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Social structure of the Jewish quarter in Vienna during the liberal era (1850–1900)

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Abstract

The article examines the nature of residential and coresidential patterns in the second half of the 19th century in a district of Vienna known as Leopoldstadt, which had a large Jewish population. Analysis of a database from this district, paying attention to occupation and class variables, suggests that the Jewish population therein was more mixed than traditional interpretations suggest, and that the concentration of Jews there can plausibly be explained mainly by reference to residential choices made by Jews to live near an economic infrastructure that catered to their religious and cultural needs. The patterns identified in the data suggest further that in interpreting the residential patterns of the city it is necessary to conceptualize the problem as one of interaction between religion, economics, and residential choice.

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Keywords: Leopoldstadt; Jewish population; Residential pattern

1. Introduction

In the last few decades, a series of investigations into the history of the Jews of Vienna have appeared. For the most part, however, these studies have been concerned with traditional cultural history and anti-Semitism (e.g., Beller, 1989; Gombrich, 1997; Lichtblau, 1994; Pauley, 1991; Wistrich, 1989). The social history of this population group still has a troublesome flaw. In the wake of the Shoah, what has disappeared from the historiographical perspective is that Jews were not just objects of anti-Jewish hostility, nor were all of them

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culturally active, but most (for most of the 19th century) led rather “normal” lives in their respective social milieus. In view of these circumstances, it seems that an investigation into the social structure of Jewish residential areas could provide a useful addition to existing analyses.

2. A ghetto in Vienna’s Leopoldstadt?

In several “historical” descriptions of the city of Vienna, part of the suburb of Leopoldstadt is designated as “the old Jewish quarter” (see map in [Fig. 1](#)). It is often mentioned that the early modern ghetto existed there. However, over the course of the 19th century, there was no continuity between the ghetto and the increasing Jewish population in the area. Actually, in 1670, all the Jews were expelled from Vienna, and even the later settlement of a few Jewish individuals with an occasional authorization no longer took place in a ghetto.

The preference of Jews for residential areas in Leopoldstadt, as well as in the suburb of Alsergrund and the inner city, had two causes. On the one hand, because of the prejudiced and restrictive attitudes of segments of the Viennese majority population, Jews were obliged to band together to counterbalance outside social pressure. Sometimes the only possibility for Jews to settle inside the existing community was to live in “their quarter” because non-Jewish landlords or other lodgers, whether in the same house or same apartment, often rejected them. Beyond this, the fear of pogroms also likely played a significant role in forming local, tightly knit communities. Some recent emigrants (eastern European Jews) had already experienced expulsion first hand, and therefore settled in Vienna.¹ On the other hand, the concentrated settlement was often deliberate and voluntary, designed to better protect and cultivate the social contacts and cultural interests within a limited urban area with a relatively high density of Jewish residents and accompanying “Jewish” institutions.

The identity of groups “of similar social status or nationality,” which asserted a strong influence on the socialization of the economically and socially expanding imperial capital, was secondary in importance to cultural and religious identity among Jews ([Rozenblit, 1983, pp. 74–75](#)). Naturally, “rich” and “poor” Jews did not live exactly side by side. Yet often, the local division was confined to the front or back of the house or to the main or side street, but was not a division between posh quarters versus a proletarian district, as was the rule with the Christian majority. This group behavior was also fostered by widespread anti-Jewish prejudice among all social classes and ethnic groups, in different proportions in each.

In 1857, the Jewish population of Vienna made up 3.17% of the residents of the city, or 15,116 people. Of the 4902 inhabitants in the Leopoldstadt sample of our database,² Jews

¹ For example, in his autobiography, [Sigmund Mayer \(1911, pp. 138–140\)](#) described how he experienced the pogrom in Preßburg in 1848.

² Vienna Database on European Family History: sample Leopoldstadt. These data were recorded on the basis of a military census (source: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Konskription Leopoldstadt, 3. Reihe).

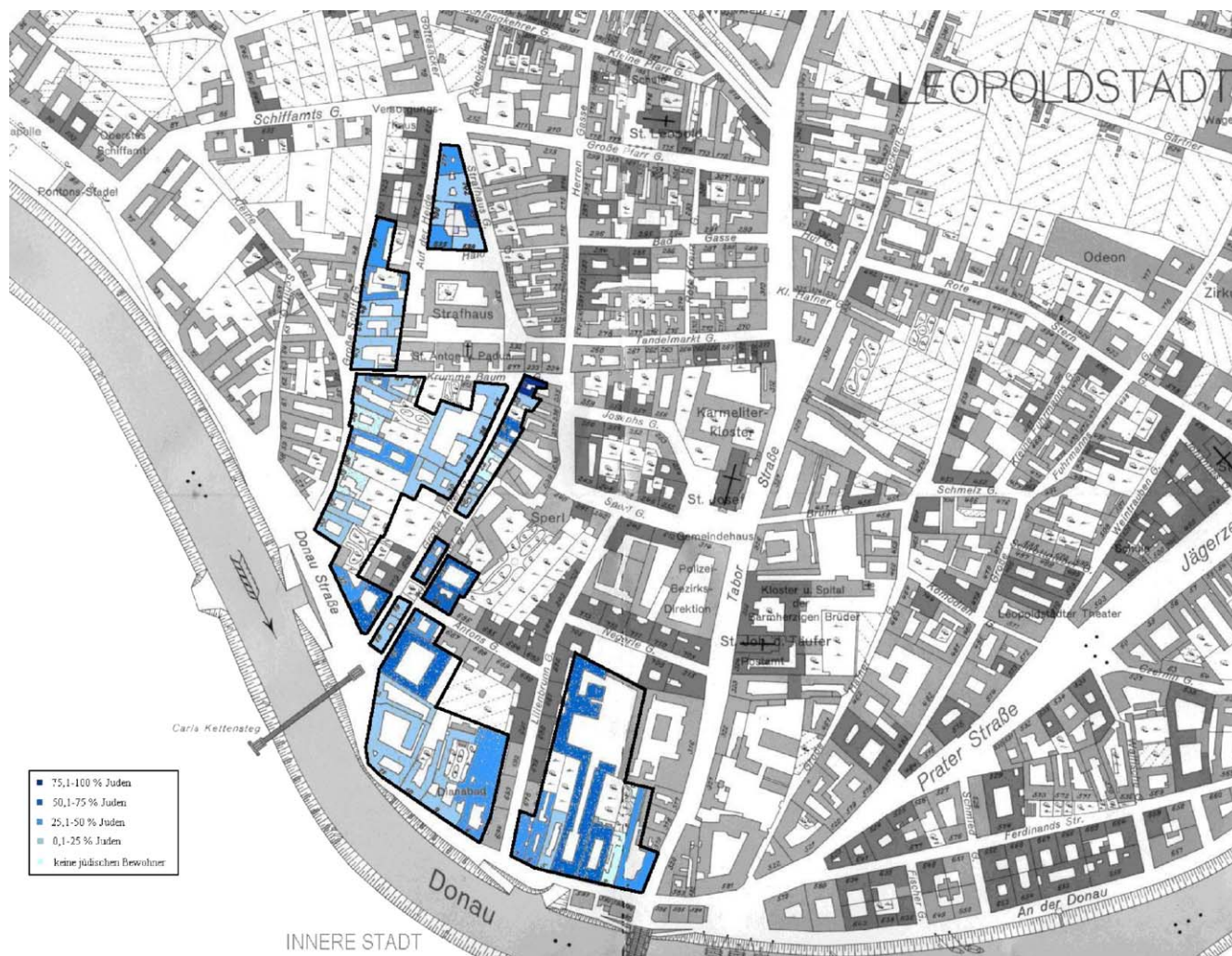


Fig. 1. Leopoldstadt in the 19th Century (houses recorded in the database bordered with the thick line).

numbered 1579, making up 32.2% of the population. The present sample encompasses only 1% of the total Viennese population, although 10.4% of the Viennese Jews lived in this area.³ Without a doubt, one can speak of a concentration of the Jewish inhabitants of Vienna in this residential area.

Nevertheless, using the term “ghetto” for Leopoldstadt in the second half of the 19th century no longer seems valid, because it is associated too strongly with officially decreed segregation in a walled-in or guarded city zone, or both, or at least with a socially conditioned segregation that was simply not the case in this period. Actually, a concentration of the Jewish population did develop, although not exclusively in Leopoldstadt, but also in sections of the 1st and 9th districts. These areas with higher percentages of Jews were not isolated but surrounded by and integrated with Christian residents.

Nonetheless, several authors described the Viennese Jews as “virtually ghettoized” (John & Lichtblau, 1990, p. 115) and “relatively ghettoized” (John, 1991, p. 45), because in 1857, 82% of Viennese Jews were concentrated within two districts; in 1869, it was 72%; and in 1880, still 69% (John & Lichtblau, 1990, pp. 145, 156ff). Yet, their portion of the population in the respective districts was modest. Even in Leopoldstadt, the number remained under 30% until 1880. One would have to delve much deeper to the level of the streets, neighborhoods, and even individual houses to find Jews in the majority. Rozenblit (1983, p. 82) also wrote of a “Jewish ghetto” (emphasis in the original) in Leopoldstadt, although she linked the concentration of Jews in this district strictly to “Jewish life,” whose conceptualization could only be endorsed to the extent that Rozenblit was referring to the “Jewish” infrastructure of the district. The part of the inner city where Jews lived was also occasionally designated the *Judenviertel* (Jewish quarter) or *Judenstadt* (Jewish town) (see Mayer, 1911, p. 108). In contrast to the repressive character of a ghetto, the term *Judenstadt* does not automatically connote legal or economic constraints, but remains ambiguous.

In the Leopoldstadt sample of the Family Database, only in 3 of 61 buildings were more than two-thirds of the occupants Jews. In contrast to this, the majority of Jews lived in 34 buildings where they occupied less than one-third of the building. For this reason, the term ghetto is definitely not applicable here.

One should not overestimate integration, however, since it does not manifest itself so clearly on the level of living arrangements. In the area from which the Leopoldstadt sample comes, only about 14% of the Jews lived in apartments with a non-Jewish head of household, whereas 45% resided in apartments exclusively occupied by Jews. The position of Jews was impressive, however, in the Viennese suburbs of Neubau and Josefstadt, where 36% of them resided in apartments with non-Jewish household heads. Still the majority of Jews there also lived in exclusively Jewish households. This seems to suggest that assimilated Jews settled outside of Leopoldstadt at a higher percentage, but also that well-off Jewish families who could afford to do so lived “among their own kind.”

Looking closely at the composition of Jewish households in comparison to their non-Jewish counterparts, one is easily tempted to conclude that the living conditions between

³ Calculated according to the Vienna Database on European Family History and the published *Statistik der Stadt Wien*, cited in Rozenblit (1983), p. 24.

Jews and non-Jews were comparable, because the number of individuals per apartment was almost the same (Schmidtbauer, 1978, pp. 60–61).⁴ An analysis of the Leopoldstadt samples from the *Family Database* confirmed the similarity of the number of individuals per apartment, but it also revealed that in the Jewish households of Leopoldstadt, the number of lodgers—an indicator of greater poverty—was, on average, smaller than in Christian households. At the same time, the analysis indicates that the average number of servants per Jewish household was greater than in Christian ones.

The concentration of Jews in specific residential areas came about also because this group was, for religious reasons, dependent on its own commercial infrastructure. For example, because dietary restrictions influenced so much of daily life, it was natural to settle where Jewish butchers and bakers were in ample supply. Naturally, the primary criteria for settling in a particular region were mostly material or often simply a result of material misery for Jews as well as non-Jews. For this reason, at the end of the 19th century, the poorest Galician Jewish immigrants settled in greater numbers in Brigittenau, a proletarian, and thus more affordable, area of the old Leopoldstadt. This neighborhood was also located within walking distance of the centers of religious and cultural life of the Viennese Jewry, as well as being close to educational institutions. (The most important synagogues were on Seitenstettengasse, Tempelgasse, Leopoldgasse, and on the Große Schiffgasse.) It was also possible to go by foot to the commercial infrastructure in the area of the so-called *Karmeliterviertel* in Leopoldstadt, as well as *Textilviertel* (the garment district) of the inner city. As soon as one's physical existence was halfway secure, the religiously determined rules of conduct in Judaism seem to have had a far greater influence on the way of life than was the case with the Christian majority.

The analysis of the Leopoldstadt data confirmed the important function of seven Jewish tailors and butchers, who ran more than half of the Jewish workshops (54%). In the total population of our Leopoldstadt samples, tailors and butchers made up only about a quarter (29%) of the workshops.

Rozenblit's (1983) conclusion regarding assimilation appears convincing in terms of the connections and relationships within the Jewish population. The assimilation of Viennese Jews was hindered (and delayed) by their local concentration and social priorities. Concentration of the population in preferred neighborhoods was necessitated by internal motives (the religious community), as well as by outer pressure (anti-Semitism). Rozenblit's argument is also sound in its source material (birth and marriage lists, religious conversions, and religious community tax lists). Her work covers a broader spectrum of time than the material used by her critics (Oxaal, Pollak, & Botz, 1987), who often refer to the analysis of Schmidtbauer, which rested on rather weak indicators, as was mentioned above.

Rozenblit viewed local isolation as an essential impediment to the assimilation of the Jews. The local concentration of Jews hampered "structural assimilation."⁵ Within the Jewish

⁴ Schmidtbauer drew his conclusions more intuitively than deductively; nevertheless, a whole series of later studies refer to this subject using his conclusions.

⁵ In the introduction to her work, Rozenblit defined structural assimilation as "the development of a far-reaching network of primary relationships, friendships, and other social contacts between the majority and minority groups" (Rozenblit, 1983, pp. 3–8).

neighborhoods of Vienna, Jews succeeded in maintaining and preserving their Jewish identity (Rozenblit, 1983, p. 71). Several authors have argued against this position. For example, Botz, Oxaal, and Pollak (1990, p. 13) question this “theory of continued ghetto life” among immigrants,⁶ which is supported to the extent that Leopoldstadt, or the section of it preferred by the Jews, cannot be considered a ghetto, but on the other hand, was substantially shaped by “Jewish life.”

While Rozenblit correctly cast doubt on the dominant cultural–historical description, with its countless biographies of exceptional Jewish personalities, Oxaal believed that she went too far with her complete reversal of it. In contrast to her view, he regarded the “model of Jewish settlement” as an “ethnically integrated form of living,” where indeed most Viennese Jews lived in houses in which they were not the majority of the residents (Oxaal, 1987, pp. 24–26).⁷

Schmidtbauer (1978, p. 59) correctly emphasized in his survey that over 60% of the Leopoldstadt Jews (from the examined sample) lived in houses with a Jewish majority.⁸ Yet this result was largely formed by the dominance of a few exceptionally large buildings, such as one where 311 of its 552 residents were Jewish. It remains questionable whether such buildings can be truly representative. Few buildings had such a strongly distinctive sectarian dominance. In the houses of Josefstadt and Neubau from the *Family Database*, Jews were exclusively in the minority, although the total number of Jews in those two districts was much smaller than in Leopoldstadt.

Finally, it makes little sense to speak of “ghettoization” or “integration” independently of basic legal, social and economic conditions. It is much more conclusive to consider the ethnic, social, and economic relations and conditions of the affected individuals in relationship to each other, and to the whole, to get closer to the historical situation.⁹ Jewish ways of life are closely connected to Jewish institutions, and therefore it is understandable that religious Jews who followed traditional practices strove to live in local proximity to their own infrastructure. Empirical analysis of census data and reports of contemporaries confirm this thesis. On the other hand, for assimilated Jews, it was obviously no longer important to live near Jewish institutions once their world was being shaped less by religion and traditions.

Turning to the phenomenon of assimilation, we can see it as a many-layered process, often lasting over generations. Taking off the caftan and cutting the sidelocks and beard were only the first superficial signs of a far-reaching socialization process. Learning the German language was only one indispensable step to assimilation. This was, however, in no way

⁶ In the English original of their book (1990), this phrase did not appear. In the revised and enlarged edition, the editors did not make a statement as they did in the first edition, but called this an open question. See Botz, Oxaal, Pollak, and Scholz (2002), p. 18.

⁷ In his unpublished working papers from 1981, Oxaal made even more of a distinction by stating that in the inner city hardly any houses had a Jewish majority. He also observed that 60% of the Leopoldstadt Jews in 1857 lived in houses with a Jewish majority, and that two-thirds of the Leopoldstadt households were inhabited exclusively by Jews (Oxaal, 1981, p. 80).

⁸ Even Schmidtbauer spoke of a concentration of Jews, though not of a ghetto.

⁹ Studies of oral history are especially important in this context; cf. e.g., Lichtblau (1999, pp. 19–152, 453–606).

the final moment of integration into the majority population, but simply one step on the way to entering bourgeois society.¹⁰

The Jewish businessman and journalist Sigmund Mayer believed that Jewish newcomers were fundamentally unwilling to assimilate, in contrast to those who had lived in the city for many generations and already took part in its cultural life (Mayer, 1911, pp. 273–274). In many ways, assimilation has been regarded as a major factor, though not the only one (social and economic pressure were others), in the high proportion of baptisms among Viennese Jews (Honigsmann, 1988, pp. 460–461; cf. Lichtblau, 1999, pp. 58–61). Rozenblit (1983) called this form “cultural assimilation” or “acculturation” (p. 3). She regarded the Jews from “higher social classes” (pp. 6–7) as especially good candidates for a more comprehensive, “structural” assimilation (pp. 3–4). McCagg has also spoken of an “assimilated elite” in contrast to “traditional masses” of Austrian Jews (MacCagg, 1989, p. 48).

Assuming that assimilated Jews were in closer contact with non-Jews than they were with their coreligionists (Rozenblit, 1983), we can conclude that in households of Jews native to Vienna, there were more often non-Jewish household servants or lodgers—and especially non-Jewish cooks—than in the households of new immigrants. In the analysis of the data, a slight tendency in this direction was confirmed. Two-thirds of the lodgers, servants, and maids in the households of newer Jewish immigrants were, in fact, Jewish, whereas well over a half in the households of native-born Jews were non-Jews. This tendency was not at all strong, however, in the case of the cooks, who were responsible for making certain that the food was prepared according to the dietary restrictions. This may also be the result of the employment of cooks serving as an expression of a higher degree of prosperity, which was especially pronounced among the assimilated Jews.

3. A look back at social development within Viennese Jewry

After the complete expulsion of the Viennese Jews in 1670, Jewish bankers and businessmen were called back to the capital, but they remained officially dependent on annually renewed *Hofbefreiungen* (court exemptions). Even then their continued settlement was only permitted if the immigrants were economically solvent and willing to pay the required tax. After the peace of Passarowitz with the Ottoman Empire in 1719, Jews with Turkish citizenship (mostly Sephardim) were also allowed to settle in Vienna without restrictions, which strengthened the imperial trade interest in the Balkan and Arab regions (Till, 1947, pp. 113–115).

The elite of well-situated Jews (Walzer, 1999, pp. 107–121), who were created by these processes, naturally served as an ideal target for the already prevalent cliché encapsulated in the term *Geldjuden* (moneyed Jews). Reforms during the reign of Josef II improved the legal situation of the Jews slightly, but they retained their fundamentally discriminated-against status and nothing changed in the laws limiting Jewish residency.

¹⁰ Sulamit Volkov (1988, pp. 365–368) described this phenomenon based on the barriers for Jews in German organizations.

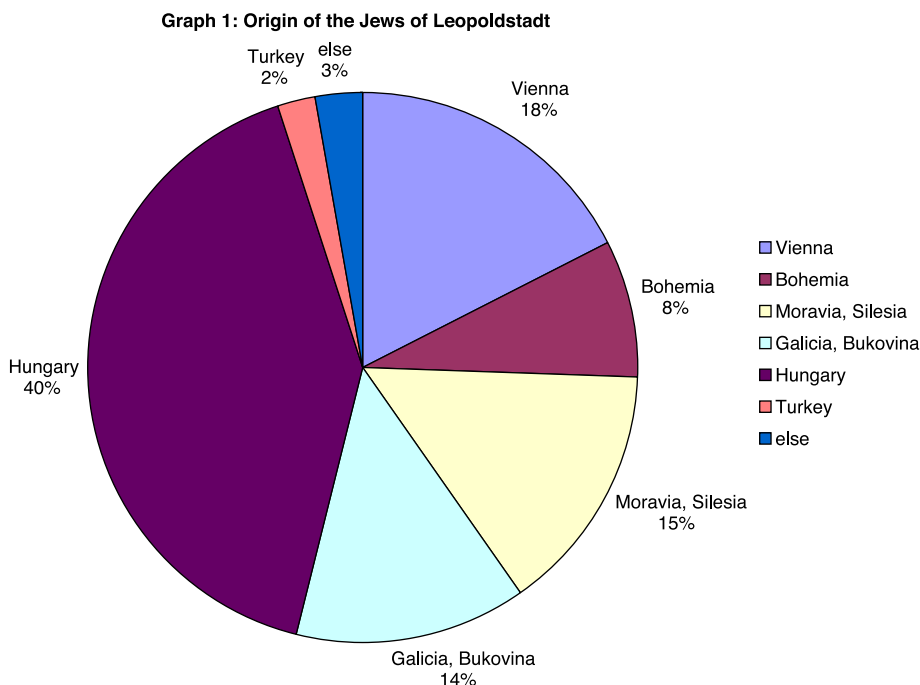


Fig. 2. Source: Vienna Database on European Family History, calculations by the author.

Only after 1848, when the Jews were in the process of attaining equal treatment from a formal, legal standpoint, were a larger number of Jews able to settle in Vienna. The abandonment of the constitution in 1851 and the formal reinstatement of the discriminatory Jewish legislation of 1847 in 1853 were difficult setbacks, overcome only by the adoption of the 1867 constitution. Beginning as early as 1848, but especially after the effective equal rights patent, poorer Jews (Moravian, Hungarian, and—at the end of the century in increasing numbers—Galician Jews) also emigrated to Vienna. Between 1857 and 1880, the number of Viennese Jews increased from 15,116 to 73,222; in percentages, the Jewish population of the city increased from 3.2% to 10.1%.¹¹ With the growth of the Viennese Jewish community, their class structure increasingly resembled that of the Christian majority, even though class consciousness was not evident to the same extent, nor could it be established in the same manner. The most proletarian group, the Galician Jews, was also the one most closely bound to the traditional way of life and therefore the least likely to be won over by the Marxist workers' movement (see [Rosenblit, 1983, pp. 89–90](#)). Those Jews who later took on essential roles in the workers' movement came exclusively from the bourgeoisie, not from the proletariat.

In the Leopoldstadt sample of the database, the largest group of recent Jewish immigrants was composed of those born in Hungary.¹² Constituting 40% of the total Jewish population, they were twice as numerous as the native Viennese Jews (18%), followed by Moravian

¹¹ Calculations are according to the published *Statistik der Stadt Wien*. See also [Rosenblit \(1983\), p. 17](#).

¹² In addition, there were 5% from German-speaking western Hungary (today the Austrian Burgenland).

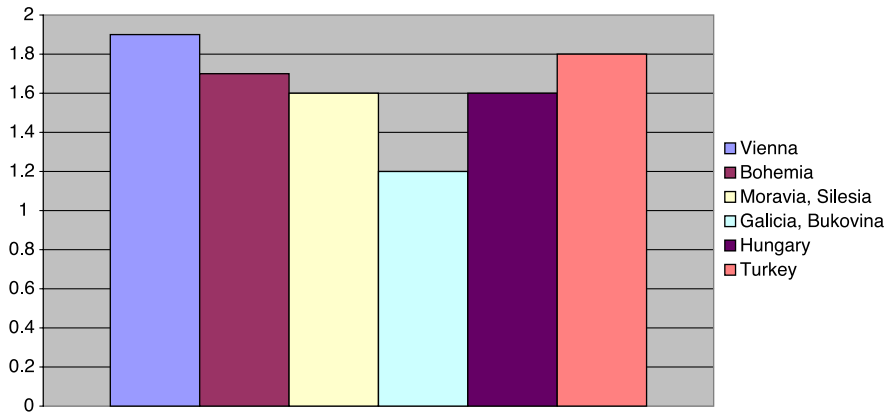
Graph 2: Number of servants in Jewish households on an average according to the origin of the head of household

Fig. 3. Source: Vienna Database on European Family History, calculations by the author.

(15%), Galician (14%), and Bohemian Jews (8%), as Fig. 2 shows. Until 1880, the percentage of Jews who were born in the city had been increasing until they made up 30%, whereas the Hungarian, Moravian, and Galician Jews more or less corresponded to the percentages from the *Family Database* (Sedlaczek, 1885, pp. 16–17).

When wealth was analyzed, the expected result appeared.¹³ The recent Jewish immigrants from Hungary, Moravia, and especially Galicia, had fewer household servants than the native Jews (see Fig. 3), whereas the native Jews had the fewest lodgers. Only about every second household of native Jews had lodgers, compared to two lodgers per household of Jews from Hungary. Yet the Galician Jews also had only about one lodger per household, which might be explained by the fact that this very traditional group placed more value on the religious unity of the household.

It is noteworthy that even the small group of Turkish Jews was also comparatively well off. They had many household servants, which confirms the thesis that they had established themselves as traders with the Balkan area. As such, they required a business staff and could also afford domestic servants.

4. Jews and trade: a connection?

On the basis of the tolerance patent of Emperor Josef II, Jews were allowed access to officially permitted education as craftsmen under the auspices of the guilds. To establish their own enterprises, they were required to have one of the rarely issued authorizations, a *Hofbefreiung* (court exemption) or a *Schutzdekret* (decree of protection), which were granted or, for that matter, refused at the discretion of the authorities. This legal situation offered administrative agencies the opportunity of directly influencing the location of Jewish

¹³ The indicators used for wealth and poverty in the database were the numbers of servants and lodgers per household.

businesses. These regulations also protected smaller Jewish businesses, since they would have had even less chance of conducting trade under the supervision of the guilds. For some time, even before the Josephinian reforms, the government had shown great interest in opening the capital city market to a larger group of trade producers who would thus become more powerful than the guilds.

The liberalization of legal requirements still did not provide a breakthrough for Jewish craftsmen. Furthermore, the unwillingness of many Christian master artisans to employ Jewish apprentices was also a factor. Thus, Jewish organizations attempted to sponsor the education of Jewish apprentice craftsmen. After such a long period of exclusion, Jews were not greatly motivated to learn and practice crafts. It was no small challenge for people who were confined to limited occupations for centuries to even consider other possibilities, much less to comprehend what they involved (cf. [Katz, 1986, pp. 198–201](#)).

Because of the necessity of maintaining a “Jewish infrastructure,” commercial specialization among Jews was bound to develop in the garment and grocery trades. Thus, the traditional occupations of seamstress, tailor, and butcher continued, because they were part of the commercial infrastructure of the Jewish community. The Schaatnes restriction declared that the mixing of different products in fabrics was a violation against the divine order of nature. Yet trading and manufacturing to sell to non-Jews generally was not permitted. Thus, Jewish craftsmen did not work exclusively for Jews. The Jewish dietary laws made it necessary for slaughterers to follow ritual, which could be assured in a butcher shop operated by Jews. The same thing was true with the preparation of eggs in use in bakeries. The garment and grocery trades were thus, above all, religious necessities (see “Handwerk” in [Klatzkin, pp. 1224, 1228–1229](#)).

Contrary to the clichés simplifying Jewish economic involvements, 98 among the 198 small-trade employees in our sample survey were Jewish craftsmen. They were employed in various branches, although more than half were in the garment trade. The spectrum also included areas of production trade, not only “Jewish traditional occupations,” such as tailor, butcher, goldsmith, and brandy maker, but also metal-preparation trades, such as locksmith, file cutter, and plumber, as well as trades less respectable in the eyes of contemporaries, such as vinegar distiller and soapmaker.

When household dependents are added to the group of Jewish craftsmen, we find 241 persons (more than 15% of the Jews in our sample) in this field of trade. It is an impressive number, when one considers that in 1857, when the data were compiled, freedom to conduct trade was, at least from a legal perspective, not yet in effect.

During the course of the 19th century, the household and familial structure of the trade population of Vienna was subjected to some major changes ([Ehmer, 1980, p. 76](#); [Ehmer, 1984, p. 99](#)). Such changes did not apply as much to the Jewish craftsmen as to the Christian population, because the Jews found their social sphere within their religious community. Many authors claim that the migration of Jews to Vienna was exclusively a family migration. One reason for this belief might be the strong position of the family in Jewish social structure, which functioned as “an intersection of Jewish existence and therefore as a replacement for a lacking national consciousness.” A portion of the Jewish in-migrants of the 19th century were more likely to be “liberal, assimilated or assimilating Jews,” for whom the family

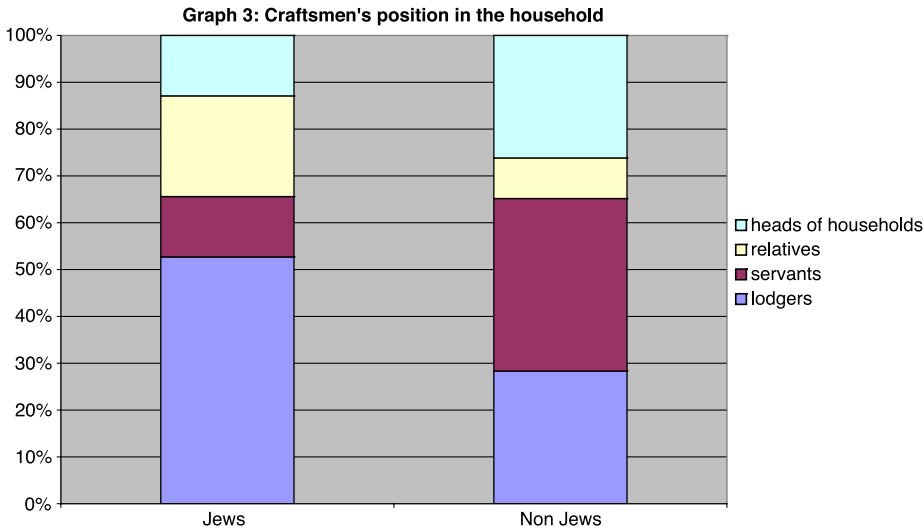


Fig. 4. Source: Vienna Database on European Family History, calculations by the author.

played a weaker role than for their more orthodox coreligionists.¹⁴ The attraction of the craftsman household as a basis for social existence seems to have been less for a member of an in-migrating Jewish family than for a person who arrived for temporary labor.

The analysis of the Leopoldstadt sample confirms, in fact, that Jewish in-migrants lived with family members of the same origin to a much greater degree (66%) than non-Jewish in-migrants (30%) did. The old, central European craftsman model of “living in the house with the master artisan” was increasingly restricted to particularly traditional branches of trade (which were further oriented to norms of the guild). On the other hand, this way of living also remained in force in larger enterprises. For example, shoemakers had already been included in capitalistic forms of production to a great extent. Parallel to this, the development of the bourgeois family ideal took place in parts of the craftsman community in this period, which contradicted the social unity of business and household. In contrast, however, many journeymen sank to proletarian level. In-migrant Jewish journeymen who sublet their living spaces were especially able to fit into this class, even more so once the traditionally temporary journeyman status was transformed into a permanent social status in various branches of the trades.

The analysis of the Leopoldstadt data reveals that, in fact, half of the in-migrant Jewish craftsmen gave “lodger” as their status within their households, compared to less than one-third of the non-Jewish craftsmen (see Fig. 4). More than one-third of these non-Jews, in turn, gave their status as “servants and maids,” which was not the case with one-eighth of the Jewish craftsmen.

A similar result is found among the group of journeyman, as Fig. 5 reveals: More than half of the in-migrant Jewish journeymen lived in households in which they gave their status as

¹⁴ The question remains whether the more open-minded Jews of Galicia appear to be follow more orthodox practices when in Vienna.

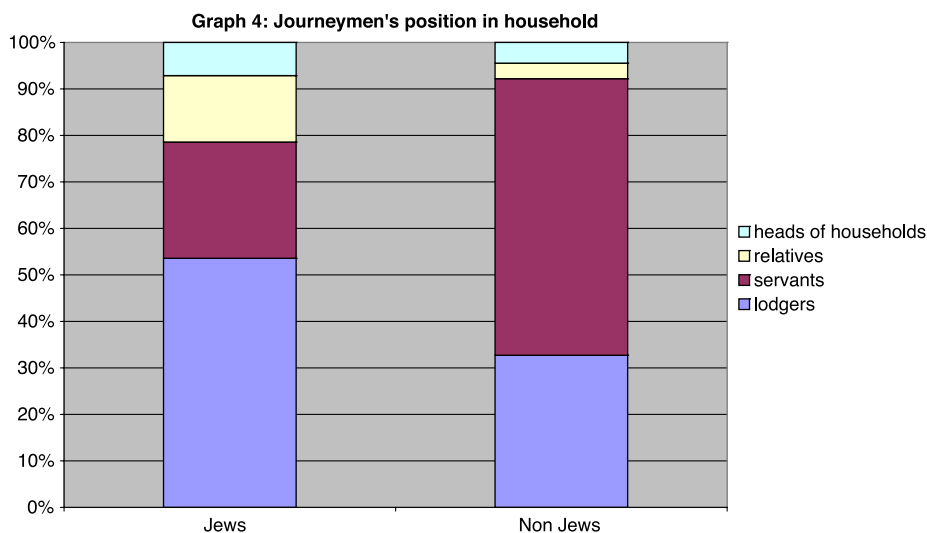


Fig. 5. Source: Vienna Database on European Family History, calculations by the author.

“lodger,” compared to not quite one-third of the non-Jewish journeymen. Approximately two-thirds of the Christian journeymen, in turn, lived as “servants and maids,”¹⁵ in contrast to a quarter of the Jewish journeymen.

There is some evidence for the thesis that in “living with the master artisan,” the religious bond was more important for the Jewish craftsmen than either guild or economic pressures. While in the area of the Leopoldstadt sample, fewer than 4% of the Jewish craftsmen lived in the household of their masters, among Christian tradesmen, it was nearly 15% (see Fig. 6).

Raphael König, who came to Vienna in 1826 during his *Wanderzeit* (years of travel) as the first Jewish metalworker apprentice, portrayed the difficulties he faced. Apart from the difficulty, as a Jew, of finding employment, he experienced other problems because of his religion. For example, he had trouble finding a master artisan who would give him Saturdays off and who would agree to compensate him with money, instead of giving him food, because as a religious Jew, he was required to maintain the dietary laws: “The other day in great Vienna to find work and also a master who should pay me board, let me off on the Sabbath, and overlook other things like this—where could someone like that be found?”¹⁶ Eventually, König succeeded in finding a position that met these conditions through the intervention of another Jew.

Generally, the thesis can be confirmed that despite the radical structural changes in trade, the majority of craftsmen continued the tradition of living with their employers. On the other

¹⁵ In our database, both rural servants and urban apprentices appeared as “servants and maids” in their respective households.

¹⁶ In German: “des anderen Tages in dem großen Wien Arbeit zu finden und dazu einen Meister, der mir die Kost bezahlen, den Sabbat frei lassen und mehr dergleichen übersehen sollte—wo wäre ein solcher ausfindig zu machen” (Mitterauer, 1987).

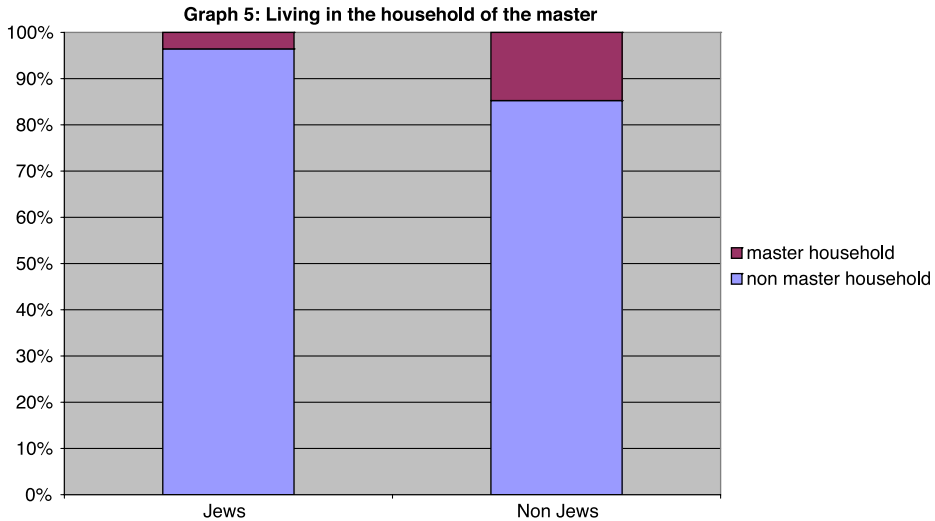


Fig. 6. Source: Vienna Database on European Family History, calculations by the author.

hand, the autobiography of König shows that this tradition posed difficulties for those craftsmen who came from the religiously shaped world of traditional Jews. This may be why in a residential area where the majority of the more orthodox Jews lived, such living arrangements were not practiced to the same extent as among the Christian craftsmen.

5. Conclusion

I have tried to clarify what the specifics of the Jewish residential world were in Vienna, and have argued that these, in large part, had their roots in the interaction between religion and economy. Religiously determined social behavior was also an essential cause of the Jewish population's concentration in Vienna's Leopoldstadt and the neighboring city district. The centers of Jewish life in Leopoldstadt were institutions of religious culture and commercial infrastructure, which were essential for living according to the religious rules. Thus, the concentration of the Jewish population in Leopoldstadt was a result of anti-Semitism, on one hand, and the religious way of life on the other, but it was not a ghetto.

The difference in household structures of Jewish craftsmen compared to those of Christian craftsmen was also dependent on the religious and socially determined way of life. The missing integration of Jews in the craftsman tradition also resulted in a scenario where various norms of the guilds did not prevail. Nevertheless, it was natural for Jewish craftsmen to cater to the needs of their (Jewish) customers, manufacture their products in accordance with religious laws, and work in the residential areas containing other Jews. The Viennese Jews and their commercial infrastructure were heavily interdependent. This direct interrelationship was furthered by a religiously shaped way of life, and it also helped to create for this world continuity in time.

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