s and 70s. They were commonly designed by celebrated architects, including Heinrich von Ferstl, Ludwig Förster and Theophil Hansen.
While the ground floor sometimes housed external businesses, such as the famous Café Landtmann regularly frequented by Sigmund Freud in Palais Lieben-Auspitz, the owner’s family usually occupied the first- and sometimes second-floor apartments. Upper floors were usually divided into smaller apartments and rented out to other branches of the family or other tenants.

_Schlamperei_
[German]
Literally: slovenliness or laziness. Used as a stereotype of Viennese temperament in contrast to supposed Prussian belligerency.

_Schnorrer_
[Yiddish]
A beggar, freeloader or scrounger who takes advantage of the goodwill of others to ask for handouts, either monetary or material. Also used to refer to impoverished, usually Eastern European, Jewish beggars who often relied on wealthier coreligionists for financial support.

_Sephardi (plural -m)_
Jews with origins in the Iberian Peninsula. After their expulsion from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497 respectively, many Iberian Jews fled to parts of northwestern Europe, notably Amsterdam, Hamburg and later England, and the Ottoman Empire. Although the term initially referred to the ritual practices, customs and liturgy [Hebrew: _nusakh sepharad_] of these Jews as differing to those of other Jewish populations, the term also refers to ethnic and cultural background. Although most Jews in Vienna at the fin de siècle were Ashkenazi (see above), there was a sizable Sephardic population that maintained its own synagogue and communal organisations. Originally, the Sephardic community were permitted to settle in the Austrian capital as Ottoman subjects at a time when Jewish residence was highly restricted.

_Shoah_
[Hebrew]
Literally: calamity or destruction. Since the 1940s, ‘Shoah’ (or ‘HaShoah’—‘the Shoah’) has been the standard Hebrew term for the Holocaust—the systematic extermination of six million Jews by Nazi Germany and its allies during World War II.

_Shtrayml_
[Yiddish]
Although the _shtrayml_ is commonly used to describe a variety of fur hats worn by Hasidic men, it refers specifically to a cap, usually velvet, that is surrounded by a wide low brim made of fur.

_Sittlichkeit_
[German]
Literally: morality. Also refers to the notion of leading a respectful and ethical life. _Sittlichkeit_ was commonly paired with the bourgeois notion of _Bildung_ (see above) that many acculturated Viennese Jews held dear.
**Spodik**
[Yiddish from Polish]
Another fur hat worn by some Hasidic men. Compared to the low shrayml, the *spodik* was and is taller, cylindrical and narrower. Most shraymls worn today by many Hasidic men are closer to *spodiks* than shraymls of past centuries.

**Sprachverordnung**
[German]
The 5 April 1897 ordinance of Cisleithanian minister-president Count Kasimir Felix von Badeni that declared that the Czech and German languages had equal status for civic and political use in the crownland of Bohemia. Effectively this meant that all civil servants had to be proficient in both languages. This created a backlash from the German community, who considered Badeni’s ordinance to favour Czechs, many of whom had previously been required to learn German, whereas Germans had commonly not learnt Czech.

**Tallith**
[Hebrew, Yiddish: *Tallis*
A large four-cornered fringed prayer shawl with knotted tassels (known as ‘*tzitzit*’) worn by men in Orthodox congregations, and sometimes by men and women in Reform, Conservative and other non-Orthodox congregations. Traditions of when and at what age an individual dons the *tallith* vary among different communities. The *tallith* is commonly made of wool or silk, but sometimes cotton or synthetic fibres, and is usually white in colour with black or white stripes.

**Tefillin**
[Hebrew]
Known in English as phylacteries: a small pair of black leather boxes that contain verses from the Torah inscribed on parchment. *Tefillin* are worn just above the hairline and on the inner-side of the upper arm (the left arm for a person who is right-handed, and right arm for one who is left-handed). They are secured by black leather straps around the head in the case of the former, and black leather straps wound around the arm and hand in the case of the latter. Among Orthodox Jews only men over the age of 13 don *Tefillin* for morning prayer on weekdays (i.e., not on the Sabbath). Among non-Orthodox Jews, such as Conservative Jews, women also don *Tefillin* for prayer.

**Transleithania**
[Latin]
Literally: beyond [east of] the Leitha River, a tributary of the Danube. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (see above) that created the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, those lands that made up the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen were sometimes referred to as Transleithania. The lands represented by the Austrian half of the dual monarchy were sometimes referred to as ‘Cisleithania’ (see above).
**Tzitzith (plural Tzitziyot)**
[Hebrew, Yiddish: Tzitzis]
White knotted tassels on the corners of the tallith (see above), commonly made of wool. In Orthodox Judaism, many boys and men also wear a four-cornered, often white garment under their shirts, with Tzitzith attached to each corner. This garment is known as a tallith katan [small tallith].

**Umgangssprache**
[German]
Literally, vernacular or slang. In the context of this study Umgangssprache refers to an individual’s language of daily use as recorded for the Austrian censuses.

**Vielvölkerstaat**
[German]
Literally, multi-ethnic/multinational state.

**Völkisch**
[German]
Adjective. Literally, ethnic, ‘of the folk’. In the context of this study the adjective ‘völkisch’ describes traditional, specifically German, folk culture. Völkisch has taken on a negative connotation due to its use by German nationalism, especially Nazism.

**Volksstamm**
[German]
Literally, tribe. Also refers to the different ‘nations’ or ethno-linguistic groups that made up the population of Austria-Hungary.

**Volkstracht**
[German]
Folk or national costume.

**Vormärz**
[German]
The period of German and Austrian history from approximately 1815 to the 1848 revolution. Known in English as the Age of Metternich, after Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), the absolutist Austrian chancellor who served between 1821 and 1848.

**Wiener Moderne**
[German]
Literally, Viennese modernism. The culture of Vienna at the fin de siècle.

**Yiddishkeit**
[Yiddish]
Also written as Yidishkeyt or Yidishkayt. Literally: Jewishness. The quality of being Jewish or leading a Jewish lifestyle. Among Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews, Yiddishkeit also means Judaism both as a religion and way of life.
Zylinder
[German]
Top hat.
Abbreviations

CAHJP
Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People

IKG
Israelitische Kultusgemeinde

LBI
Leo Baeck Institute

ÖIU
Österreich-Israelitische Union

ÖNB
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek