

***Das jüdische Fabelreich in der Ostmark:* “Jewish” Historiography and the Question of Origins in Vienna before the Holocaust**

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One of the first modern historiographic works on the Jews of Vienna was published in 1847 by the writer and political figure Ludwig August Frankl.¹ The timing is conspicuous, his work appearing in the years when the first halting steps were being taken toward the legal emancipation of Jews across the Habsburg Empire and just a few years before the provisional statutes of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (IKG), the Jewish community organization in Vienna, were enacted in 1852—the first time in almost two centuries that Vienna’s Jews were once again allowed to formally organize their community. Frankl was well situated to undertake his work when he did, for he was the nascent Jewish community organization’s *Aktuar* at the time, a position combining secretary and archivist roles, and in this capacity had substantially expanded and organized the collections of the community’s budding archive during the 1840s—reputedly the oldest Jewish communal archive in the world.² Although the origins of the IKG itself constitute the subject of both myth and confusion in the copious historiography on Vienna’s Jews, despite the organization’s central role in the city’s Jewish history, the quest for origins generally has underpinned the historiographic engagement with the Jews of Vienna since first it emerged.³ Thus, Frankl paradigmatically opened his *Geschichte der Juden in Wien* with a reference to various “myths” and “traditions” recorded by the “eldest chroniclers of Austria,” according to which Jews had been living “in a *Judenreich* [Jewish realm] in the land below the Enns”—the heartland of historic “Austria,” roughly corresponding to the federal state of Lower Austria today—since about 1700 BCE, a realm that by about 200 BCE had purportedly been ruled by altogether “72 princes of Jewish descent.”⁴

This is a rather fanciful notion, not least of all given that the earliest archaeological evidence of Jewish life in the territory of modern Austria dates no earlier than the third century CE: an amulet discovered in 2008 in a Roman burial ground in Halbturn in Burgenland with the Hebrew words “*sh̄ma Israel*” (“Hear, O Israel,” the opening words of the monotheistic credo from Deuteronomy 6:4) engraved in Greek characters.⁵ To be sure, this groundbreaking discovery, which did, in fact, provide evidence of Jewish life in Austria centuries earlier than previously documented, proved a number of points, the most consequential being that Jews (and I use the term throughout

this article strictly in reference to adherents of the Jewish faith) had already been living in the territory of modern Austria at a time when not even the concept of "Austria," never mind an "Austrian majority society," had yet come into existence, not even in embryonic form. After all, even the generously far-sighted, post-Nazi Austrian myth of origin only dates itself back to 966 CE on the basis of the obscure "Ostarrichi document."⁶

More than half a century after Frankl's early work, the Jewish historian Ignaz Schwarz showed that the "myths" and "traditions" Frankl had cited could actually be traced back to the sixteenth-century Viennese polymath Wolfgang Lazius, a non-Jew (quite significantly for our purposes here) who had completely misread the Hebrew inscriptions of a number of actually medieval Jewish gravestones discovered in his time. Then, in his 1546 work *Vienna Austriae*—incidentally the first ever published history of the city of Vienna—he used this wildly erroneous data to locate the origins of Jews in Austria long before classical antiquity.⁷ Thereby, Schwarz refuted what he called the "*Hypothese von dem jüdischen Fabelreiche in der Ostmark*" ("the hypothesis of a mythical Jewish realm in the Eastern March")—himself intriguingly employing a glaring anachronism of medieval origin (the term *Ostmark*) in his refutation.⁸

Perhaps, as Schwarz opined, Frankl's "mythical narrative" constituted an attempt to prove "that the respective Jewish population of this swath of land, as the descendants of a tribe that had immigrated in prehistoric times, was innocent of Jesus' death by crucifixion" and was thus intended to refute the centuries-old charge of deicide levied against "the Jews" as a collective, thereby securing their equality, finally, with their non-Jewish compatriots in the age of emancipation.⁹ Whatever the "facts" may be regarding the origins of Jewish life in Austria, Frankl's "mythical narrative," which he had resurrected from the first ever history of Vienna, penned by a non-Jewish scholar as far back as the sixteenth century, undoubtedly served a deeper function for the more immediate, present-day concerns of the mid-nineteenth century: to consolidate the notion, as the Zionist historian Ludwig Bato also remarked decades later, "that Jews have since time immemorial belonged in the mind of the people to the aboriginal population of this swath of land."¹⁰ If the Zionist movement—like antisemitism—had already cast doubt on this aboriginal belonging in the early twentieth century, then the Nazi Holocaust sought to negate it entirely. In the aftermath of genocide, the early origin myths of Vienna's Jews gave way to a new historiographic metanarrative and, in time, were all but forgotten. This article revisits early "Jewish" historiography in Vienna to see how it informs present-day discourses on Jews and "Jewish" history in the Austrian context.

“*Quellenauffrischung*”:
The Genealogy of “Jewish” Historiography in Vienna
and Its Uses for the Present

The past, as the American literary historian Van Wyck Brooks postulated in the early twentieth century, should be “usable” to the present, and, should “the past that survives in the common mind of the present” be “without living value,” it follows that a “usable past” can and should be created.¹¹ It is no coincidence that the post-Napoleonic era in Europe—characterized as it was by colossal upheavals in the political and social fabric of the continent, rapid acceleration in communications and everyday life, mass migration and urbanization, industrialization and severance from the land, and the pervasive sense of rootlessness that took hold as a result—should have witnessed the rise of a fervent new engagement with the past that would soon culminate in the establishment of a new academic discipline: histor(iograph)y.¹² In keeping with the romanticist sensibilities of the time, this new discipline was intended to scientifically substantiate the quest for the “essence” of ostensibly “national” cultures in the emergent “nation” states of Europe and to validate their (often invented) “traditions.”¹³

This historical turn also manifested itself among Europe’s various Jewries, as Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi explored in his foundational work on Jewish history and memory, with a modern, secular “Jewish” historiography soon becoming, as Yerushalmi formulated it somewhat romantically himself, the “faith of fallen Jews.”¹⁴ Certainly, the general decline in formal religiosity and in the authority of religious institutions in Europe—coupled with the gradual legal, political, and social emancipation of Europe’s Jews—increasingly rendered the older, inherited biblical narratives of Jewish “peoplehood” and this people’s purported exile from the Land of Israel insufficient to serve the needs of Europe’s diverse Jewries in the optimistic, “progress”-oriented, and most crucially nationalized atmosphere of the nineteenth century. This is the context in which a modern historiography—and with it, a set of historical origin myths—concerning Jews in Vienna first emerged, driven, as this article will show, by a network of academic and popular scholars crucially of both Jewish and non-Jewish backgrounds and with diverse motivations to craft a historical “master narrative” of Jews in Vienna.

One of the major long-term consequences of National Socialism and the Holocaust was the deep rift it created in the perception of Jews and their place in Central European culture, society, and history. This rift would profoundly shape—but arguably also distort—historiography for decades

to come. On a microcosmic scale in the Viennese context, the older body of Jewish historiography was largely forgotten, despite the fact that its sources and findings had laid the groundwork for the development of the field in subsequent generations. On the macroscopic level, meanwhile, "Jewish" history—a misleadingly essentializing concept that should really be specified as the history of Jews¹⁵—was segregated from the "general" postwar historiography of the German-speaking world and largely reduced to the history of antisemitism, persecution, expulsions, and, of course, genocide. This "lachrymose conception of Jewish history," as Salo Baron famously diagnosed it as early as the 1960s, allowed, in turn, for the tacit resuscitation in serious scholarship of the traditional biblical "mythhistories" of Jewish peoplehood, diaspora, and exile.¹⁶ In this narrative, Jews hardly played a role in "general" Central European history except as a passive, mostly abstracted, and crucially discrete and essentially segregated "people," ghettoized in social, cultural, and sometimes also physical isolation from the "majority" or "mainstream" (implying non-Jewish) societies in which they lived—a view that still dominates in fields such as Holocaust and antisemitism studies today.

This "lachrymose" narrative found its counterpart in the inner-Jewish narrative predominating in Jewish studies that, while predicated on the same essential sense of Jewish "difference,"¹⁷ focused on the ostensibly failed and in any case misguided attempts by the Jewish population of Central Europe before the 1930s to "assimilate" to a "German" *Leitkultur*—including, notably, in Austria.¹⁸ Indeed, Austrian culture is not essentially distinguishable from German culture in the dominant Jewish studies perspective. Certainly, the distinction is not an important one to the "assimilation" argument, which relies on reductive essentialisms to validate its monocultural explanatory models. As Dirk Rupnow remarked in a collection of critical essays on the Holocaust and memory, this broad post-Holocaust development has meant that the complex "points of interaction between the Jewish and non-Jewish realms of experience" of previous generations were for the longest time lost from sight.¹⁹ This finding applies aptly to the pre-Holocaust historiography of Jews in Vienna that is the focus of this article—the reinvestigation of which may then well provide a fresh impetus to rethink this perennial area of scholarly and popular interest.

To briefly consider a closely related study by way of comparison, the historian Markus Wenninger examined an expansive body of pre-Holocaust "Jewish" historiography in the Austrian provinces, where Jews had for the longest time prior to the emancipatory era of the nineteenth century been forbidden from settling. He found that this work was mostly the product of rabbis and Jewish amateur historians who aimed thereby to cultivate a sense

of continuity that, given the historical circumstances of pogroms, repeated persecutions, and later mass migration, had never, in fact, existed.²⁰ This provincial paradigm, which would seem to confirm the conventional narrative of Jewish immigration and “assimilation” in Austria, moreover suggesting that before the Holocaust, the writing of “Jewish” history was exclusively the preserve of Jewish historians, does not apply so easily to Vienna, where a Jewish community has existed despite pogroms and expulsions and with very few interruptions since at least the High Middle Ages—and where historiographic romanticizations of the Jewish past demonstrably coincided and crucially also intersected with historiographic romanticizations of Vienna’s past generally. In fact, they often emerged in tandem with one another, just as the fabulous myth of a prehistoric *Judenreich* in Austria was first espoused in the earliest ever published history of Vienna by a sixteenth-century non-Jewish humanist scholar.

In reality as in myth, the tangible, provable origins of Vienna’s Jewish history coincide with the emergence both of “Austria” as a discrete political entity and of Vienna as a political center of note. Austria, which at the time meant the territory essentially comprising the modern states of Upper and Lower Austria, was elevated from a mere march of the Holy Roman Empire to a duchy, with Vienna as its new residential capital, only in the twelfth century, mere decades before the earliest Jewish resident in Vienna’s recorded history—Shlom, master of the mint to Duke Leopold V—resided there with a number of coreligionists.²¹ Since then, Vienna has repeatedly ranked among the most significant Jewish population centers in Central Europe—first in the late Middle Ages, then in the mid-seventeenth century, and then again from the late nineteenth century onwards, when the city was home to one of the largest and culturally most influential Jewish populations worldwide until their sweeping destruction in the Holocaust. In summary, Vienna’s “general” history and the history of its successive Jewish populations are intimately and inextricably bound up with each other—this concatenation moreover accounting for a significant part of the relevance of modern Austrian history to European and even global history: from the proliferation of “Austrian” cultural and intellectual capital across the world due to the mass exodus of Jewish Austrians through to the abysmal roots of National Socialism and the Holocaust in Austria.²² Seen in this manner, it becomes deeply problematic to speak of a discrete “Jewish” history when the history of Jews in Vienna/Austria cannot be disentangled from the broader Viennese/Austrian historical context.

This article follows the theoretical framework outlined by Christian Karner in the introduction to this volume in viewing myth and history,

narrative and fact, not as diametrically opposed, but as intricately interwoven products of the quest for historical meaning—or in other words, the search for a “usable past.” From this perspective, the historical veracity of the early historiography of Jews in Vienna is of less interest than the interpretative frameworks and, importantly, the ideological motivations underlying the “master narratives” developed by successive generations of historians working in this field before the Holocaust. This article traces the origins and developments of “Jewish” historiography—here meaning histories conceived to speak exclusively about Jews and Jewish culture, though not necessarily authored by Jews—in Vienna from the 1840s into the 1930s. While this corpus of works laid the foundations for the field that later generations of historians would continue to build on, these seminal works have been largely lost from sight or dismissed outright in post-Holocaust historiography, partly because their findings became outdated (as evident in the outlandish origin myths outlined above) but also surely because their “master narratives” conflicted with the ideological needs and hypotheses of more recent scholarship, or even because they were simply forgotten.

From the earliest works of history on Jews in Vienna, this article traces in broad strokes the genealogy of pre-Holocaust historiography in diachronic succession while locating the respective scholarly impulses in their contemporary contexts. It thus follows a methodology discussed by William Johnston in his groundbreaking work on the origin of the *homo austriacus*, namely *Quellenauffrischung*, the “revitalization of sources.” As Johnston explained: “This method follows the course upstream, so to speak, to the source of tradition,” aiming to arrive at an “amalgamation of old and new sources,” the purpose of which is “to reinvigorate ossified traditions” in historiography.²³ Beginning with the emergence of a “Jewish” historiography in the context of the mythologization of *Alt-Wien* (Old Vienna), this article traces the ideological impulses, authorship, and later institutional embedding of this historiography through the era of the antisemitic Mayor Karl Lueger, into the interwar period, and ending in the short-lived era of “Austrofascist” rule in order to see what such a *Quellenauffrischung* might reveal. Perhaps the older historiography can, in fact, inform the newer and lead to deeper insights into this already well-trodden area of modern Austrian history. While the subject matter is thus moving “upstream” to the source of an older historiographic tradition, the ultimate focus of this article is very much on the established narratives and perspectives on Vienna’s “Jewish” history today. In the conclusion, I will return to the question of “general” versus “Jewish” historiographies and argue that a *Quellenauffrischung* of Jewish Viennese historiography does indeed open up

space for a more integrative approach to Vienna's social and cultural history and that the "mythistory" of Jewish particularism—of a "diasporic," alien people living in shunned social and cultural isolation in foreign lands, as expressed most tenaciously in the assimilationist model of Jewish history—perhaps no longer suits our present uses of the past.

Intercultural Engagements with Jewish History in *Alt-Wien*

As a groundbreaking exhibition at the Wien Museum explored in 2004, a general "documentary historical interest" in Vienna's history could already be discerned around the year 1800, which then blossomed during the *Vormärz* and after into a downright "wistfully nostalgic attitude" toward the city's romanticized past. These are the origins of the myth of *Alt-Wien*, pertinently characterized by the Wien Museum as "the city that never was."²⁴ As Klaus Hödl recently showed, Vienna's Jews readily participated in this project of historical romanticization, utilizing *Alt-Wien* (for example through idealized portrayals of the old "ghetto," itself a mythologizing term, in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna's second district with Jewish roots reaching back to the early modern period) as a means to counter the widespread view, with antisemitic undertones, that Jews were a recently "immigrated" and therefore not an "autochthonous" population group.²⁵ This view, which still persists in historiography today, obscures the crucial point that Vienna in the nineteenth century was an immigration hub for peoples from all over the Habsburg lands and not just for Jews, of whom a large number did indeed immigrate from the crownlands during the latter half of the century.²⁶ The topography of *Alt-Wien*—which would rapidly disappear under the construction boom of the *Gründerzeit* at exactly the same time that it was being zealously documented—thus served Jews and non-Jews alike to stake their claims to a mythologized past and, thereby, to ground their sense of belonging in the *k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt*, which was fast becoming one of the world's largest and most influential metropolises in its day.

This is the sociohistorical context in which a modern historiography of Jews in Vienna and/or Austria first emerged, and the underlying dynamics of mass migration, urbanization, and perceived rootlessness go a long way toward explaining the quest for mythical origins that we saw in Frankl's early contribution to this nascent field. However, recalling Markus Wenninger's paradigmatic claim with regard to provincial Austrian historiography that it was primarily Jews themselves who, before the Holocaust, were involved

in the production of Jewish history, it is remarkable that the first standalone history of Jews in Vienna was, in fact, not written by Frankl or any other Jew, but by a non-Jew: Gerhard Robert Walter von Coeckelberghe-Dützele. A Flemish-Austrian writer, he published *Die Juden und die Judenstadt in Wien* under the pseudonym "Realis" in 1846, one year before Frankl's *Geschichte der Juden*. In the preface to this remarkable work—published even before the game-changing 1848 revolutions—Realis explained why this "strange people" (here referring collectively to "the Jews,"), of whom "half a million" lived scattered across the Austrian Empire, deserved such a "reminiscence" as he offered here. After all, according to him, Europe "largely owes its moral and religious formation to the Jews"—in other words, the foundations of the Christian religion. Though Realis opened the first chapter with the traditional biblical narrative of "dispersion" from ancient Israel and stated that the "shocking severity" with which the here ethnically construed "people of Israel" had repeatedly been persecuted through the ages was "often not without [their] own fault"—a moral judgment that echoes with post-Holocaust Austrian victim/perpetrator reversals—he traced Jewish history in "Austria" (using the term anachronistically) back to the age of Charlemagne, his work thus underlining (rather philosemitically) the rootedness of both Jewish (religious) culture and, crucially, of Jews themselves in Europe over more than a millennium.²⁷

Such an apologist justification for the benevolent treatment of Jews and Jewish history on account of the historical relationship between Jewish and Christian scripture, ethics, and religious culture can naturally be traced back to Enlightenment thinking as exemplified in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's "Ring Parable" in *Nathan der Weise* (1779). Indeed, it is no coincidence that Vienna's Judenplatz is today dominated, alongside Rachel Whiteread's Holocaust memorial, by a statue of Lessing, which was placed there in the early 1930s, melted down by the Nazis in the late 1930s, and then replaced in its original location in the 1980s.²⁸ Jewish intellectuals of the nineteenth century were understandably eager to express their admiration for—and implicitly also their keen familiarity with—the classical canon of European culture, and not just with "German" high culture. As a case in point, Frankl's 1847 history of Jews in Vienna—which was published the year after Realis's pioneering work on the subject and actually focused on the city's oldest preserved Jewish cemetery in the Seegasse in the ninth district as a topographic metonym for the longevity and thus "historicity" of Jewish life in the city—opened with a German translation of the final couplet of Lord Byron's "Oh, Weep for Those" (1815): "The wild-dove hath her nest, the fox his cave, / Mankind their country,—Israel but the grave!"²⁹

Such acts of quotation evince the intercultural engagements between Jewish and non-Jewish European intellectuals, both on the level of contents and authorship already at this early stage in emancipatory history, as embodied here in Byron's engagement with a (rather romanticized) Jewish history and Frankl's engagement, in turn, with Byron.

Such intercultural engagements recurred throughout the burgeoning Jewish historiography in Vienna in the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the occasion of the opening of the Jewish section of the city's Central Cemetery in 1879—a highly symbolic moment utilized by various religious leaders to emphasize the newly consolidated status of Vienna's Jewish community and its integration into the city's confraternity of cultures, as embodied materially in the integration of the Jewish section within the general Central Cemetery³⁰—Gerson Wolf, the first serious scholar of Vienna's Jewish history, published the first standalone history of the city's older Jewish cemeteries in the Seegasse and in Währing, Vienna's eighteenth district. Wolf opened his groundbreaking work with a quote from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (1779): "How blest is he who his progenitors / With pride remembers, to the list'ner tells / The story of their greatness, of their deeds. / And, silently rejoicing, sees himself / Link'd to this goodly chain!"³¹

This reference to Goethe was indubitably a demonstration of Wolf's intercultural erudition, but notably also functioned as a means to infer, in turn, the "essence" of the Jewish cult of ancestors that is so integrally linked to Jewish religious sepulchral culture (as in the concept of "burial with the fathers"; see, for example, Genesis 47:30, Judges 2:10, and 2 Chronicles 16:13, as well as more broadly Nehemiah 2:3, from which the modern Hebrew term for "cemetery", *beit qvarot*, is derived). Wolf thereby established a poignant link between modern "secular" humanist literature (Goethe) and ancient Jewish religious scripture (the Hebrew Bible). If this reference to Goethe seems rather clichéd,³² then the preamble to an earlier publication by Wolf from 1861 on the foundation of the IKG in Vienna, by contrast, included an English-language passage from an anonymous "great writer," namely William Shakespeare ("Let us be sacrificers but no [sic] butchers"—from *Julius Caesar*, 1599), and was signed "on Moses Mendelsohn's [sic] birthday, 1860."³³ With this publication, Wolf wished to register the historic times he was living through, juxtaposing the era of emancipation with Vienna's less magnanimous Jewish past while simultaneously shrugging off, as the Shakespeare quote was intended to encapsulate, the dusty vestiges of that very past and looking forward to a bright future of continuous progress, as befitting the optimism of his time. He thereby

incidentally also adopted an explicitly progressive position in the struggle between orthodoxy and reform that was raging in his time, which would later be framed as a struggle between "tradition" and "assimilation." In fact, many Jewish historians writing in the late Habsburg era adopted explicit positions regarding the assimilation paradigm. For example, they would emphasize pointedly that Vienna's successive Jewries since the late Middle Ages had spoken German as their mother tongue, not Yiddish (since then already the language of East European Jews), never mind Hebrew (predominantly a liturgical language), thus highlighting the rootedness of Jews in Vienna and/or Austria in contrast to the popular narratives of diaspora and perceptions of Jewish difference.³⁴

As Wolf remarked in yet another of his histories published a few years later, this one on the seventeenth-century *Judenstadt* (the "ghetto") in what is today the second district, the "pleasing upturn of the political circumstances of the Jews" in his age would "not remain without an impact on Jewish historiography."³⁵ This observation appears, in hindsight, to foreshadow the profound yet often overlooked engagement with Vienna's Jewish history and heritage by non-Jewish historians beginning in the late nineteenth and snowballing into the twentieth century. As early as 1859, Carl Hofbauer, a *Heimatsforscher* (an idiosyncratic type of usually amateur local antiquarian), included an open and sympathetic account of the capricious history of Jews in Vienna in his topography of the Rossau, the area in today's ninth district where the Jewish cemetery in the Seegasse is located.³⁶ Then, in 1891, the painter and amateur historian Conrad Grefe self-published a work on the Jewish cemetery in the Seegasse in which this burial ground once more served as a physical metonym for Vienna's Jewish history, which Grefe significantly traced all the way back to the Roman era. Grefe thus underlined—like his Jewish peers and in contradistinction to the widespread antisemitic views of his day—the historical longevity of Jewish life in Vienna by contrast to the notion of Vienna's Jews as an "immigrated" population group. Grefe's aesthetic appreciation of the old cemetery, formulated in words that would resound in many works to follow, moreover implicitly grounded Vienna's Jewish heritage in the cultural and topographic canon of *Alt-Wien* as part and parcel of Vienna's cultural heritage generally:

In the midst of this modern life lies this 'good acre' [a tacit reference to a Yiddish euphemism for cemeteries]; silent and peaceful, filled with ineffable poetic allure, thickly shadowed by closely

intertwined, high, mighty trees, creepers climbing aloft on all sides, the ground covered in lush herbs, grasses, and leaves, with many of the partly or entirely sunken gravestones disappearing almost completely below this green blanket, this is indisputably one of the most curious and interesting landmarks of *Alt-Wien*.³⁷

This remarkable text, in which a non-Jew elevated an old Jewish cemetery to an aesthetic emblem of mythical *Alt-Wien*, was accompanied by a series of sepia-toned photographs—to my knowledge the earliest photographic documentations of this old, tombstone-studded burial ground that would later be all but destroyed during the Holocaust.

Grefe's work was followed by numerous similarly inclusive topographic works on the fabric of *Alt-Wien* by non-Jewish authors, remarkable already for the fact that they appeared at a time when the subject matter—the city's old streets, squares, buildings, as well as cemeteries—had largely disappeared in the construction boom of the *Gründerzeit* (as in the bon mot: *Wien demoliert sich zur Weltstadt*, Vienna is demolishing itself into a metropolis). They were moreover remarkable for their open and benevolent inclusion of sites of Jewish heritage in their efforts to canonize *Alt-Wien*. The year 1904 alone witnessed several such engagements with Vienna's Jewish heritage,³⁸ most notably entailing the inclusion of the old Jewish cemetery in the Seegasse in August Stauda's expansive photographic documentation of *Alt-Wien*, an oeuvre encompassing over 3,000 shots which constitutes probably the most detailed engagement with the cultural and historical stock of the Viennese cityscape in its day and which forms an aesthetic, visual cornerstone of the myth of *Alt-Wien*.³⁹

This flurry of topographic and historiographic engagements with Jewish history by non-Jewish historians and antiquarians, whereby Jewish heritage was documented and incorporated as part and parcel of Viennese heritage, coincided directly with Karl Lueger's mayoralty, when Vienna was both pervaded by and governed in an atmosphere of open antisemitism.⁴⁰ The very proliferation of proactive, benevolent engagements by non-Jews with Jewish heritage in the city at this time underlines the necessity of a more nuanced and inclusive examination of Jewish/non-Jewish relations during this crucial era beyond the crass Jewish/non-Jewish divide that continues to be perpetuated in historiography, as Klaus Hödl has repeatedly emphasized.⁴¹

Jewish Historiography Institutionalized in the Lueger Era

The Lueger era actually witnessed a major milestone in the development of Jewish historiography in Vienna: the establishment of the "Historical Commission" of the IKG. In the mid-1900s, the IKG board contacted Arthur Goldmann, an archivist in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* (State Archives), to discuss research into Vienna's Jewish history on the basis of the expansive materials held there. Goldmann opined that comprehensive expertise, including knowledge of Hebrew, was a necessary prerequisite for sustained research with the archival materials, which finally prompted the establishment of the commission in 1906.⁴² Over the years, the IKG's Historical Commission counted among its members some of the leading Jewish scholars in Vienna (some of whom were moreover community rabbis), such as Alfred Francis Präbram, Max Grunwald, Moritz Güdemann, Josef Samuel Bloch, Wilhelm Jerusalem, and Bernhard Wachstein.⁴³ Yet, as its origins in collaboration with the State Archives show, the commission was from the outset not merely an inner-Jewish affair, emerging, rather, in close cooperation with the most important institutions and individuals of the Viennese historiographic scene of the day, as also becomes evident in the string of publications that ensued.

Over the three decades of its existence, the Historical Commission published altogether eleven volumes on Vienna's Jewish history, many of which constitute foundational works in their respective subject areas, in a series entitled *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Österreich* (Sources and Research on the History of the Jews in German-Austria; note the name applied here to the German-speaking Habsburg territories already before World War I). The series was initially published by the prestigious Braumüller publishing house, which was endowed with imperial privilege as the *k. k. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler*, and included Ignaz Schwarz's above-cited work on the early modern "ghetto" (Volume 2, 1909), Bernhard Wachstein's monumental two-volume history of the cemetery in the Seegasse (which appeared as Parts I and II of Volume 4 in 1912 and 1917, respectively),⁴⁴ and Alfred Francis Präbram's equally monumental two-volume compilation of documents concerning Vienna's Jews spanning from the sixteenth into the nineteenth centuries (published simultaneously as Parts I and II of Volume 8 in 1918).⁴⁵ In fact, Bernhard Wachstein, the IKG's librarian and an important proponent of Vienna's Jewish sepulchral history, had tellingly published his first work in 1907 with a non-Jewish publisher on the basis of the proceedings of a seminar he had chaired at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in December

1906, demonstrating an interest already at this time in the niche field of Jewish sepulchral history amongst a largely non-Jewish academic public.⁴⁶ Compare the paradigmatic claim by the sepulchral historian Reiner Sörries in a landmark volume on Jewish cemeteries from 2011 that “historians and other humanities scholars” had shown “hardly any interest” in the topic “until the mid-twentieth century”—that there had, in fact, been “no (scholarly) sympathy for the cultural and artistic heritage of Jews until the 1920s.”⁴⁷

The earlier works in the series of the Historical Commission, to be sure, were all authored by Jewish historians and members of the IKG. Yet the interwar period would witness a spate of publications in the series by non-Jewish historians, by which time it was being published with the *Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk*, a publishing house funded by the Social Democratic government of Vienna with the intent of promoting public education. The series thus evinces the widespread engagement with and reception of Jewish historiography among Jews and non-Jews in Vienna alike, reaching right into the late interwar period. The reception of the Historical Commission’s publications in the general Viennese press in the early twentieth century points to an even broader, non-academic engagement with and interest for this field among the largely non-Jewish population of the city. Examples of this include the positive review of Ignaz Schwarz’s *Das Wiener Ghetto* in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the major organ of Social Democracy in Austria,⁴⁸ or of Bernhard Wachstein’s magnum opus on the cemetery in the Seegasse in the *Wiener Zeitung*, Vienna’s oldest daily and simultaneously the official gazette of the Austrian government, which notably praised Wachstein’s work as a valuable contribution to “Viennese local history” or, in other words, to Vienna’s “general” history.⁴⁹

The late Habsburg era thus witnessed the emergence of a lively historiographic engagement with Vienna’s Jewish past, booming significantly during the era of Karl Lueger’s open if lackadaisical antisemitic rule, when it transcended the realm of the strictly academic into the popular sphere and was driven by an intense interaction between Jews and non-Jews, academics and amateur historians alike. In a separate publication from 1913 (not a part of the series), Ignaz Schwarz offered the first critical overview of Jewish historiography published in Vienna to date, deploring the mistakes he claimed had snuck into the field in the earliest histories of the mid-nineteenth century, which were then diligently copied by later historians (a charge that could be made of historiography in any context), criticizing especially the “mythical” accounts of the origins of Austria’s Jewish population as discussed earlier. In this respect, he singled out Ludwig August

Frankl's seminal efforts as "sadly rather unsuccessful," praising Gerson Wolf, by contrast, as the first serious historian of Jews in Vienna and characterizing the establishment of the Historical Commission appropriately as having paved the way for "pertinent research" within "a strictly critical historiographic framework."⁵⁰ If, therefore, the earlier narratives of a Jewish *Fabelreich in der Ostmark* had been dismissed by this point for what they were—mere myths—then the respective historians, Jewish and non-Jewish, seem to have largely agreed on at least this important point: Vienna's Jewish heritage extended back as far as the Middle Ages, if not further, and was inextricably bound up in the cultural, not to mention topographic, fabric of *Alt-Wien* and of Austria more broadly.

This is exemplified in a notable reference to the old Jewish cemetery—which, it must be repeated, was engaged throughout this period as a metonym for the longevity and rootedness of Jewish life in the city—in the influential *Kunsthistorischer Atlas der K. K. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*, published in 1916 by the geographer Hugo Hassinger, who characterized the cemetery in terms that had by then become ubiquitous as "one of the most peculiar historical memorial sites of the city and one of its most picturesque corners."⁵¹ This reference is remarkable not least of all due to Hassinger's ideological orientation: During the interwar period, he turned increasingly toward National Socialism and eventually, together with a team of spatial researchers at Vienna University, went on to lay the scholarly foundations for the expansionist and ultimately genocidal *Lebensraum* policies of the "Third Reich."⁵² This case anticipates the surprisingly complex relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish scholarship and the reception of Jewish cultural heritage that manifested itself in the beleaguered sociopolitical context of the interwar period.

Right-Wing Historians and Jewish Historiography in Interwar Vienna

Despite the traumatic collapse of the Habsburg Empire, the struggle for survival of the young Austrian republic, and all the attendant conflicts that ensued, Jewish historiography continued to unfold through the interwar period and was even coproduced to a greater degree by non-Jewish professional scholars than had been the case hitherto—many of whom, strikingly, came from unlikely corners of the political spectrum. In 1926, for example, the historians Hans Rotter and Adolf Schmieger published a new history of the early modern "ghetto" in the Leopoldstadt with the

prestigious Burgverlag publishing house, which remains a textbook on the subject to this day. Not only were neither of these historians Jewish, Hans Rotter moreover represented the Christian Social Party in the Viennese municipal council—the party founded by Karl Lueger, which would within a few years establish the “Austrofascist” dictatorship and which continues to be cast in even the most recent historiography as essentially, even exclusively, antisemitic.⁵³ On the basis of the textual heritage as well as surviving gravestones of the time, Rotter and Schmieger concluded that Vienna’s Jews in the early modern period had roots all over the German-speaking world and spoke German as their mother tongue, thus emphasizing that even in the pre-emancipatory era, this was not a culturally or even linguistically “ghettoized” population group, a finding based on hard evidence that belies the “assimilationist” narratives of Jewish historiography that came to dominate after the Holocaust.⁵⁴ Following in this vein, the tenth volume published by the IKG’s Historical Commission—a compilation of documents relating to Vienna’s medieval Jewish history, which appeared in 1931—was edited by the non-Jewish historians Rudolf Geyer and Leopold Sailer. Both were historians in the City Archive, of which Sailer would be appointed head by the Nazi *Reichsstatthalter* in 1939, a position that, following Sailer’s death in 1944, his colleague Geyer would assume and hold on to through to the postwar period, indicating striking lines of intersection and continuity between Jewish and non-Jewish scholarship before, during, and after Nazi rule in Austria.⁵⁵ The volume included an introduction by the non-Jewish historian Otto Hellmuth Stowasser, a member of the board of the *Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (Association for the History of the City of Vienna) since 1918, who stressed the connection between “Jewish” and “general” history in the city, as well as between the activities of the association and the IKG’s Historical Commission. This volume, he stated finally, had emerged from “many conversations with Jewish historians,” thereby emphasizing, in turn, that the volume was essentially the product of non-Jewish historians.⁵⁶

Continuing this survey briefly into the period of “Austrofascist” rule, I came across a self-published guide to “Jewish historical sites in Vienna and the Austrian federal states” by Josef Pick, a Jewish municipal religious studies teacher who would later perish in the Holocaust. It opens with a foreword by the rabbi and historian Max Grunwald that refers intriguingly to a sadly unnamed “field trip guide for middle schools” published by the Lower Austrian state educational authority, which “also called attention to memorials to Jewish history.” In other words, the “Austrofascist” educational authorities were showing Lower Austrian schoolchildren Jewish

historical sites in Austria as part of a curriculum to educate them about "general" Austrian cultural heritage.⁵⁷ Such research and publications on Vienna's Jewish history by conservative, non-Jewish historians suggests a certain degree of philosemitism among Austria's non-Nazi right wing during the interwar period, or at least a high degree of fluidity when it came to positions regarding right-wing ideology, antisemitism, and the place of "Jewish" history in "general" historiography. The manifold instances of positive interaction between Jews, Jewish culture, and the "Austrofascist" movement in the 1930s certainly remain a direly underexplored area in modern Austrian history.⁵⁸

Conclusion

In 1933, the cultural historian Hans Tietze, who a few years later would be driven into exile, published his milestone work *Die Juden Wiens*, which would set an important precedent for the post-Holocaust development of historiography on the Jews of Vienna.⁵⁹ In contrast to the dominant focus on inner-Jewish community life and politics by the historians who preceded him, a major innovation of Tietze's enduring work was that it highlighted like never before the reciprocal—what Steven Aschheim would later call "co-constitutive"⁶⁰—relationship between Vienna's Jews and Viennese/Austrian culture over the centuries, but especially during the incisive era that is today celebrated as the *fin-de-siècle*. As he remarked in the preface, Tietze was moved to write this study following his general cultural history, *Wien: Kultur, Kunst, Geschichte*, published in 1931, through which he had first come to realize the import of the central—yet to date unexamined—role of Jews in Vienna's "general" cultural history.⁶¹

The trajectory of Tietze's thinking was for a long time overshadowed by the Holocaust, yet it presaged the discussions kicked off by Carl Schorske's groundbreaking work in the 1970s on Vienna's modernist culture that would lead, amidst a general boom of new historiography on Vienna's Jews, to a conflicted and as yet unresolved discussion on how this fruitful, yet calamitous and therefore vexing history of meetings between the "Jewish" and the "non-Jewish" was to be properly understood—including discussions of how "Jewish" is Austria's modern culture.⁶² As Klaus Hödl pointed out, it was non-Austrian, mostly American historians who from the 1980s onwards provided this new impetus in Jewish Viennese historiography, citing Marsha Rozenblit, Robert Wistrich, and Steven Beller as prime examples. Yet these historians, he continued, were also responsible

for reorienting the interpretative framework of Vienna's Jewish history toward the hypothesis of Jewish assimilation.⁶³ As a result, Jews continue to be cast as a discrete "people" foreign to a purported "German-Austrian" culture who only immigrated at a late stage to Vienna and whose attempts to "assimilate"—though these may have fostered the flowering of modernist culture in Vienna around 1900—ultimately failed to secure their place in Austrian society, as the Holocaust proved devastatingly.

As Hödl went on to point out, this historiographic model has been challenged in recent years by a growing body of work from the German-speaking world that aims to overcome the tenacious Jewish/non-Jewish divide in historiography and to achieve a more inclusive understanding of modern (Austrian) culture.⁶⁴ Indeed, it is becoming ever more commonplace in "general" Austrian historiography—and in societal discourses more broadly—to highlight the pivotal role played by Jews in the generation of Austrian culture.⁶⁵ Yet "Jewish" history still has some way to go before it becomes truly integrated into "general" or "national" Austrian historiography, owing not least of all to the tenacity of the central tenets of the "assimilation" paradigm concerning notions of inherent Jewish "difference." Perhaps, as Hödl diagnosed succinctly, this tenacity reflects a "fear of losing the Jewish and non-Jewish binary." There remains a "persistent dichotomous thinking among scholars who, contrary to all their research findings, continue to divide Jews and non-Jews into two mutually exclusive categories. This is due in part to concerns that abandoning it would conflate Jews and non-Jews, erase all traces of Jewish distinctiveness and consequently mark the end of Jewish studies as well as the professional self-understanding of scholars in this field."⁶⁶ Yet the tenacity of assimilationist thinking has also engendered a fundamental inability to perceive and account for the many dynamic points of intersection between Jews and non-Jews in modern Austrian history—as demonstrated in this article, if only briefly, with regard to the role of non-Jews in the genesis of "Jewish" historiography in Vienna, most strikingly in the case of right-wing historians in the interwar period.

Writing in the 1980s, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi pointed out that the Zionist narrative of Jewish history—according to which Jewish "assimilation" into the "non-Jewish" European cultures had failed, with Israel now holding the promise of Jewish "national" redemption—has proven itself insufficient as a usable "mythistory" for the postwar Jewish world, which continues to be characterized by dispersion, diversity, and integration into local contexts all over the globe. Jews the world over, he concluded, "seem to await a new, metahistorical myth."⁶⁷ In this article, I traced the origins

of Vienna's Jewish historiography back to its origins to demonstrate that the intersections between Jews and non-Jews as both agents and subjects of historiography in modern Austria run much deeper than postwar historiographic paradigms of difference, separation, and universal Jewish particularism would have us believe. This older body of historiography from before the Holocaust, including its origins in a complex network of Jewish and non-Jewish scholarship, could well serve as a metahistorical blueprint for how to write more inclusive histories in the future without losing sight of the specificities of the Jewish context within Viennese culture and society. In an age of resurgent nationalism, particularism, separatism, as well as religious and political extremism and the perils these worrying developments entail for diversifying societies such as Austria and Europe more broadly, a greater focus on the dynamic process of intersectional, intercultural becoming, as I feel this case study of early "Jewish" historiography in Vienna evinces, could offer us a new "usable past" to suit the needs of our pluralistic present.

Endnotes

- 1 Ludwig August Frankl, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien: 1. Der alte Judenfreihof* (Vienna: Bei Mörschner's Witwe und W. Bianchi, 1847). All translations into English in this article, unless otherwise stated, are my own.
- 2 See Susanne Uslu-Pauer, "Das Archiv der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien: Jüdisches kulturelles Erbe zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft," in *Jüdische Archivalien: Die Wiege des österreichischen und europäischen Judentums*, ed. Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Vienna: Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien, 2016), 14–15.
- 3 Historiography old and new, including many of the works cited throughout this article, evinces surprisingly little consensus, and thus an astounding lack of sustained reflection, on the IKG's origins, with "foundation years" ranging from as early as 1792 to as late as 1896. This broad range in and of itself demonstrates that the IKG was in fact the product of a long-term and peculiarly Austrian political and legal development, the history of which must be reserved for a future publication.
- 4 Frankl, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 4.
- 5 "Ältestes Zeugnis jüdischen Lebens in Österreich im Fokus der Experten," *Die Gemeinde*, May 2009, 39.
- 6 See *Das Buch Österreich: Texte, die man kennen muss*, ed. Hans Rauscher (Vienna: Braumüller, 2005), 92.
- 7 The oldest Jewish cemetery in Vienna, probably dating back no earlier than the thirteenth century, was destroyed in the *Gesera*, the great pogrom of 1421, its gravestones then being purloined as building materials. They would resurface repeatedly over the centuries during excavations and construction projects around the city. See Bernhard Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabsteine aus dem XIII.-XV. Jahrhundert in Wien und Umgebung* (Vienna: Hölder, 1916).
- 8 Ignaz Schwarz, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien bis zum Jahre 1625* (Vienna: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1913), 29. See also: Ignaz Schwarz, *Das Wiener Ghetto: Seine Häuser und seine Bewohner*, (Vienna: Braumüller, 1909), 54.
- 9 Schwarz, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 3–4.
- 10 Ludwig Bato, *Die Juden im alten Wien* (originally published 1928, this edition Vienna: Metroverlag, 2011), 6.
- 11 Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial* (Apr. 11, 1918): 337. Brooks, whether wittingly or not, was echoing Friedrich Nietzsche's earlier, more sustained reflections on the uses of history. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Use and Abuse of History* (originally published 1874, this edition trans. Adrian Collins, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957).
- 12 See Peter Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile and Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (Dec. 2001): esp. 1590–1591.
- 13 To cite the well-worn but still pertinent bon mot from *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- 14 Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 86.
- 15 On the underlying epistemological issues of "general" as opposed to "Jewish" history, see the commentary by Klaus Hödl, "'Jewish History' as Part of 'General History': A Comment," *Medaon: Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung* 12, no. 22 (2018).
- 16 Salo Baron, "Newer Emphases in Jewish History," *Jewish Social Studies* 25, no. 4 (Oct. 1963): 240.
- 17 Here borrowing the analytical concept developed by Lisa Silverman, *Becoming Austrians: Jews and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

18 A narrative expounded most influentially with regard to Jews in Vienna by Marsha Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), esp. 1–2, still cited as a textbook in the field today.

19 See Dirk Rupnow, *Aporien des Gedenkens: Reflexionen über "Holocaust" und Erinnerung* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2006), 14, see also generally 12–13.

20 Markus Wenninger, "Jüdische Studien in der österreichischen 'Provinz,'" in *Jüdische Studien: Reflexionen zu Theorie und Praxis eines wissenschaftlichen Feldes*, ed. Klaus Hödl (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2003), esp. 26.

21 See Max Grunwald, *Vienna*, trans. Solomon Grayzel (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1936), 2.

22 As I outlined in more detail in "Once 'the Only True Austrians': Jews and Austrian Culture in the Early Twentieth Century," in Diane Butler et al., *The Binghamton Nuvolone: Restoring an Object in Six Parts* (Binghamton: Binghamton University Art Museum, 2019).

23 William Johnston, *Der österreichische Mensch: Kulturgeschichte der Eigenart Österreichs* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 282.

24 *Alt-Wien: Die Stadt, die niemals war*, ed. Wolfgang Kos and Christian Rapp (Vienna: Czernin, 2004), this quote in "Katalogteil," 333.

25 Klaus Hödl, *Zwischen Wienerlied und Der Kleine Kohn: Juden in der Wiener populären Kultur um 1900* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 145–149.

26 As explored in a by now classic study by Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien – Einst und Jetzt: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990).

27 Gerhard Robert Walter von Coeckelberghe-Dützele, *Die Juden und die Judenstadt in Wien: Fragmente von Realis* (Vienna: Lechner's Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1846), 3–5, 9–10.

28 See Reinhard Pohanka, "Judenplatz (Jew's Square [sic]) after 1421," in *Judenplatz: Place of Remembrance*, ed. Gerhard Milchram (Vienna: Pichler, 2000), 116–117.

29 Frankl, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 2.

30 See Tim Corbett, "Culture, Community and Belonging in the Jewish Sections of Vienna's Central Cemetery," *Austrian Studies* 24 (2016).

31 Gerson Wolf, *Die jüdischen Friedhöfe und die "Chewra Kadischa" (heilige Brüderschaft) in Wien* (Vienna: Hölder, 1879), iii. This English translation quoted from "Iphigenia in Tauris," trans. Anna Swanwick, in *Dramatic Works of Goethe* (London: Bohn, 1860), 165.

32 See characteristically *Goethe in German-Jewish Culture*, ed. Klaus Berghahn and Jost Hermand (Rochester: Camden House, 2001).

33 Gerson Wolf, *Geschichte der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien (1820–1860)* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1861), unpaginated.

34 See as a case in point Max Grunwald, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien 1625–1740* (Vienna: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1913), 6–7; and Grunwald, *Vienna*, 69–72.

35 Gerson Wolf, *Die Juden in der Leopoldstadt ("unterer Werd") im 17. Jahrhundert in Wien* (Vienna: Herzfeld & Bauer, 1864), 1.

36 Carl Hofbauer, *Die Rossau und das Fischerdörfchen am oberen Werd* (originally published 1859, this edition Vienna: Dirnböck, 1866), 107–109.

37 Conrad Grefe, *Der alte Friedhof im IX Bezirke aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1891), 9, see also 3.

38 For example Karl Eduard Schimmer, *Alt und Neu Wien: Geschichte der österreichischen Kaiserstadt* (Vienna: Hartleben, 1904), which includes detailed discussions of Jewish history and sites of memory, for example in vol. 1, 379–383; and Leopold Donatin, *Der Alsergrund*

einst und jetzt: Für die Jugend und das Volk geschildert (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1904), which includes Jewish history as part and parcel of the *Vaterstadt* Vienna, see esp. 114, 147.

39 The photographs are stored under the title “Wien 9, Seegasse 9” in the August Stauda Sammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ST 1688–91Je F, ST 1689, ST 1690 F, etc. On Stauda’s oeuvre generally, see Susanne Winkler, “Die 3000 Wien-Ansichten des August Stauda: Ein Wiener ‘Alt-Stadt’-Dokumentarist um 1900,” in *Alt-Wien*, ed. Kos and Rapp.

40 Lueger has rightly been identified as an influence on Adolf Hitler. See Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna: A Portrait of the Tyrant as a Young Man* (London: Tauris Parke, 2011).

41 For example in Klaus Hödl, “‘Jewish History’ Beyond Binary Conceptions: Jewish Performing Musicians in Vienna around 1900,” *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 16, no. 3 (2017).

42 See Merethe Aagaard Jensen, “Traditionen der Forschung: Die Historische Kommission der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien 1901–1938,” in *Ordnung muss sein: Das Archiv der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien*, ed. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, Lothar Hölbling, and Ingo Zechner (Vienna: Jüdisches Museum Wien, 2007), 35–36.

43 See Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien 1907, 55442, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research; *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde 1913* (Vienna: Liebermann, 1913), 10; and *Bericht der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien über die Tätigkeit in der Periode 1925–1928*, ed. Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Vienna: Verlag der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien, 1928), 9.

44 Bernhard Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofs in Wien, 1. Teil 1540 (?)–1670* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1912); and Bernhard Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofs in Wien, 2. Teil 1696–1783* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1917).

45 Alfred Francis Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien, 1526–1847* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1918).

46 Bernhard Wachstein, *Wiener hebräische Epitaphien* (Vienna: Hölder, 1907).

47 Reiner Sörries, “Friedhof und Denkmal in Deutschland: Historischer Beitrag und Erbe der jüdischen Kultur,” in *Jüdische Friedhöfe und Bestattungskultur in Europa*, ed. ICOMOS Deutschland und Landesdenkmalamt Berlin (Berlin: Bäßler, 2011), 20.

48 “Das Wiener Ghetto,” *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Jul. 11, 1909, 8.

49 “Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien,” *Wiener Zeitung*, Sept. 29, 1912, 2–4.

50 Schwarz, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 1–3, 29.

51 Hugo Hassinger, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas der K. K. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1916), 170.

52 Gottfried Pirhofer, “Die raumpolitischen Leitbilder,” in *Wien in der nationalsozialistischen Ordnung des Raums: Lücken in der Wien-Erzählung*, ed. Siegfried Matzl, Gottfried Pirhofer, and Franz Gangelmayer (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2018), 45, 52.

53 See characteristically the recent, almost 1200-page volume *Antisemitismus in Österreich 1933–1938*, ed. Gertrude Enderle-Burcel and Ilse Reiter-Zatloukal (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018).

54 Hans Rotter and Adolf Schmieger, *Das Ghetto in der Wiener Leopoldstadt* (Vienna: Burgverlag, 1926), esp. 52.

55 As Dirk Rupnow showed, the relationship between Nazi *Judenforschung* and the emergence of Jewish studies in Central Europe is much more entwined than is usually acknowledged by the latter field. See Dirk Rupnow, *Judenforschung im Dritten Reich: Wissenschaft zwischen Politik, Propaganda und Ideologie* (Vienna: Nomos, 2011), as well as the discussion “‘Keine Disziplin’ an dieser Universität: Wissenschaft des Judentums, Jüdische Studien und Judaistik. Ein Gespräch mit Klaus Davidowicz, Susanne Plietzsch, Dirk Rupnow und Julius H. Schoeps,” in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Vienna: Jüdisches Museum Wien, 2016), 197–208.

56 Rudolf Geyer and Leopold Sailer, *Urkunden aus Wiener Grundbüchern zur Geschichte der Wiener Juden im Mittelalter* (Vienna: Jugend & Volk, 1931), vii–xv.

57 Max Grunwald, "Geleitwort," in Josef Pick, *Jüdisch-geschichtliche Stätten in Wien und den österreichischen Bundesländern* (Vienna: Selbstverlag, 1935), 5.

58 For a preliminary study of this issue, 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 *Jewish Experience of the First World War*, ed. Edward Madigan and Gideon Reuveni (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

59 Hans Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens* (Vienna/Leipzig, E.P. Tal, 1933). The enduring impact of this work is evinced by its republication in 2007 by the Mandelbaum publishing house.

60 Steven Aschheim, *In Times of Crisis: Essays on European Culture, Germans, and Jews* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 87.

61 Hans Tietze, *Wien: Kultur, Kunst, Geschichte* (Vienna: Epstein, 1931).

62 See Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981). On the so-called "Beller-Gombrich debate" about Jews and Austrian culture, compare Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Ernst Gombrich, *The Visual Arts in Vienna Circa 1900: Reflections on the Jewish Catastrophe* (London: Austrian Cultural Institute, 1997). On this issue generally, see the early, yet still highly pertinent critique by Michael Steinberg, "Jewish Identity and Intellectuality in Fin-de-Siècle Austria: Suggestions for a Historical Discourse," *New German Critique* 43 (Winter 1988).

63 Hödl, *Zwischen Wienerlied und Der Kleine Kohn*, 35–37.

64 See paradigmatically Hödl's own work such as *Wiener Juden – Jüdische Wiener: Identität, Gedächtnis und Performanz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2006).

65 I think here most recently of the trailblazing work by William Johnston on the development of the *homo austriacus*, a striking facet of which concerns how many of the subjects discussed throughout were of Jewish origin. Johnston, *Der österreichische Mensch*, see esp. 301.

66 Hödl, "Jewish History' as Part of 'General History'," 3.

67 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 98.