The Binghamton Nuvolone
Restoring an Object in Six Parts

March 15–May 19, 2018

Binghamton University Art Museum

This catalogue accompanies an exhibition organized by Karen edis-Barzman, Diane Butler, and Neil Christian Pages at the Binghamton University Art Museum.

Binghamton University Art Museum
Binghamton University
Binghamton, New York
Thursday, March 15–Saturday, May 19, 2018

Design: Blažo Kovačević

ISBN-978-0-9779789-8-4

Published by:
Binghamton University Art Museum
Binghamton University
Binghamton, New York 13902
https://www.binghamton.edu/art-museum

Printed and bound in Serbia by Publikum

Once 'the Only True Austrians': Jews and Austrian Culture in the Early Twentieth Century

Tim Corbett[1]

When one today thinks of the combined terms "Europe" and "Jewish culture," the tiny Alpine republic of Austria—known abroad amongst other things as the birthplace of Adolf Hitler—may not spring to mind as the most obvious connotation. Yet the Austria of yesteryear—the vast, sprawling Austria of the Habsburg Empire (Fig. 1)—was in its heyday home to several million Jews, in fact a good fifth of the world's Jewish population.[2] The empire's Jews going into modernity were as diverse and dispersed as was the general population: The catalogue of Habsburg territories with large and culturally vibrant Jewish populations includes Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and of course Galicia and the Bukovina; a catalogue of cities includes such renowned centers of Jewish life and culture as Prague, Pressburg/Bratislava, Kraków, Lemberg/Lwów/L'viv, and Czernowitz/Chernivtsi. By the turn of the last century, this also included the grand imperial capitals of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, Vienna and Budapest—two of the worldwide largest Jewish metropolises in their day. The empire was home to urban, cosmopolitan, and western-oriented Jewish individuals and communities as it was to traditional, religious, often rather orthodox and eastern-oriented Jews. There were Sephardic Jews in the Balkans and Chassidic Jews in the Carpathians; Jewish aristocrats, industrialists, and peddlers lived in the cities alongside renowned rabbis and community leaders as well as prolific progenitors of literature, music, and science. The Jews of Habsburg Central Europe spoke all manner of languages, from German and Hungarian through Serbo-Croatian and Czech to Polish and Yiddish, and they followed all manner of creeds, from ultra-orthodox through reformed Judaism to radical secularism, and from Socialism through militant nationalism to Zionism. One could hardly speak of a more diverse group of people in terms of culture, economy, politics, religiosity, and outlook, yet all of the people in this amorphous collective were united in that they perceived themselves, or were perceived by others, as both Jews and—more ethereally—as Austrians.

The modern history of Jewish culture in Austria is widely portrayed as the convoluted story of a great cultural flowering that ended in murderous destruction—a cultural genesis morphing into cultural and physical genocide. The brief but profoundly fertile heyday of Jewish-Austrian culture took place within a tumultuous era of convulsive change, which was nevertheless also a relatively progressive era of erudition and innovation unparalleled elsewhere in Jewish-European history, except perhaps in the era of Moorish rule in medieval Spain. The much-discussed Viennese *fin-de-siècle*, in particular, is widely studied for the lasting impact it has had on European art, music, literature, science, and philosophy, and for the central role that Austria's Jews played therein.[3] The story of Austria's Jews—which it bears repeating was a broad and loosely defined collection of peoples—has also frequently been called the most unrequited love story in European history.[4] This narrative, however, so bleak in its assessment of the Jewish-Austrian past and so stark in its separation of "the Jews" from the history of "the Austrians," begs reconsideration. After all, a century ago the sense of belonging of Austria's Jews in their home cities, in the Habsburg lands, and in Central European culture was so great that, when the Habsburg Empire was

torn apart—as the popular story goes—by the forces of irredentist, reactionary nationalism, it was often remarked that "the only true Austrians" were the Jewish Austrians.[5] This is a compelling but not uncomplicated notion that I will briefly explore in this paper.

The legacy of Jewish-Austrian culture is all around us, echoing into the present day in more or less explicit forms, echoing stronger than ever now as scholarly and popular investigation reclaims this heritage from the cultural oblivion of the Holocaust. I think here, to cite a popular example, of the recent bestseller novel *The Hare with Amber Eyes*.[6] It recounts the story of the long rise and devastating fall of the Ephrussi family empire and embeds it in the social, cultural, and political history of the former Habsburg capital, Vienna. Published in 2010 by a British-born descendant of this once influential Jewish Viennese banking family, the book has to date been translated into thirty languages, has sold well over a million copies worldwide in numerous reprints, and has been the recipient of a string of accolades. In another recent example, the interwoven world of Jewish socialites and the flowering of Austrian modernist art in the early twentieth century were the premise for the 2015 film *The Woman in Gold*, directed by Simon Curtis and starring Helen Mirren. This historical dramatization tells the story of Maria Altmann, the California-based descendant of another of Vienna's once illustrious Jewish entrepreneurial families, and her struggle to get the famous Gustav Klimt portrait of her aunt, Adele Bloch-Bauer, restituted by the Austrian government. This story, representative of thousands like it, showcases the shameful state policy of post-Holocaust Austria to hang on, by whatever subterfuge in its power, to the property "Aryanized," meaning expropriated and stolen, under Nazi rule from the people who were subsequently driven ruthlessly into either exile or death.[7] More implicitly, however, and more relevantly for us here, this story also points to the manner in which the heritage of Jews in Austria is inextricably interwoven with the very fabric of what we consider modern "Austrian" culture itself, which is perhaps nowhere more viscerally exemplified than by the reluctance of twenty-first century Austria to part with what was widely called "our Adele."

The legacy of Jews within Austrian culture is ubiquitous, extending far beyond the seemingly narrow chronological and geographic boundaries in which it originated. Prominent examples include literati such as Arthur Schnitzler, Joseph Roth, Franz Werfel, or (probably most famous in America) Stefan Zweig. We might think of Arnold Schönberg and atonal music or Gustav Mahler and the enduring popularity of his compositions today, or of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Sigmund Freud and the impact of their philosophies on the twentieth-century perception of the human mind. We might think of Viktor Adler and Otto Bauer and the lasting impact of Austrian Socialist, or Austro-Marxist, political theory, or of Theodor Herzl and the global impact of the Zionism he set in motion, one of the most improbably successful yet deeply contested political movements of the twentieth century. (I am here, to be sure, including people defined in the broadest sense as "Jews": people of Jewish descent regardless of their dizzying array of self-identifications, though this is itself a problematic definition which has sparked an array of controversial debates.[8])

If this list of scientific, political, and cultural notables seems rather male-dominated—as such lists often do—we could certainly also include the philologist Elise Richter, the first woman in Austrian history to receive a professorship at Vienna University, who would later perish in the Theresienstadt concentration camp. We could also include Lise Meitner, the co-discoverer of nuclear fission, who due to her gender was denied a Nobel Prize but who did after all have an element posthumously named in her honor. If the names of nineteenth-century socialites and philanthropists such as Fanny von Arnstein and Marie Kompert have today been largely forgotten, the results of their efforts towards the emancipation and education of women across Central Europe live on.[9] Indeed, if we look beyond the Holocaust, we find women of Jewish Austrian descent still fulfilling key roles in Austrian culture and society today, such as the Nobel Laureate Elfriede Jelinek or the award-winning filmmaker and writer Ruth Beckermann.

The legacy of Jewish-Austrian culture neither ends with the Holocaust, nor is it confined within the borders of the modern Austrian state. The descendants of Jewish Austrians, the majority of whom—over 120,000 individuals from Vienna alone—were forced into exile following the cataclysmic Nazi takeover in 1938, have been widely noted for their cultural and scientific prowess. Examples that come to mind include the acclaimed Hollywood film director Billy Wilder, the pioneering gender historian Gerda Lerner, or the neurologist and Nobel Laureate Eric Kandel. Of course, in these latter cases it becomes problematic to include such individuals in a list of Jewish Austrian or, worse, simply Austrian notables, as Eric Kandel exemplified in his 2006 autobiography, *In Search of Memory*. Recalling the day he was informed of being awarded the Nobel Prize, he commented: "I found the telephone calls from Vienna most interesting because they were calling to tell me how pleased Austria was that there was yet another Austrian Nobel Prize. I had to remind them that this was an American Nobel Prize."[10]

Kandel had good reason to gently reject the Austrian attempts to claim cultural ownership of his achievements: It is a recurring theme amongst Jewish-Austrian memoirists-in-exile that the country which so callously drove out or murdered its Jewish sons and daughters has nevertheless proven quite willing to capitalize on their cultural and scientific creations.[11] Kandel was born in 1929 in an affluent neighborhood of Vienna, the son of educated Viennese citizens and Austrian patriots, yet his memories from the age of only nine years were dominated by the coarse, brute violence inflicted by his non-Jewish countrymen and -women on their Jewish neighbors in the wake of Austria's *Anschluß* or annexation to Nazi Germany. That Kandel, a citizen of the United States since the age of ten, should disavow Austria's attempts sixty years later to claim his achievements as its own, is neither surprising nor unusual. Yet Kandel's life, not least of all his work, are demonstrably and inextricably bound up in his Viennese origins. As he outlined in the preamble to his autobiography, it was nothing other than the memory of his Austrian past that led him on his trailblazing path to explaining the neurological phenomenon of memory as a whole. Thus Eric Kandel's life story, which I use here as exemplary for thousands of other Jewish Austrians

who went into exile, is indicative of the resonance in the present day of the Austria of the past, just as their Austrian heritage continues to resonate amongst new Americans such as Kandel himself. What the thousands of stories of former exiles like Eric Kandel reveal is that "Austria"—as a construct of memory, or as an imagined cultural space—has not only survived through but is in fact a product of the cataclysmic temporal, spatial, and personal dislocations which defined the collective Austrian experience of the twentieth century.

I contend that the very concept of "Austria" as it has developed through modernity has been actively bound up in the interaction with and the fate of its Jewish population—be it for example in the cultural genesis of the *fin-de-siècle* or in the cultural genocide of the Holocaust. Key moments of twentieth-century Austrian history—a history defined more by its vicissitudes than any ostensible continuity—had a profound impact not only on Austrian political society and the everyday lives of its inhabitants, but even on the very understanding of what constituted "Austria" itself, and what determined belonging within this cultural space. Seen in this light, "Austria" becomes a mutable term: an ideological and cultural concept emerging and transforming through modernity. "Austria" might be classified as something akin to a phoenix, persistently resurrected after repeated destructions, if this metaphor did not belie the fundamental mutations which this concept has undergone with each cataclysm.[12]

Let me illustrate this with an example. Consider a key moment of modern Austrian—and European—history, namely the collapse of the Habsburg Empire one hundred years ago, in the closing days of World War I. With group after group deserting the war effort and declaring sovereignty in new "national" states, even the German-speaking Austrians, who at this time to a great degree considered themselves in some sense "Germans," ultimately disavowed "Austria" in the form of the multicultural Habsburg Empire, and overwhelmingly sought to unify as one "nation" with the German Empire (Fig. 2). In this context of irredentist nationalism, often accompanied by virulent, even violent, outbursts of antisemitism, contemporaries and later historians alike remarked that the empire's Jews remained as "the only true Austrians." Clearly, this enticing and enduring epithet to describe Austria's Jews, which I have found in more or less the same words in numerous sources spanning the length of the twentieth century, begs some clarification – especially of what is meant by the term "Austria." The "Austria" being referred to here evidently signified a partly imagined cosmopolitan confederation of peoples and cultures in Central Europe under the banner of Habsburg rule, an idealized "Austria" which was largely professed by the Habsburgs themselves but was also propagated at various times by various groups throughout the empire. Among the most vocal supporters of this sort of "European Union of Austria" or "United States of Austria" were Austrian Jews, hence why at the end of World War I, during the total collapse of the Empire, they were widely called the "only true Austrians."

The tiny Alpine rump state left over when the Entente powers had finished dissecting Central Europe in the Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Trianon treaties was a far cry from the multicultural Habsburg conglomeration of peoples. The majority of Jews remaining within the borders of

this newly proclaimed Austrian Republic in November 1918 resided in Vienna, which despite the cataclysms then disfiguring Central Europe remained one of the major Jewish metropolises of its era along with Budapest, Warsaw, and New York.[13] The Jewish population even of this narrowly defined "Austria," it should be emphasized, remained not only one of the largest but also one of the most heterogeneous Jewish populations in Europe at the time, and therefore even in this era cannot be easily subsumed or adequately described under a label so singular as "Austrian Jews" or "Jewish Austrians." The Jews of Vienna had migrated over generations from all over the Habsburg Empire and beyond, from what had now become Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia; from Germany, Turkey, Italy, Russia, and elsewhere. Tens of thousands of Jews fleeing the pogroms in Galicia during World War I and then raging during the Polish–Ukrainian War had made Vienna their home and generated a new subculture of Chassidism on the one hand and Yiddish press and theater on the other (Fig. 3). Vienna was as renowned for its literary scene and its German-language newspapers and publishing houses, mostly run by Jews, as it was for its Hebrew and Yiddish printing culture and its dozens of synagogues. Vienna was home to the seat of the ultra-orthodox Agudas Israel movement while hosting two Zionist Congresses during the interwar period, and some of the biggest names in Austrian academia, culture, and public life generally, as we have seen, were Jews or people of Jewish origin. As Joachim Riedl summarized, Austrian Jewry in the early twentieth century was "no less divided and fractured than the rest of the population. It was in parts pious and loyally arrested to tradition, it lived in parts far from God and estranged from the heritage of the fathers. It presented itself partly as statesmanlike and partly rebellious. It was on the one hand a religious community of notables, avid for recognition and monuments of prestige, and on the other hand a faith of beggars, indifferent towards all earthly symbols."[14]

This is a key point to remember: identity and culture in early twentieth-century Europe were complex phenomena, with categories such as religion, language, national identity, and cultural affiliation intersecting each other and blurring each other's boundaries. So it was possible, for example, and not even uncommon, to be an atheist, a Zionist, a Socialist, an Austrian, and a self-proclaimed Jew all at the same time—while simultaneously having a claim to, say, Polish citizenship. Unfortunately, however, and much to the detriment of scholarly research, the writing of history today often still follows the contrived identity politics of the early twentieth century, whereby a history of Jews in Austria is seen as essentially separate from the history of Austria itself. The well-established narrative of an ostensible "Jewish assimilation" into Austrian or European culture posits a two-dimensional perspective along an axis of "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" that flattens all difference, negates all subjectivity, attaches pseudo-ethnic labels to cultural history, and most egregiously suggests that Jews are inherently, in a manner that disconcertingly mirrors antisemitic discourse, not a part of this Austrian or European culture—at best, they merely "contribute" to it or "participate" in it. There is no room in this narrative, which resounds in historiography, museums, and both Jewish and non-Jewish collective

discourses to this day, for Jews to truly belong to European culture and to share in its history and its fate, except as passive subjects, most commonly as victims. It should be the aim of all good Jewish-Austrian historiography today, so I would argue, although its focus may lie on this loose collective of people who defined themselves or were defined as Jews, and although we are looking back to a largely destroyed world through the abysmal prism of the Holocaust, to break this mold, and thereby to synthesize these histories—in other words, to synthesize the history of Jews in Austria with the history of Austria itself, to return this one-thousand-year history of Jews in Austria to its proper cultural setting.

This is best demonstrated with an example: If Jewish Austrians were among the foremost carriers of the idea of a multicultural Habsburg "Austria" before 1918—the paragon of "the only true Austrians"—so they became some of the foremost carriers of the new Austrian Republic and the reinvention of "Austrian" culture in the shaky years after the end of World War I. As early as November 1918, for example, during the proclamation of the Republic of "Deutsch-Österreich" or German Austria, Robert Stricker, a Zionist member of the Austrian Constituent Assembly who would later be murdered in Auschwitz, famously became the only member of parliament to vote against the *Anschluß* (still understood at that time as a union) of Austria to Germany. Once the *Anschluß* had been forbidden by the Entente powers in the Treaty of Saint-Germain, thus rendering the vote irrelevant, Austria's Jews became instrumental in defining the character of the First Austrian Republic, be it in the arts and sciences, as I elaborated above, or in the attempt to create a democratic new Austria, most famously though by far not exclusively amongst the left wing, which found its most enduring expression in the "Red Vienna" of the 1920s. To epitomize this point, the central figure in Vienna's Monument to the Foundation of the Republic outside the parliament on the Ringstraße (Fig. 4) is none other than the Jewish-born (but decidedly secular) Social Democrat, Victor Adler, who became the Foreign Minister of the new republic for all of two weeks before his death on 11 November 1918. Indeed, the Austrian Republic was often attacked by its detractors, especially amongst the burgeoning Nazi movement, as essentially a "Jewish" and therefore damnable phenomenon. Such thinking is still in evidence in some quarters today, if we consider for example how a large part of the Austrian electorate in 2017 once again voted a far-right, ethno-nationalist party into government that believes that Austria is a "geschichtswidrige Fiktion," an ahistoric fiction which, so the suggestion, was planted in the minds of Austrians by unspecified, foreign enemy powers after defeat in two world wars.[15]

Even after the establishment of Austrofascist rule in 1934—a homegrown authoritarian, militant movement that ruled for fully four years before the *Anschluß* and which practiced a policy of violent exclusion of Leftists, progressive intellectuals, and other subaltern individuals (including Nazis) in the public sphere—there were numerous and populous Jewish groupings, including Zionists, military veteran organizations, and last but not least the Vienna Jewish community organization itself, who openly and patriotically, albeit somewhat opportunistically, supported

the Austrofascist state (Fig. 5).[16] The tumultuous but short-lived history of the First Austrian Republic – which celebrated its hundredth birthday and eightieth death-day in 1918 (although most historians do not include the final years of Austrofascism in their definition of the "First Republic")—and especially the role played therein by Austrian Jews and the decisive relationship between the "Jewish" and the "non-Jewish" in Austrian culture and society, was for many decades eclipsed by the horror of the Holocaust which followed, and has only recently begun receiving the attention it deserves. In fact, the First Austrian Republic can be understood as a specific but not unique modern exercise in building a nation and forging a cultural identity, underlining not only the malleability of cultural and national identities in modern European history, but also the significant role that Jews and Jewish micro-cultures, whether as active protagonists or passive subjects, have played therein.

The most heinous episode in this interactive history of Jews and Austrian culture occurred during the seven years of Nazi rule in Austria, and it is no coincidence that the Nazi project of physical and cultural extermination of European Jewry can be linked directly to ideological currents in modern Austrian history, not least of all in the origins of its leader in rural Upper Austria.[17] The Holocaust was disproportionately perpetrated by non-Jewish Austrians, from the highest echelon of the Nazi state through the principle architects of the mass-murder of European Jews and right down to the overwhelming number of Austrians who staffed the killing squads and extermination camps (Fig. 6).[18] At the same time, the Nazi era also witnessed the attempt to eradicate "Austria" from the political and cultural map, to be absorbed into a newly conceived, Nazi "German" culture as merely a constitutive part. The creation of this new and idealized construct of "German" culture—a "German" culture that was precisely defined in diametric opposition to "Jewishness," notwithstanding the long and deep intermeshing of Jewish and German cultures in Central Europe since the Middle Ages—was to be achieved in large part through the monstrous, genocidal removal of Jews, first in an economic and cultural sense, and finally in the most total manner imaginable. Thus, if we follow the idea of Austria's Jews as, in some sense, the "only true Austrians," the creation of a new, idealized "German" culture was to be achieved, at least within the borders of Austria, through killing off the most Austrian of Austrians. 65,000 Jewish Austrians and other Austrians persecuted as Jews according to the Nuremberg Laws were murdered during the Holocaust. 130,000 Jewish Austrians fled abroad, some 30,000 of whom ended up in the United States—one of whom is the focus of this exhibition (Fig. 7).

This snapshot illustrated that the early twentieth century was an era of unprecedented cultural fertility but also cataclysmic rupture for Austria, above all in the lives of the very diverse collective of Jewish Austrians. The Holocaust—co-perpetrated to a great degree by non-Jewish Austrians—decimated this once illustrious community, though its legacy lives on vividly beyond the borders of Austria today. The survival and continuity of this pre-Holocaust Jewish-Austrian culture is to a large degree embodied in the community of for-mer exiles, a few of whom are still

with us today, and the many testaments they have bequeathed to posterity, be it in the form of memoirs and oral history interviews, or more obliquely in personal artifacts such as a carefully dissected painting. While all of these individuals share in common an origin in Austria and a more or less violent and traumatic experience which resulted in their exile, the vast corpus of personal documents they have left behind reveals a remarkable variability of memories, feelings, and attitudes towards Austria and Austrian culture, both past and present.[19] Rather than attempt, as regrettably many historians still do, to flatten this plethora of life-stories into a two-dimensional, one-size-fits-all model of Jewish-Austrian identity, I believe it is more fruitful to trace the key moments that have defined the collective Jewish Austrian experience, and within these to outline the vast variability of appertaining memories. 2018 offered a pertinent opportunity to reflect on numerous anniversaries of such key events: 2018 was the centenary of three major events in world history, namely the calamitous conclusion to World War I, in which over 300,000 Jews fought and over 30,000 Jews died for Austria; the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, home to millions of Jewish Austrians; and the foundation of the First Austrian Republic, still home to one of the greatest Jewish metropolises of its era. 2018 also marked the eightieth anniversary of two further momentous events in world history, namely the engulfment of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938 and the November Pogrom later that year, which resulted in a mass exodus of Jews from the country and was to signify one of the greatest stepping stones on Europe's road to the Holocaust.

If I did have to name one common denominator to the multitude of stories arising from this generation of Jewish Austrians, I would call it "ambivalence": ambivalence towards "Austria," one the Austria of the past and the other the Austria of the present, as well as potentially ambivalence towards America as a new homeland for those who emigrated there, and ambivalence towards Jewishness and belonging in a Jewish community of either faith or fate. Although the vast majority of Jewish Austrians who fled the Nazis did not return to post-Holocaust Austria, this widespread ambivalence is most profoundly exemplified in the numerous ways in which a sense of Austrian cultural identity has continued, whether explicitly or not, to define the exile community in America.

Before I conclude, I would like to illustrate this ambivalence, and this sense of an Austrian cultural continuity in America, with an example. Frederic Morton, who passed away in 2015, was born Fritz Mandelbaum in Vienna in 1924, the child of a Jewish family that had migrated from Slovakia (then northern Hungary) to Vienna some generations previously, and who were driven out of Austria after the *Anschluß* in 1938. Morton spent the first few years of his new life as a teenager in New York City living with his parents in the neighborhood of Washington Heights. He recalled that the neighborhood was in the 1940s popularly called "the Fourth Reich because we German and Austrian Jews walking its streets are all refugees from the Third."[20] In his memoir, Morton described how "on our special occasions out my mother takes along the white combed-cotton napkins saved from

Vienna and spreads them on the cracked plastic table at the Three Star Diner so that the hamburgers will have some sort of resemblance to the *Tafelspitz florentine* once served ceremoniously at the Café Restaurant Landtmann."[21] He recounted how his father dropped the name "Mandelbaum" for "Morton" because of the antisemitism of the jewelry makers where he wished to be employed, yet would pretend it was to "simplify spelling problems with all the authorities here," thus underlining the ambivalence some Jewish exiles felt in America when still confronted with antisemitic prejudice.[22] Morton described in depth his father's inability to adapt to America, even as he thought he was doing just that, as when he would fold the New York Times down to "the cozier, more comprehensive identity of his favorite Austrian journal," the *Neue Freie Presse*. Or for example, when asked why he was still wearing a black lapel months after Roosevelt's death, he responded: "My family commemorated Franz Josef more than a year." "Gee, you guys are really feeling people," his colleague is reported to have said, "thinking that Franz Josef was just some favorite Mandelbaum uncle, not the emperor Franz Josef. This he told me later. What became clear to me immediately was that in Roosevelt, Papa mourned a Habsburg."[23]

I have attempted here to sketch the tremendous wealth of the Jewish-Austrian cultural paradigm of the early twentieth century and its enduring impact beyond the Holocaust. Thereby I have also attempted to underline the desirability of investigating further the successive ruptures of Austrian history and their multilateral effects on the construction and transformation of cultural identities in modern Austria and beyond. This exploration has taken us from World War I through the First Austrian Republic and into exile in the United States. The Habsburg past, and the short-lived First Republic, are today as distant as could be, separated from the present by the chasm of the Holocaust and exile. Those few Jews who did return came back to a country called Austria, but it was not their Austria. This was a new Austria, undergoing another radical transformation, and their role as Jews and Austrians in this new and uncertain Austria was going to be as conflicted as ever before. But that is an entirely different story.

Tim Corbett is a freelance historian based in Vienna, Austria. His writing on Jewish Austrian culture, history, and memory has appeared in a range of prominent international publications including the Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, Austrian Studies, Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust, *and* Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues. *He has held fellowships at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute and the Center for Jewish History in New York and in 2018 was the inaugural Prins Fellow at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York. He is currently authoring a monograph on the history of Vienna's Jewish cemeteries.*

imt/015-ps.asp (describing the success of his depart-ment's art looting squads in occupied territories).
20. Feliciano, 109-110.
21. Feliciano, 110.
22. Feliciano, 143.
23. See Feliciano, 116-17, 126-27; Petropoulos, 85-87, 102-03.
24. See Feliciano, 70-71.
25. Petropoulos, 28-29.
26. See Nicholas, 67-70; Feliciano, 37-38.
27. See, e.g., Nicholas, 428.
28. Aly, 117-20.
29. Nicholas, 137-140; Aly, 118-125.
30. Aly, 124-25.
31. Nicholas, 139.

Tim Corbett

1. This essay is based on research conducted during a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Center for Jewish History in New York in 2015/16 and was written during my tenure as the inaugural Prins Fellow at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York in 2018. In memory of Kurt Sonnenfeld (1925–2017), a "true Austrian," and dedicated to Trudy Jeremias, Marion House, and the "Stammtisch" in New York City.
2. Comprehensive works include William McCagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews 1670–1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Robert Wistrich, ed., *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century: From Franz Joseph to Waldheim* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Eveline Brugger, Martha Keil, Albert Lichtblau, Christoph Lind, and Barbara Staudinger, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2006); and "Jews, Jewish Difference and Austrian Culture," *Austrian Studies* 24 (2016). On the empire generally, see the recent comprehensive history by Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).
3. See especially Carl Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Klaus Hödl, *Wiener Juden – jüdische Wiener: Identität, Gedächtnis und Performanz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2006).
4. See characteristically the foreword by Harry Zohn in George Berkley, *Vienna and its Jews: The Tragedy of Success, 1880s–1980s* (Cambridge: Abt, 1988), xvi.
5. Examples I have found include Heinrich Schreiber writing in 1918 and cited in David Rechter, "Die große Katastrophe: Die österreichischen Juden und der Krieg," in: Marcus Patka, ed., *Weltuntergang: Jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Jüdisches Museum Wien, 2014), 25; Max Grunwald, *Vienna* (translated from German by Solomon Grayzel, Philadelpha: Jewish Publication Society, 1936), 156; Wolfgang von Weisl, *Die Juden in der Armee Österreich-Ungarns – Illegale Transporte – Skizze zu einer Autobiographie* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1971), 1; Erika Weinzierl, "Der jüdische Beitrag zur österreichischen Kultur der Jahrhundertwende," in Wolfgang Plat, ed., *Voll Leben und voll Tod ist diese Erde: Bilder aus der Geschichte der jüdischen Österreicher, 1190–1945* (Vienna: Herold, 1988), 208; Erwin Schmidl, *Juden in der k. (u.) k. Armee 1788-1918 / Jews in the*

Habsburg Armed Forces (Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, 1989), 146; and Thomas Albrich, "Vom Vorurteil zum Pogrom," in: Rolf Steininger and Michael Gehler (eds.), *Österreich im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vol. 1, Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 317.
6. Edmund de Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (London: Vintage, 2010).
7. On Austrian restitution history, see Helga Embacher, *Restitutionsverhandlungen mit Österreich aus der Sicht jüdischer Organisationen und der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2003); and Rudolf de Cillia and Ruth Wodak, "Restitution: Yes, but...," in Ruth Wodak and Gertraud Auer Borea (eds.), *Justice and Memory: Confronting Traumatic Pasts, An International Comparison* (Vienna: Passagen, 2009).
8. See Klaus Hödl, "Einleitung," in: Klaus Hödl (ed.), *Jüdische Identitäten: Einblicke in die Bewußtseins-landschaft des österreichischen Judentums* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2000), 10; Steven Beller, "On Jew-ish DNA, Ethnonationalism and the Law of the Included Middle: Problems of Jewish Identity in Modern Central European History," in ibid; and Steven Beller, "Knowing your Elephant: Why Jewish Studies Is Not the Same as Judaistik, and Why That Is a Good Thing," in: Klaus Hödl (ed.), *Jüdische Studien: Reflexionen zu Theorie und Praxis eines wissenschaftlichen Feldes* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2003).
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10. Eric Kandel, *In Search of Memory: The Emergence of a New Science of Mind* (New York: Norton, 2006), 394-395.
11. See for example the witty and insightful yet to date unpublished memoir by John Emanuel Ullmann, *The Jews of Vienna: A Somewhat Personal Memoir* (unpublished, 1993), Leo Baeck Institute – New York, AR 10682 (available online at https://www.cjh.org/, accessed 14 August 2018).
12. For a classic study on the concept of Austria, see Friedrich Heer, *Der Kampf um die österreichische Identität* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1981). For a more recent study, see Gerald Stieg, *Sein oder Schein: Die Österreich-Idee von Maria Theresia bis zum Anschluss* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016).
13. On Jewish Austrian culture in the interwar period, see Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians: Jews and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
14. Joachim Riedl, *Jüdisches Wien* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2012), 9 – my translation.
15. Cited in "Hofers Burschenschaft und ihr Nein zur österreichischen Nation," in *Der Standard* (available on-line: https://derstandard.at/2000034371348/Hofers-Burschenschaft-und-ihr-Nein-zur-oesterreichischen-Nation, accessed 14 August 2018).
16. See Tim Corbett, "Once 'the Only True Austrians': Mobilising Jewish Memory of the First World War for Belonging in the New Austrian Nation, 1929–1938," in Edward Madigan and Gideon Reuveni (eds.), *The Jewish Experience of the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
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18. See Thomas Albrich, "Holocaust und Schuldabwehr," in Steininger and Gehler (eds.), *Österreich im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vol. 2); Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:

2005), 196, 214, 224 et al.; and Doron Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews: The Jewish Administration of Holocaust Vienna, 1938–1945* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).
19. See especially the vast Austrian Heritage Collection at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, which forms the basis for much of the research of which this paper is an overview (https://www.lbi.org/collections/austrian-heritage-collection/, accessed 14 August 2018).
20. Frederic Morton, *Runaway Waltz: A Memoir from Vienna to New York* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 39.
21. Ibid, 27.
22. Ibid, 42.
23. Ibid, 46.

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1. The Vienna registration records indicate that Max Eisenstein resided in Vienna during the following periods: November 11, 1921–November 10, 1938; April 13, 1949–June 26, 1950; March 16, 1951–September 1, 1951, August 22, 1951–June 28, 1952; September 9, 1953–July 21, 1956; November 10, 1955–March 14, 1956. I thank Sabine Loitfellner both for accessing these records and for her guidance in reading them. The overlapping dates were likely a change in hotels or in other temporary residences during an extended stay. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv/Wiener Meldeunterlagen.
2. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Austrian State Archives/Archiv der Republik (ÖStA/AdR), Max Eisen-stein/Hilfsfonds/NHF 28.580. All translations are mine.
3. Dr. Christoph Hatschek from the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum/ Militärhistorisches Institut in Vienna kindly provided information on the uniforms in the photograph from the Low family archive.
4. Ludwig Haydn, *Meter, immer nur Meter! Das Tagebuch eines Daheimgebliebenen* (Vienna: Scholle-Verlag, 1946).
5. Ibid, 8.
6. I am grateful to Max Eisenstein's family for their generous support of the research on the exhibition. I thank Marc Low in particular for his willingness to respond to my questions about his family and their life in Austria.
7. See the letter from the Bundesministerium für Vermögenssicherung und Wirtschaftsplanung to Mr. W.M. Treece, American Property Control, Vienna IX, Porzellangasse 51, concerning the administration of the "Markhof" estate at Marchegg, Lower Austria, dated April 18, 1947, signed "Dr. Straubinger"), United States National Archives. https://www.fold3.com/image/312230655, accessed August 18, 2018. The Brandenstein family, who operate a farm at the Markhof property today, kindly allowed me access to a handwritten chronicle of the history of the estate that was completed by a local teacher in the 1960s. Records from 1941 list the size of the estate, here the property seized from Eisenstein in the "aryanization" process, at 155 hectares (383 acres). See also Ernst Langthaler, *Schlachtfelder: Alltägliches Wirtschaften in der nationalsozialistischen Agrargesellschaft 1938–1945* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016), 190.
8. See, for example, Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians. Jews and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). See also Albert Lichtblau, ed. *Als hätten wir dazugehört. Österreichisch-jüdische Lebensgeschichten aus der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997).
9. Evelyn Adunka and Gabriele Anderl, *Jüdisches Leben in der Wiener Vorstadt — Ottakring und Hernals* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2013), 190. The section on Max Eisenstein is scrupulously researched and provides a comprehensive overview of Eisenstein's seized assets and postwar claims, which I reconstruct in part here. The

Figures

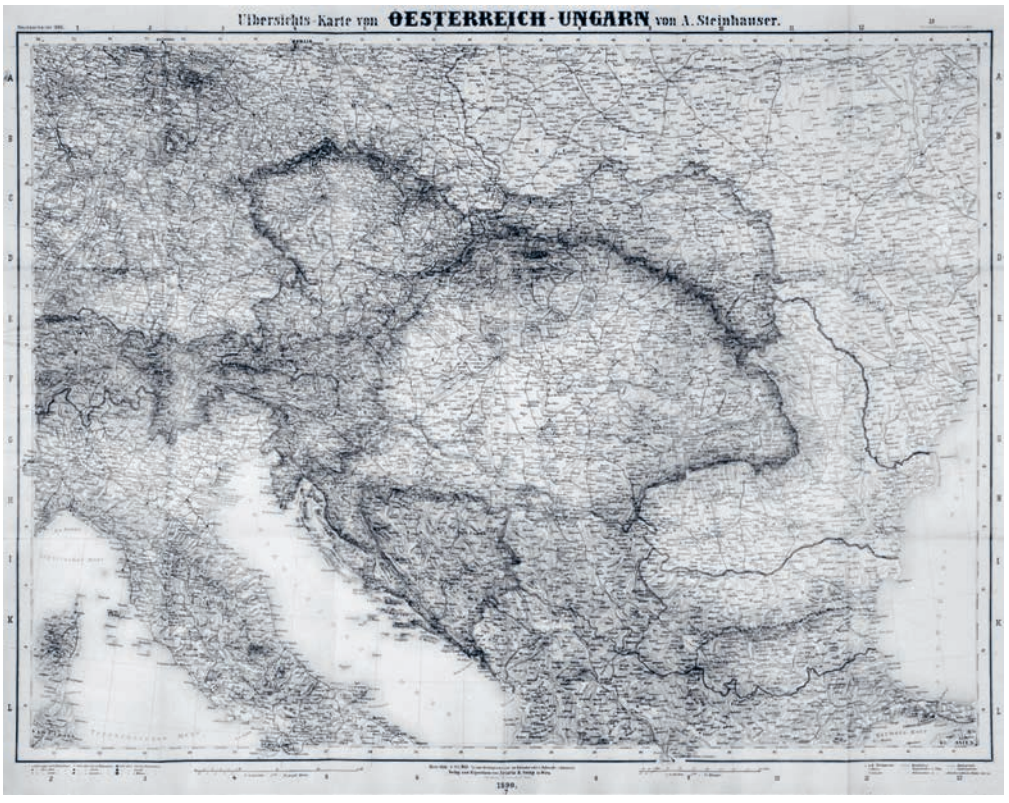

FIG. 1 MAP OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (1890).

FIG. 2 FLYER PROTESTING THE "RAPE" OF THE PREDOMINANTLY GERMAN-SPEAKING AREAS WITHIN BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND SILESIA IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1919).

FIG. 3 PHOTOGRAPH DEPICTING ORTHODOX JEWS IN VIENNA'S TWENTIETH DISTRICT (1915).
FIG. 4 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MEMORIAL TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC (1962).

FIG. 5 PHOTOGRAPH DEPICTING THE INAUGURATION OF THE HEROES' MEMORIAL ON THE HELDENPLATZ (1934).
FIG. 6 PHOTOGRAPH DEPICTING JEWISH CITIZENS BEING HUMILIATED AND FORCED TO CLEAN STREETS IN VIENNA (1938).

FIG. 7 PHOTOGRAPH DEPICTING A JEWISH AUSTRIAN FAMILY ARRIVING IN THE US (CA. 1938).