

- 66 Rahel Straus, 'Ehe und Mutterschaft', in *Vom jüdischen Geiste: Ein Aufsatzreihe*, ed. Der Jüdische Frauenbund (Berlin, 1934), p. 21.
- 67 Marion A. Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany: The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904-1938* (Conn., 1979), p. 86.
- 68 See, for example, the activities of Henriette Goldschmidt, Rosa Vogelstein and Henriette Fürth. The first two women were wives of rabbis.

Jewish assimilation in Habsburg Vienna

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The Jews of Central Europe were not legally emancipated until the last third of the nineteenth century. But, long before, they had correctly perceived that the societies in which they lived desired, even expected, them to abandon traditional Jewish life-styles and behaviour patterns in order to become Europeans. Either as a precondition for legal rights, or in gratitude for having received those rights, Jews felt pressed to alter their occupational structure, learn to speak the vernacular, adopt European culture and reform their religion, thus changing what it meant to be Jewish.¹

Most Jews in Central Europe accepted the challenge and embraced modernity. They took advantage of the social and economic opportunities open to them even before complete emancipation, and they embarked on an admittedly slow but nevertheless very real process of transformation. Learning German, adopting German names, obtaining secular education, becoming respectable businessmen and modern-style commercial employees (rather than petty traders and pedlars), reforming Judaism and asserting their patriotism, Jews declared that they had become members of Central European society. Although the transformation did not affect most German Jews until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the process nevertheless ultimately engulfed them all.²

Despite the preconception of some radicals, Jewish modernization did not precipitate total assimilation, the disintegration of Jewish group identity. Jews certainly acculturated – adopting the outward cultural forms of European society – but they did not disappear. Instead, Jews generally associated primarily with other Jews, inhabiting a Jewish social universe and maintaining Jewish cohesiveness. Moreover, Jewish leaders constructed new ideologies which would

justify continued Jewish distinctiveness. Jewish integration, therefore, generated a new kind of Jew, but it did not herald the demise of the Jewish people. Hostility to the Jews played an important role in continued Jewish identity, but surely the urge to remain Jewish equally helped to preserve the Jews as a distinct group.

Habsburg Vienna provides a significant case of Central European Jewish acculturation. The patterns of settlement and the demographic composition of the community meant that integration followed a different timetable than in other cities. The size and nature of the Jewish population facilitated rapid acculturation in the early nineteenth century and impeded the process of assimilation in the second half of the century. Although the impetus to acculturate encouraged Jews throughout the century to abandon traditional Jewish behaviour patterns and to adopt a modern urban life-style, the realities of late Habsburg Vienna generated an especially vigorous reassertion of Jewish identity, thus guaranteeing continued group cohesiveness.

Until the revolution of 1848, Austrian law prohibited Jewish settlement in Vienna and prevented the establishment of an organized community in the Austrian capital. The authorities did, however, permit a few wealthy Jewish merchants the privilege of residing and doing business in Vienna. These 'tolerated' Jews, their families, employees and retainers, as well as some illegal residents, together made up Viennese Jewry, which numbered, according to very approximate estimates, some 300 souls in 1800, 900 in 1820, 2,000 by 1840, and almost 4,000 by 1848.³ Only after the revolution and the lifting of residency restrictions did Jews stream into Vienna from the Austrian provinces. By 1869, when the first accurate statistics became available, the Jewish community had grown ten times, and over 40,000 Jews resided in the Austrian capital; by 1880 their numbers had nearly doubled again, now to 73,222. By the turn of the century 146,926 Jews were living in Vienna. On the eve of the First World War Vienna's Jews numbered 175,318.⁴ Vienna as a whole experienced rapid population growth in this period as well, growing from approximately half a million people in 1857 to over two million by 1910. Thus, despite their demographic growth the Jews continued to form about 9 per cent of the total urban population in the final decades of the Monarchy.⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the tiny Jewish community of Vienna went far in adopting the German culture

around them. It is true that despite Joseph II's Edict of Toleration in 1782 and despite their privileges, the Jewish merchants in Vienna endured endless restrictions, oppressive taxes and a profoundly precarious legal status. Moreover, the authorities refused to allow them to organize an official community. Nevertheless, most Viennese Jews in this period possessed great wealth – they could not reside in the city without it – and many of them sought entrée into Austrian high society. The Arnstein and Eskeles families, for example, entertained European diplomats during the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and Fanny Arnstein and other wealthy Jewish women ran literary salons where they mixed with the intellectual elite of Austria. Religious observance in this group probably declined considerably in the early decades of the century.⁶

However, it is impossible to measure exactly the degree to which the Viennese Jews in the 1820s or 1830s assimilated. What can be stated with certainty is that the very nature of the community certainly precluded a traditional Jewish occupational distribution and life-style. Many of the tolerated Jews were large-scale businessmen, trading in silk, wool or jewels, while others were bankers, and some were manufacturers (of textiles and chocolate, for example). Several had received imperial patents of nobility for their services to the crown.⁷ Moreover, the absence of a traditional Jewish community, a *kehillah*, to enforce normative Jewish religious and social behaviour certainly facilitated both growing Jewish religious indifference and the adoption of European culture. Those Jews who sought integration could pursue their goals without fear of excommunication, ostracism or organized opposition to their new life-styles.

The fact that Viennese Jews were among the earliest in Europe to reform religious worship provides clear evidence that as early as the 1820s most of them had internalized the cultural values of European society. In 1819, a group of tolerated Jews led by the wealthy merchant Michael Lazar Biedermann petitioned the government to allow them to introduce an organ, a German-language sermon and some German prayers in the services in the synagogue first permitted to the Jews in 1811. Seeking reforms along the lines of those advocated in Berlin and Hamburg, these Jews articulated a desire to 'abolish the abuses' of Jewish worship. They wanted to make religious services relevant to their modern sensibilities, and 'to promote true religiosity, inculcate pure moral teaching and ennoble the heart'.⁸ Although the authorities refused permission to introduce these reforms, in 1826 they

did allow the Jews to hire a modern rabbi and renovate the synagogue, creating a dignified setting for prayer.

Isak Noah Mannheimer, the 'religious teacher' hired by Viennese Jews, belonged to the first generation of European reform rabbis. Born in Copenhagen in 1793, Mannheimer possessed a secular education and impressive oratorical abilities. Firmly instructed by the government not to introduce any innovations not sanctioned by Jewish religious tradition, he constructed a form of synagogue worship for Vienna – the Vienna Rite – that satisfied the prevailing demand for dignity and worthiness in Judaism.⁹

In the 1829 statutes that he crafted for the *Stadttempel*, the newly renovated synagogue of Vienna, Mannheimer announced that Viennese Jews would use the traditional Jewish liturgy, but they would do so in an atmosphere designed to stimulate devotion and religious elevation. Order and decorum would reign supreme. The statutes stipulated that Jews must take their seats silently, not walk about during services and remain quiet at all times. Congregants should not pray aloud, except during periods of communal singing, and even mourners had to intone the *kaddish* softly so as not to interfere with the cantor's rendition of the mourner's prayer. The statutes also abolished the public sale of synagogue honours. Above all, the *Synagogenordnungen* of 1829 called for a musically exquisite cantor to lead services and for a 'religious teacher' (later called preacher) to serve as pastor and spiritual leader for the Jews. Clearly emulating modernized Christian forms of worship, Viennese Jews wanted a rabbi with a secular education to give edifying sermons, and they expected these sermons to form the focal point of the synagogue service. Such concerns resembled those of modernizing Jewish communities in other German states in this period, but their zeal for a new-style rabbi placed Viennese Jews at the forefront of early religious change in Central Europe – although it should be stressed that the emphasis here was on the aesthetic rather than the liturgical aspects of reform.¹⁰

The synagogue which the Viennese Jews rebuilt in 1826, the *Stadttempel*, certainly provided the wealthy with a setting for prayer that corresponded to their self-image as men of status and prestige. Austrian authorities prevented them from constructing a synagogue that could be identified as such from the street, but inside the shell of an ordinary building on Seitenstettengasse in the Inner City, Vienna's Jewish notables built an impressive place of worship, which conformed to the demands of Jewish religious tradition, except for the fact that the reader's desk, or *bimah*, was placed at the front of the

congregation.¹¹ Moreover, the cantor hired by the Viennese Jews in 1826, Salomon Sulzer, not only sang magnificently, but also composed music for the *Stadttempel* which added immeasurably to the beauty of the liturgy.¹² Viennese Jews could now feel that Jewish worship compared favourably with that in any church. They had successfully modernized the service so that its style reflected wealthy European taste.

Despite their eagerness for aestheticizing Jewish worship, Viennese Jews never did reform the content of Jewish liturgy. In the 1820s a combination of government opposition and traditionalist pressure precluded radical religious innovation. The Vienna Rite, first composed in 1826, and published in Mannheimer's 1840 prayerbook, remained a traditional service conducted entirely in Hebrew. Only the sermon and some prayers for the government were in German. While Mannheimer did excise a few prayers which offended reform sensibilities – a few *piyyutim*, some vengeful prayers, and some Talmud passages – he did not remove any of the prayers of central concern to the ideologues of Reform. Thus Jews in Vienna continued to pray for a Jewish return to Zion, and for the restitution there of the Davidic dynasty and the sacrificial system of worship.¹³ Moreover, despite their initial efforts, the Viennese Jews never installed an organ, that symbol of the Reform movement, in their beautiful, modern synagogue.¹⁴

Viennese Jews in the 1820s successfully reformed their services and created a modern synagogue style consonant with European taste without any of the communal conflict so typical of religious reform in Europe. They could do so because most Jews in the Austrian capital were wealthy merchants who had managed to adopt European tastes, and because Viennese-Jewish traditionalists possessed no institutional structures from which to attack the modernists. The utter precariousness of the Jewish legal position which dictated that only wealthy Jews could live in Vienna, and the consequent tiny size and institutional weakness of the unofficial community made both acculturation and religious modernization possible and painless.

In the 1840s the situation began to change. The government did not permit the formation of an organized, legally constituted Jewish community until 1849, and the system of permitting only wealthy Jews the privilege of toleration persisted until the revolution of 1848. Nevertheless, the Jewish population of Vienna grew significantly in the 1840s probably because the government then ignored the presence of many Jews residing illegally in the capital.

Although no information is available about the economic standing

of these Jews, most were, in all likelihood, poorer and more traditional in life-style than the great 'tolerated' merchants. Many of them rejected the modern style of services at the *Seitenstetengassentempel*. Despite official Jewish attempts to eliminate private synagogues, the number of small, informal prayer groups (*minyanim*) which adhered to a more traditional style of worship grew in the two decades before 1848.¹⁵ And this development probably acted as a further brake on the reform of the Viennese liturgy.

In the 1840s, removing the prayers for Zion became a central issue in the Reform movement in the states which would later constitute the German Empire. But Viennese Jews did not even consider tampering in this way with the content of the services they had instituted in the *Stadttempel*. The growth in the number of more traditional Jews, governmental opposition to substantive reform and a semi-feudal state structure which did not yet demand modern national identification, all combined to create a situation in which Jews must have felt that prayers for Zion in no way called their political loyalties into question. Moreover, Viennese Jewish spokesmen, like Isak Noah Mannheimer himself, understood Jewish attachments to Zion in wholly symbolic terms and viewed Jewish peoplehood as a religious concept, thus rendering prayers for Zion uncontroversial in the Austrian context.¹⁶

Only when the government lifted Jewish residency restrictions in 1848 did Jews migrate to the Austrian capital in large numbers. This migration transformed a small, relatively well-to-do community into one with huge numbers of poor, traditional Jews. Indeed, in 1869, only one-third of the 40,000 Jews in the city possessed sufficient means to pay taxes to the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*, the organized Jewish community, and this proportion held good until the First World War.¹⁷ Different groups of Jews migrated to Vienna, each with its own level of wealth and modernization. In the initial phase of the migration, from 1848 until 1880, Jewish migrants to Vienna came from Bohemia and Moravia, and to an even greater extent from Hungary, especially from western Hungary and western Slovakia. Thus, about 20 per cent of the fathers of Jewish children born in Vienna in 1860 had themselves been born in Czech lands, and 40 per cent in Hungary. By 1880, the figures were 26 per cent and 45 per cent respectively.¹⁸

On the other hand, during this period few Jews migrated to Vienna from Galicia. In 1860, only 7 per cent of the fathers and in 1880 only

15 per cent were born in Galicia or Bukovina. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century that large numbers of Galician Jews, fleeing acute problems at home, flooded into the Austrian capital, transforming the very nature of Viennese Jewish life. Thus, by 1910, only 14 per cent of new Jewish fathers came from Bohemia and Moravia; 19 per cent from Hungary; and over one-third (35 per cent) from Galicia.¹⁹

Bohemian Jews were the richest of all these immigrants, or at least the most successful of all the immigrant groups once they had established themselves in the city. In 1860, 5 per cent of the fathers of Jewish children born in Vienna had themselves been born in Bohemia, but 8 per cent of the new entrants to the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde's* tax rolls in the period between 1855 and 1867 were of Bohemian origin. Moravian Jews were able to pay their Jewish communal taxes in proportion to their share of the Jewish population. The Hungarians, however, were by far the poorest of all the early Jewish immigrants to the capital. In 1869, 42 per cent of the fathers of Jewish children born in Vienna in that year were Hungarian, but in the period from 1855 to 1867 only 22 per cent of all new taxpayers had been born in Hungary. Although the early Galician Jews in Vienna appear to have been prosperous, those arriving in large numbers at the turn of the century were destitute. In the 1860s and 1870s Galician Jews paid a proportional share of *Gemeinde* taxes. By 1910, when 35 per cent of the new fathers came from Galicia, only 5 per cent of the new taxpayers had been born in that part of the Habsburg Empire.²⁰

It is impossible to measure the extent to which the Jews who migrated to Vienna had already Europeanized. Some of the Jews (including those from small towns) who migrated from Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and even Galicia had adopted the German language and modern culture before their arrival. Their urbanization therefore only augmented modernization and economic enterprise already initiated. Joseph Wechsberg's memoirs, for example, reveal that the German-speaking, prosperous Jews of Ostrau, Moravia, translated their yearning for further advance into migration to Vienna.²¹ In Germany as well, urbanization often followed economic modernization and acculturation.²² Of course many Jews who migrated to Vienna came from Prague, Budapest, Lemberg and Cracow, and many of them had already encountered modern European culture in those metropolitan centres. Among the Jews from Galicia, the prosperous immigrants of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s mostly came from Lemberg and Cracow, and, predictably,

these Jews sent their sons to state high schools (the gymnasiums) in numbers corresponding to their percentage of the Jewish population.

The masses of poor, traditional, small-town Jews who migrated to Vienna from Galicia at the turn of the century, on the other hand, did not send their sons to gymnasiums in significant numbers, not only because of their poverty but also because they then still remained at a distance from secular culture.²³ Although it would be unwise to advance a theory of geographical determinism, there is some evidence to suggest that the Moravian and Bohemian Jews in Vienna had already modernized to some extent prior to their migration, but that the Hungarian (and later the Galician) Jews constituted reservoirs of traditional Jews in the capital. Of course, most Jews who moved to Vienna did so because freedom of movement enabled them to escape the economic backwardness of the provinces. Some of these people welcomed Viennese opportunities to modernize, acculturate and even assimilate; others did not desire to change; and most had no time to worry about such issues.

The religious history of Viennese Jewry offers an interesting insight into the level of acculturation of the immigrants to the city. In 1858, in response to the growing size of the Jewish community, Jewish leaders opened a second communal synagogue, this time in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna's second district. The men who supervised religious affairs insisted that the services in the new temple should replicate exactly the services in the *Stadttempel*. They hired as rabbi Adolf Jellinek, a well-known modern rabbi and scholar, who lobbied for the institution of an organ in the new synagogue, an effort successfully blocked by Mannheimer.²⁴ Thus Jewish leaders assumed that the new immigrants either wanted modern-style services or would come to accept such services as a natural part of life in the big city. On the other hand, realizing that most Jews who attended the new temple, an elegant Moorish-style building, might behave in a more traditional (that is, noisy) style, they issued an extremely strict and detailed list of synagogue rules to ensure proper order and decorum, and they printed these rules in Hebrew characters to make sure that everyone could read them.²⁵

The new immigrants proved to be somewhat more traditional than the Jewish leaders of Vienna had expected. When Mannheimer died in 1865 and Jellinek replaced him at the *Stadttempel*, the community hired Moritz Güdemann, a graduate of the Breslau Seminary and a conservative modern rabbi, to preach at the Leopoldstadt temple.²⁶ Moreover, after 1868, the leaders of the official community (the

Israelitische Kultusgemeinde) allowed the proliferation of private and internally autonomous synagogues. They must have reasoned that it would be better to let traditionalist Jews pray by themselves than act as a pressure group on communal services.

More important, efforts by the already modernized and acculturated Jews in Vienna to implement ideological reforms in 1871 met with such stiff opposition that the innovators had to retreat into a face-saving set of 'modifications' of the Vienna Rite. In the wake of emancipation in 1867, some Viennese Jews sought to remove prayers for Zion from the communal liturgy, arguing that such prayers represented a 'lie' for emancipated Jewry. They also sought finally to install an organ, that symbol of the Reform movement. After the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* voted to institute these reforms, controversy raged in the Viennese Jewish community for over a year and a half. Opponents of reform included modernized Jews who preferred to pray in the traditional manner. By far the most vocal contingent in the anti-Reform camp, however, were the members and supporters of the *Schiffschul*, a traditional private synagogue, most of whose members came from Hungary. Even when the *Gemeinde* backed down in 1872, deciding to forgo an organ and merely to relegate the prayers for Zion to silent devotion, members of the *Schiffschul* persisted in their campaign. They denounced the leaders of the *Gemeinde* as heretics and called for the creation of a separate Orthodox community in Vienna.²⁷ The secession campaign went on until the Austrian authorities finally insisted that it had to stop.

What prompted the Viennese Jewish leaders to abandon their drive for ideological reform was not primarily the opposition of one traditional *minyán*. Leaders of the *Gemeinde* undoubtedly feared that the rabbi of the *Schiffschul*, Salomon Spitzer, the son-in-law of the famous anti-modernist Hungarian rabbi, Moses Sofer, could mobilize the masses of traditionalist Hungarian Jews in Vienna to secede from the *Gemeinde* itself. The presence of so many Hungarian Jews in the city, and the fact that so many of them still pursued a traditional, religious life-style, acted to inhibit further religious reform. Most Hungarian Jews in Vienna came from bastions of religious Orthodoxy in western Hungary. Many came from the area around Pressburg, where the *yeshiva* provided important leadership for the struggle against religious change in Hungary. Others came from the Burgenland, where the Jewish communities persisted in their allegiance to Orthodoxy until their dissolution in 1938.²⁸ Naturally, not all the Hungarian Jews in Vienna were still attached to

Jewish tradition, but in the early 1870s they remained traditional in sufficient numbers to pose a threat to the organized community.²⁹

In the second half of the nineteenth century, then, and especially in the decades after the emancipation of 1867, Viennese Jewry experienced two simultaneous processes: the modernization and acculturation of the Jews who had settled in the capital and the constant infusion of new immigrants, a large proportion of whom pursued traditional life-styles at the time of their arrival. By the end of the century, many Viennese Jews had indeed acculturated. They spoke High German and had adopted German names. They also dressed and acted like other Austrians, obtained a secular education and identified with German culture, while simultaneously largely abandoning much of Jewish ritual observance. They prided themselves on being loyal Austrian citizens.³⁰ Some became leading figures in Austro-German culture and leaders of the literary and musical avant-garde. Indeed, the existence of people like Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Gustav Mahler and Sigmund Freud has led many to assume that Viennese Jewry was well on the way to total assimilation. The frequency of conversion to Christianity among the Jewish upper classes has reinforced the notion of a rapidly assimilating Jewish population. Nevertheless, because migration was constant, and growing from decade to decade, Vienna always contained a large percentage of traditional Jews.

✧ More significant, perhaps, than this constant influx of newcomers from the east was the fact that even when Jews in Vienna acculturated, they did not, for the most part, sever their ties with Jewish life. The urban environment encouraged Jews to abandon traditional Jewish life-styles, but Jews in Vienna created new forms of behaviour that continued to mark them as Jews, both to themselves and to the gentiles in whose midst they lived. Jews continued to concentrate in certain sectors of the economy, they tended to live in Jewish neighbourhoods, to associate with, befriend and marry other Jews and to inhabit a Jewish social universe. They also developed new ideologies which asserted the legitimacy of continued Jewish distinctiveness in the modern world.

The economic transformation of the Jews provides an important illustration of how Jews did not assimilate into the society around them. In Austria Jews traditionally had concentrated largely in petty trade. Jews who migrated to Vienna, and especially their Viennese-born children, tended to forsake this type of livelihood in order to

pursue careers as middle-class businessmen, as clerks, salesmen and managers, or as professionals. In the late nineteenth century, about two-fifths of Jews in the work-force were merchants, one-quarter pursued clerical, managerial and sales positions in private enterprise, 12 per cent were professionals, 4 per cent were industrialists, 3 per cent civil servants, 12 per cent artisans and 4 per cent workers.³¹ Although only 3 per cent of all Jewish men marrying in 1870 worked as 'business employees', by 1910 35 per cent of Jewish bridegrooms pursued careers as clerks, salesmen and managers. This new economic concentration certainly reflected the acculturation of Viennese Jews. These clerks and managers spoke German well, dressed like other Viennese burghers and probably had to violate the sabbath to pursue their new careers.

However, despite acculturation, the Jews tended to remain distinct from the rest of the Viennese work-force. Most Viennese concentrated in the industrial sector of the economy and worked in the factories and workshops of the city. A much smaller percentage of gentiles than of Jews worked as merchants. Although many Viennese worked as clerks, they did so for the imperial or municipal civil service, and much less frequently for private businesses. In 1910, only 12.5 per cent of all Catholics in Vienna held clerical, sales or managerial positions in industry or commerce, but 30.8 per cent of all Jews did ✧ so.³² Thus, the Jews retained a distinct position in the Viennese economy. Given the traditional concentration of the Jews in trade, it would have been surprising if modernization had taken a different course, simply eliminating ethnic divergences.

Jews in Vienna also asserted their distinctiveness by clustering in certain neighbourhoods. In 1880, almost half of Vienna's 73,000 Jews lived in the Leopoldstadt (District II), 17 per cent in the Inner City (District I) and 10 per cent in the Alsergrund (District IX);³³ and by the end of the century the Leopoldstadt had become the Jewish ghetto in the popular imagination. Sigmund Mayer, a wealthy Jewish businessman, noted in his memoirs that the influx of traditional Jews into the Leopoldstadt gave it a noticeably Jewish atmosphere: stores were closed on Saturday and people scurried through the streets on Friday carrying large pots of *cholent*, the traditional sabbath dish.³⁴ The Leopoldstadt (with the Brigittenau, Vienna's District XX), a large island in the Danube Canal, came to be called *Die Mazzesinsel*, the island of matzah, because of the large number of Jews it contained.³⁵

Jews tended to live with Jews rather than with other people of their

own social class. Although within areas of Jewish concentration rich and poor did not necessarily live side by side, both categories did reside in the same districts, especially in the Leopoldstadt and the Alsergrund. An examination of a cross-sectional sample of Viennese Jewry, of *Gemeinde* taxpayers and community charity recipients reveals striking similarities in the residential concentration of prosperous and poverty-stricken Jews. True, rich Jews tended to favour residences in the fashionable Inner City where poor Jews almost never lived. The Jewish lower class was most likely to live in the Leopoldstadt, but that area none the less continued to attract large numbers of prosperous Jews. About a quarter of all *Gemeinde* taxpayers (and about 15 per cent of the richest taxpayers) lived there.³⁶

Jewish immigrants also tended to take up residence among other Jews rather than with gentiles who came from the same part of the monarchy. Thus, for example, Jews from Bohemia and Moravia lived with Hungarian Jews rather than with Czech gentiles, most of whom lived in Favoriten (District X). Of course class differences are important here: most Czechs in Vienna were working class and few Jews worked in Vienna's factories. Nevertheless, Bohemian and Moravian Jews also avoided middle-class Czech neighbourhoods in Landstrasse (District III) and elsewhere, undoubtedly because of linguistic, cultural, religious and ethnic barriers.³⁷

Jews in Vienna also erected a rich network of organizations within which they could mix with other Jews, work for good causes, receive recognition and assert Jewish identity. Alongside the legally mandated *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*, which handled religious matters, there existed literally hundreds of charitable, humanitarian, social, cultural and political organizations. Some of these organizations met the desire of the wealthy to help poor Jews. Others provided opportunities for recent immigrants to associate with people from their home territory and offer each other mutual sustenance. Still others enabled adults or the youth to gather and work for political causes. Singing clubs, gymnastic associations, reading groups, women's societies and political organizations may have had different agendas, but they all served to create a social world in which Jews associated to a large extent with each other.³⁸

Jews tended to befriend and marry each other. No statistical evidence exists about Jewish friendship patterns. The memoir literature, however, indicates that even men and women who were almost totally assimilated mainly mixed with other Jews. Stefan

Zweig, for example, wrote that nine-tenths of his friends were other bourgeois Jews. Arthur Schnitzler moved 'in the solid Jewish bourgeois circles', and Sigmund Freud's disciples, friends and associates tended to be other Jews.³⁹ The Jewish boys who attended gymnasiums surely adopted German culture in those elite institutions, but secondary education did not provide Viennese Jews with many opportunities to make friends with gentiles. Indeed, most Jewish boys in gymnasiums attended the schools in the first, second and ninth districts which contained an overwhelming proportion of Jewish pupils. Of the high-school boys in the Leopoldstadt, four-fifths were Jewish; in the ninth district, two-thirds; and in the Inner City, two-fifths. In such an environment, Jews experienced acculturation in the company of other Jews.⁴⁰ And if such highly acculturated Jews had mostly Jewish friends, then surely ordinary Jewish men and women tended to make their friends among fellow Jews as well.⁴¹

Intermarriage – that is Jewish-gentile marriage – was probably also relatively rare in Vienna. According to the official statistics, in 1895 only about 4 per cent of the Jews who married did so with non-Jews. In fact, however, the number was higher. Austrian law prohibited civil intermarriage, and thus one of the partners in a mixed marriage had to convert to the religion of the other, or to a neutral category, *konfessionslos* (without religion), prior to the marriage. The 4 per cent statistic only includes those Jews who married *konfessionslos* partners. It is thus impossible to gauge the true number of mixed marriages.⁴² Conversion to Christianity, on the other hand, did occur relatively frequently in the Habsburg capital. In 1868 only seven Jews converted, but in 1880 110 converted to Christianity or *Konfessionslosigkeit*, and in 1900 599 did so.⁴³ Vienna's conversion rate was the highest in late nineteenth-century Europe. Not all of Vienna's Jewish converts accepted baptism to enhance their careers or to assimilate totally. Many converted simply to marry. With the notable exception of such famous converts as the composer Gustav Mahler, the satirist Karl Kraus or the socialist Victor Adler, most converts, or at least their offspring, probably did assimilate fully into Viennese society, even if that was not their original intention. Nevertheless, although Vienna's conversion rate was high by contemporary standards, it did not pose a threat to the vitality of Jewish life in Vienna.⁴⁴

In addition to erecting structural barriers to assimilation, Jews articulated ideological justifications for separate Jewish identity. In the early and middle years of the nineteenth century they conceived

this identity in religious terms. Rabbis like Isak Noah Mannheimer, Adolf Jellinek and Moritz Güdemann all propounded the notion that the Jews constituted a people with a religious mission to spread the word of God in the world. None of these rabbis reduced the notion of Jewishness, however, to an abstract set of theological principles. They all asserted an identity for the Jews that was not only religious but also carried ethnic overtones.

Mannheimer, for example, reiterated that Judaism was not a set of philosophical doctrines but 'a historically transmitted . . . interconnected whole, made holy through divine revelation, established through paternal tradition and filial piety and through a sense of belonging'. What united the Jews in this view, was in large part their sense of belonging together.⁴⁵ Mannheimer liberally used the word *Volk* (people) to refer to the Jews, although he conceived the Jewish people as a religious community, receiving spiritual sustenance from the Torah, working for the victory of God in the world.⁴⁶

Similarly, Adolf Jellinek always used words like *Stamm* (tribe) and *Volk* to refer to the Jewish people, although he too saw the Jews as a people endowed with the duty to spread the values of the Torah: freedom, loyalty, love, justice, morality and especially monotheism in the world. The Jewish people – loyal to the countries in which they resided – possessed no political or national aspirations; on the contrary, their genius lay precisely in that they functioned solely as a religious community spreading the word of God.⁴⁷

Moritz Güdemann, more conservative in religious matters than either Mannheimer or Jellinek, espoused identical views to his more reform-minded colleagues. Although he defended the retention of prayers for Zion in the liturgy, he based his defence on the symbolic significance of Zion in Judaism. Prayers for Zion, he insisted in a sermon of 1871, only served to express the longing for God's redemption of all mankind.⁴⁸ The Jews were a religious community, a people bound together by belief in God, fulfilling a religious mission: spreading the prophetic message and helping the other nations to recognize God and thus facilitate redemption. For Güdemann, Jewish ethnic consciousness was identical to the Jewish belief in God.⁴⁹ All of these men emphasized the universal dimensions of Judaism even as they acknowledged the distinctiveness of the Jewish people.

Naturally not all Viennese Jews thought in such lofty terms in the middle of the nineteenth century, yet most would probably have agreed with their rabbis. Assimilating Jews all over Europe defined

Jewishness in religious terms in that period. The sermons and writings of the Viennese rabbis, however, reveal that such a religious definition transcended the mere confessional and included an ethnic aspect as well. These Jews may not have thought in secular national terms, but their sense of Jewish identity did include the emotional, familial bonds that unite all Jews. Acculturating Jews did not abandon the national component of Jewish identity as the Zionists later charged. They merely understood the national or ethnic dimension of Jewishness in religious terms because such an understanding facilitated the integration into European society which they desired. Despite the religious rhetoric, most Jews still felt that they belonged to the Jewish people. In a sense, therefore, they understood Jewish identity in a traditionally Jewish way: as an interrelated web of religion and peoplehood. Modernization for them did not mean a radical re-definition of what it meant to be a Jew, but merely the continuation of normative Jewish views. Whether such views were unique to Vienna or dominated modern Jewish communities remains to be seen. If Viennese Jews had a stronger sense of Jewish ethnic identity than did other acculturated Jews in this period it is because of the multinational nature of Austria and the more traditional composition of the Viennese Jewish community.⁵⁰

This strong sense of Jewish peoplehood enabled Viennese Jews to respond forcefully to the threat of antisemitism in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1886 they organized a defence organization, the *Österreichisch-Israelitische Union*. This organization not only took the antisemites to court, it also vigorously asserted Jewish pride and Jewish folk-consciousness. Emphasizing the Austrian patriotism of its large membership, the Union firmly declared the legitimacy of preserving Jewish consciousness.⁵¹ In the twentieth century Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism also attracted many Viennese Jews.

The patterns of Jewish acculturation and assimilation in Vienna both resembled and differed from those unfolding elsewhere in Central and Western Europe, and the differences derived from the demographic composition of the Viennese Jewish community itself. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tiny size and wealthy composition of the community generated one of the most assimilated Jewish communities in Europe. Viennese Jewry – unlike the Jewish communities of French or German cities – became more socially and culturally distinct with the passage of time. Of course, assimilated

Jews rarely reverted to the traditional way of life. Rather, the influx of traditional Jews from the 1840s onwards created a large, constantly renewable reservoir of non-aculturated or partially acculturated Jews.

Urbanization in Germany did not necessarily create similar reservoirs in Berlin or Frankfurt, since Jews in the small towns of the hinterlands had largely modernized before their move to the cities. The fact that Vienna's immigration arrived primarily from bastions of Jewish traditionalism in Hungary and Galicia, areas of dense Jewish concentration and staunch Jewish loyalty, meant that in the second half of the nineteenth century Vienna became the home of large numbers of non-modern Jews. Of course many of these Jews successfully acculturated and some disappeared totally into the majority population. Nevertheless, the deep-rooted urge of Jews to remain Jewish, combined with the simultaneous influx of new immigrants and the potency of Viennese antisemitism, guaranteed the group's distinctiveness in the Habsburg capital. Whether because of the will to survive or as an expression of pride in the face of hostility, Viennese Jews continued to assert their own identity and cohesion in the nineteenth century.

Notes

- 1 Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 57-79.
- 2 For an excellent discussion of the process of Jewish modernization in Germany – and the slow pace of that process – see Steven M. Lowenstein, 'The Pace of Modernisation of German Jewry in the Nineteenth Century', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 21 (1976), 41-56.
- 3 Akos Löw, 'Die soziale Zusammensetzung der Wiener Juden nach den Trauungs- und Geburtsmatrikeln, 1784-1848', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1952, pp. 161-3; Israel Jeiteles, *Die Kultusgemeinde der Israeliten in Wien mit Benützung des statistischen Volkszählungsoperatus vom Jahre 1869* (Vienna, 1873), pp. 40-3.
- 4 K.-k. Statistische Central-Commission, *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Böhmen etc. nach der Zählung vom 31. Dezember 1869* (Vienna, 1871), vol. XI, 'Nieder-Oesterreich', pp. 2-13; K.-k. Statistische Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik* 1:2, pp. 2-3; 63:1, pp. 48-9; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien* (1910), p. 25.
- 5 For a fuller discussion see Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany, 1983), pp. 16-18. On general Viennese population see *Bevölkerung und Viehstand . . . 1869*, vol. XI, pp. 2-13 and *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s., 2:1, p. 33*.

- 6 Max Grunwald, *Vienna* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 155-213; Sigmund Mayer, *Die Wiener Juden 1700-1900: Kommerz, Kultur, Politik* (Vienna and Berlin, 1917), pp. 273-300.
- 7 For biographical sketches of all the tolerated Jews in Vienna in 1829, see Bernard Wachstein, 'Das Statut für das Bethaus der Israeliten in Wien: Seine Urheber und Gutheisser', in *Die ersten Statuten des Bethauses in der Inneren Stadt aus Anlass der Jahrhundertfeier* (2. Nissan 5686/17. März 1926) (Vienna, 1926), pp. 9-36.
- 8 Sigmund Husserl, *Gründungsgeschichte des Stadt-Tempels der Israel. Kultus-gemeinde Wien* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906), esp. pp. 66-113; Gerson Wolf, *Vom ersten bis zum zweiten Tempel: Geschichte der Israelitischen Cultus-gemeinde in Wien (1820-1860)* (Vienna, 1861), pp. 14-17. For general overviews of religious reform in Vienna in the 1820s see Hans Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens: Geschichte-Wirtschaft-Kultur* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1933), pp. 150-7 and most recently Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York and Oxford, 1988), pp. 146-51.
- 9 Moses Rosenmann, *Isak Noa Mannheimer: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Vienna and Berlin, 1922), pp. 21-7, 36, 54, 57, 62, 66. On Mannheimer's oratorical abilities, see Alexander Altmann, 'The New Style of Preaching in Nineteenth-Century German Jewry', in Alexander Altmann (ed.), *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 71-2, 79, 100.
- 10 'Statuten für das Bethaus der Israeliten in Wien', Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (hereafter: CAHJP), AW 1271. For comparison with German *Synagogenordnungen*, see Steven M. Lowenstein, 'The 1840s and the Creation of the German-Jewish Religious Reform Movement', in *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, edited by Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker and Reinhard Rürup (Tübingen, 1981), pp. 255-97; and Jakob J. Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of Liberal and Reform Judaism* (New York, 1968), pp. 105-22. On the rise of the modern, pastoral rabbi see Ismar Schorsch, 'Emancipation and the Crisis of Religious Authority – The Emergence of the Modern Rabbinate', in *Revolution and Evolution*, pp. 205-47.
- 11 Max Eisler, 'Die Seitenstetten Tempel', in '100 Jahre Wiener Stadt-Tempel. Jubiläumsausgabe 5586-5686, 1826-1926', *Menorah* (March 1926), pp. 154-5, 157 in CAHJP, AW 1271; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, pp. 147-9.
- 12 Hanoch Avenary (ed.), *Kantor Salomon Sulzer und seine Zeit: Eine Documentation* (Sigmaringen, 1985); Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion: Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst* (1838; rev. edn, ed. Joseph Sulzer, Leipzig, 1905).
- 13 Letter of Mannheimer to Leopold Zunz, 31 October 1826, in M. Brann and M. Rosenmann, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Isak Noa Mannheimer

- und Leopold Zunz', *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, n.s., 25 (1917), 299–300; letters of Mannheimer to Dr Wolff, rabbi in Copenhagen, 22 July 1829 and 4 July 1830, in 'Zwei interessante Briefe Mannheimer's', in *ibid.*, 20 (1871), 280–2, 334–5; I. N. Mannheimer, *Tefilat Israel; Gebete der Israeliten*, 4th rev. edn (Vienna, 1851). Mannheimer's prayerbook remained unchanged through scores of reprintings down to the present.
- 14 Letter of Mannheimer to Wolff, 4 July 1830, 'Zwei interessante Briefe', pp. 334–5; Rosenmann, *Mannheimer*, pp. 93–4.
 - 15 The only private synagogue which Jewish leaders permitted was the so-called Polish synagogue. See *Bethaus Verwaltung Protocolle 1832–35*, 20 October 1832, in CAHJP, AW 1258/3. On suppression of private *minyanim* see, for example, 2 May 1833, 8 October 1833, 31 August 1835 in *ibid.*; 21 May 1840 in *Bethaus Verwaltung Protocolle 1835–42*, AW 1258/4.
 - 16 On Mannheimer's positive defence of prayers for Zion see his 1841 opinion on the new Hamburg Temple Prayerbook, printed in *Theologische Gutachten über das Gebetbuch nach dem Gebrauche des neuen Israelitischen Tempelvereins in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1842), p. 97. On his understanding of Jewish peoplehood in religious terms see his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge gehalten im israelitischen Bethause in Wien* (Vienna, 1876), especially vol. I, pp. 48–66; vol. II, pp. 20–37 and 78–100.
 - 17 In 1869, about 2,000 Jewish men paid taxes to the *Gemeinde*. Multiplying that number by six to account for wives, children and other dependants, only 12,000 of Vienna's 40,000 Jews could pay their taxes. For a list of Jewish taxpayers see *Verzeichniss der Mitglieder der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in Wien 1869* in CAHJP, AW 46. In 1857 approximately 1,000 Jews paid taxes to the *Gemeinde* – see the list for 1857 in CAHJP, AW 34 – but since the Austrian census did not enumerate actual residents in that year, it is impossible to determine the percentage of all Jews able to pay taxes. For similar lists of voters in 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910, see CAHJP, AW 3086, 3096, 50/10 and 55/1. Performing similar arithmetic with these lists as in 1869 reveals that two-thirds of all Jews were poor, incapable of paying 10 gulden or 20 Kronen (the minimum tax – worth about \$5 in America at that time) to support the Jewish community.
 - 18 Figures for the period after 1850 are based on my computer-assisted analysis of 947 Jewish brides and grooms from 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910; 1,387 mothers and fathers of Jewish newborns in 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910; and 177 mothers and fathers in 1860. The birth and marriage registers are located at the present offices of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* in Vienna. For a fuller discussion of the migration of Jews to Vienna and the demographic composition of the Jewish community see my *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 13–45. For information on the 1840s see Löw, 'Die soziale Zusammensetzung', pp. 152–4.
 - 19 Marsha L. Rozenblit, 'A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 19–20 (1983–4, pt. I, 145–52.

- 20 These figures are based on a computer-assisted analysis of the tax files of 2,609 members of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* between 1855 and 1914, CAHJP, AW 805/1–25.
- 21 Joseph Wechsberg, *The Vienna I Knew: Memories of a European Childhood* (Garden City, N.Y., 1979), p. 137.
- 22 Steven M. Lowenstein, 'The Rural Community and the Urbanization of German Jewry', *Central European History* 13, no. 3 (1980), 218–36.
- 23 Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 36–7, 40–1, 115–16.
- 24 17 June 1858, 24 June 1858, *Bethaus-Vorstand Protokolle 1858*, CAHJP, AW 1259/4; letter from IKG to Bethaus-Vorstand, 18 June 1858, *Akten des Bethausvorstandes*, 1851–81, AW 1264/2; Rosenmann, *Mannheimer*, pp. 93–4; Moses Rosenmann, *Dr. Adolf Jellinek; Sein Leben und Schaffen* (Vienna, 1931).
- 25 'Verwaltungsregeln und Verordnungen', 1864, CAHJP, AW 1760/1.
- 26 Moritz Güdemann, *Aus meinem Leben*, unpublished memoir, Leo Baeck Institute, 1899–1918; Ismar Schorsch, 'Moritz Güdemann – Rabbi, Historian and Apologist', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 11 (1966), 42–66.
- 27 CAHJP, AW 1257, 'Liturgie 1872'; AW 1224/1, *I. Sections-Protokolle 1868–75*. *Die Neuzeit*, Vienna's liberal Jewish newspaper closely covered the reform controversy and regularly denounced Viennese traditionalists. For the Orthodox side see *Rabbinische Gutachten betreffs der vom Vorstände der isr. Cultus-Gemeinde in Wien, am 21. Jänner J. gefassten und zur Ausführung gebrachten Reformbeschlüsse* (Vienna, 1872).
- 28 Hugo Gold, *Die Juden und die Judengemeinde Bratislava in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Brünn, 1932); Hugo Gold, *Gedenkbuch der untergegangenen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes* (Tel Aviv, 1970); Josef Klampfer, *Das Eisenstädter Ghetto*, *Burgenländische Forschungen* 51 (1966).
- 29 Certainly *Die Neuzeit* blamed Hungarians, especially those from Pressburg, for the fact that Vienna did not introduce ideological Reform in that period. See, for example, 3 February 1871, pp. 52–3; 10 February 1871, p. 62; 10 March 1871, pp. 110–11; 17 March 1871, pp. 121–3; 9 February 1872, pp. 61–4; 23 February 1872, pp. 85–7; 12 April 1872, pp. 172–3; 3 May 1872, pp. 203–5; 26 July 1872, pp. 337–8; 6 September 1872, pp. 399–402. For a full discussion of the reform problem in Vienna see Marsha L. Rozenblit, 'The Struggle over Religious Reform in Nineteenth-Century Vienna', *AJS Review* 14, no. 2 (1989), 179–221.
- 30 For a recent treatment of the loyalty of Viennese Jews to German culture see Robert S. Wistrich, 'The Modernization of Viennese Jewry: The Impact of German Culture in a Multi-Ethnic State', in Jacob Katz (ed.), *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model* (New Brunswick, N.J. and Oxford, 1987), pp. 43–70.
- 31 Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, p. 50. For a full discussion of the occupational transformation of Vienna Jews, see pp. 47–70.
- 32 *Österreichische Statistik*, 33:1, p. viii; 66:1, p. xvi; 66:2, pp. 7–37, 49, 60–4; n.s., 3:1, p. 13*; 3:2, pp. 44–5, 132; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien* (1901), pp. 67–8, 73–94.

- 33 Stephan Sedlaczek, *Die k.-k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien: Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880* (Vienna, 1887), pt 2, pp. 24, 126-7; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien* (1901), pp. 50-1.
- 34 Sigmund Mayer, *Ein jüdischer Kaufmann 1831 bis 1911: Lebenserinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 463.
- 35 For an evocative description of its Jews in the interwar period see Ruth Beckermann (ed.), *Die Mazzesinsel: Juden in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1918-1938* (Vienna and Munich, 1984).
- 36 Information on residential distribution of *Gemeinde* taxpayers from tax files, CAHJP, AW 805/1-25; information on those receiving communal charity from AW 1890, 1897 and 1899. Data from a cross-sectional sample of all Viennese Jews derives from the birth and marriage records (see note 18). For a full discussion of Jewish residence see Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 71-98.
- 37 Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 94-6.
- 38 For a fuller discussion, see Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 147-54. For a list of such organizations, see pp. 199-207.
- 39 Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (New York, 1943), p. 116; Arthur Schnitzler, *My Youth in Vienna*, trans. Catherine Hutter (New York, 1970), p. 146; Martin Freud, 'Who Was Freud?', in Josef Fraenkel (ed.), *The Jews of Austria: Essays in Their Life, History and Destruction* (London, 1967), pp. 204, 207; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, edited and abridged by Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus (Harmondsworth, 1961), pp. 287, 422.
- 40 *Österreichisches statistisches Jahrbuch* v (1875), 32-43; *Österreichische Statistik*, 3:2, pp. 32-3, 40-1; 35:4, pp. 30-1, 38-9; 70:3, pp. 32-3; n.s., 8:2, pp. 40-3; Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 99-125.
- 41 For parallels in Germany see Gershom Scholem, 'On the Social Psychology of the Jews in Germany: 1900-1933', in David Bronsen (ed.), *The Jews in Germany from 1860-1933: The Problematic Symbiosis* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 9-32; and Marion A. Kaplan, 'Tradition and Transition - The Acculturation, Assimilation and Integration of Jews in Imperial Germany - A Gender Analysis', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 27 (1982), 3-35.
- 42 *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien* (1896), pp. 34-5; Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 128-31.
- 43 Jakob Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich* (Berlin, 1908), p. 70.
- 44 See Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 132-46.
- 45 'Gutachten des Herrn Predigers Dr. Mannheimer in Wien', in Salomon Abraham Trier (ed.), *Rabbinische Gutachten über die Beschneidung* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1844), pp. 89-104.
- 46 Isak Noah Mannheimer, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge gehalten im israelitischen Bethause in Wien*, ed. S. Hammerschlag (Vienna, 1876), 2 vols.
- 47 These views infuse all of Jellinek's writings. See especially *Bezélem Elohim: Fünf Reden über die israelitische Menschenlehre und Weltanschauung* (Vienna,

- 1871); *Zwei Kanzel-Vorträge in der Synagoge zu Ungarisch-Brod* (Leipzig, 1847); *Ein neuer Morgen; Rede für das Neujahrsfest 5654* (Vienna, 1893); *Zeitstimmen*, vol. I (Vienna, 1870), pp. 73-84; vol. II (Vienna, 1871), pp. 41-54; *Predigten* (Vienna, 1862), vol. I, pp. 117-25; and *Der jüdische Stamm: Ethnographische Studien* (Vienna, 1869).
- 48 Moritz Güdemann, *Jerusalem, Die Opfer und Die Orgel; Predigt, am Sabbath, 25. Adar 5631 (18. März 1871)* (Vienna, 1871).
- 49 See for example, Moritz Güdemann, *Sechs Predigten im Leopoldstädter Tempel zu Wien* (Vienna, 1867), pp. 11-18; *Nationaljudenthum* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1897); *Jüdische Apologetik* (Glogau, 1906) and *Das Judenthum in seinen Grundzügen und nach seinen geschichtlichen Grundlagen dargestellt*, 2nd edn (Vienna, 1902).
- 50 Wistrich, 'The Modernization of Viennese Jewry', p. 59, argues that Viennese Jews had a greater sense of Jewish ethnic identity than Jews in German cities. Such a statement is impossible to prove, but if it is true it is due to the multinational nature of Austria and the more traditional composition of the Viennese Jewish community.
- 51 Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna*, pp. 155-9; and Jacob Toury, 'Troubled Beginnings: The Emergence of the Österreichisch-Israelitische Union', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 30 (1985), 457-75. Wistrich, 'The Modernization of Viennese Jewry', pp. 60-3, goes too far when he argues that Josef Samuel Bloch, the founder of the Union, was a Jewish nationalist. The Union espoused Jewish ethnic pride and Austrian patriotism, not Jewish nationalism.