

INTRODUCTION



On an icy December day in the year 1900, a mother was found wandering with four children along the bank of the Danube Canal in Vienna. She made a move as if to throw herself and her little ones from a bridge into the cold water. A lineman heard the children's cries and was able to keep the woman from following through with her plan. He brought the family to the nearest police station. There, it was learned that the suicidal woman was an impoverished peddler who could no longer feed her children and was facing eviction. Her husband, a "wandering performer," had taken a job as a ventriloquist and was working far away from the city. In the last letter she had received from him, her husband had advised her to sell the bedsprings and the kitchenware and use the money to buy food for the children.¹ She had eaten nothing in the two days leading up to her suicide attempt. After these living conditions came to light, a plea was made to the Viennese population, a call for help for this family in their distress. It was rumored that the money collected amounted to a considerable sum. The donations, however, did not result in a sustained improvement in the family's situation. After the family once again accumulated debts they could not pay off, the woman disappeared with her children, leaving the apartment behind. What happened to the family following this episode remains unknown.²

By and large, the social situation of the Katz family (the family named in the previous anecdote) scarcely differed from that of thousands of other Jewish families in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century. A significant number of them lived in dire circumstances and had few resources to cope with the difficulties they encountered over the course of their everyday lives. Jews, and non-Jews as well, sometimes lived in dark, damp quarters with several people crammed into one room, often sharing a single bed. Sometimes families also temporarily housed strangers within their already confined domestic spaces, *Bettgeher* (bed lodgers) who rented a bed or a place to sleep just for the night. Moral delinquency, illness, and social neglect found an ideal breeding ground in such conditions.³ Some media outlets even described the

pitiful dwellings of the Jews as “bug castles” and “pest caves,” which were said to pose a health risk to the non-Jewish population.⁴

The oppressive poverty that characterized the everyday life of the Katz family was familiar not only to some of the Jewish, but also to non-Jewish members of the Viennese population. Such experiences, shared by both Jews and non-Jews, were also evident in Anna Katz’s attempt to plunge into the Danube Canal as a result of her seemingly hopeless misery. Contemporary newspapers were full of accounts of people whose living conditions were so desperate that they saw no way out other than to commit suicide. We see the full extent of this tragic situation, for example, in the 1904 case of four female corpses that a pedestrian discovered in the Danube Canal. Independent of one another, the women had jumped into the ice-cold water, and all washed up on the riverbank at roughly the same time and place.⁵ In 1900, when Anna Katz decided to take her own life, she was among five hundred other Viennese citizens who chose a similar course of action.⁶ Only suicide by hanging and gunshot wound claimed more victims than suicide by drowning. Often, the people who drowned in the Danube also took their children with them to their deaths. Anna Katz’s failed suicide attempt thus corresponds to a widespread pattern of behavior. Their desperate act was, consciously or unconsciously, established in a culturally prescribed way.⁷ In eastern Europe, on the other hand, where poverty among Jews could be even more dire than in Vienna, suicide was largely unheard of.⁸

We can surmise that many Viennese Jews acted in concert with the city’s non-Jewish population than with Jews in other areas and cultures. We cannot speak of a uniform Jewry that was clearly distinguishable from its non-Jewish counterparts, at least when considering this cultural background. Jews and non-Jews in Vienna often followed similar lines of action that differed from those in other areas or regions.

Anna Katz’s identity as a woman working as a peddler warrants further discussion. Her occupation is difficult to reconcile in light of existing narratives about Jews in Vienna. To be sure, a comprehensive scholarly study investigating the history of Jewish peddlers and peddling in the Danube metropolis has yet to be written.⁹ The few scholarly works that do exist on the subject only discuss men engaged in this kind of work. According to the dominant narrative, Jewish women seem to have had no presence in this profession. On the other hand, various accounts of eastern European Orthodox Jewish life portray women engaged in the profession of peddling.¹⁰ At times, men devoted themselves exclusively to the study of religious scriptures, while their wives cared for and earned money to support the family.¹¹ For the case of Vienna, however, Jews quickly brought gender roles into line with prevailing social standards. According to these standards, the man of the household was responsible for providing for his family with money earned through gainful employment.¹² In any case, Anna Katz’s existence seems to deviate from this established historical narrative. The cause for

this difference may have been living conditions so miserable that aligning herself with bourgeois values seemed impossible. Her daily routine was much like that of the impoverished non-Jewish population in Vienna, which included quite a few peddlers.¹³

The scant information that exists about Anna Katz's life portrays a woman who moved in the cultural fabric of the Vienna of her time. It seems that her everyday life was largely similar to that of non-Jewish women. This does not mean that she identified first and foremost with non-Jews nor that she was unconnected to any sense of Jewish identity. It also does not mean that her social interactions failed to include other Viennese Jews. The fact that the financial support that she received following the public petition for help in the aftermath of her suicide attempt came from Jews suggests that she maintained ties with the Jewish community.¹⁴ Anna Katz may have been at home in both Jewish and non-Jewish spheres. She led an existence that was likely commonplace in Vienna—indeed, much more ordinary than what most of the scholarship available on the topic reflects. The fact that such evidence seems rare is probably due to the fact that historians have thus far scarcely researched and investigated them.¹⁵ It is difficult to insert them into or even allow them to contradict the dominant historical narrative regarding Jews. According to this narrative, Jews are either part of a largely closed, mostly religiously Jewish world, or they leave it behind by “assimilating” or “acculturating” into non-Jewish society. The idea that Jewish and non-Jewish spheres overlap and that the boundaries between them are more permeable than sometimes believed—and at the same time constantly change and must be renegotiated—is scarcely mentioned in the prevalent historiographical accounts.¹⁶

An example of an interaction between Jews and non-Jews that dissolves clear distinctions between them (and at the same time speaks to Anna Katz's profession) can be seen in a situation involving a Jewish peddler named Samuel Scholder. In December 1896, he was selling toys on the Rotenturmstrasse, when an employee of a nearby business approached him. At first, this employee only verbally accosted Scholder, but then proceeded to attack him physically.¹⁷ At first glance, we might assume that this instance serves as further evidence of Jewish peddlers struggling to eke out a living in Vienna. The general argument that one encounters in scholarly literature, to a large extent undoubtedly correct, is that these peddlers drew the envy of other tradespeople and represented the impoverished eastern European Jew in the eyes of the non-Jewish population. Jewish peddlers were often scorned, a target for antisemitic projections.¹⁸ There is virtually no counter-narrative to this, no available evidence that would emphasize the fruitful coexistence between them and non-Jews. However, the case involving Scholder deviates from the widespread depictions of Jewish peddlers, as the rest of this story of aggression seems to indicate: The attacker, a man named Joseph Knot, fled the scene following the altercation, but he did not get far. “A crowd of people” chased after the assailant and caught up to him. The pursuit had worked

up the crowd so much that they took justice into their own hands and began to beat the culprit. “One bystander (even) broke his walking stick over Knot’s head.”¹⁹

This incident allows us to draw different interpretations of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. On the one hand, we can view it in terms of anti-semitism. But on the other, it demonstrates the readiness of the Viennese people to come to the aid of a Jew and defend him against antisemitism. Ultimately, both interpretations are simultaneously possible, and we may draw appropriate conclusions in light of this evidence. It is likely that a significant number of Jews in Vienna at the turn of the century were personally familiar with both kinds of experiences, including both the hostility of non-Jews and friendly interactions with them. At any rate, Anna Katz and Samuel Scholder provide us examples of the complexity of Jewish experiences.

Another aspect of this situation, hardly mentioned in the historiographical accounts of Viennese Jews, is Mr. Katz’s choice of profession. Anna Katz’s husband was an *escamoteur* (a kind of magician), as well as a ventriloquist. He entertained people who sought distraction from the monotony of everyday life. He competed with many other Jews who worked in various branches of general (i.e., not specifically Jewish) popular culture. Jewish participation in popular culture has received comparatively little scholarly attention to date, especially in terms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁰ For this reason, Jews are almost exclusively associated with the professions of merchant, trader, and banker, perhaps also with laborers and peddlers.²¹

Mr. Katz was engaged in a profession that many other people in Vienna—perhaps too many—also attempted to pursue. Those who could afford the membership fee belonged to an association called *Die Schwalbe* (The Swallow). This organization publicly represented the interests of the artists and showmen and supported the poorest among them.²² It may be that the glut of magicians in the metropolis convinced Katz to seek his fortune in the provinces, where competition was less pronounced. He also suffered from a lung disease that made it difficult for him to work. With the onset of this illness, he was no longer able to provide for his family as he once had and was forced to surrender his best performance opportunities to his colleagues. In any case, he gave up the artist’s life in Vienna, where he was known by the name of Kaciander, and exchanged it for a life of wandering.

At the time, while Katz still earned his livelihood in Vienna, his wife also worked as a performing artist. She garnered considerable success as an expert in remembering (*Mnemotechnikerin*) and performed under the stage name “Leontine Rey,” even in the most important Viennese variety establishments, such as the Ronacher and Danzer’s Orpheum. She also worked as what was known in fin-de-siècle Vienna as a “fakir” (a kind of fortune-teller).²³ She became a peddler only after her husband left her alone with their children.

Poverty was widespread among the artists and performers, and not a few of them lived under oppressive conditions similar to those that the Katz family endured. In the summer months, when demand for performance sharply dropped and people traveled into the country (as far from the city as their means would allow them) or amused themselves in the Prater (Vienna's principal city park), the homeless shelters were literally stormed by actors.²⁴ Requests for donations for starving families of actors who did not have a roof over their heads were not uncommon.²⁵ But of course not all of these performers were poor. For example, the ventriloquist Franz Donner, one of Mr. Katz's colleagues, enjoyed a successful career in Vienna—so successful, in fact, that he was able to buy property in Moravia and spend his retirement there.²⁶

The Katz family, along with their children, may well have represented an average Jewish family, as there were thousands of Jewish families like them in Vienna between the end of nineteenth and the early decades of twentieth century. This normality is probably one of the reasons why historians have thus far only cautiously devoted research to this segment of the population. Nonetheless, by analyzing these kinds of individuals and historical incidents, we may gain insight into the everyday lives of the Viennese Jews who otherwise remain in obscurity.

The Tradition of Jewish Entertainers in Vienna

The overall lack of historical engagement with the topic of Jews in the field of popular culture may be largely due to the prevailing research paradigm. The scholarly effort to trace Jewish adaptation to bourgeois standards has ignored aspects related to popular culture, commonly associated with the underprivileged. Jews who were active in the non-bourgeois entertainment culture have received little academic attention and appear in scholarly literature only sporadically. Nevertheless, they existed as organizers and producers, as well as consumers. They were indispensable to Viennese entertainment culture, and this study endeavors to honor the role they played accordingly.²⁷

The lack of historiographical interest in Jews in popular culture is not limited to the Habsburg metropolis, but is also reflected in the history of the Jews in eastern Europe, especially in Galicia, where many Jews in Vienna traced their origins.²⁸ Moyshe Fayershteyn, for example, was a Galician Jewish entertainer who traveled with circus troupes across Europe. His attraction entailed swallowing live frogs and mice and spitting them out again after gargling with water.²⁹ In this context, we should also mention Josephine Joseph. She was originally from Kraków and decided to try her luck in America. She made a career at the New York amusement park Coney Island, where audiences marveled at her as a hermaphrodite.³⁰

Fayershteyn and Joseph were not exceptions among Jews of the time. Crushing poverty and limited employment opportunities made the profession of performer and entertainer an attractive niche occupation. More than a few were able to make their living solely with strange skills and by exhibiting peculiarities perceived as bizarre. By doing so, they joined a long history of Jewish entertainers, in particular magicians and trick artists, as well as “mentalists,” who had gained considerable fame.³¹ One of these was Samuel Thiersfeld (1829–1918), born in the Galician town of Jaroslaw, who, on account of his skills, was invited to perform for Emperor Franz Joseph, Wilhelm I, and the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck. After training as a pastry chef and a short-lived stint in a military band, he decided to dedicate himself to the art of magic. From 1857 on, he appeared only under the stage name Professor St. Roman. His special attraction was that he was able to conjure ducks, without technical aids, while standing in the middle of the auditorium.³² Another Jewish magician was Fred Roner from Lvov, in Galicia. He settled in Vienna, where he soon succeeded in gaining membership in an association of magicians. With their recommendation, he no longer had to worry about securing performance opportunities. Roner mainly worked in variety shows, where he amazed the audience with his card tricks. He relied less on his dexterity than on his tremendous memory.³³

Thiersfeld and Roner were not the first Jewish magicians in Vienna. There is record of Jewish magicians working in Vienna since the late eighteenth century. In the spring of 1774, for example, the *Wiener Zeitung* announced the arrival of Jacob Meyer, who was known by the stage name “Philadelphia.” He is said to have performed at the courts of various aristocrats in Europe since 1758. In Vienna, he performed his tricks for several weeks in an inn on the Kärntnerstrasse.³⁴ Just a few years later, some Jewish magicians settled permanently in the city. One of them was a man named Jonas, whose sleight-of-hand tricks made him so popular that in 1783 he was asked to give a performance in the Palais Auersperg for the Moroccan ambassador. Abraham Romaldi, another Jewish playwright, made his debut in Vienna in 1789. Like Jonas, he renounced performances on the Sabbath.³⁵

Another famous Jewish magician paid his respects to Vienna around the middle of the nineteenth century. His name was Carl Compars Herrmann (1816–1887). He was likely born in a town somewhere on the Galician-Russian border. After a stay in Paris to study medicine and his first appearances as a magician in London, he came to Austria via Germany, where he was celebrated in the Viennese Carl-Theater in 1851 by an enthusiastic audience. Carl Compars Herrmann was a busy man. His performances took him to South America, and President Lincoln once even requested that he perform at the White House. Despite his many travels, he remained connected to Vienna. He assumed Austrian citizenship in 1865, counted among his many friends Adolf Jelinek, the preacher of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (the Vienna Jewish Community), and was

also very popular among the poor of Vienna on account of his charitable donations.³⁶ His magical talents left a strong impression on the population, and through various media he has remained in the collective memory of the Viennese population. A portrait of him currently hangs in the Austrian Museum in the Belvedere, and one of his friends, Johann Strauss, dedicated a polka to him in 1851, which he first introduced at a performance in the dance hall Sperl.³⁷

This short overview allows us to see that Katz's job as *escamoteur* was not unusual for Jews. The widespread idea that they were particularly suited to being magicians on account of their knowledge of Kabbalah increased their popular attraction and proved to be an advantage over non-Jewish colleagues. One of the reasons for this stereotype is that non-Jewish magicians were an unknown quantity to a larger audience prior to 1790.³⁸

Overview of the Chapters

A review of the available scholarly literature on the history of the Jews of Vienna makes it clear that Jewish magicians and toad swallows have thus far received scant scholarly attention. They have been largely ignored and continue to be ignored. These omissions have not led to a fundamentally incorrect portrayal of Viennese Jewry, but rather to an incomplete one—which has ultimately fueled a distorted idea about them and their history. That is why the Jewish population in the Danube metropolis is still almost exclusively associated with the bourgeoisie or the process of becoming “bourgeois” (*Verbürgerlichung*).³⁹ The fact that Jews were also generally active in popular culture and sometimes paid little attention to the standards of the much-lauded bourgeoisie has been overlooked. In chapter 1, I demonstrate with a series of concrete examples a different path that some Jews chose to take.

In this study, I pose a number of questions and endeavor to answer them. My primary thesis is that Jews played a substantial role in the shaping of Viennese popular culture. Though my argument has until recently been to some degree contentious, I am able to substantiate it using a wide variety of sources.

In chapter 1 in particular, I pose a central question, namely why so few scholars have researched and written about Jews in Viennese popular culture around 1900. What has prevented historical scholarship from intensive explorations of the subject? Why have historians tended to engage with the topic of Jews and “high” culture instead of also considering popular culture? One possible reason for this scholarly neglect may be linked to the so-called invisibility of Jewish artists. They often performed using a *nom de plume* and demonstrated no other (obvious) Jewish characteristics. In instances when their contemporaries, and sometimes even their fellow performers, did not recognize them as Jews, it can be even more difficult for historians in retrospect to identify certain *Volkssänger*

as Jewish. In one way or another, this often open-ended aspect of Jewishness frames this entire study, functioning as a contextual parenthesis: How is Jewishness expressed; how is it made legible? The difficulties involved in comprehending Jewishness has a discernible impact on historiography and the terms used for portraying the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. To highlight these difficulties, I specifically investigate two terms that scholars have often employed, “assimilation” and “acculturation.” Ultimately, my investigation of the reception of general (i.e., not specifically Jewish) media by Jews who did not belong to the enlightened upper middle class clearly illustrates the intertwining of Jewish and non-Jewish culture, thereby calling attention to another reason for the difficulty posed by the topic of Jews in Viennese popular culture.

The question of how to understand Jewishness among both non-Jewish and in particular Jewish *Volkssänger* and performing musicians permeates my entire study. My treatment of this topic proceeds on several levels. First, I analyze a series of theatrical works. In chapter 2, I frame this analysis with a description of the most important Viennese Jewish *Volkssänger* groups. My investigation focuses on specific aspects of language that Jewish *Volkssänger* used, the origins of individual performers, intra-Jewish tensions and conflicts, and the gradual replacement of the *Volkssänger* by vaudeville (i.e., the variety show). This chapter thus provides an overview of Jewish participation in Viennese popular culture. I argue that popular culture in the Habsburg capital would likely have been an entirely different phenomenon had Jews not been actively involved in the entertainment industry.

Chapter 3 traces the conflict between the Jewish *Volkssänger* Albert Hirsch and his Jewish and non-Jewish colleagues. Over the course of this dispute, described by contemporary media as a “*Volkssänger* war” (or “war among performing musicians”), Hirsch demonstrates a performative concept of Jewishness. By probing the statements and comments made during this sometimes bitter conflict, I offer a detailed examination of the Viennese *Volkssänger* milieu and the historical context in which it developed. By exploring this wider context, I discuss the extent to which antisemitism was widespread among the *Volkssänger*, as well as in other areas of society, and to what extent we must understand the hostility against Hirsch as an expression of Judeophobia. I provide an in-depth analysis of the “Hirsch affair,” because it reveals how the world of the *Volkssänger* in the early twentieth century was constructed and outlines, at least in part, the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in the Habsburg capital. Within this context, the *Volkssänger* war represents a micro-history of Jewish–non-Jewish relations in Vienna around 1900.

Chapter 4 explores how Jewish artists in fin-de-siècle Vienna conceived of time and space. I discuss, among other things, whether these conceptions show evidence of a Jewish difference that is not based on religion. In light of my analysis, articulated throughout this book, this question is of considerable relevance.

Namely, it reconceives the discourse regarding expressions of Jewishness. By doing so, I also link my discussion to recent trends in Jewish studies—for example, the spatial turn. I accomplish this through close readings of a specific selection of theatrical works that were both very well-known and highly esteemed in turn-of-the-century Vienna.

In the fifth and final chapter, I summarize the characteristics of Jewish self-understanding that I highlight throughout this study and evaluate them within the historical context of the antisemitism prevalent at the time. In doing so, I focus on how Jewish *Volkssänger* treated in their plays the stereotypical “Jewish” way of speaking (*jiddeln*), as well as specific physical traits often attributed to Jews. Other questions that arise as a result of my analysis include the role of the Jewish religion in the consciousness of Jewish *Volkssänger* and impresarios, as well as the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish operators in Viennese popular culture. Within this framework, I present the new cultural-theoretical concept of *similarity*. Its innovative dimension lies in the rigorous rejection of dichotomous approaches to describing human interactions or cultural comparisons. The concept of similarity deals with congruences and commonalities between two comparable subjects without obscuring differences between them. Similarity thus proves to be a considerably fruitful analytical tool for exploring Jewish and non-Jewish relationships and interactions.

Notes

1. *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* [*IWE* in subsequent citations] 358 (31 January 1900): 2–3.
2. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 251 (10 September 1904): 5–6.
3. Bruno Frei, *Jüdisches Elend in Wien: Bilder und Daten* (Vienna/Berlin: R. Löwit, 1920), 41–60.
4. “Eine Pesthöhle,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* 3712 (4 May 1899): 6.
5. *IWE* 8 (8 January 1904): 3.
6. *IWE* 8 (8 January 1901): 7.
7. The assertion that the Katz incident was a cultural pattern is reinforced by other suicide attempts that were almost exactly identical to this one. In this context, it is worth mentioning the additional example of auxiliary worker Karoline Birk’s suicide attempt. At the end of November 1902, Birk intended to jump from the Brigittabrücke with her four children. She had a sick husband, who had previously worked as a merchant, and lived in squalor. Like Anna Katz, Karoline Birk had already sold most of her furniture in order to buy food for her children. A watchman who heard the children’s crying ultimately prevented the suicide (see *IWE* 326 [28 November 1902]: 2; and *IWE* 327 [29 November 1902]: 4).
8. Mitchell B. Hart, *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 132. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether social predicaments actually contribute to a suicide attempt or whether it is in-

- stead the result of mental illness or a particular mental state. What is important for my study is that suicide (or a suicide attempt) as a reaction to specific circumstances is based on a larger cultural pattern.
9. See Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien—einst und jetzt: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990), 46.
 10. See Gershon David Hundert, “Approaches to the History of the Jewish Family in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania,” in *The Jewish Family: Myths and Reality*, ed. Steven M. Cohen and Paula E. Hyman (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 22–23. See also Gershon David Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 52.
 11. See Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 111. However, this seems to have been more an ideal and less a reality, as recent historical scholarship has recognized. As a general rule, both men and women were permitted to pursue a profession, whereby a woman’s work was generally understood more in terms of supporting her husband rather than as her own independent enterprise. See Glenn Dynner, *Yankel’s Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014), 91.
 12. Klaus Hödl, *Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt: Galizische Juden auf dem Weg nach Wien* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 208–26.
 13. See *IWE* 332 (4 December 1902): 6.
 14. See *IWE* 2 (2 February 1901): 2.
 15. For an example of a scholarly study that does in fact pursue this overlapping between Jewish and non-Jewish spheres, see Christoph Lind, *Kleine jüdische Kolonien: Juden in Niederösterreich 1782–1914* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2013). As the title suggests, Lind’s work explores small Jewish communities in Lower Austria. His study brings to the fore astonishing examples of Jewish–non-Jewish interaction.
 16. There are of course notable exceptions to this general consensus. An example of a young scholar whose work rethinks the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish spheres is Jana Schumann. See Schumann, “Von ‘jüdischem Humor’ und ‘verjudeter Kunst’: Konzeptionen jüdischer Identität und der Populärkulturdiskurs,” in *Nicht nur Bildung, nicht nur Bürger: Juden in der Populärkultur*, ed. Klaus Hödl (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2013), 91–102.
 17. “Ein geschlagener Hausirer,” *IWE* 23 (23 January 1897): 8.
 18. John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 58.
 19. *IWE* 23 (23 January 1897): 8.
 20. For the most important exceptions around 1900, see in particular Philip V. Bohlman, “Auf der Bima—Auf der Bühne: Zur Emanzipation der jüdischen Populärmusik im Wien der Jahrhundertwende,” in *Vergleichend-systematische Musikwissenschaft: Beiträge zu Methode und Problematik der systematischen, ethnologischen und historischen Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Elisabeth Th. Hilscher and Theophil Antonicek (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994), 417–49. See also Philip V. Bohlman, “An Endgame’s ‘Dramatis Personae’: Jewish Popular Music in the Public Spaces of the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Vienna: Jews and the City of Music 1870–1938*, ed. Leon Botstein and Werner Hanak (Hofheim: Wolke, 2004), 93–105; Philip V. Bohlman, *Jüdische Volksmusik: Eine mitteleuropäische Geistesgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005); Marie-Theres Arnbom and Georg Wacks, eds., *Jüdisches Kabarett in Wien 1889–2009* (Vienna: Armin Berg, 2009); Gertraud Pressler, “Jüdisches

- und Antisemitisches in der Wiener Volksunterhaltung,” *Musicologica Austriaca* 17 (1998): 63–82; Georg Wacks, *Die Budapester Orpheumgesellschaft: Ein Variété in Wien 1889–1919* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2002); Birgit Peter and Robert Kaldy-Karo, eds., *Artistenleben auf vergessenen Wegen: Eine Spurensuche in Wien* (Vienna: LIT, 2013). The topic of soccer and Jews has received considerable scholarly attention. See Michael Lechner, “*Wie vom anderen Stern*”—*jüdischer Fußball in Wien (1909–1938): Eine Kultur- und Sportgeschichte* (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2010); David Forster, Georg Spitaler, and Jacob Rosenberg, eds., *Fußball unterm Hakenkreuz in der Ostmark* (Vienna: Die Werkstatt, 2014). In the last few years, several scholars have begun to rethink this topic, as is evident in a series of master’s theses and dissertations on the subject of Jewish and various aspects of popular culture. I cite these works as appropriate over the course of this study.
21. We find an illustrative example of this tendency in a recent study of Jews in the Viennese *Vorstädte* (outlying city districts). The promotional information on the back of this title declares, “Among the Jews that lived here, there numbered prosperous entrepreneurs and landowners, but also many workers, small tradespeople, day laborers and peddlers as well.” See Evelyn Adunka and Gabriele Anderl, *Jüdisches Leben in der Vorstadt Ottakring und Hernals* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2012). There is no mention of Jews who worked in the cultural realm, in particular no reference to Jews engaged in the many and varied aspects of popular culture.
 22. *IWE* 5 (5 January 1901): 6.
 23. *IWE* 1 (1 January 1901): 4.
 24. *IWE* 192 (15 July 1900): 23.
 25. *IWE* 249 (11 November 1901): 5.
 26. *IWE* 320 (21 November 1901): 7.
 27. For more on this, see chapter 1.
 28. Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Juden in Wien 1867–1914* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), 29, 48.
 29. Edward Portnoy, “Warsaw Jews and Popular Performance, 1912–1930,” *TDR: The Drama Review* 50, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 127f.
 30. Portnoy, “Warsaw Jews,” 129, 131.
 31. Names such as David Copperfield and Uri Geller underscore the propensity that some Jews have historically felt for engaging in the public performance of magic as a form of entertainment and publicity.
 32. Stephan Oettermann, and Sibylle Spiegel, *Bio-Bibliographisches Lexikon der Zauberkünstler* (Offenbach: Edition Volker Huber, 2004), 338.
 33. Günther Dammann, *Die Juden in der Taschenspielerkunst: Eine biographische Stoffsammlung* (Berlin, 1933), 42–43.
 34. Reinhard Buchberger, “Jüdische Taschenspieler, kabbalistische Zauberformeln: Jakob Philadelphia und die jüdischen Zauberkünstler im Wien der Aufklärung,” in *Rare Künste: Zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Zauberkunst*, ed. Brigitte Felderer and Ernst Strouhal (Vienna: Springer, 2007), 151, 160.
 35. Buchberger, “Jüdische Taschenspieler,” 162–63.
 36. “Magic Christian, Carl Compars Herrmann: Zum 120. Todestag gewidmet,” *Magie* 7 (2008): 358–63.
 37. http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_H/Herrmann_Compars_1816_1887.xml (accessed 8 May 2019).
 38. The extent to which this stereotype is still in circulation today is evident in the fact that the Central Council of Jews in Germany recently felt the need to take an explicit stand

- against it. The council has stated that “the worldview and also the laws of the Torah reject this [witchcraft and magic] as reprehensible practices and . . . categorically [prohibit] all magic as idolatry.” <https://www.magisch.at/> (accessed 8 May 2019).
39. Evidence for the assumption that Jews have historically avoided popular culture can be found in the publication *Blackface, White Noise* by the American political scientist Michael Rogin. In considering Steven Beller’s *Vienna and the Jews* (which deals almost exclusively with high culture), Rogin states that Viennese Jews distanced themselves from popular culture at the turn of the twentieth century. As a result of this inaccurate evaluation, he concludes that Jews were alienated from Viennese society and thus stoked the flames of antisemitism. See Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). To be fair, I should note here that Steven Beller does mention Jewish participation in the light entertainment industry (see Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867–1938* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], 180). He also does this in *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 203.