

Refashioning The Jewish Body: An Examination of the Sartorial Habits of the Family Of Viennese Writer, Stefan Zweig (1881–1942)

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Abstract

This article examines the sartorial habits of members of the family of renowned Viennese Jewish writer, Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), in conjunction with the perceived norms of sartorial respectability and Jewish bodily difference in Austria–Hungary during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The topic probed here is the development of the modern notion of a “Jewish” appearance within the context of acculturation and antisemitism. It will be examined through a comparison of photography and written sources that lead to a further understanding of conflicting manifestations of Jewish bodily stereotypes and the reality of self–fashioning in one of Europe’s capitals of modernist culture at the turn of the twentieth century, Vienna. I argue that the adoption of modern dress and other aspects of German culture, was not simply a matter of “assimilation” in which individuals hoped to facilitate the dissolution of “Jewishness” and Jewish identity, but rather part of developing and performing modern and multifaceted European identities.

Introduction

This article examines the sartorial habits of members of the family of renowned Viennese Jewish writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), in conjunction with the contemporaneous perceived norms of sartorial respectability and Jewish bodily difference in Austria–Hungary during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The topic probed here is the intersection of fashionable dress and the modern notion of a “Jewish” appearance. It will be examined through a comparison of visual and written accounts that lead to a further understanding of conflicting manifestations of Jewish bodily stereotypes and the reality of self–fashioning in one of Europe’s capitals of modernist culture at the turn of the twentieth century, Vienna.

Self-fashioning is central to the process of acculturation. This refers to the manner in which the individual recreates his or her identity and for a variety of reasons. The concept of self-fashioning was made familiar by Stephen Greenblatt in his study of early modern English writers, in which he asserts that the fashioning of self involved the creation of an identity that an individual desired to broadcast to society.¹ Although Greenblatt's notion of self-fashioning focused on literary tastes and behaviour rather than sartorial modes, clothing and material culture play an important role in the shaping of the self. 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.² 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.

Acculturation in Vienna

Within the context of acculturation and assimilation in Vienna at the fin de siècle, Jewish people 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 "Austrian" Jews (including those Jews living outside the predominantly German crownlands)³ was one way by which they hoped to facilitate their integration into coterritorial Gentile society.

For acculturating and assimilating Viennese Jews, their complete emancipation in 1867 signalled the permission to enter wider Gentile society.⁴ However, the dismantling of administrative discrimination had not extended to the social sphere, and many within

¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1980, p. 2.

² John Styles, "Fashion and Innovation in Early Modern Europe," in Evelyn Welch, ed., *Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 2017, p. 34.

³ I use "Austria" and "Austrian" to refer to the Habsburg lands prior to the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Dual Monarchy in 1867, including the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (today Czechia), in which the Zweig family lived, as well as parts of present-day Italy, Croatia, Slovenia, Poland and the Ukraine.

⁴ The emancipation of Habsburg Jewry in 1867 came in the wake of the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* or "Compromise" that saw the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, comprised of the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. Each half of the empire or "Dual Monarchy" maintained its own parliament and legal system, but were united under the single monarch Franz Joseph I (1830–1916). See William O. McCagg Jr., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, United States, 1989.

Vienna and the wider the Dual Monarchy continued to harbour prejudices against Jews.⁵ The logical solution for some Jews was the complete rejection of their past.⁶ This generally meant a change of name, religion, residence, and—if not already undertaken—the adoption of both modern styles of dress and the language and culture of the majority. The abandonment of all traces of Jewishness—such as religion, traditional Jewish names and vernacular—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 or by declaring themselves *konfessionslos* [without a religious confession],⁷ remained “Jewish” in their social interaction with their milieu, which consisted largely of other converted or irreligious Jews.⁸ Whether an individual was able to assimilate successfully, or merely acculturate to the dominant German culture was often determined by factors beyond his or her own control.

The assimilatory process of most Viennese Jews did not extend past the first stage (acculturation).⁹ The historian Peter Gay, himself the progeny of the German Jewish milieu much of his scholarship concerns, argued 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.”¹⁰ Thus, their incomplete assimilatory process left them as *acculturated* Jews, regardless of whether they chose to practice Judaism or not.¹¹ Both those Jews desiring full assimilation and those content to remain Jewish participants in German culture faced accusations of masking their

⁵ Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, United States, 1992.

⁶ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 1991, p. 71.

⁷ “*Konfessionslosigkeit*” was a legal category in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy where, unlike in Hungary, civil marriage was not a possibility, and was used as loophole by couples of mixed religious affiliations to marry without having to undergo formal conversion. For a mixed couple (e.g. Jewish and Catholic or even individuals of differing Christian denominations) to marry, one half of the couple was first required to convert to the faith of their partner or declare themselves *konfessionslos*. See Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity*, State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, United States, 1983, p. 128.

⁸ See Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1989: A Cultural History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1989.

⁹ On the assimilatory process see Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, Oxford University Press, New York, New York, United States, 1964.

¹⁰ Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and Other Germans: Masters and Victims of Modernist Culture*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1978, p. 98.

¹¹ See, for example, Jacob Golmb, “Stefan Zweig’s Tragedy as a Nietzschean *Grenzfude*,” in Sarah Fraiman-Morris, ed., *Jüdische Aspekte Jung–Wiens im Kulturkontext des »Fin de Siècle«*, Max Niemayer Verlag, Tübingen, Germany, 2005, p. 79; Sander L. Gilman, “Race and Madness in I. J. Singer’s *The Family Carnovsky*,” in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, United States, 1985, pp. 163–174.

Jewishness. The nineteenth century Viennese satirist Franz Friedrich Masaidek, for example, warned his readers that the “*anständigen*” [respectable, which is to say, acculturated] Jews were far more dangerous than their traditional and thus more easily identifiable coreligionists, as they deceived Christians about their true intentions.¹²

The accusation against Jews of masking their religious or ethnic identity was rife throughout print media and literature in Vienna and other parts of German-speaking Europe, and often related to the clothing choices of acculturated and assimilated Jews, with the belief that true Jewish garb was that worn by inhabitants of the provincial east European shtetl¹³ and not modern European fashions purchased in brightly lit Viennese department stores or tailoring ateliers. What made this sartorial artifice “dangerous” in the eyes of its detractors was its historical connotation with sin, seduction and perversion of nature.¹⁴ The celebrated Viennese satirist Karl Kraus (1874–1936)—himself a Jewish immigrant to Vienna from provincial Bohemia—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.”¹⁵ This trope commonly appeared in antisemitic literature in which Jewish figures were caricatured, both visually and in written form, dressed in opulent styles and the latest fashion, while still retaining the behavioural patterns and ethnic characteristics of the *Ostjuden* [east European Jews]. Popular Viennese satirical magazines such as *Kikeriki* (1861–1933), *Der Floh* (1869–1919) and *Figaro* (1857–1919) regularly included grotesque caricatures of Jews that followed traditional physical and behavioural stereotypes while attempting to use their wealth or fashionable clothing to buy their way into high society (Figure 1).

¹² Franz Friedrich Masaidek, *Lose Gedanken*, Ostdeutschen Rundschau, Vienna, Austria, 1891, p. 8.

¹³ “Shtetl” is the Yiddish word for a provincial town or village in central and eastern Europe prior to the Second World War, in which a large proportion of the population was Jewish.

¹⁴ Efrat Tseëlon, *The Masque of Femininity: The Presentation of Women in Everyday Life*, Sage Publications, London, England, 1995, pp. 34–37.

¹⁵ Karl Kraus, “The Eroticism of Clothes [1906],” in Daniel Leonard Purdy, ed., *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, 2004, p. 241.



Figure 1:
 Caricature, *Vom Hofball* [From the Court Ball], Artist Unknown, *Kikeriki: Humoristisches Volksblatt*, 21 January 1900, p. 3, © ANNO: Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria.

Origins of the Family Zweig

But how did acculturating Jews dress in reality? The family of the renowned Viennese writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) serves as an appropriate case study to map the multigenerational acculturation process through dress habits. Like many of his contemporaries, Zweig’s Jewish parents had come to the Austrian capital from other parts of Europe, taking advantage of Franz Joseph I’s (1830–1916) dismantling of anti-Jewish restrictions on residential and professional activity in Vienna during the decades after the failed 1848 revolutions. The Zweig family is by no means an exceptional case. Other Austrian Jewish families—both those of renowned thinkers such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and the many lesser-known or anonymous Jewish families, photographic traces of whom can be found in archives and private collections around the world—maintained similar modes of dressing. Indeed, the images examined throughout this article reveal that members of the Zweig family maintained conventional and at times conservative approaches to their sartorial appearances. However, the wealth of multigenerational photographic evidence of this typical

bourgeois, Viennese Jewish family makes it a compelling case through which to examine wider patterns of dress and its role within the acculturation of Austro–Hungarian Jewry.

The Zweig family can be traced back to Stefan Zweig’s great–great–grandfather Moses Josef Zweig (1750–1840) in Proßnitz (Prostějov), Moravia.¹⁶ 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* [Jew–city] or *Judengasse* [Jew–street].¹⁷ The Jews of Proßnitz were no exception. Moses Zweig and his family lived their lives according to the contemporaneous conventions of Ashkenazi Jewish ritual and culture,¹⁸ quite unlike the culturally assimilated household of his famous great–great–grandson Stefan. Moses Zweig and his siblings spoke a language that was commonly known as *Judendeutsch* [Jewish–German or Jew–German], observed *Kashrut* [Jewish dietary laws] and the Sabbath, regularly attended synagogue and were members of communal organisations.¹⁹ An 1832 engraving of the Zweig family progenitor Moses 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* [skullcap], and he wears a dark overcoat with large upturned collar and lapels. In the guise of a pre–emancipatory, “traditional” Jew whose dress and grooming was similar to that of his coreligionists in other parts of eastern Europe and

¹⁶ Julius Röder, ed., *Die Nachkommen von Moses (Josef) Zweig und Elka (Katti) Chaja Sarah Spitzer: eine Nachfahrenliste*, No Publisher, Olmütz [Olomouc], Czechoslovakia, 1932, p. 10.

¹⁷ A similar system of residency was also required of many Jews outside of Austria, especially in the German lands. 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 am Main, for example, home to the illustrious Rothschild banking family, 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 Amos Elon, *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German–Jewish Epoch, 1743–1933*, Picador, New York, New York, United States, 2002, p. 26.

¹⁸ “Ashkenazi” refers to Jews, Jewish ritual practices and cultural traditions originating in central and eastern Europe, and is often contrasted with the term “Sephardic”, referring to those Jews and traditions originating from the Iberian Peninsula prior to expulsions from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century. Most Jews in Vienna during Stefan Zweig’s lifetime were of Ashkenazi origin; however, a small community of Sephardic Jews also called the city home.

¹⁹ Leo Spitzer, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1989, p. 82.

later caricatures that regularly appeared in the satirical press, Moses Zweig appear worlds away from his famous great–great–grandson (Figures 2 and 3).²⁰

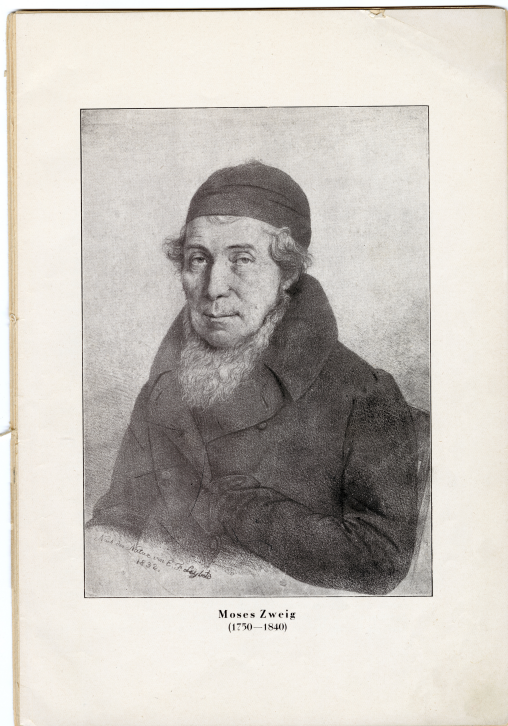


Figure 2:

Frontispiece, *Moses Josef Zweig (1750–1840)*, 1832, *Die Nachkommen von Moses (Josef) Zweig und Elka (Katti) Chaja Sarah Spitzer: eine Nachfahrenliste*, Olmütz [Olomouc], Czechoslovakia, 1932, © Stefan Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

²⁰ For a detailed study of the dress patterns of Eastern European Jewry from the seventeenth century onwards see Tamar Somogyi, *Die Schejnen und die Prosten: Untersuchungen zu Schönheitsideal der Ostjuden in Bezug auf Körper und Kleidung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Chassidismus* [The beautiful and the common: studies in beauty ideals of east European Jews in relation to the body and clothing with particular consideration of Hasidism], Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, Germany, 1982.

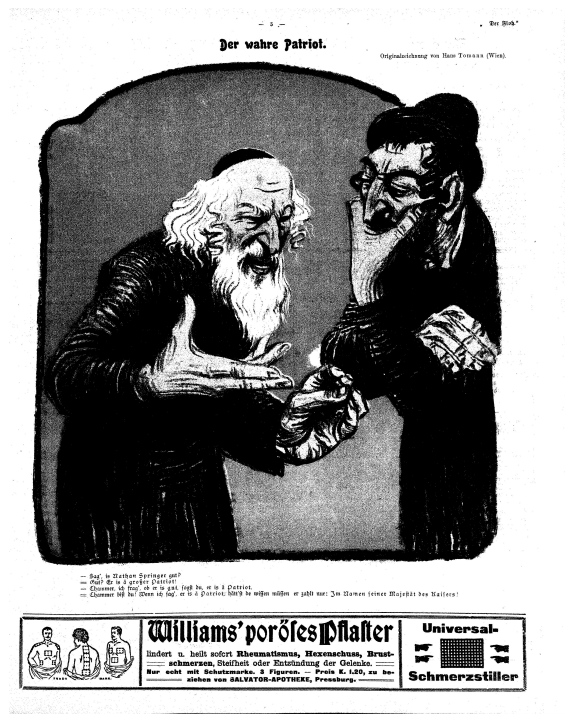


Figure 3: Caricature, *Der wahre Patriot* [The True Patriot], Hans Tomann, *Der Floh*, 27 November 1904, p. 1, © ANNO: Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria.

The 1782 Edict of Tolerance set the wheels in motion for a change in the culture of Habsburg Jewry.²¹ 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.²² Surviving portraits of Stefan Zweig's relatives from this long period of emancipation reveal an earlier management of dress in accordance with a new self-

²¹ The 1782 Edict of Tolerance [German: *Toleranzedikt*] was an extension of Emperor Joseph II's (1741–1790) 1781 Patent of Toleration [German: *Toleranzpatent*] that extended religious freedom to all non-Catholic Christians residing in the Habsburg dominions. The 1782 edict granted Habsburg Jews a limited degree of religious and professional freedom on the condition that they replace Yiddish and Hebrew with German as the language of administration, adopt German family names and educate their children in German language schools. See Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph*, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Oxford, United Kingdom, 1989, pp. 16–21. For a translation of the edict see Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, Oxford University Press, New York, New York, United States, 1980, pp. 34–36.

²² Spitzer, op cit., pp. 89–90.

vision (Figures 4 and 5). In 1850, Hermann Zweig relocated his family to Vienna.²³ His son Moriz (1845–1926) as an adult followed in his footsteps, finding work as a textiles trader. This was a common profession among Austro–Hungarian Jews during the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century—by 1934 73.3% of all Viennese textile merchants were Jewish.²⁴ Moriz Zweig eventually established a textile mill in the Bohemian town of Ober–Rosenthal bei Reichenberg (Liberec) in 1878.²⁵



Figure 4:
Portrait of Stefan Zweig’s paternal grandmother Nanette Zweig née Wolf, unknown photographer, undated, © Stefan Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

²³ Oliver Matuschek, *Three Lives: A Biography of Stefan Zweig*, translated by Allan Blunden, Pushkin Press, London, England, 2011, p. 23.

²⁴ Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien—Einst und Jetzt: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten* [Melting pot Vienna—now and then: on the history and present of immigration and minorities], Böhlau Verlag, Vienna, Austria, 1990, p. 34.

²⁵ However, Moriz continued to work mainly in the Austrian capital and employed a secretary to manage the mill in his absence. Matuschek, op cit., pp. 23–24.



Figure 5:
Portrait of Stefan Zweig's paternal grandfather Hermann Zweig, unknown photographer, undated, © Stefan Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

Jewish Self-Fashioning

Self-fashioning was central to the tenets of *Bildung* [self-cultivation] and *Sittlichkeit* [morality or respectability] and thus essential to the acculturated Jewish experience in cities like Vienna, and concerned not only sartorial matters, but also those of speech, behaviour and day-to-day culture. To be “*gebildet*” was not only to be 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.²⁶ Stefan Zweig's parents, Ida (1855–1938) and Moriz, were both born into families that had already accepted aspects of German culture and modern forms of dress as their own before their births. They themselves did not undergo a process of cultural assimilation, but rather reaped the benefits of their parents' and grandparents' efforts. The sartorial

²⁶ See George L. Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation: Between *Bildung* and Respectability,” in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, eds., *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, University Press of New England, Hanover, New Hampshire, United States, 1985, pp. 1–16; Rebekka Horlacher, *The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung: A Comparative Cultural History*, Routledge, New York, New York, United States, 2016.

styles depicted in surviving photographs are not those of the stereotypical “Jewish” look associated with the Zweigs’ eastern coreligionists, or that of their ancestors in pre-emancipatory Austria, but rather one that corresponds largely to the coterritorial middleclass Gentile populations. For families like the Zweigs who had undergone a process of cultural assimilation prior to their arrival in the Habsburg *Kaiserstadt* [imperial city], self-fashioning was not simply complete with their adoption of the German language, its culture and modern styles of dress, but an ongoing process that was both maintained and moved with the wider society. Nor was self-fashioning undergone homogeneously by all Viennese Jews. Even among acculturated Viennese Jews a range of levels of self-fashioning and corresponding acculturation and assimilation were practised, from those whose goal was the dissolution of their Jewish identities and complete integration into Gentile society to those who very consciously maintained their Jewish identities (both merely in name or active communal participation) while actively becoming modern Europeans. The Zweig family can be included among the latter.

As the only children of an upper middleclass family Stefan Zweig and his older brother Alfred (1879–1977) were pampered and raised in a manner that was befitting of the family’s social status. Growing up in an apartment on the Schottenring across from the famous Ringtheater, the brothers were aware of their Jewish identity——their parents commemorated the High Holy Days, maintained membership to communal organisations, and celebrated their sons’ *b’nei mitzvah*²⁷——but far more emphasis was placed on the ideals of *Bildung* and *Sittlichkeit*.²⁸ An undated portrait taken during the 1880s at the photography studio Winter (Reisnerstraße 11a in Landstraße, Vienna’s third district) presents Stefan and Alfred as young boys dressed in matching velvet jackets and satin bows (Figure 6). Stefan, the younger of the two 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 balances atop the narrow balustrade, while his older brother stands behind the balustrade, leaning up against

²⁷ “*B’nei Mitzvah*” (masculine) or “*B’not Mitzvah*” (feminine), plural forms of *Bar/Bat Mitzvah*, the “coming of age” ceremony for Jewish girls at age 12 and boys at age 13 whereby they are henceforth considered adults within Jewish ritual law. While it is a tradition to commemorate a Jewish child’s *Bar/Bat Mitzvah* in the synagogue, the ceremony itself is purely traditional and the child is automatically considered an adult upon reaching the age 12 or 13.

²⁸ Spitzer, op cit., p. 98.

him, a handkerchief and metal chain poking out of his left breast pocket, and his hand resting on a (worn) book. The photograph's setting on and around the marble-look balustrade and the use of book as prop is no accident; they symbolise Ida and Moriz's dedication to *Bildung*, which they hoped to instil in their sons.



Figure 6:

Portrait of Stefan and Alfred Zweig, circa 1880s, Atelier Winter, Vienna, Austria, © Stefan Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States, 4383-5-4.

Sartorial Elegance

The dress habits of the Zweig family followed the conventions of middleclass Viennese sartorial elegance. For members of this segment of society—the “educated” middleclass, both Jews and Gentiles—following correct practices of dress was synonymous with their dedication to *Bildung*. Dressing in a correct manner was not simply a means of presenting oneself as visually respectable, but fine clothing, it was claimed in the men’s fashion and lifestyle magazine *Die Herrenwelt* (1916–1918), had transformative powers that not only shaped the individual’s outward appearance, but

so to his inner countenance.²⁹ In short, dressing respectfully would allow the individual to feel respectful and in turn behave accordingly, or so it was believed.

From the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna, like other European cities, saw the advent of a radical dress reform, led by Secessionist artists and designers such as Gustav Klimt (1862–1918) and Emilie Flöge (1874–1952).³⁰ This dress reform, however, addressed female sartorial patterns exclusively and found its origins during the nineteenth century, in which European doctors had lobbied against the fashion industry for promoting unhealthy and restrictive modes of dress.³¹ In his oft-quoted 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.³²

His 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 make pains to point out Ida’s relative day-to-day plain, understated appearance, her carefully made up sartorial identity an exception for having her

²⁹ “Die Religion der Kleidung [The religion of clothing],” *Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode* [The men’s world: journal for men’s fashion], Vienna, Austria, September 1916, p. 6.

³⁰ Rebecca Houze, “Fashion and Its Discontents,” in *Textiles, Fashion, and Design Reform in Austria–Hungary Before the First World War: Principles of Dress*, Ashgate, Farnham, England, 2015, pp. 185–245.

³¹ Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 2001, p. 128.

³² Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, translated by Anthea Bell, Pushkin Press, London, England, 2011, p. 93.

photograph taken.³³ An undated, youthful portrait of Ida depicts a brooding young woman in the role of demure daughter of bourgeoisie (Figure 7). Her long, brown hair is pinned up artfully and decorated with flowers. She wears a simple light-coloured bodice with lace collar, large pendant earrings, and a ribbon choker necklace 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 from the studio of Dr. Josef Székely (1838–1901) in Vienna, show Ida Zweig in a more mature, socially expected 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 person adorned with flowers and modest jewellery (Figures 8 and 9). Matuschek asserts that despite her relatively plain everyday attire Ida was a customer of Vienna's leading dressmakers until 1914.³⁴ Her appearance in later photographs, despite her age, remains unaltered. As a wife and mother of Vienna's Jewish bourgeoisie Ida knew and accepted her expected station in life. This is suggested through her sartorial preferences, seemingly following the accepted fashions of the period. In a later photograph (circa 1936), Ida as an 82-year-old woman sits proudly between her two middle-aged sons (Figure 10). 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 in the role of elderly matriarch.



³³ Matuschek, op cit. pp. 26–30; George Prochnik, *The Impossible Exile: Stefan Zweig at the End of the World*, Granta Publications, London, England, 2014, pp. 122–123.

³⁴ Matuschek, op cit., p. 29.

Figure 7:

Portrait of Ida Zweig née Brettauer, J. Lafranchini, undated, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.



Figure 8:

Portrait of Ida Zweig née Brettauer, Josef Székely, undated, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.



Figure 9:

Portrait of Ida Zweig née Brettauer, Josef Székely, undated, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.



Figure 10:

Stefan, Alfred and Ida Zweig, family photograph, circa 1936, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

If Ida Zweig played the role of the family's queen, her husband Moriz was cast into that of "retiring and conciliatory 'prince consort'".³⁵ In descriptions of Stefan Zweig's family origins in biographies Moriz Zweig plays a secondary role to that of his wife,³⁶ and his sartorial habits are rarely discussed.³⁷ Surviving photographs of Moriz depict a stern-looking, bespectacled man whose appearance adapts with the times. Moriz's sartorial habits 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."³⁸ Essentially, this meant

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁶ Friderike Zweig (1882–1971), 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 influence of his mother Ida. See Friderike Zweig, *Stefan Zweig*, translated by Erna McArthur, W.H. Allen & Co., London, England, 1946, pp. 2–3.

³⁷ Donald A. Prater, for example, dedicates one line to Moriz's sartorial appearance insofar as its contrast to those of his wife Ida. See Donald A. Prater, *European of Yesterday: A Biography of Stefan Zweig*, Oxford University Press, London, England, 1972, p. 3.

³⁸ Jules Lubbock, "Adolf Loos and the English Dandy," *Architectural Review* Volume 174, Issue 1038, 1983, p. 44.

that a man should dress in the styles common amongst English “gentlemen”.³⁹ 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 (1875–1942), the son of the businessman Michael Goldman (1843–1909) who employed Loos to design the interior of his men’s outfitters on the Graben, and later his shop on the Michaelerplatz opposite the imperial Hofburg——were even sent to England to study or work for a period after completing their secondary education.⁴⁰ Moriz Zweig did not study in England but he was, along with French, fluent in the English language,⁴¹ and his dress preferences correspond to “correct” English style championed by Loos.

In a portrait of a youthful Moriz Zweig (circa 1860s/1870s), taken by the German born Austrian court photographer Fritz Luckhardt (1843–1894), depicts the young man with thick, middle-parted, dark hair and long fuzz-like growth of whiskers on his cheeks (Figure 11). Despite his youthful age, only reinforced by the not yet mature growth of facial hair, his stern countenance and plain, dark attire gives him a simultaneously mature appearance. This style was maintained and Moriz appears in similar guise in later portraits sporting Franz Joseph–style whiskers and moustache, pince-nez, dark sack suit jackets with high break points, and stiff, white collars in both——the same, cautious, conservatism Stefan Zweig refers to in his memoir (Figures 12).⁴²



³⁹ Adolf Loos, “Men’s Fashion,” [Neue Freie Press, May 22 1898] in *Spoken Into the Void: Collected Essays 1897–1900*, translated by Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 1982, pp. 10–14.

⁴⁰ Elana Shapira, *Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture and Design in Fin de Siècle Vienna*, Brandeis University Press, Waltham, Massachusetts, United States, 2016, p. 196.

⁴¹ Matuschek, op cit., pp. 23–24; Zweig, 2011, op cit., p. 30.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 27–31.

Figure 11:

Portrait of Moriz Zweig, Fritz Luckhardt, circa 1860s/1870s, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.



Figure 12:

Portrait of Moriz Zweig, Atelier Reuter & Pokorny, undated, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

During the First World War a frenzy of Anglophobia engulfed Viennese society. In line with the official Austrian stance on England and therefore in the quest to sever its English influences the men's fashion and lifestyle magazine, *Die Herrenwelt* proudly asserted the destruction of English tailoring, which it boasted, in any case, was built on the skills of Viennese immigrants.⁴³ Unsurprisingly the English influence on the Viennese bourgeoisie, indeed on dress and its terminology, ran deep, and amidst 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.⁴⁴

⁴³ "Vornehme Herren. Zur Erinnerung der Erwachsenen," *Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode*, Vienna, Austria, Volume 1, Issue 1, January 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁴ See "Briefkasten," *Die Herrenwelt: Zeitschrift für die Herrenmode*, Vienna, Austria, Volume 2, Issue 1, February 1917, p. 23. See also Jonathan C. Kaplan, "The Man in the Suit: Jewish Men and Fashion in fin-de-siècle Vienna," *Fashion Theory*, 2020, pp. 1–28, doi:10.1080/1362704X.2020.1746115.

Moriz Zweig's sons Alfred and Stefan came of age in an era of change; not only political change—the inauguration of the Christian Socialist Karl Lueger (1844–1910) as mayor of Vienna in 1897, as well as the advent of both political and cultural Zionism during the same period, in line with other burgeoning national ideologies—but cultural, too.⁴⁵ The next century saw the development of new and conflicting artistic styles, such as Vienna Secession, with its rejection of historicist style and the exploration of the new, and Loos's notions of rationality, which rejected completely what he considered was the Secession's unnecessary ornamentation. Alfred and Stefan Zweig, like other young men of middleclass backgrounds, rejected the regimented simplicity of their father's sartorial habits, and embraced “modern” styles. This is not to say that either brother was particularly avant garde in his sartorial choices; indeed their habits of dress remained within the confines of accepted middleclass 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—appearing as a *Gigerl* [“fop” or “rake”], the antithesis of Loos's well-dressed man (Figure 13). Stefan, in contrast, appears to have limited his sartorial indulgencies to the fine details: striking tie fabrics, and trinkets such as his pearl tiepin, ring, and cufflinks (Figure 14).



Figure 13:

⁴⁵ See for example John Boyer, *Political Radicalism In Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movements, 1848–1897*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1981; Mark. H. Gelber, “Kapitel 1: Stefan Zweigs jüdisches Manifest und seine jüdische Sensibilität,” [Chapter 1: Stefan Zweig's Jewish manifesto and his Jewish sensibility] in *Stefan Zweig, Judentum und Zionismus* [Stefan Zweig, Jewishness and Zionism], Studienverlag, Innsbruck, Austria, 2014, pp. 11–31. On Zweig's own account of his upbringings and youth see Zweig, 2011, op cit.

Photograph of Alfred Zweig, photographer unknown, 22 September 1903, Vienna, Austria, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

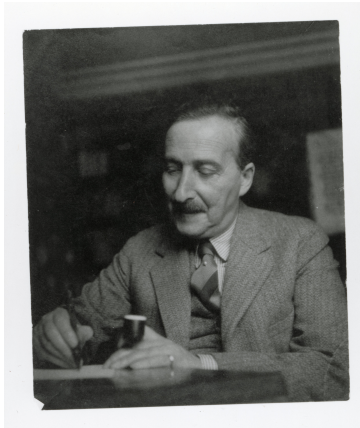


Figure 14:

Photograph of Stefan Zweig, photographer unknown, circa 1930s, location unknown, © Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York, United States.

Conclusion

Accounts of the sartorial preferences and patterns of Viennese Jewry are rare and generally appear in studies of the broader culture of this segment of the Viennese population. It should be noted that the case studies commonly confine themselves to those of the financial élite or those individuals who stood out as examples of contributors to the general development of Viennese modernist culture. As individuals of an inflated social rank on account of their 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. 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 article has probed the relationship of Jews and dress within the context of modernisation and acculturation in central Europe during the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. The images examined reveal the manner in which Austrian Jews, like the Zweig family, embraced widespread sartorial fashions of the day. Their carefully managed appearances in conjunction with conventions of sartorial respectability strongly refuted the notion of Jewish bodily difference that was prevalent not only in Vienna but across Europe and further afield. Examining the sartorial modes of Zweig's lesser known relatives explores the influences on not only his own multifaceted identity, but also that of other Viennese, Jewish 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 Zweig, like many other Jews of a similar background, *Bildung* and modern German culture was of utmost importance while Judaism (and Jewish identification) played a secondary role that would strengthen one's dedication in developing and performing a modern European identity.

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