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Source: *Austrian Studies*, Vol. 24, Jews, Jewish Difference and Austrian Culture. Literary and Historical Perspectives (2016), pp. 1-12

Published by: Modern Humanities Research Association

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5699/austrianstudies.24.2016.0001

Jewish Difference in the Austrian Context. Introduction

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In 1967, Austrian-born writer and journalist Josef Fraenkel (1903–1988) published a nearly 600-page edited volume of thirty-two chapters entitled *The Jews of Austria: Essays on their Life, History, and Destruction*. He opens the introduction with a few myths: 'The history of the Jews in Austria began with legends. A tale is told that, about eighty years after Joshua bin Nun had crossed the river Jordan, Jews settled in Vienna, and another fable makes a Jew the founder of Vienna; yet another story claims Jewish arrivals in Vienna in the wake of the Roman colonisation.'[1] This commingling of history with fantasy probably shouldn't surprise us, since historians have long been aware of just how common it is for all people to imagine their origins as part of one glorious, collective past.[2] What is striking however is the way in which these foundational legends highlight unspoken truths underlying every essay in the rest of Fraenkel's volume: the intensity of Jews' desire to anchor themselves and their history in Austrian territory, culture and daily life, and the ambivalent relationship between Austria and Jews that this intensity reveals. Coming to terms with this relationship has always been a concern for Jews in Austria. Take, for example, our cover image. In this painting by Franz Rainoldi from 1863, the Austrian Jewish writer Ludwig August Frankl is depicted as he oversees the cutting of a stone from Mount Zion; Frankl was commissioned by the Viennese Jewish community to bring back a block from Jerusalem that was eventually used as the capstone in the newly constructed Leopoldstadt Temple in the city's second district. While this image illustrates the resolve of the Viennese Jewish community to cement the Jewish past into its present and future in Austria, there was a further aspect to its symbolism that is not shown here. We know from Rabbi Adolf Jellinek's dedication of the Temple in 1858 that the community also placed a coin in the capstone featuring Emperor Franz

[1] Josef Fraenkel, 'Introduction,' in *The Jews of Austria: Essays on their Life, History, and Destruction*, ed. by Josef Fraenkel (London, 1967), ix-xiv (p. ix).

[2] See for example Erich Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Erich Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1–14.

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Joseph I on one side and the imperial eagle on the other, as well as a book by Frankl on the history of the Jews in Vienna.[3] This combination of objects and their enshrining in the new synagogue reflect how aware the Viennese Jewish community was of its multiple loyalties, as well as the importance it placed on honouring them.

As Fraenkel's volume and much research since its publication has made clear, dealing with these loyalties and ambivalences was something that Austrian Jews of all degrees of Jewish self-identification had to do, whether consciously or not — from assimilated citizens to enthusiastic converts, from Galician-born Orthodox Jews to ardent Zionists. Jews initiated and supported many of the best-known ideas and movements in modern Austrian culture even as they faced antisemitic words, deeds and attitudes, repeated episodes of expulsion and violence and their eventual destruction in the Holocaust. Satisfying explanations for this paradox may continue to elude us, but further research on the history and literature by, for and about Jews in Austria can nevertheless help bring us closer to understanding it.

Since the publication of Fraenkel's volume in 1967, no other collection has attempted its breadth on the subject. Its contributors — many, if not most of whom had been forced to leave Central Europe in the 1930s — include prominent figures such as Hilde Spiel, Max Brod, Naftali Herz Tur-Sinai, Martha Hofmann, Ernst Waldinger, Peter G. J. Pulzer and Martin Freud. Its chapters range from Vienna to Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria and Prague and cover topics such as music, art, law, medicine, literature, journalism, sports, women, politics, Chassidism, the Sephardi community, antisemitism, Nazi persecution and post-war restitution and reconstruction. Although our own, much more modest volume on the same topic makes no claim to approach Fraenkel's range, we think it befitting to begin with a reference to *The Jews of Austria* since, nearly fifty years on, many remain keenly interested in the topics its authors raised. However, as the articles in this volume of *Austrian Studies* reflect, the methods and approaches used to examine them have changed greatly over the past five decades.

The subject of Jews and their relationship to Austrian culture first garnered significant international attention following the publication of Carl E. Schorske's *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* in 1980, which catapulted *fin-de-siècle* Vienna to its status in existing scholarship as the birthplace of much of modern culture.[4] As Schorske noted in his introduction,

> Vienna in the *fin de siècle*, with its acutely felt tremors of social and political disintegration, proved one of the most fertile breeding grounds of our century's a-historical culture. Its great intellectual innovators — in

[3] Adolf Jellinek, *Zwei Reden zur Schlußsteinlegung und zur Einweihung des neuen israelitischen Tempels in der Leopoldstadt am 18. Mai und 15. Juni 1858* (Vienna, 1858), p. 5. See also Björn Siegel, p. ? and Louise Hecht, p. ? in the present volume.

[4] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980).

> music and philosophy, in economics and architecture, and, of course, in psychoanalysis — all broke, more or less deliberately, their ties to the historical outlook central to the nineteenth century liberal culture in which they had been reared.[5]

Although his study consisted mainly of essays he had published previously (1961–1973), the effect of bringing together various aspects of Vienna including architecture, politics, society, literature, art, music and psychoanalysis constituted a new and enthusiastically-received approach to urban cultural history. Its popularity cemented the reputation of turn of the century Vienna as an unparalleled site of cultural innovation with Schorske's book as its guide.

But even though the investigation of Viennese culture has subsequently widened to include critiques of such a nostalgic approach to this era, the degree to which the Jewish backgrounds and self-identification of so many of Vienna's artists and patrons mattered is still an open question. Many remain curious about what Jewishness had to do with the writings of Arthur Schnitzler, Sigmund Freud and Stefan Zweig, the music of Arthur Schönberg or the Jewish patrons of non-Jewish figures such as Gustav Klimt and Adolf Loos, to name but a few examples. Schorske himself notably downplays the role of Jewish difference in Austrian culture in his study, even as he explores the significance of these figures to Vienna's intellectual and cultural legacy. By contrast, Stefan Zweig's autobiography *Die Welt von Gestern* [*The World of Yesterday*, 1942], published in English in 1943, explicitly touts Jews and their relationship to the culture they produced. As he famously noted, 'nine-tenths of what the world celebrated as Viennese culture in the nineteenth century was promoted, nourished, or even created by Viennese Jewry'.[6] His book remains a popular testament to the rich but ultimately doomed participation of Jews in the culture of this era. However, Zweig's explanation for the over-representation of Jews as cultural producers, understandably influenced by his own traumatic situation as an Austrian Jew in exile from Nazi persecution, has not stood the test of time. His assertion that Jews' creativity in Vienna was possible because '[w]hoever lived there and worked there felt himself free of all confinement and prejudice'[7] has been refuted by scholars who have since pointed out that antisemitism and exclusionary, negative stereotypes about Jews by no means disappeared in the Austrian *fin de siècle*, even if they are not always immediately apparent in retrospect.[8]

Rejecting this rosy view of conditions for Jewish creativity in the *fin de siècle*

[5] Ibid., p. xviii.

[6] Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday. An Autobiography by Stefan Zweig* (New York, 1943), p. 22.

[7] Ibid., p. 24.

[8] See Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, 1992), p. 47 and Peter G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (London, 1988), p. 219. See also John Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897–1918* (Chicago, 1995).

as well as the disappearance of antisemitism, Steven Beller's *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938* (1989) provided the first comprehensive examination of significant individuals of varying degrees of Jewish self-identification responsible for shaping Viennese culture during this period.[9] Sander Gilman's foundational work in Jewish cultural studies and his research on Freud, medicine, language and the body offered much-needed, original insight into the connections between Jews and culture at the *fin de siècle*.[10] Jacques Le Rider focused on Jewish self-identification as one of many crises facing some of Vienna's most influential writers and intellectual figures such as Freud, Theodor Herzl and Karl Kraus. He suggests that, given the diversity of their reactions, 'in the historical and cultural context of Viennese modernism, the only Jew we can allude to is an "imagined" one.'[11] Yet others, particularly Austrian émigrés such as art historian Ernst Gombrich, famously pushed back against such studies; they considered it a racist undertaking to draw attention to individuals' Jewish backgrounds.[12] As Eric Hobsbawm noted in his autobiography:

> My relatives would have shared the passionate indignation of the great art historian Ernst Gombrich, when, to fit in with late twentieth-century fashions, he was asked to describe his native Viennese culture as Jewish. It was plain Viennese middle-class culture, unaffected by the fact that so many of its eminent practitioners were Jews and (faced with the endemic anti-Semitism of the region) knew themselves to be Jews, any more than by the fact that some of them came from Moravia (Freud and Mahler), some from Galicia or the Bukovina (Joseph Roth) or even from Russe on the Bulgarian Danube (Elias Canetti). It would be just as pointless to look for consciously Jewish elements in the songs of Irving Berlin or the Hollywood movies of the era of the great studios, all of which were run by immigrant Jews: their object, in which they succeeded, was precisely to make songs or films which found a specific expression for 100 per cent Americanness.[13]

This Hobsbawm quotation illustrates the paradoxical fact that even those who were sympathetic to Jews — including Jews themselves — sometimes reinforced the very terms used to exclude them by insisting that there must be clear, inflexible boundaries between distinctive 'Jewish' and 'Viennese' (or indeed 'Jewish' and 'American') cultures. Scholars have since recognized that sentiments like these call for analysis rather than acceptance. As Joan Scott has argued, we cannot allow the evidence of experience to naturalize, rather

[9] Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (New York, 1989).

[10] See for example Sander L. Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: medicine and identity at the fin de siècle* (Baltimore, 1993); *The Jew's Body* (London, 1991); *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, 1990).

[11] Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siecle Vienna* (New York, 1993), p. 5.

[12] Ernst Gombrich, *The Visual Arts in Vienna circa 1900 & Reflections on the Jewish Catastrophe* (London, 1996).

[13] Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times. A Twentieth-Century Life* (New York, 2003), pp. 10–11.

than document, the forces of the past.[14] In the Austrian Jewish context, if we refuse to examine such eyewitness statements critically, we risk naturalizing the divisions between Jews and non-Jews as 'self-evident' when these historical divisions themselves are the very elements that require our attention.

More recent scholarship strikes a balance between acknowledging its debt to earlier studies of Austrian culture while showing how more nuanced considerations of Jewish self-identification can be applied to cultural production. Historian Marsha L. Rozenblit, for example, deploys anthropologist Fredrik Barth's emphasis on the boundaries between groups rather than the content of that which is bounded, while Klaus Hödl stresses the performative nature of culture as key to recognizing that Jewish self-understandings underwent constant redefinition. Till van Rahden's concept of 'situational ethnicity' can also be a useful tool when analysing how fluid the self-identification of Austrian Jews could be. As he argued in *Jews and other Germans*, his path-breaking study of nineteenth-century Breslau, how Jews self-identified and how others viewed Jews should no longer be understood in terms of schematic categories such as 'exclusion,' 'assimilation' or 'hybridity'. Instead, it is important to consider how Jews and others simultaneously took on different roles and identities, depending at all times on the specific social situation and constellation in which they found or positioned themselves.[15]

To reflect the strategies Jews and others have used to challenge the ethnic complexities entrenched in Central European culture, it can also be helpful, in particular in the Austrian context, to recognize that the socially-constructed, hierarchical dialectic between the categories 'Jew' and 'non-Jew' operates in much the same way as the relationship between the constructed categories 'man' and 'woman' in the analytic category of gender. Using 'Jewish difference' as the name for this critical category of analysis — much as we do when we use the category 'gender' — we can gain insight into texts and other art forms without first qualifying whether their author self-identified as a Jew or whether the artefact itself contains easily identifiable, explicitly 'Jewish' content. Just as misogyny is but one of the consequences of a gendered, hierarchical coding system, so is antisemitism but one of the effects that result when categorizing people, places and things as 'Jewish' or 'not Jewish.'[16] By contextualizing antisemitism within this larger rubric, we gain a much broader and more complex understanding of how both Jews and non-Jews functioned in Central

[14] Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience,' *Critical Inquiry*, 17:4 (Summer 1991), 773–79.

[15] See Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (New York, 2001), pp. 7–8; Klaus Hödl, *Wiener Juden — jüdische Wiener: Identität, Gedächtnis und Performanz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 2006), pp. 50–63; Till van Rahden, *Jews and other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860–1925* (Madison, WI, 2008), p. 8.

[16] See Lisa Silverman, 'Beyond Antisemitism: A Critical Approach to German Jewish Cultural History,' *Nexus 1: Essays in German Jewish Studies* (2011), 27–45.

European culture, as well as the significance of the constructed categories of 'Jewish' and 'not Jewish'. Thus we can move beyond reductively labelling all engagements with the terms of Jewish difference as 'antisemitism' or 'Jewish self-hatred' and avoid lumping together acts of violence with more subtly articulated discursive engagements.

Although the topic of antisemitism has also been subject to new paradigms and modes of thinking, it remains a central challenge. As in the case of most European Jews, violence and antisemitic rhetoric, both explicit and implicit, influenced how Jews as a minority in Austria could live their lives and be culturally productive. Many still cite the infamous dictum 'Wer Jude ist, bestimme ich' [I decide who is a Jew] attributed to Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, as evidence of a particularly Viennese brand of populist, political antisemitism. *Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna*, a volume co-edited by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak and Gerhard Botz (1987), republished in German in 1990 and expanded in 2002, was among the first to explore the connections among Jews, culture and antisemitic ideology in an Austrian context.[17] While tracing fluctuations in the extent and virulence of its uses by political parties and others, the book's essays underscore how Viennese Jews constantly confronted antisemitism, which remained a hallmark of Viennese history throughout the nineteenth century and into the post-Holocaust era. Other scholars have also demonstrated how antisemitic beliefs persisted among the general population and in Austrian culture long after the Holocaust. They show how the absence of explicit antisemitic discourse can still be powerful evidence of the presence of antisemitism.[18]

Recent scholarship in the field seeks, therefore, not only to look beyond *fin-de-siècle* Vienna both chronologically and geographically, but also to apply new theoretical paradigms aimed at offering more and more nuanced insight into how and why Jewish difference matters in the creation of culture in Austria. Researchers have returned to the breadth of Fraenkel's 1967 volume, highlighting the fact that Jews' deep engagement with Austrian culture began long before 1867, continued after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918 into the interwar period and began again immediately after the Holocaust.[19] The

[17] *Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna*, ed. by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz (London, 1987); *Eine zerstörte Kultur: Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus in Wien seit dem 19.* Jahrhundert, ed. by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz (Buchloe, 1990); 2nd edition, ed. by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, Gerhard Botz and Nina Scholz (Vienna, 2002). See also Albert Lichtblau, *Antisemitismus und soziale Spannung in Berlin und Wien, 1867–1914* (Berlin, 1994).

[18] See for example Ruth Wodak, 'Discourses of Silence. Anti-Semitic discourse in post-war Austria,' in *Discourse and Silencing: Representation and the Language of Displacement*, ed. by Lynn Janet Thiesmeyer (Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 179–210.

[19] See for example *Ludwig August Frankl. Eine jüdische Biographie zwischen Okzident und Orient (1810–1894),* ed. by Louise Hecht (Vienna, 2016); Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians: Jews and Culture between the World Wars* (New York, 2012); Hillary Hope Herzog, *'Vienna is Different': Jewish Writers in Austria from the Fin de Siècle to the Present* (New York,

examination of Jews' participation in Austrian culture has also been widened beyond the bounds of painting, music and architecture by well-known figures to include film, operetta, sports, photography, Yiddish theater, Hebrew literature and lowbrow public performances.[20] With an eye to developments in the field of gender studies, it incorporates the previously overlooked experiences of Jewish women in Austria in the creation of culture.[21]

Vienna has always been home to the vast majority of Austria's Jews and remains an important focus of attention, although recent research extends beyond Leopoldstadt into districts with smaller Jewish populations, as well as to the provinces.[22] Alternative ways of thinking about Jews' relationship to music, architecture, design, drama and literature created in Vienna have been proposed. New insights into the boundaries of Jewish self-identification have raised important questions about why an individual's Jewish background and the degree to which they engaged with it may have mattered to their life and work, even if the work they produced was not created for the purpose of fostering a collective sense of Jewish identity.[23] For example, the creation of modern culture in Vienna has been analysed as the result of collaborative efforts between Jews and non-Jews who at times may have shared aesthetic goals, even as some Jews sought to assert a unique cultural heritage as part of a project of assimilation.[24] Others have explored how the efforts of an artist or

2011); *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, ed. by Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman (Rochester, NY, 2009); Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (New York, 2001).

[20] See for example Brigitte Dalinger, *Verloschene Sterne: Geschichte des jüdischen Theaters in Wien* (Vienna, 1998); *Vienna's Shooting Girls: Jüdische Fotografinnen aus Wien*, ed. by Iris Meder, Andrea Winklbauer and Ulla Fischer-Westhauer (Vienna, 2012); Shachar M. Pinsker, *Literary Passports: The Making of Modernist Hebrew Fiction in Europe* (Stanford, 2011); Sharon Gillerman, 'Samson in Vienna: The Theatrics of Jewish Masculinity,' *Jewish Social Studies* 9:2 (2003), 65–98; Matthias Marschik, *Geschichte der Sports der Juden in Deutschland und Österreich* (Göttingen, 2008).

[21] See for example Deborah Holmes, *Langeweile ist Gift: Das Leben der Eugenie Schwarzwald* (St. Pölten, 2012); Alison Rose, *Jewish Women in fin de siècle Vienna* (Austin, 2008); Michaela Raggam-Blesch, *Zwischen Ost und West. Identitätskonstruktionen jüdischer Frauen in Wien* (Innsbruck, 2008); Dieter Hecht, *Zwischen Feminismus und Zionismus: die Biografie einer Wiener Jüdin, Anitta Müller-Cohen 1890–1962* (Vienna, 2008).

[22] See for example Evelyn Adunka and Gabriele Anderl, *Jüdisches Leben in der Wiener Vorstadt: Ottakring und Hernals* (Vienna, 2013); Ursula Mindler, *Grenz-Setzungen im Zusammenleben. Verortungen jüdischer Geschichte in der ungarischen/österreichischen Provinz am Beispiel Oberwart/Felsöör* (Innsbruck, 2011); Herbert Exenberger, *Gleich dem kleinen Häuflein der Makkabäer. Die jüdische Gemeinde in Simmering 1848 bis 1945* (Vienna, 2009); Gerald Lamprecht, *Jüdisches Leben in der Steiermark: Marginalisierung-Auslöschung-Annäherung* (Innsbruck, 2004).

[23] For example Paul Reitter, *The Anti-Journalist: Karl Kraus and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Chicago, 2007); Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist*. Vol. 1 *Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven, 1986) and *The Postwar Crisis and the Rise of the Swastika*, Vol. 2 (New Haven, CT, 2005).

[24] See for example Elana Shapira, *Style and Seduction: Jewish patrons, architecture, and*

writer to probe a work's hidden depths or else to remove its foreign elements could be read as a means of subverting accusations of Jewish superficiality and Otherness.[25]

The articles we present here reflect the variety of these new approaches to examining Jews and culture in Austria. The volume begins with three analyses that engage with Jews' social, political and cultural allegiances beginning in the Habsburg Monarchy. In 'The Servant of Two Masters. Jewish Agency for Austrian Culture in the Orient before the Era of Emancipation', Louise Hecht further explores the context of our cover illustration, analysing the extended trip that Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894) — not only a popular writer, but also secretary of Vienna's Jewish community — took to the Middle East in 1856. Frankl's experiences and the various missions he accomplished during his journey not only illustrate the variety of his interests and commitments, but also the range of activities open to Jews in the years before their legal emancipation in Austria-Hungary in 1867. Frankl embodies the dual possibility of maintaining both Habsburg and Jewish loyalties; the ambivalences of his position as simultaneously 'European' and 'Oriental' are traced here by Hecht in his projects and influential travel writing. The following article by Dieter Hecht, 'Jewish (Vacation) Fraternities in the Habsburg Monarchy. Kadimah and Geullah — Forward to Redemption', develops the thread of intersecting, but sometimes competing Habsburg and Jewish loyalties through an exploration of previously understudied Jewish student organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hecht shows that Zionism left its mark on the first Jewish national fraternity Kadimah, founded at the University of Vienna, as well as on the vacation fraternities that subsequently arose all over the Habsburg Monarchy, allowing Jews outside Vienna to implement new political and social allegiances through public and private networks. The article is the first to provide collated data on the foundation and locations of these organizations, brought to life by analysis of unpublished diary entries and correspondence by Egon Michael Zweig, a founding member of the first vacation fraternity, Geullah (Olmütz/Olomouc). Ursula Mindler-Steiner also addresses Jewish Habsburg allegiances outside Vienna in her microhistory of the Jewish community in the border town Oberwart/Felsőőr, which was part of Western Hungary until 1921. Focusing on a province whose Jewish population has typically been represented by historians as homogeneous and Orthodox, Mindler-Steiner's article demonstrates not only the variety of Burgenland's

design in fin de siècle Vienna (Waltham, MA, 2016); Abigail Gillman, *Viennese Jewish Modernism: Freud, Hofmannsthal, Beer-Hofmann, and Schnitzler* (University Park, PA, 2009); Philip Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (New York, 2008).

[25] See for example Klárá Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley, 2008); Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York, 2007); Malachi Hacohen, *Karl Popper — the Formative Years, 1902–1945: Politics and Philosophy in Interwar Vienna* (Cambridge, 2000).

Jewish inhabitants, but also — in particular by considering language use — the fluidity of their 'national' or 'ethnic' identity. She helps us rethink how Jews in this region negotiated the changing terms of their political and social loyalties from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

The volume's second section remains in the Habsburg era while turning to literary reflections of the relationship between Jews and Austrian culture before the outbreak of the First World War. In '"Spaß mit der schönen Jüdin". Mixed Space and Dancing in Karl Emil Franzos's *Judith Trachtenberg*' Sonia Gollance adds a new twist to interpretations of Franzos's 1891 novel by focusing on its depiction of the mixed-sex leisure pursuit of social dance. She shows how Franzos uses this practice, forbidden among traditional Jews, to structure his novel; her analysis reveals how gender and Jewish difference influenced social change and Jews' experiences in the Habsburg Monarchy. The following article by Clemens Peck offers a re-reading of Theodor Herzl's utopian Zionist novel *Altneuland* (1902). Contrasting depictions of Jewish salons in the novel demonstrate the varied and shifting loyalties of Habsburg Jews at the turn of the century. In Peck's argument, the salon is not just a narrated space but also a space that generates narrative, participating in and mediating the discourse of progress. By viewing the salon as a utopian site where present and future merge, he is able to shed new light on the ways in which literature and politics interacted in Herzl's Zionism. The final article in this section, '"Wenn ich ein Chinese wäre". The Austrian-Jewish Imagination of China around 1900 revisited'" by Shuangzhi Li, reveals that Jews' utopian dreams reached even further east. Contextualizing works by Franz Kafka, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Karl Kraus, the article examines how Jewish authors in Austria used representations of China to explore their own self-image and attributions of Jewish Otherness, or else to work through concerns about assimilation.

The third section of our volume reconsiders Vienna's Jewish spaces. Björn Siegel's 'The Temple in Leopoldstadt and its Function in Habsburg Vienna. The Role of History in Fashioning Jewish Modernity' reflects the fact that Leopoldstadt, the city's second district, long served as home to the majority of Jews in Vienna. By examining the construction of what was to become an architectural landmark, one of the biggest synagogues in city, Siegel shows how architecture participated in and was influenced by newly evolving modes of Jewish self-identification. He examines the correlation between the synagogue's emergence as a crucial reference point for the Jewish Community and the growing support for the Wissenschaft des Judentums [Science of Judaism] among a Viennese Jewish elite. Both the new building and the new historical discipline were to bring the Jewish past to bear on a Jewish present and future that claimed a central stake in European modernity. In 'Culture, Community and Belonging in the Jewish Sections of Vienna's Central Cemetery', Tim Corbett moves beyond Leopoldstadt as the centre of Viennese Jewish life to the cemetery as an alternative Jewish space, examining the platform it offered for the

self-representation of the city's Jewish community from the 1860s to 1938. The Jewish sections of the Central Cemetery are among the few physical testaments to the Jewish past to survive the Holocaust in Vienna's urban landscape. Corbett shows how they reflect the diversity of the city's Jewish population as well as the political and social changes it experienced. Using the preliminary results of an in-depth study, he demonstrates what can be achieved by tracing the evolution of Jewish cemetery regulations and scrutinizing the design and inscriptions of individual tombstones. The final article in this section, 'Jewish Difference in the Context of Class, Profession and Urban Topography. Studies of Jewish Sports Officials in Interwar Vienna', co-authored by Sema Colpan, Bernhard Hachleitner and Matthias Marschik, focuses on Jews' presence and significance in the outer districts of the city. Building upon previous research concerning Jewish athletic participation in Vienna, these authors examine how a reconsideration of suburban Jewish space can shed light on how the careers of sports officials such as Leopold Klagsbrunn, Siegfried (Samuel) Deutsch and Julius Deutsch engaged Jewish difference.

Our final section returns to literature as it moves beyond the chronological confines of the rest of the volume, picking up after the Second World War and the Holocaust. It considers the struggles of the second and subsequent generations forced to confront the recent past, as well as the situation of Austrian Jews who came back after 1945. By that time, of the roughly 200,000 living in Austria before the Second World War, 65,000 had been murdered in the Holocaust; those able to flee Nazi persecution between 1938 and 1941 mainly found refuge in the United States, Great Britain and the British Mandate for Palestine (now Israel). The few Austrian Jewish victims of National Socialism who returned began to rebuild their lives in the following decades amid persistent antisemitism, complicated by the warped perception that Austria had been Hitler's 'first victim' rather than an often very willing accomplice.[26] The re-negotiation of Jews' participation in Austrian culture amid these and other political and social challenges is explored in detail in Wolfgang Straub's '"Farewell to the Jews". Hans Weigel, Social Democracy and the "Jewish Question" in post-1945 Austria'. Weigel, the once influential Viennese critic and author, reflected explicitly and controversially on the issue of Jews and culture from the immediate post-war period until the 1980s. Analysing both published and unpublished sources, Straub shows how Weigel's critical stance can be viewed beyond self-hatred as one that reflects both the Austrian mainstream attitude of his day and the complexity of remigrant experience. Andrea Reiter's article considers how more contemporary literature has taken issue with the reconstruction of the post-war Jewish population in Austria, which continues amid growing possibilities for public debate and discussion. In 'The "Vision of Home". Nostalgia in Anna Mitgutsch's *Haus der Kindheit* (2000)', she analyses

[26] See for example Evelyn Adunka, *Die vierte Gemeinde. Die Geschichte der Wiener Juden von 1945 bis heute* (Berlin, 2000).

the literary representation of a child refugee's return to his place of birth and his fight to reclaim his former home, suggesting that photographs can also be a valuable means of conveying the complicated vicissitudes of memory for Austrian Jews after the Holocaust. Matthias Eck continues the discussion of how Austrian authors struggle to engage memory in 'Memory and Jewish Masculinities in Works by Doron Rabinovici and Arno Geiger'. He focuses on the intersection of Jewish difference with gender, masculinity and postmemory via the works of two novelists — one Jewish, one non-Jewish — who use family relations as a means of addressing history. By comparing the male behaviours depicted in their writing, Eck shows how they articulate new types of anti-hegemonic masculinity that are reminiscent of stereotypical depictions of Jewish men and use these to challenge Austria's relationship to the past. And finally, in 'Narrative and Situational Identity in Eva Menasse's "Habgier" (2009)', Anita Bunyan examines the power of narrative to reflect and shape how the second generation balances Jewish difference with other categories of belonging such as class, gender and family roles. She adapts the concept of situational ethnicity proposed by Van Rahden to explore the humorous yet probing analysis of contemporary Austrian society and culture to be found in Menasse's short stories.

The mythical origins of Jewish Vienna noted in the introduction to Fraenkel's 1967 volume may no longer be common knowledge, but the relationship between Jews and Austrian culture remains just as intriguing. The significant participation of Jews in Austrian culture is certainly no myth. Even the most cursory glance at previous issues of *Austrian Studies*, for example, reveals its importance: although this is the first volume to dedicate itself in general terms to Jews and Jewishness in Austria, barely a year has gone by without substantial contributions on figures or phenomena that could be considered Jewish. However, many still grapple with how best to categorize or define this aspect of Austrian cultural history and contemporary Austrian culture — as is strikingly illustrated in the vexed discussions over memorials and memorialization that regularly flare up in Austria itself.[27] It is not our intention to blot out or ignore the fact that many figures of Jewish origin active in Austrian cultural history did not or did not wish to think of themselves as Jews or of their works as Jewish, whether in an ethnic, religious or cultural sense. At the same time, it would be an impoverishment and a simplification to ignore the multifaceted, ever-changing, dynamic discourse of Jewish difference that has shaped Austrian culture, for better or worse, over the centuries. We offer these articles as an illustration of how the category of Jewish difference, used as an analytical

[27] For a comparative perspective, see Bogusław Dybaś, Tomasz Kranz, Irmgard Nöbauer and Heidemarie Uhl, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Polen und Österreich. Bestandsaufnahme und Entwicklungsperspektiven* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013). For an example of regional analysis see Albert Lichtblau, 'In Salzburg möglichst unauffällig: NS-Vergangenheit als Erinnerungsdilemma', *Zeitgeschichte* 39.4 (2012), 257–75.

tool, can enable us to investigate Austrian Jewish — or Jewish Austrian — history without implying the existence of *a priori* hierarchies of dominant and subculture or exclusive ethnic traditions.