

FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS AND ALOIS RIEGL,
SOCIAL NETWORK FORMATION IN VIENNESE ETHNOGRAPHY, 1883-1895

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ABSTRACT

This project sets out to articulate the faint indicators of connectedness and relatedness between Alois Riegl (1858-1905) and Friedrich S. Krauss (1859-1938). Both were central to moments of intensified activity and institutional formation in 1883/84 and 1894/95, respectively the formation of the *Ethnographische Commission* within the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (AGW)* in 1883/84 and the mobilization in support of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde (VöV)* in 1894/95. Both entities responded to the crises of the Nationalities Problem in Austria, which included the rapid growth of modern anti-Semitism after 1880.

Volkskunde in Germany was predominantly nostalgic, bourgeoisie, and anti-modern, more like folklore studies than like cultural anthropology, under the influence of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl. Austrian liberal *Volkskunde* followed the Enlightenment ideals of Alexander von Humboldt and his study of *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people), as articulation of the infinite, plastic variability of subjectivity. Moritz Lazarus and Chaim Steinthal advanced, in the period 1860-1890, Humboldt's proposition for a liberal *Völkerpsychologie*, (ethno-psychology) to normalize ethnic difference, including the

legitimacy of the Jews as citizens of a civic rather than ethnic nation. Riegl's concept of *Kunstwollen* (artistic will) explored the plasticity of artistic production and apperception in a manner consistent with ethno-psychology's influence on nascent social psychology, sociology and ethnographic study, as in the work Lazarus's prominent Jewish students Franz Boas and Georg Simmel.

The organization in Vienna of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* (Society for Defense Against Anti-Semitism), known at the time as the *anti-anti*, ran up against the problem of blowback against overt opponents against anti-Semitism.

On the other hand, the diverse advocates of *Volkskunde* or *Ethnographie* in Vienna, both universalist and particularist, e.g. Max Grunwald's *Jüdische Volkskunde* mobilized in 1896/97, articulated the diversity of Austrian ethnicities and sought to hold open the spaces of Jewish civic identity. Krauss was advanced in his exploration of an ethnography of the abject, traveling to the East to give aid to victims of pogroms. The networks of Riegl's Jewish connections suggest his Judeo-sympathetic advocacy, overlapping with the contrasting radicalism of Krauss's public sphere activities.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lawrence Shapiro was born in Columbus, Ohio on 4 February 1964, first of three sons of Professor of American intellectual history, Henry D. Shapiro and his wife Nancy Kasdin Shapiro, education and community activist. In 1977-78 the Shapiros lived in Zehlendorf, West Berlin where Lawrence attended the Arndt Gymnasium, within sight of the Free University of Berlin and the Headquarters of the American Military Mission in Dahlem. Graduating from Walnut Hills High School in 1982, he worked as an intern for first-term Congressman Charles Schumer, and spent a gap year on Kibbutz Gesher Haziv. From 1983-1987, Shapiro attended Wesleyan University studying German literature, architectural history with Joe Siry, and art history with John Paoletti, contributing as a student curator to the *Kunst als Kultur* exhibition of new German art at the Zilkha Gallery in fall 1986. Summer semester in 1986 he studied art history, Yiddish folklore and psychoanalytic literature theory in Freiburg i. Br. He wrote a senior essay about Joseph Beuys. Shapiro spent the academic year 1988-89 in Kiel, studying history of the Holocaust, North German brick churches, and *Volkskunde* with a Fulbright scholarship, while completing research on the three-aisled *Hallenhaus* as an architectural type, and interning at the Molfsee Freilicht Museum. From 1989-1992 he studied architectural design, art and architectural history, and landscape history, earning an M.A. a thesis about German *Heimatschutz*.

In the fall of 1992 he enrolled in the History of Architecture and Urban Design program at Cornell University and worked with Mary Woods, Christian F. Otto and Mark Jarzombek in architectural history, Hal Foster in contemporary art criticism, Michael Steinberg and Dominic Lacapra in European intellectual history, and Sander Gilman in

German-Jewish literary history and the history of science. Shapiro left Ithaca in 1996 with his wife Tamara Fricke Shapiro to assist in her research in Brno, Czech Republic on Jewish settlements patterns in southern Moravia. Naomi Shapiro was born in Ithaca in 1997, and a son, Gavri in Boise, Idaho in 1999. From fall 1997 through fall 2006 Lawrence taught art and architectural history, German, film studies and ethnographic methods at Binghamton University, Boise State University, Rutgers University and Utah State University.

In 2007 Shapiro moved back to Ithaca and subsequently resumed research on Alois Riegl, ethnography, Viennese intellectual history and then on Friedrich S. Krauss. Writing and research continued, supplemented by growing interest in digital humanities while living in Boulder and Philadelphia and completing the final stages of the project.

DEDICATION

In memory of my parents Henry D. Shapiro (1937-2004) and Nancy Kasdin Shapiro (1939-1985), who fostered the passions of inquiry.

Telegram to Henry D. Shapiro, Berlin, 1978
From Warren Susman:

“Book is wonderful, all is forgiven. You can come home now.”

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abwehrverein</i>	<i>Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus</i>
<i>AGW</i>	<i>Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien</i>
<i>APS</i>	<i>American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>MAGW</i>	<i>Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien</i>
<i>CEED</i>	<i>K.K. Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Denkmale</i>
<i>VöV</i>	<i>Verein für österreichische Volkskunde</i>
<i>MVjV</i>	<i>Mittheilungen der Verein für jüdische Volkskunde</i>
<i>VjV</i>	<i>Verein für jüdische Volkskunde</i>

PREFACE

For the purposes of this project, *Ethnologie (Völkerkunde)* corresponds to cultural anthropology, distinct that is from physical anthropology, and remains outside the focus of the Riegl and Krauss discussion. The Berlin and the Vienna anthropological societies were established in 1870 and 1871, respectively, and brought together the fields of ethnology, physical anthropology and pre-historic archaeology. *Ethnologie*, or *Völkerkunde*, was the study of many peoples, primarily directed at non-European peoples and frequently linked to acquisition of the artifacts of *Naturvölker*, indigenous peoples living in a natural state. The artifacts of their *Kunstwollen*, Riegl's highly evolved term describing distinctive artistic intention, reflected the interest in articulating the distinctive cultural production of diverse expressions of *Volksgeist*. The artifacts of exotic *Naturvölker* were of great interest when put on display in museums or made available for sale in galleries or shops for acquisition by collectors, to furnish the domestic spaces of the rising bourgeoisie. *Ethnologie* was associated at that moment in Vienna most closely with the curator of the anthropological collections of the *Hofmuseum für Naturgeschichte* (Court Museum of Natural History), Ferdinand Heger, which was in its liminal state beginning in 1885 before opening to the public in 1889. Similarly the Berlin *Völkerkunde* museum, which opened to the public in 1886, was a place of professional training before its opening. Franz Boas had an assistantship there in 1885-86 that allowed him to complete his *Habilitation*, the German advanced level of demonstrated competency that qualifies the scholar for the *venia legendi*, the right to lecture without salary not as a professor but as a *Privat Dozent*, a private lecturer.

Ethnographie and *Volkskunde* were synonymous in the work of Krauss and in general and grew to encompass the distinctive forms of European vernacular culture: the variations of proximal ethnic difference, as opposed the more distal, more foreign cultures of the non-European. *Volkskunde* was at times indistinguishable from folklore studies. *Ethnographie* is a Greek term of descriptive study: *-graphie*, inclined towards the idiographic mode of considering each phenomenon in its historical uniqueness and for itself, as distinct from the nomothetic establishment of patterns and high theory of *-logie* (*Ethnologie*). The intentions at the time of founding of the *Ethnographische Commission* in 1883/84, were to assert the authority of rigorous, unbiased research and analysis of a *Commission*, capable of scientific objectivity in comparative study of the ethnicities of the Crown Lands. *Volkskunde* in its appeal to a common, non-scholarly audience adopted the Germanic term, and its descriptive, idiographic consideration of historical occurrences characteristic of rural and common folk embodied the appeal to the affective power of vernacular tradition. *Kunde* as a suffix (*-kunde*) denotes a less elevated mode of study than *Wissenschaft*, e.g. *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science). In the Austrian context of 1883-1895, both *Volkskunde* and *Ethnographie* represented liberal social science, serving the public sphere and civic nationalism, as distinct from the ethnic nationalism of right-wing versions of *Volkskunde* in Germany, and after its conservative turn after World War I, in Austria too.

As the specific institutional *practice* of the *VöV* in Austria of the 1890's, *Volkskunde* treated the cultures and ethnicities of the Crown Lands only: addressing German and Slavic artifacts, picturesque and varied rituals and practices, *Volkskunst* (folk art) and oral tradition; and to a lesser extent Jewish or Muslim cultural phenomena. For Krauss both

Ethnographie and *Volksunde* were to be universal and comparative, rather than the self-promoting and particularist practices that he persiflaged or critiqued. Implicit for the liberal disciplines was the plasticity and infinite variability of *Geist*, as advocated beginning in 1860 by Lazarus and Steinthal's study of *Volksgeist: Völkerpsychologie* (ethno-psychology) linked notably to *Sprachwissenschaft* (philology). For the rigorous method critique of Krauss and Riegl, the objective social scientist avoided the imbrication of *Volkskunde* in the fabrication of, at worst, or the self-interested celebration of particularist, cultural heritage. *Unbefangenheit*, the absence of bias or prejudice in judgement of cultural phenomena, was its watchword but still far from the greater objectivity, plus immersive, empathetic participant-observation of Boas's fully developed anthropology whose foundation was cultural relativism. *Volkskunde* as *Kunde* articulated by the field's reactionary pioneer in the 1850's, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, was an affective mode stood closer to *lore* than *science*, though Riegl and Krauss shared the clear judgement of rigorous empiricism. Riegl and Krauss shared the same distance from the earlier forms of cultural study articulated for example in the early 19th-century British study of *Folk-Lore*.

Comparative *Ethnographie* emerged in the 1860's through 1880's from the fields of comparative philology, comparative religion and geography. Austrian liberal *Volkskunde* with its methodological rigor had a complex relationship to folklore, as both the practice of *study* and *connoisseurship*, on the one hand and conversely the *object* of that study. The 1860's and 1870's brought the rigors of objective treatment and detailed comparative study only possible through the growing archives of primary and secondary texts, the systematically arranged collections of artifacts in museums and the exponentially

expanding body of scholarly journals subjected to the rigorous critique of peers before and after publication. Quick generational successions of iterative refinement of method of the late 19th century opened the gap of awareness of the distinction between recording popular tradition and composing or imitating it. National Romanticism and national revival were two modes that created matrices of cultural substance that could mediate between the popular, affective connection to artifacts or traditions, whose maintenance and conservation Riegl understood as “antiquarian piety” served the civic national requirements of the cultivation of the abstract idea of the constitutional state. Maintaining the *penates*, literally the household gods or in an extended sense ideological and patriotic interests pushed.

The generational connection of the two, their membership in the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (Vienna anthropological society, or *AGW*) and their centrality to advancement of discourse on ethnic difference in Vienna in 1883-1895, together with their overlapping social connections and discursive intentions suggest the value of treating them together. There is little to suggest direct connection of the two, i.e. first-degree connections in a social network map, but many strong, second-degree connections. The visual representation of complex webs of persons, institutions, and ideas in Vienna at the time proves useful as a topographic tool from which to manage bits of information about associations and shared investment in the cause of a liberal *Volkskunde* (folklore studies, ethnography) centered in Vienna. Krauss’s provocative and even sarcastic outspokenness—distinct from Riegl’s moderation-- in support of ethnography as a methodologically rigorous and universal, rather than a particularist practice-- had significant implications for holding open the spaces of legitimacy for Jewish and Slavic

ethnicity. The period of reaction of the 1880's and 1890's against the advancement of liberal freedoms during the 1860's and 1870's coincided with rapid decline of the dominance of the *Verfassungspartei* (the constitutional party, the Liberals). The anti-Semitism and anti-capitalism of Christian Socialism, as it crushed the Liberals in the 1890's, followed two decades of economic depression following the stock market crash of 1873.

The excesses of unregulated free market capitalism produced a profound backlash against the Jews who were constructed as the face of modernity and capitalism. The suicide pact of the liberal-minded Crown Prince Rudolf and his mistress *YYY* in 1889 was perceived also as a indication of Rudolf's political despair at the prospects for the maintenance of an Austrian civic, rather than ethnic, nationalism given the growing German nationalist identification with Prussia and the accession of to the German imperial throne of his cousin Kaiser Wilhelm II, towards whom he felt significant antipathy. These indicators boded ill for the *Idea of Austria*, a multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire that could coalesce around the colorful tapestry of mixed Slavic, German, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish populations. Rudolf was born in 1858, as was Wilhelm II.

The establishment of Austrian institutions of *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science) in the 1850's and 1860's—the Austrian Institute for Historical Research, the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (known at the time often as the Austrian Museum), and the Central Commission for Research and Preservation of Monuments (*Central Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Denkmäler* or *CEED*)-- sought to define a distinctively multi-ethnic and not *too German* supra-ethnic Austrian identity. (See Olin)

These were the institutions with which Riegl would become associated from 1875 when he began studies in Vienna, through his death in 1905 at the age of 46?. The valence of the institutions of super-structural, cultural definition constituted another realm of political activism separate from Habsburg power, that over time attempted to represent the ethnic diversity of the Empire and to normalize ethnic difference.

In the atmosphere of vicious Viennese anti-Semitism of the late 1880's, accelerating dizzyingly in the early 1890's, expressions of even moderate public sphere *Judeo-sympathetic*—even as distinct from *Judeo-philic*-- alignment subjected public figures to blowback and made them increasingly wary of overt opposition to anti-Semitism. In 1883/84 the establishment of the *Ethnographische Commission* (Ethnographic Commission) from core members of the *AGW* was motivated by Krauss's ambitions to make ethnography, the study of traditions of vernacular culture or folk culture, into an Enlightenment form of super-structural intervention that could transform political sentiment and commonplace perceptions of ethnic difference. The weakening of the commitment to the social contract included the weakening of Jewish citizenship and the possibility of Jewish assimilation. One of the events that conveyed the urgency of the incomplete process of *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) came in the international media event of the Tiszaer Blood Libel trial in Hungary in 1882-83, that inspired formation of German and Hungarian anti-Semitic organizations. The *Rückständigkeit* (backwardness) of Hungary with its lack of a skilled bureaucracy and the weakness of the potentially stabilizing bourgeoisie was bemoaned in letters sent by Rudolf to his friend, the leftist editor Moritz Szeps of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, published under a pseudonym in that

newspaper and published several decades later as a collection.¹ A significant intervention in the aftermath of the trial was the libel suit brought by the Prague theologian and professor of Hebrew antiquities, August Rohling, against the publicly engaged rabbi Joseph S. Bloch. Bloch had attacked the author of *Der Talmudjude* (The Talmud Jew) for several years before the trial. The rabbi reviled Rohling's anti-Semitism and questioned his philological competency to give expert testimony for the prosecution in the Blood Libel trial. Bloch assembled a legal defense for his libel trial with the attorney Joseph Kopp, in the form of a challenge to Rohling's anti-Semitic assertions and arguments of the Hebrew textual basis for the superstitious belief in the ritual murder of Christian women or children to harvest blood to make *matzah*. In the final months of 1883, Krauss and central members of the *AGW* fleshed out with Rudolf a multi-prong strategy to employ ethnography as a mode of reconstructing an image of egalitarian ethnic diversity. At issue was the legitimacy of Slavic culture. Significant Jewish representation on the Commission —Krauss, David Heinrich Müller, scholar of Near Eastern antiquities, appointed as *Dekan* (Dean?) of the university in 1901, and FP Kanitz, an art historian and archaeologist from Požega in Slavonia, eastern Croatia, near which Krauss grew up—signified the *Judeo-sympathetic* intent also to normalize Jewish identity as well. Rudolf sponsored Krauss's 14-month ethnographic collection mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina, in preparation for which Krauss prepared a questionnaire with 1000 entries as a template for systematic and collaborative fieldwork and research and to lay out elements of future, coordinated and sponsored research-travel.

1

Ten years later, in 1894 Alois Riegl joined a group of liberal scholars, including junior curators under Ferdinand Heger in the anthropological section of the *Hofmuseum für Naturgeschichte*, Michael Haberlandt and Wilhelm Hein, and other scholarly members of the prominent Salon of Bertha Szeps Zuckerkandl. They developed the idea of a liberal entity consolidating the ethnographic practices of study of the peoples of the Austrian Empire under the rubric of a *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde*. Bertha Szeps was a friend of Rudolf and daughter of Rudolf's confidante Moritz Szeps. *Volkskunde* was a term of discursive practice, which warrants even more discussion than that provided below. In its *sui generis* 1894-95 Austrian liberal trajectory, *Volkskunde* was synonymous with *Ethnographie*² diametrically opposed to the term's reactionary, nostalgic and increasingly anti-modern valence in Germany. First advocated by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl beginning in the 1850's, and pursued with increasing vigor by German nationalists beginning in the 1890's, became a dominant, counterfeit science of *völkisch* ideology after 1900 in Germany. After 1933 National Socialists created chairs for *Volkskunde* at universities, many of which remained filled through the 1980's by the

² *Volkskunde, Ethnographie, Ethnologie, Völkerkunde, Völkerpsychologie and Anthropogeographie* will be discussed later in the historical specificity of their varying scientific rigor and ideological utility in the 1880's and 1890's. The vehemence of attack on liberal ethnography from conservative Germanic scholars was matched also in the developing policies of deployment of artifacts of *mythomoteur* significance. The donations by aristocrats to the *AGW* fund in support of Austrian excavations in 1882-83 marks a point of departure for consideration of networks of donors, links of scholarly connection and affinity, membership in organizations and the constitution of boards and executive committees with social network maps. Policies of national support of archeological excavation, the acquisition and display of artifacts of national significance in museums and monuments preservation policy revealed Riegl's liberal intentions. His cultivation of an ideal of a moderate, civic "antiquarian piety" diametrically opposed to German nationalist exploitation of historic artifacts and monuments in the anti-Semitic and illiberal writings of his antagonist Georg Dehio, who will be discussed at the end of the paper.

original appointees. *Volkskunde* scholars in Tübingen were among the most progressive in turning the field towards broader treatment of issues beyond the ethos of bourgeois and populist nostalgia. 1968 produced a ramping up of the process of engagement with the field's Nazi past, while the issues of the mid-1980's *Historikerstreit* (historian conflict) addressed continuities from that past among all fields of social and cultural historiography.

Riegl and Krauss represented *Volksunde* and *Ethnographie*, understood as the same, among liberal practitioners in the 1880's and 1890's. Their progressivism was corroborated by the branding of *VöV* by a Christian school teacher as *juden-liberal*, as he discouraged people from attending the entity's first outing to a folksong festival in Semmering, organized by the Jewish school teacher Heinrich Moses. The *VöV* executive committee of scholars included no Jews, nor were they prominent in the initial list of members responding to the *Aufruf*, the call for support in 1894, that attracted 950 members of the Viennese cultural, political and economic elite. However, the business manager of the entity, Sigismund Fessler, prominent and well-connected attorney, and its bookkeeper Julius Botstiber, were Jewish. Bertha Szeps was Jewish and her social networks, including Fessler, who married one of three siblings from the wealthy, ennobled Sachs family who contributed significant sums in support of the organization. They and a cluster of eight ennobled Jewish and/or entrepreneurial donors were not listed together with the regular members but on a separate donor. The strategy of the organization not to attract attention as Judeo-sympathetic is corroborated in two contributions to the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* written by non-Jews, that will be discussed later. The employment of social network maps aids

reconstruction of faint connections of sympathy and affinity between Riegl, Krauss, liberal activists. A network of Riegl's Jewish connections proves suggestive of his Judeo-sympathy, but proves to be more bourgeoisie and ultimately divergent from networks of Krauss connecting to the explicitly Jewish advocacy of cultural *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) and Jewish civic activism. The 1883-84 mobilization of the Ethnographic Commission had a similar, less politicized profile to the *VöV*. The political Zionism of its founder Theodor Herzl advanced in his *Der Judenstaat* of 1894 was conceived in the framework of 19th century nationalisms and might be described as *too German*. Krauss opposed Herzl and his separatism as an inverted anti-Semitism and had a bitter fight with him in 1900. The diverse alliances of Austrian *Volkskunde* or *Ethnographie* and the particularist *Jüdische Volkskunde* of Max Grunwald mobilized in 1896/97 intended to fight anti-Semitism through the definition of diversity of Austrian ethnicity and, more or less specifically denoted, the richness and legitimacy of Jewish culture. The *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*, known at the time as the *anti-anti*, was established in 1891 by peace activists, politicians and capitalists, who were predominantly non-Jewish. Stretched wider to encompass multiple strands of opposition to anti-Semitism, in political and cultural spheres, anti-anti as a position can be construed as a complex discursive strategy that could not attack frontally without producing blowback that faced similar patterns of ambitious and idealistic institutional construction, followed by failures to grow and become significant factors in turning the Christian Socialist tide in the 1890's.

There is little new information about Riegl introduced here, however, the context of his turn towards ethnography, and what that implied in Austria at that time, are more

understandable by consideration of Krauss and his advancement of the method and rigor in fieldwork and systematic, collaborative study of ethnic identities.

The rapid failure of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* established with significant finances and a several thousand members in 1891 faced already in 1892 the withdrawal of key figures. Reaction against liberal ideals, electoral defeats led the Liberals (*Verfassungspartei*, constitutional party) to abandon its plank of opposition to anti-Semitism, upheld in 1885 and absent by 1891. Leading liberal politicians joined the leadership or the board of the *Abwehrverein* when it was mobilized in 1891. All of them, except those with Jewish constituencies in Vienna, withdrew in 1892-93 as opponents of anti-Semitism faced increasing attacks. The president of the Vienna *Börse* (stock exchange), Vincenz Miller von Aichholz, was among those board members who jumped ship and then became supporters of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde* at the time of its quick ramping up in late 1894 and early 1895. In 1896 he arranged for the temporary exhibition of the collections of the *VöV* in the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry—where Riegl and another member of the *VöV* executive committee Masner were adjunct curators—to be installed permanently in galleries of the *Börse*. Riegl, Michael Haberlandt, Wilhelm Hein and the Jewish business manager Sigismund Fessler advocated the message of *Volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit* (reciprocal exchange among adjacent peoples) put forward by Joseph Alexander Freiherr Von Helfert (1820-1910) in the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde (ZöV)*. *Ethnographie* and Austrian *Volkskunde*, like the *Völkerpsychologie* of Moritz Lazarus and Chaim Steinthal, espoused the plasticity rather than hypostatization of *Geist*. The representation of normalized ethnic difference could be played back to a potentially

malleable subset of the Austrian populace. The constrained message of normalized Jewish identity could avoid the attacks waged against public opponents of anti-Semitism. In the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (ZöV) in 1895 the Jewish support of donors and the treatment of Jewish topics were carefully circumscribed—a report by a non-Jewish postal worker of his observation of the non-Jewish observance of the *Hamanfest* (Purim) in Limanova, Galicia and the rituals and beliefs of Jews of Bucovina (*Was der Jude glaubt*, What a Jew Believes) collected in list form by the Priest Demeter Dan. Christian Socialists had been achieving great success through interest politics, gaining membership through grass roots organizing with professional staff, door-to-door appeals, demonstrations and direct action, The Liberals by comparison were slow to adapt to new political realities, offering idealistic, high-minded rhetoric.

In 1895 *VöV* initiated popular activities to try and gain popular support. The folk song outing to the Semmering, the organizer Jewish school teacher Heinrich Moses drew the fire of another schoolmaster's antagonistic article in a Christian Socialist newspaper. Fessler, the Jewish business manager of the *VöV*, organized a lottery in 1895 to raise funds. Other popular activities, organizational announcements and thematic topics concerning the *VöV* as a *Verein* (literally a club) were documented in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, published for only a couple of years beginning in 1896, while membership was increasing and the vibrancy of the entity was evident. The intent to grow the organization and produce a mass movement with the message of ethnic diversity of the rich Austrian cultural tapestry faltered, like other anti-anti activities. The predominance of scholarly, professional pursuits and the elitism associated with liberal

social status proved inadequate, however, to the tasks of management, recruiting and maintaining support for its loose advocacy position.

The liberalism of successful, entrepreneurial, ennobled Jewish families encouraged their adherence to the principles of free-market capitalism and the freedoms of protected civil rights but maintained the cultural elitism of German rather than Slavic identification despite origins of Jews from Russia, Romania, Galicia and Bucovina. These Jews remained committed to their allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy, and the opposition to de-centralizing power to the provincial diets. The extended family of Fessler's wife Pauline Sachs Fessler, and her sister Regine, into a well-connected branch of the Pollack family, prominent contributors to *VöV* were represented on the board of the aid agency for Jews in the East, the *Israelitische Allianz*, where Krauss served as secretary from 1891-1901.

The political advocacy of Joseph S. Bloch beginning in the early 1880's and of his mentor Adolf Fischhof, marked a departure from the political moderation and complacency of the Jewish political status quo on the strength of its gains in assimilation since 1848. Krauss's ethnography in the publication of his *Am-Urquelle* in 1889-98 departed from ethnography as *Salonwissenschaft* (salon scholarship) to extend to an ethnography of *abjection*, of the unvarnished representation of the poor conditions under which Jews lived, as in the reports of his Jewish correspondents from Central and Eastern Europe in 1893-94. The increasing prominence of his inquiry into the folklore of low status groups—Gypsies, teamster and prostitutes-- and the place of sexuality in social life and folklore alienated him from the bourgeoisie propriety of the academy and the

AGW and, specifically, ran into the limits of the ethnography of his mentor Friedrich S. Müller.

Krauss's childhood in Slavonia, Croatia was presented also unvarnished: multi-ethnic but witnessing social oppression, everyday violence and poverty and the horror of his schoolmates' suffering with untreated syphilis after a party with Kata, the *Schlampen* (slattern) at the *Gasthof am goldenen Lamm*. The ethnographic reportage of his Jewish correspondents, and his *Umfragen* (surveys) on topics such as superstitions related to the Blood Libel, became linked with the Jewish philanthropy, advocacy and Enlightenment educational mission of Isidore Loeb. Krauss met the eminent scholar of Judaism and president of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Paris with officers of its Vienna branch, the *Israelitische Allianz*, in 1891 after being hired as its secretary where he served until 1901. Krauss's scholarship and editorial work became more politicized-- in contrast to the complacency of the German Jewish Austrians and non-Jewish German Austrians bourgeoisie and their abstracted ideals of universal equality-- the precedent of his 1884-85 fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina shifted direction to an ethnography of violence and of forced migration of Russian and Galician Jews. He traveled to Russia in 1892 and 1897 with the second vice-president of the *Allianz*, Wilhelm Pappenheim, a civil rights attorney who wrote about and served as counsel in several important Jewish legal actions. The relationships of affiliation and opposition here, and the deployment of ethnography in service of overcoming racial prejudice, are of significant background interest to the constitution of the *VöV*. The characterization of Krauss, Loeb, Pappenheim and Fessler becomes increasingly interesting as the individuals are considered as representative *types* of politically active public Jews. The connective lines of their specific affiliations can be

understood as representative, elucidating the variations of engagement, affinity and strategic conflict within the forcefield of Austrian anti-Semitism and the diverse networks of the anti-anti position. These types of advocacy position also reflect on divergent advocacy of cultural Zionism and the opposition to Theodor Herzl's political Zionism. Bloch, Krauss and the eminent scholar of Jewish social history, Moritz Güdemann—president of the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde in Vienna and friend of Krauss all opposed political Zionism, notably for its redirection of funds and focus from the tasks of ameliorating the living conditions of Jews in Eastern Europe. Even Riegl's student Martin Buber was tepid regarding Herzl's political rather than cultural Zionism and in a speech to the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 touted the signs of Jewish cultural revival in Vienna: Max Grunwald's establishment of the *Verein für jüdische Volkskunde (VjV)*, the publication of the facsimile edition of the Sarajevo Haggadah and the establishment of the Jewish Museum of Art, which supported the publication of the Grunwald's *Mitteilungen für jüdische Volkskunde (MjV)*. A suggestion of the diverse stakes in the study of ethnography, whether universal or particularist, comes in the implications of the terms of Jewish *Volkskunde*, as *Ethnographie* practiced by many, including Jews on topics Jewish or non-Jewish; or *Volkskunde*³ of the Jews carried on mostly by Jews and supported, for example, as Grunwald's entity was, by the Hamburg Henry Jones Lodge of *B'nai Brith*, a mutual support network of Jews that among other things offer aid to migratory Jews in transit and aiding in the constitution of Jewish community that could integrate and serve new members.

³ It is helpful in consideration of Grunwald's less rigorous Jewish *Volkskunde* that simply the descriptive recounting of tiny details articulated to significant effect simply the idiographic diversity of Jewish folklore and practice.

Sigismund Fessler was a great world traveler, to Africa and Polar regions, and lionized Franz Boas, in a presentation in 1899 to *Österreichische Israelitische Union* (Austrian Israelite Union) concerning the very small category of heroic Jewish polar explorers. Krauss also admired Boas, and wrote an article in *Freies Blatt*, the newspaper of the *Abwehrverein*, in 1896 about Boas the Polar Explorer. Krauss maintained a long correspondence with him beginning in 1894, after their meeting at the anthropological meetings held in conjunction with the Columbian exposition in Chicago. Krauss was an exceptional figure like Boas, the German Jewish émigré seeking professional advancement and gravitating towards America as a place of professional possibility contrasting to the limits on Jewish academic advancement in Germany and Austria. Krauss stands out as the representative of Austrian *Volkskunde* and *Ethnographie* to the West. He represented Austria, on the international planning committee in January 1889, together with leading European ethnographers, to the *Congrès des Traditions populaire* held July 1889 in conjunction with Paris Exposition universelle. He presented the results of his 18-month, 3000 mile trek in the South Slavic lands in Philadelphia in 1885 to the American Philosophical Society (APS); and returned to present there in 1888 and in May 1893, as one of twelve speakers at the Sesquicentennial of Benjamin Franklin's learned society. Krauss presented on a German language panel in Chicago in August of that year in Chicago. He held memberships in the American Anthropological Society, the American Philosophical Society and was similarly honored in September 1893 the American Folk-Lore Society's meeting in Montreal.⁴

⁴ The term *Folk-Lore* was hyphenated in that moment's characterization of the protean fields of ethnographic and folkloric study

The project seeks to consider the tools of social network analysis for their potential in reconstructing the discursive and social worlds of Riegl and Krauss, and similar figures whose second-degree connections via institutional participation bolster the rationale for their treatment as part of discourse networks, that can also be linked together in social networks to elucidate force fields that become more concrete with fragmentary bits of archival or biographical data. Riegl and Krauss are historical actors with significant affinity, central to the development of *Ethnographie* and *Volkskunde* over two decades, and they share affinities and personal connections. The historiographic record treats them in different disciplinary frameworks and does not accurately represent the manner of their overlapping and inter-fingered social linkages. Though Google Books is not the absolute measure of everything published, it is still useful to understand that a search for “ ‘Riegl’ and ‘Friedrich S. Krauss’ ” brings relevant hits only from the Lawrence Shapiro Twitter archive and related contributions. Full text searches in *JSTOR: the Scholarly Journal Archive* yields none.

Krauss’s resignation in 1889 from the *AGW* followed the death of his patron Crown Prince Rudolf, the failure of his application for *Habilitation* in 1887 and similarly the withdrawal of support of his mentors that resulted in his not being hired for a lectureship in 1888. He disappeared from subsequent mention in the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (MAGW)*. Krauss gravitated towards the Jewish public sphere, and was, as he bemoaned to his former colleague from the *AGW*, Felix von Luschan, a curator at the Berlin *Völkerkunde* museum, kicked out of Judaism by Herzl. His ten years as secretary of the *Allianz* was redacted in the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, leaving a gap between the terms of the secretaries who served until 1891 and beginning

in mid-year 1901.⁵ His contributions to research on sexology impacted on his overall public perception, but his contribution to psychoanalysis was acknowledged by his friend Sigmund Freud and his colleague Wilhelm Stekel.

Riegl died at a young age without the reflections of a mature retrospective scholar, nor with an eye to the conservation of his personal papers. Margaret Olin has noted that the Riegl archive contains no letters and that one must search the archives of others to find some of the kinds of detail that historians want. Diana Graham Cordileone's 2014 Riegl biography, subtitled "an Institutional Biography," structures her treatment around his intersections with organizations and social groups.⁶ The discursive matrix of liberal ethnography or *Volkskunde*, in formation from 1883-1895, is rich with tiny details that warrant more collaborative historical analysis. The tools of social network mapping provide a flexible structure in which to reconstruct certain kinds of understanding given the matrix it offers: a mold with impressions (roles) that we know Krauss and Riegl fit into. The graphic tool of the map of relations creates the possibility of topological arrangement and re-arrangement of documentary details, together with the activation of gaps in understanding left by gaps of the sedimentary deposition of their lives. The gaps in knowledge of Riegl's life become more concrete, for example, in the reflection on what would be filled in from the sudden reappearance of a cache of his travel diaries. This is not counterfactual historicizing or hypothesizing, but rather the consideration of possible histories or knowable unknowns.

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⁶ Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905: An Institutional Biography* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014).

Analysis of what is not there may initiate the most acute kind of nuanced analysis, and lead to deep and vivid understanding of forces to which historical actors had to respond. Such examination and reflection are most valuable when conducted carefully with tight correlation with historical details known from archival evidence. What do we know, for example, from considering why Riegl's tiny reflective essay *Das Volksmässige und die Gegenwart* in the first issue of the *ZVöV* in 1895, directly following Michael Haberlandt's introductory essay, might have slipped the consciousness of the quasi-official Vienna School bibliography of his works by Swoboda published together with a volume of his essay in 1929.⁷ By that time art history in the Vienna School had developed away from Riegl's interest in vernacular artistic production. Further any connection of Riegl to *Volkskunde* might have been deliberately excluded, given that the liberal project of Austrian *Volkskunde* was past. *Volkskunde* had become *völkisch* (ideologically reactionary) and Michael Haberlandt, who held the first chair of ethnography in Vienna, was succeeded by his son Arthur, the legatee of the movement's non-academic structure, and became a discourse focused on racial lineage in the 1920's.⁸

Ahnenerbe

Pushing Riegl and the comparatively unknown, Croatian-born, Jewish Friedrich S. Krauss into the same force field lights up dimensions of each; and enhances the historical analysis of liberal ethnography, its intention to shore up the public sphere protection of the civil rights of Jews, and its attempts to redress the cultural, economic and social hegemony of Germans over Slavs in Austrian imperial governance. A social network

⁷ Alois Riegl 1858-1905, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. (Augsburg-Wien, Dr. B. Filser, 1929.

⁸ Wolfgang Jacobeit, Hannjost Lixfeld, and Olaf Bockhorn, *Völkische Wissenschaft: Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau, 1994).

map oriented towards schematic representation of their social and discursive lifeworlds constitutes a new topography emphasizing the distinctive institutional character and personalities of *liberal* ethnography in Vienna, 1883-1895. This map is extended to include the strategies and tactical public relations considerations of the Jewish and non-Jewish *anti-anti*, the entities and discourses that fought anti-Semitism. The support of ethnography and defense of the public sphere went hand in hand in a manner that considered public affairs, public relations, advocacy and activism.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This project sets out to articulate the faint indicators of connectedness and relatedness between Alois Riegl (1858-1905) and Friedrich S. Krauss (1859-1938). Both were central to moments of intensified activity and institutional formation in 1883/84 and 1894/95, respectively the formation of the *Ethnographische Commission* within the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (AGW)* in 1883/84 and the mobilization in support of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde (VöV)* in 1894/95. For the purposes of this project, *Ethnologie (Völkerkunde)* corresponds to cultural anthropology, distinct that is from physical anthropology, and remains outside the focus of the Riegl and Krauss discussion. The Berlin and the Vienna anthropological societies were established in 1870 and brought together the fields of ethnology, physical anthropology and pre-historic archaeology. *Ethnologie*, or *Völkerkunde*, was the study of many peoples, primarily directed at non-European peoples and frequently linked to acquisition of the artifacts of *Naturvölker*, indigenous peoples living in a natural state. The artifacts of their *Kunstwollen*, Riegl's highly evolved term describing distinctive artistic intention, reflected the interest in articulating the distinctive cultural production of diverse expressions of *Volksgeist*. *Volksgeist* was the basis for Moritz Lazarus and Chaim Steinthal derivation of Alexander von Humboldt's proposition for a liberal *Völkerpsychologie*, a social-psychological mode of defining comparatively the expressions of the plastic and infinitely variable apperception and externalization of ideas.

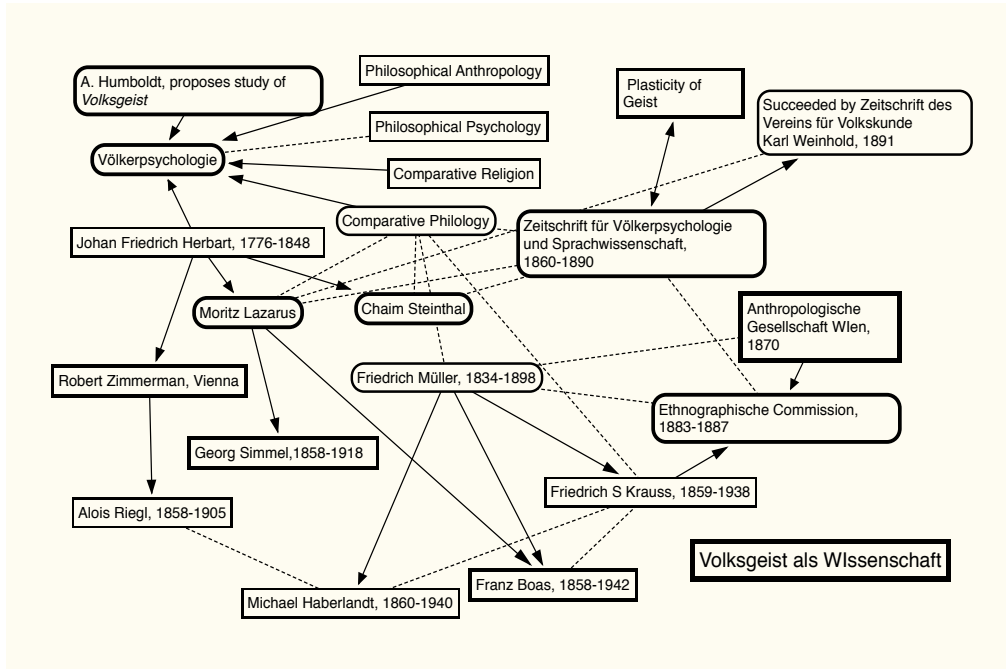


Figure 1, *Volksgeist als Wissenschaft: Völkerpsychologie* and its followers in Vienna (Spirit of the Folk as Science: Ethno-Psychology)

The artifacts of exotic *Naturvölker* were of great interest when put on display in museums or made available for sale in galleries or shops for acquisition by collectors, to furnish the domestic spaces of the rising bourgeoisie. *Ethnologie* was associated at that moment in Vienna most closely with the curator of the anthropological collections of the *Hofmuseum für Naturgeschichte* (Court Museum of Natural History), Ferdinand Heger, which was in its liminal state beginning in 1885 before opening to the public in 1889. Similarly the Berlin *Völkerkunde* museum, which opened to the public in 1886, was a place of professional training before its opening. Franz Boas had an assistantship there in 1885-86 that allowed him to complete his *Habilitation*, the German advanced level of demonstrated competency that qualifies the scholar for the *venia legendi*, the right to

lecture without salary not as a professor but as a *Privat Dozent*, a private lecturer.

Ethnographie and *Volkskunde* were synonymous in the work of Krauss and in general and grew to encompass the distinctive forms of European vernacular culture: the variations of proximal ethnic difference, as opposed the more distal, more foreign cultures of the non-European. *Volkskunde* was at times indistinguishable from folklore studies. *Ethnographie* is a Greek term of descriptive study: *-graphie*, inclined towards the idiographic mode of considering each phenomenon in its historical uniqueness and for itself, as distinct from the nomothetic establishment of patterns and high theory of *-logie* (*Ethnologie*). The intentions at the time of founding of the *Ethnographische Commission* in 1883/84, were to assert the authority of rigorous, unbiased research and analysis of a *Commission*, capable of scientific objectivity in comparative study of the ethnicities of the Crown Lands. *Volkskunde* in its appeal to a common, non-scholarly audience adopted the Germanic term, and its descriptive, idiographic consideration of historical occurrences characteristic of rural and common folk and embodied the appeal to the affective power of vernacular tradition. *Kunde* as a suffix (*-kunde*) denotes a less elevated mode of study than *Wissenschaft*, e.g. *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science). In the Austrian context of 1883-1895, both *Volkskunde* and *Ethnographie* represented liberal social science, serving the public sphere and civic nationalism, as distinct from the ethnic nationalism of right-wing versions of *Volkskunde* in Germany, and after its conservative turn after World War I, in Austria too.

As the specific, institutional *practice* of the VöV in Austria of the 1890's, *Volkskunde* treated the cultures and ethnicities of the Crown Lands only: addressing German and Slavic artifacts, picturesque and varied rituals and practices, *Volkskunst* (folk art) and oral

tradition; and to a lesser extent Jewish or Muslim cultural phenomena. For Krauss both *Ethnographie* and *Volksunde* were to be universal and comparative, rather than the self-promoting and particularist practices that he persiflaged or critiqued. Implicit for the liberal disciplines was the plasticity and infinite variability of *Geist* (spirit) as advocated beginning in 1860 by Lazarus and Steinthal's study of *Volksgeist* (spirit of the folk), as *Völkerpsychologie* (ethno-psychology) linked notably to *Sprachwissenschaft* (philology). For the rigorous method critique of Krauss and Riegl, the objective, social scientist avoided the imbrication of *Volkskunde* in the fabrication of, or the self-interested celebration of particularist, cultural heritage. *Unbefangenheit*, the absence of bias or prejudice in judgment of cultural phenomena, was its watchword but still far from the greater objectivity, plus immersive, empathetic participant-observation of Boas's fully developed anthropology one of whose central ideals was cultural relativism. *Volkskunde* as *Kunde* articulated by the field's reactionary pioneer in Germany the 1850's, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, was an affective mode stood closer to *lore* than *science*, though Riegl and Krauss shared the clear judgment of rigorous empiricism. Riegl and Krauss shared the same distance from the earlier forms of cultural study articulated for example in the early 19th-century British study of *Folk-Lore*. Riegl and Krauss's social scientific capacities allowed their work to trend towards the social psychology and sociology of their Jewish Berlin contemporary Georg Simmel, like Boas a student of Lazarus and Steinthal.

Comparative *Ethnographie* emerged in the 1860's through 1880's from the fields of comparative philology, comparative religion and geography. Austrian liberal *Volkskunde*, with its methodological rigor, sought to define the distance of its scholarship

from the ambivalent relationship of less rigorous method of folklore as the practice of *study* and *connoisseurship*, (folklore studies) on the one hand, and on the other as the *object* of that study or indeed the invention of more material that conveyed falsified age value and authenticity. The 1860's and 1870's brought the rigors of objective treatment and detailed comparative study only possible through the growing archives of primary and secondary texts, the systematically arranged collections of artifacts in museums and the exponentially expanding body of scholarly journals subjected to the rigorous critique of peers, before and after publication. Quick generational successions of iterative refinement of method of the late 19th century opened the gap of awareness of the distinction between recording popular tradition and composing or imitating it. National Romanticism and national revival were two modes that created matrices of cultural substance that could mediate between the popular, affective connection to artifacts or traditions, national requirements of the cultivation of the abstract idea of the state. Riegl understood as "antiquarian piety" the maintenance and conservation the *penates*, literally the household gods, or in an extended sense the symbologies and objects of shared affective connection, that could be made to serve the interests of the civic national, rather than ethnic national state.

The generational connection of Riegl and Krauss, their membership in the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien* (Vienna anthropological society, or *AGW*) and their centrality to advancement of discourse on ethnic difference in Vienna in 1883-1895, together with their overlapping social connections and discursive intentions suggest the value of treating them together. There is little to suggest direct connection of the two, i.e. first-degree connections in a social network map, but many strong, second-degree

connections. The visual representation of complex webs of persons, institutions, and ideas in Vienna at the time proves useful as a topographic tool from which to manage bits of information about associations and shared investment in the cause of a liberal *Volkskunde* (folklore studies, ethnography) centered in Vienna. Krauss's provocative and even sarcastic outspokenness—distinct from Riegl's moderation-- in support of ethnography as a methodologically rigorous and universal, rather than a particularist practice-- had significant implications for holding open the spaces of legitimacy for Jewish and Slavic ethnicity. The period of reaction of the 1880's and 1890's, against the advancement of liberal freedoms during the 1860's and 1870's, coincided with rapid decline of the dominance of the *Verfassungspartei* (the constitutional party, the Liberals). The anti-Semitism and anti-capitalism of Christian Socialism, as it crushed the Liberals in the 1890's, followed two decades of economic depression following the stock market crash of 1873.

The excesses of unregulated free market capitalism produced a profound backlash against the Jews who were constructed as the face of modernity and capitalism. The suicide pact of the liberal-minded Crown Prince Rudolf and his mistress Baroness Marie Vetsera in 1889 was perceived also as an indication of Rudolf's political despair at the prospects for the maintenance of an Austrian civic, rather than ethnic, nation.¹ Many progressive liberals-- and Riegl and Krauss—felt deep concern over the growing German nationalist identification of Austrians with Prussia, particularly with the accession to the German imperial throne in 1888 of Rudolf's cousin Kaiser Wilhelm II, towards whom he

¹ Zuckerkandl, Bertha Szeps. *Oesterreich intim: Erinnerungen 1892-1942*. Proplaeen, 1970.

felt significant antipathy.² These indicators boded ill for the *Idea of Austria*, a multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire that could coalesce around the colorful tapestry of mixed Slavic, German, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish populations.

The establishment of Austrian institutions of *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science) in the 1850's and 1860's—the Austrian Institute for Historical Research, the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (known at the time often as the *Austrian Museum*), and the Central Commission for Research and Preservation of Monuments (*Central Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Denkmäler* or *CEED*) -- sought to define a distinctively multi-ethnic and not *too German* supra-ethnic Austrian identity. These were the institutions with which Riegl would become associated when he began studies in Vienna, through his death in 1905 at the age of 47. The valence of the institutions of super-structural, cultural definition constituted another realm of political activism separate from Habsburg power that over time attempted to represent the ethnic diversity of the Empire and to normalize ethnic difference.

In the atmosphere of vicious Viennese anti-Semitism of the late 1880's, accelerating dizzyingly in the early 1890's, expressions of even moderate public sphere *Judeo-sympathy*—even as distinct from *Judeo-philia*-- subjected public figures to blowback and made them increasingly wary of overt opposition to anti-Semitism. In 1883/84 the establishment of the *Ethnographische Commission* (Ethnographic Commission) from core members of the *AGW* was motivated by Krauss's ambitions to make ethnography, the study of traditions of vernacular culture or folk culture, into an Enlightenment form of super-structural intervention that could transform political sentiment and commonplace

² Rudolf was born in 1858 and Wilhelm II in 1859.

later as a collection.³ A significant intervention in the aftermath of the trial was the libel suit brought by the Prague theologian and professor of Hebrew antiquities, August Rohling, against the publicly engaged rabbi Joseph S. Bloch. Bloch had attacked the author of *Der Talmudjude* (*The Talmud Jew*)⁴ for several years before the trial. The rabbi reviled Rohling's anti-Semitism and questioned his philological competency to give expert testimony for the prosecution in the Blood Libel trial. Bloch assembled a legal defense for his libel trial with the attorney Joseph Kopp, in the form of a challenge to Rohling's anti-Semitic assertions and arguments of the Hebrew textual basis for the superstitious belief in the ritual murder of Christian women or children to harvest blood to make *matzah*.⁵ In the final months of 1883, Krauss and central members of the *AGW* fleshed out with Rudolf a multi-prong strategy to employ ethnography as a mode of reconstructing an image of egalitarian ethnic diversity. At issue was the legitimacy of Slavic culture, and implicitly, of Jewish ethnicity. Significant Jewish representation on the Commission—Krauss, David Heinrich Müller, scholar of Near Eastern antiquities, appointed as *Dekan* (dean) of the university in 1901, and Felix Philipp Kanitz, an art historian and archaeologist from Požega in Slavonia, eastern Croatia, near which Krauss grew up—signified the *Judeo-sympathetic* intent also to normalize Jewish identity as well. Rudolf sponsored Krauss's 14-month ethnographic collection mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina, in preparation for which Krauss prepared a questionnaire with 1000 entries as a template for systematic and collaborative fieldwork and research and to lay out

³ Rudolf, Szeps. *Politische Briefe an einem Freund 1882-1889*. Wien: Rikola Verl., 1922.

⁴ Rohling, August. *Der Talmudjude: zur Beherzigung für Juden und Christen aller Stände*. Münster: Adolph Russell's Verlag, 1872.

⁵ Bloch, J. S. *My Reminiscences*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

elements of future, coordinated and sponsored research-travel.

Ten years later in 1894, Alois Riegl formed a plan to create a distinctively Austrian *Volkskunde*, with a group of liberal scholars, including junior curators under Ferdinand Heger in the anthropological section of the *Hofmuseum*, Michael Haberlandt and Wilhelm Hein, and other scholarly members of the prominent Salon of Bertha Szeps Zuckerkandl. They developed the idea of a liberal entity consolidating the ethnographic practices of study of the peoples of the Austrian Empire under the rubric of a *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde*. Bertha Szeps was a friend of Rudolf and daughter of Rudolf's confidante Moritz Szeps.⁶ *Volkskunde* was a term of discursive practice, which warrants even more discussion than that provided below. In its *sui generis* 1894-95 Austrian liberal trajectory, *Volkskunde* was synonymous with *Ethnographie*⁷ diametrically opposed to the reactionary, nostalgic and increasingly anti-modern valence of *Volkskunde* in Germany. First advocated by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl beginning in the 1850's, and pursued with increasing vigor by German nationalists beginning in the 1890's, became a dominant, counterfeit science of *völkisch* ideology after 1900 in Germany. After 1933 National Socialists created chairs for *Volkskunde* at universities,

⁶ Zuckerkandl, Bertha Szeps. *Oesterreich intim: Erinnerungen 1892-1942*. Propyläen, 1970.

⁷ *Volkskunde, Ethnographie, Ethnologie, Völkerkunde, Völkerpsychologie and Anthropogeographie* will be discussed later in the historical specificity of their varying scientific rigor and ideological utility in the 1880's and 1890's. The vehemence of attack on liberal ethnography from conservative Germanic scholars was matched also in the developing policies of deployment of artifacts of *mythomoteur* (mythological driving force) elements in support of nationalist interests. The donations by aristocrats to the AGW fund in support of Austrian excavations in 1882-83 marks a point of departure for consideration of networks of donors, links of scholarly connection and affinity, membership in organizations and the constitution of boards and executive committees with social network maps. Policies of national support of archeological excavation, the acquisition and display of artifacts of national significance in museums and monuments preservation policy revealed Riegl's liberal intentions. His cultivation of an ideal of a moderate, civic "antiquarian piety" diametrically opposed to German nationalist exploitation of historic artifacts and monuments in the anti-Semitic and illiberal writings of his antagonist Georg Dehio, who will be discussed at the end of the paper.

many of which remained filled through the 1980's by the original appointees.

Volkskunde scholars in Tübingen were among the most progressive in turning the field towards broader treatment of issues beyond the ethos of bourgeois and populist nostalgia. 1968 produced a ramping up of the process of engagement with the field's Nazi past, while the issues of the mid-1980's *Historikerstreit* (historian conflict) addressed continuities from that past among all fields of social and cultural historiography.

Riegl and Krauss represented *Volkunde* and *Ethnographie*, understood as the same, among liberal practitioners in the 1880's and 1890's. Their progressivism was corroborated by the branding of *VöV* by a Christian school teach as *juden-liberal*, as he discouraged people from attending the entity's first outing to a folksong festival in Semmering, organized by the Jewish school teacher Heinrich Moses.

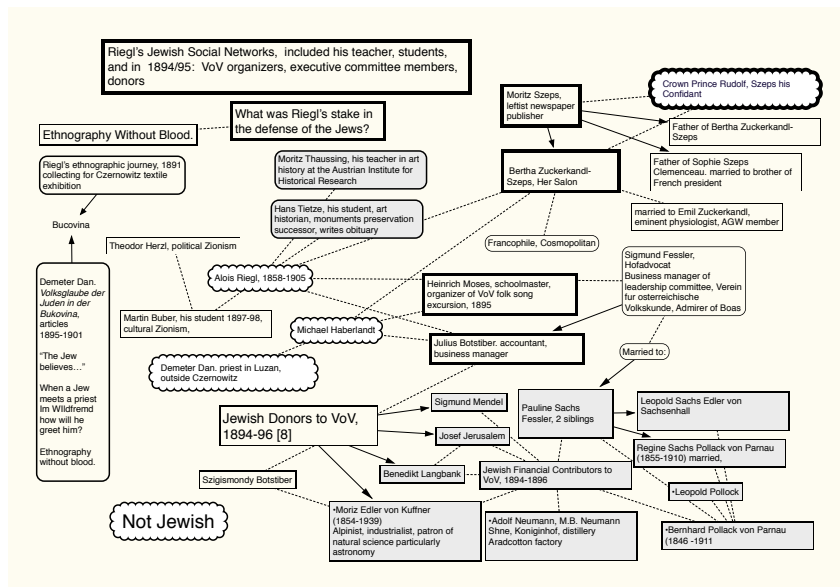


Figure 3, Alois Riegl's Jewish social networks, Bertha Zuckerkandl-Szepe's Salon, Jewish contributors to the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde*, 1894-96

At the time of the organizational effort to create the *VöV*, the executive committee included no Jewish scholars, but Sigismund Fessler, the prominent and well-connected attorney was the business manager, and its bookkeeper Julius Botstiber, were Jewish. Bertha Szeps was Jewish and her social networks, including Fessler, who married one of three siblings from the wealthy, ennobled Sachs family who contributed significant sums in support of the organization. They and a cluster of eight ennobled Jewish and/or entrepreneurial donors were not listed together with the regular members but on a separate donor.

The strategy of the organization not to attract attention as Judeo-sympathetic is corroborated in two contributions to the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* written by non-Jews, that will be discussed later. The employment of social network maps aids reconstruction of faint connections of sympathy and affinity between Riegl, Krauss, liberal activists. A network of Riegl's Jewish connections proves suggestive of his Judeo-sympathy, but proves to be more bourgeoisie and ultimately divergent from networks of Krauss connecting to the explicitly Jewish advocacy of cultural *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) and Jewish civic activism. The 1883-84 mobilization of the Ethnographic Commission had a similar, less politicized profile to the *VöV*. The political Zionism of its founder Theodor Herzl advanced in his *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) of 1894, was conceived in the framework of 19th century nationalisms and might be described as *too German*. Krauss opposed Herzl and his separatism as an inverted anti-Semitism and had a bitter fight with him in 1900. The diverse alliances of Austrian *Volkskunde* or *Ethnographie* and the particularist *Jüdische Volkskunde* of Max Grunwald mobilized in 1896/97 intended to fight anti-Semitism through the definition of

diversity of Austrian ethnicity and, more or less specifically denoted, the richness and legitimacy of Jewish culture. The *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*, (*Abwehrverein*, Society for Defense Against Anti-Semitism) known at the time as the *anti-anti*, was established in 1891 by peace activists, politicians and capitalists, who were predominantly not-Jewish.⁸ Stretched wider to encompass multiple strands of opposition to anti-Semitism, in political and cultural spheres, anti-anti as a position can be construed as a complex discursive strategy that could not attack frontally without producing blowback that faced similar patterns of ambitious and idealistic institutional construction, followed by failures to grow and become significant factors in turning the Christian Socialist tide in the 1890's.

There is little new information about Riegl introduced here, however, the context of his turn towards ethnography, and what that implied in Austria at that time, are more understandable by consideration of Krauss and his advancement of the method and rigor in fieldwork and systematic, collaborative study of ethnic identities.

The last two decades have included several major new contributions to Riegl studies with significant attention paid to his essay *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss and Hausindustrie* (1894), and to his involvement in the founding of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde* (1894/95) and the personalities of those figures from the entity who were also connected to the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien*.

The rapid failure of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* established with significant finances and a several thousand members in 1891 faced already in 1892 the

⁸ Kornberg, Jacques. "Vienna, the 1890s: Jews in the Eyes of Their Defenders. (The Verein Zur Abwehr Des Antisemitismus)." *Central European History* 28, no. 2 (January 1, 1995): 153–73.

withdrawal of key figures. Reaction against liberal ideals, electoral defeats led the Liberals (*Verfassungspartei*, constitutional party) to abandon its plank of opposition to anti-Semitism, upheld in 1885 and absent by 1891.⁹ Leading liberal politicians joined the leadership or the board of the *Abwehrverein* when it was mobilized in 1891. All of them, except those with Jewish constituencies in Vienna, withdrew in 1892-93 as opponents of anti-Semitism faced increasing attacks. The president of the Vienna *Börse* (stock exchange), Vincenz Miller von Aichholz, was among those board members who jumped ship and then became supporters of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde* at the time of its quick ramping up in late 1894 and early 1895. In 1896 he arranged for the temporary exhibition of the collections of the *VöV* in the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry—where Riegl and another member of the *VöV* executive committee Karl Masner were adjunct curators—to be installed permanently in galleries of the *Börse*. Riegl, Michael Haberlandt, Wilhelm Hein and the Jewish business manager Sigismund Fessler advocated the message of *Volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit* (reciprocal exchange among adjacent peoples) put forward by Joseph Alexander Freiherr Von Helfert (1820-1910) in the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde (ZöV)*. *Ethnographie* and Austrian *Volkskunde*, like the *Völkerpsychologie* of Moritz Lazarus and Chaim Steinthal, espoused the plasticity rather than hypostatization of *Geist*. The representation of normalized ethnic difference could be played back to a potentially malleable subset of the Austrian populace. The constrained message of normalized Jewish identity could avoid the attacks waged against public opponents of anti-Semitism. In the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde (ZöV)* in 1895 the

⁹ Kornberg, *Ibid.*

Jewish support of donors and the treatment of Jewish topics were carefully circumscribed—a report by a non-Jewish postal worker of his observation of the non-Jewish observance of the *Hamanfest* (Purim) in Limanova, Galicia and the rituals and beliefs of Jews of Bucovina (*Was der Jude Glaubt*, What a Jew Believes) collected in list form by the Priest Demeter Dan. Christian Socialists had been achieving great success through interest politics, gaining membership through grass roots organizing with professional staff, door-to-door appeals, demonstrations and direct action, The Liberals by comparison were slow to adapt to new political realities, offering idealistic, high-minded rhetoric.

In 1895 *VöV* initiated popular activities to try and gain popular support. The folk song outing to the Semmering, the organizer Jewish school teacher Heinrich Moses drew the fire of another schoolmaster's antagonistic article in a Christian Socialist newspaper. Fessler, the Jewish business manager of the *VöV*, organized a lottery in 1895 to raise funds. Other popular activities, organizational announcements and thematic topics concerning the *VöV* as a *Verein* (society) were documented in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, published for only a couple of years beginning in 1896, while membership was increasing and the vibrancy of the entity was evident. The intent to grow the organization and produce a mass movement with the message of ethnic diversity of the rich Austrian cultural tapestry faltered, like other *anti-anti* activities. The predominance of scholarly, professional pursuits and the elitism associated with liberal social status proved inadequate, however, to the tasks of management, recruiting and maintaining support for its loose advocacy position.

The liberalism of successful, entrepreneurial, ennobled Jewish families encouraged their adherence to the principles of free-market capitalism and the freedoms of protected

civil rights but maintained the cultural elitism of German rather than Slavic identification despite origins of Jews from Russia, Romania, Galicia and Bucovina. These Jews remained committed to their allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy, and the opposition to de-centralizing power to the provincial diets. The extended family of Fessler's wife Pauline Sachs Fessler, and her sister Regine, into a well-connected branch of the Pollack family, prominent contributors to *VöV* were represented on the board of the aid agency for Jews in the East, the *Israelitische Allianz*, where Krauss served as secretary from 1891-1901.¹⁰

The political advocacy of Joseph S. Bloch beginning in the early 1880's and of his mentor Adolf Fischhof (1816-1893), marked a departure from the political moderation and complacency of the Jewish political status quo on the strength of its gains in assimilation since 1848.¹¹ Krauss's ethnography in the publication of his *Am Ur-Quell* in 1889-98¹² departed from ethnography as *Salonwissenschaft* (salon scholarship) to extend to an ethnography of *abjection*, of the unvarnished representation of the poor conditions under which Jews lived in the East, as in the reports of his Jewish correspondents from Central and Eastern Europe in 1893-94. The increasing prominence of his inquiry into the folklore of low status groups—Gypsies, teamster and prostitutes-- and the place of sexuality in social life and folklore alienated him from the bourgeoisie propriety of the

¹⁰ Israelitische Allianz zu Wien. *Bericht der israelitischen Allianz zu Wien über ihre bisherige Hilfsaction für die rumänischen Juden*. Wien: M. Waizner & Sohn, 1900. Neumann, Salomon. *Die neueste Lüge über die israelitische Allianz, ein Probestück aus der antisemitischen Moral*. Volks-Zeitung, 1883. Joint Distribution Committee of the American Funds for Jewish War, and Felix Moritz Warburg. *Reports Received by the Joint Distribution Committee of Funds for Jewish War Sufferers*. Press of C. S. Nathan, Incorporated, 1916.

¹¹ Ian Reifowitz, *Imagining an Austrian Nation Joseph Samuel Bloch and the Search for a Multiethnic Austrian Identity, 1846-1918* (Boulder, Colo: East European Monographs, 2003).

¹² Krauss assumed editorship of Höft, F., and Heinrich Carstens. *Am Urds-Brunnen*. Rendsburg, 1881-1889. Krauss renamed it *Am Ur-Quell*. Hamburg: G. Kramer, 1890-1896. Krauss continued its publication as *Der Urquell*. E.J. Brill, 1897-98.

academy and the *AGW* and, specifically, ran into the limits of the ethnography of his mentor Friedrich S. Müller.¹³

Krauss's childhood in Slavonia, Croatia was presented also unvarnished: multi-ethnic but witnessing social oppression, everyday violence and poverty and the horror of his schoolmates'' suffering with untreated syphilis after a party with Kata, the *Schlampen* (slattern) at the *Gasthof am goldenen Lamm*. The ethnographic reportage of his Jewish correspondents, and his *Umfragen* (surveys) on topics such as superstitions related to the Blood Libel, became linked with the Jewish philanthropy, advocacy and Enlightenment educational mission of Isidore Loeb. Krauss met the eminent scholar of Judaism and president of the *Alliance Israélite universelle* in Paris with officers of its Vienna branch, the *Israelitische Allianz*, in 1891 after being hired as its secretary where he served until 1901. Krauss's scholarship and editorial work became more politicized-- in contrast to the complacency of the German Jewish Austrians and non-Jewish German Austrians bourgeoisie and their abstracted ideals of universal equality-- the precedent of his 1884-85 fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina shifted direction to an ethnography of violence and of forced migration of Russian and Galician Jews. He traveled to Russia in 1892 and 1897 with the second vice-president of the *Allianz*, Wilhelm Pappenheim, a civil rights attorney who wrote about and served as counsel in several important Jewish legal actions.

The relationships of affiliation and opposition here, and the deployment of ethnography in service of overcoming racial prejudice, are of significant background interest to the constitution of the *VöV*. The characterizations of Krauss, Loeb, Pappenheim and Fessler becomes increasingly interesting as the individuals are

¹³ Friedrich S. Krauss, "Friedrich Müller [Obituary]," *Am Ur-Quell*, (1898) II, 189.

considered as representative *types* of politically active public Jews. The connective lines of their specific affiliations can be understood as representative, elucidating the variations of engagement, affinity and strategic conflict within the force field of Austrian anti-Semitism and the diverse networks of the *anti-anti* position. These types of advocacy position also reflect on divergent advocacy of cultural Zionism and the opposition to Theodor Herzl's political Zionism. Bloch, Krauss and the eminent scholar of Jewish social history, Moritz Güdemann—president of the *Jüdische Kultusgemeinde* in Vienna, and friend of Krauss—all opposed political Zionism, notably for its redirection of funds and focus from the tasks of ameliorating the living conditions of Jews in Eastern Europe. Even Riegl's student Martin Buber was tepid regarding Herzl's political rather than cultural Zionism, and in a speech to the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 touted the signs of Jewish cultural revival in Vienna: Max Grunwald's establishment of the *Verein für jüdische Volkskunde (VjV)*, the publication of the facsimile edition of the Sarajevo *Haggadah* and the establishment of the Jewish museum of art, which supported the publication of Grunwald's *Mittheilungen für jüdische Volkskunde (MjV)*. A suggestion of the diverse stakes in the study of ethnography, whether universal or particularist, comes in the implications of the terms of Jewish *Volkskunde*, as *Ethnographie*, practiced by many, including Jews on topics Jewish or non-Jewish; or *Volkskunde*¹⁴ of the Jews carried on mostly by Jews and supported, for example, as Grunwald's entity was, by the Hamburg Henry Jones Lodge of *B'nai Brith*, a mutual support network of Jews that among other things offer aid to migratory Jews in transit and aiding in the constitution of

¹⁴ It is helpful to consider the mode of Grunwald's less rigorous Jewish *Volkskunde* that simply the descriptive recounting of tiny details articulated to significant effect simply the idiographic diversity of Jewish folklore and practice.

Jewish community that could integrate and serve new members.

Sigismund Fessler was a great world traveler, to Africa and Polar regions, and lionized Franz Boas, in a presentation in 1899 to *Österreichische Israelitische Union* (Austrian Israelite Union) concerning the very small category of heroic Jewish polar explorers. Krauss also admired Boas, and wrote an article in *Freies Blatt*, the newspaper of the *Abwehrverein*, in 1896 about Boas the Polar Explorer.

Krauss maintained a long correspondence with Boas beginning in 1894, after their meeting at the anthropological meetings held in conjunction with the Columbian exposition in Chicago. Krauss was an exceptional figure like Boas, the German Jewish émigré seeking professional advancement and gravitating towards America as a place of professional possibility contrasting to the limits on Jewish academic advancement in Germany and Austria. Krauss stands out as the representative of Austrian *Volkskunde* and *Ethnographie* to the West.

Krauss represented Austria on the international planning committee in January 1889, together with leading European ethnographers, for the *Congrès des Traditions populaire* held July 1889 in conjunction with the Paris Exposition universelle. He presented the results of his 18-month, 3000 mile trek in the South Slavic lands in Philadelphia in 1885 to the American Philosophical Society (APS); and returned to present there in 1888 and in May 1893, as one of twelve speakers at the Sesquicentennial of Benjamin Franklin's learned society. Krauss presented on a German language panel in Chicago in August of that year in Chicago. He held memberships in the American Anthropological Society, the American Philosophical Society and was similarly honored in September 1893 the

American Folk-Lore Society's meeting in Montreal.¹⁵

The project seeks to consider the tools of social network analysis for their potential in reconstructing the discursive and social worlds of Riegl and Krauss, and similar figures whose second-degree connections via institutional participation bolster the rationale for their treatment as part of discourse networks, that can also be linked together in social networks to elucidate force fields that become more concrete with fragmentary bits of archival or biographical data. Riegl and Krauss are historical actors with significant affinity, central to the development of *Ethnographie* and *Volkskunde* over two decades, and they share affinities and personal connections. The historiographic record treats them in different disciplinary frameworks and does not accurately represent the manner of their overlapping and inter-fingered social linkages. Though Google Books is not the absolute measure of everything published, it is still useful to understand that a search for “ ‘Riegl’ and ‘Friedrich S. Krauss’ ” brings relevant hits only from the Lawrence Shapiro Twitter archive and related contributions. Full text searches in *JSTOR: the Scholarly Journal Archive* yields none.¹⁶

Krauss's resignation in 1889 from the *AGW* followed the death of his patron Crown Prince Rudolf, the failure of his application for *Habilitation* in 1887 and similarly the withdrawal of support of his mentors that resulted in his not being hired for a lectureship in 1888. He disappeared from subsequent mention in the *Mittheilungen der*

¹⁵ The term *Folk-Lore* was hyphenated in that moment's characterization of the protean fields of ethnographic and folkloric study

¹⁶ Vasold, Georg. *Alois Riegl Und Die Kunstgeschichte Als Kulturgeschichte: Überlegungen Zum Frühwerk Des Wiener Gelehrten*. 1. Aufl. Rombach Wissenschaften. Edition Parabasen. Freiburg in Breisgau: Rombach, 2004. Vasold discusses Krauss and Riegl.

Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (MAGW). Krauss gravitated towards the Jewish public sphere, and was, as he bemoaned to his former colleague from the *AGW*, Felix von Luschan, a curator at the Berlin *Völkerkunde* museum, kicked out of Judaism by Herzl. His ten years as secretary of the *Allianz* was redacted in the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, leaving a gap between the terms of the secretaries who served until 1891 and beginning in mid-year 1901.¹⁷ His contributions to research on sexology impacted on his overall public perception, but his contribution to psychoanalysis was acknowledged by his friend Sigmund Freud and his colleague Wilhelm Stekel.¹⁸

Riegl died at a young age without the reflections of a mature retrospective scholar, nor with an eye to the conservation of his personal papers. Margaret Olin has noted that the Riegl archive contains no letters and that one must search the archives of others to find some of the kinds of detail that historians want. Diana Graham Cordileone's 2014 Riegl biography, subtitled "an Institutional Biography," structures her treatment around his intersections with organizations and social groups.¹⁹ The discursive matrix of liberal ethnography or *Volkskunde*, in formation from 1883-1895, is rich with tiny details that warrant more collaborative historical analysis. The tools of social network mapping provide a flexible structure in which to reconstruct certain kinds of understanding given

¹⁷ Adler, Cyrus, and Isidore Singer. *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901-1905.

<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8306-israelitische-allianz-zu-wien>

¹⁸ Johnston, William M., *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, 182. Burt, Raymond Lee, and Michael Martischinig. 1990. *Friedrich Salomo Krauss (1859-1938): Selbstzeugnisse und Materialien zur Bibliographie des Volkskundlers, Literaten und Sexualforschers mit einem Nachlassverzeichnis*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 93, 202, 236.

¹⁹ Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905: An Institutional Biography* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014).

the matrix it offers: molds with impressions (roles) that we know Krauss and Riegl fit into. The graphic tool of the map of relations creates the possibility of topological arrangement and re-arrangement of documentary details, together with the activation of gaps in understanding left by gaps of the sedimentary deposition of their lives. The gaps in knowledge of Riegl's life become more concrete, for example, in the reflection on what would be filled in from the sudden reappearance of a cache of his travel diaries. This is not counterfactual historicizing or hypothesizing, but rather the consideration of possible histories or knowable unknowns.

Analysis of what is not there may initiate the most acute kind of nuanced analysis, and lead to deep and vivid understanding of forces to which historical actors had to respond. Such examination and reflection are most valuable when conducted carefully with tight correlation with historical details known from archival evidence. What do we know, for example, from considering why Riegl's tiny reflective essay *Das Volksmässige und die Gegenwart* in the first issue of the *ZöV* in 1895,²⁰ directly following Michael Haberlandt's introductory essay, might have slipped the consciousness of the quasi-official Vienna School bibliography of his works by Karl Swoboda published together with a volume of his essay in 1929.²¹ By that time art history in the Vienna School had developed away from Riegl's interest in vernacular artistic production. Further any connection of Riegl to *Volkskunde* might have been deliberately excluded, given that the liberal project of Austrian *Volkskunde* was past. *Volkskunde* had become *völkisch* (ideologically reactionary) and Michael Haberlandt, who held the first chair of

²⁰ Riegl, Alois. "Das Volksmässige und die Gegenwart," *ZöV*, (1895) I, 4-5.

²¹ Alois Riegl 1858-1905, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. (Augsburg-Wien, Dr. B. Filser, 1929).

ethnography in Vienna, was succeeded by his son Arthur, the legatee of the movement's non-academic structure, and became a discourse focused on racial lineage in the 1920's.²²

Pushing Riegl and the comparatively unknown, Croatian-born, Jewish Friedrich S. Krauss into the same force field lights up dimensions of each; and enhances the historical analysis of liberal ethnography, its intention to shore up the public sphere protection of the civil rights of Jews, and its attempts to redress the cultural, economic and social hegemony of Germans over Slavs in Austrian imperial governance. A social network map oriented towards schematic representation of their social and discursive lifeworlds constitutes a new topography emphasizing the distinctive institutional character and personalities of *liberal* ethnography in Vienna, 1883-1895. This map is extended to include the strategies and tactical public relations considerations of the Jewish and non-Jewish *anti-anti*, the entities and discourses that fought anti-Semitism. The support of ethnography and defense of the public sphere went hand in hand in a manner that considered public affairs, public relations, advocacy and activism.

²² Wolfgang Jacobeit, Hannjost Lixfeld, and Olaf Bockhorn, *Vo'lkische Wissenschaft: Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und o'sterreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Ha'lfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Bo'hlau, 1994).

Chapter 2

Social Network Tools and the Reconstruction of Riegl and Krauss's

Discourse Networks

The enumeration of Jews with whom Riegl had strong linkages constitutes a substantive, original contribution to deciphering the discourse networks of Viennese liberal ethnography between 1883-1895.²³ The financial contributions in 1894-96 to the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde* were preponderantly from Jewish ennobled capitalists. Constituting a subset of that cultural and social elite of Vienna and the provinces, who answered the *Aufruf* (call for mobilization) and who paid only the modest dues, the donors were listed separately, with their names *not* duplicated on the primary list. The members overall supplied the symbolic and social capital of their prominence, while those who had cash reserves invested in an NGO supporting the public sphere. The evidence of both Jewish and *Judeo-sympathetic* involvement in ethnography as defense of the public sphere and opposition to anti-Semitism extended backwards to the patronage of the *AGW* archaeological excavation fund in 1882-83, and Rudolf's support of the Ethnographic Commission and sponsorship of Krauss's ethnographic journey in 1884-85. Though cross connections of membership in diverse entities support

²³ Peter Gilgen in discussion on 24 May 2015 cautioned on the implications of the process of identifying and labeling Jews. The self-identification as Jews varied widely, in some cases baptized and intentionally distancing and dis-identifying, or in many shades of assimilation but maintaining Jewish cultural identity in different degrees of orthodoxy or reform. This identification of Jews seeks to trace social network connections within ethnographic and art historical circles and in the public sphere activities of the *anti-anti* and the philanthropic aid of the *Israelitische Allianz* to Jews living under oppression and other civic Jewish entities.

are relative few, they are of suggestive of patterns of affinity and potentially of substantive, evidentiary value. Wilhelm Isak Freiherr von Guttman, an ennobled Jew, supported the excavation fund together with other aristocratic contributors including the Kaiser himself. Guttman also backed secretly in 1883-84 the legal

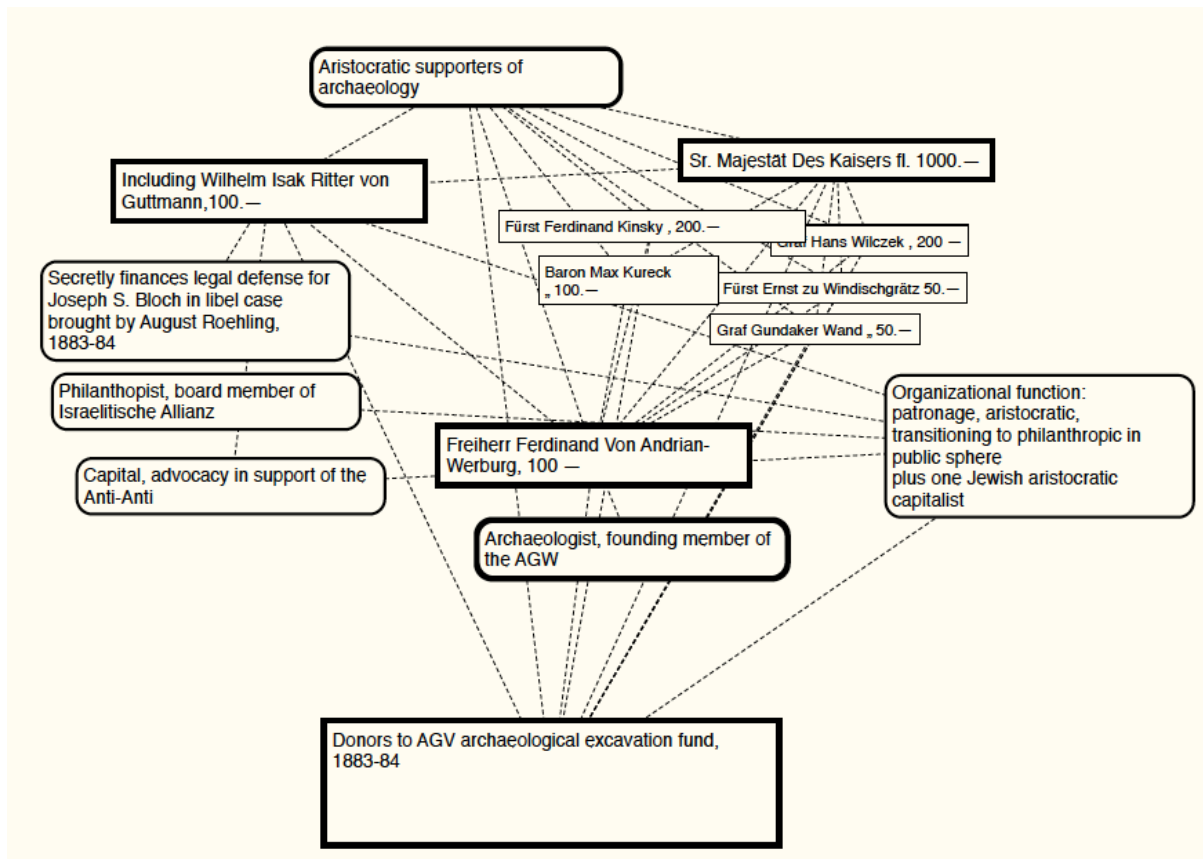


Figure 4, Donors to the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien archaeological excavations fund, 1882-83; ennobled coal baron Wilhelm Isak Ritter von Guttman financed Joseph S. Bloch legal defense in libel trial brought by August Rohling; also board member of *Israelitische Allianz*, cf. secretary, Friedrich S. Krauss, 1891-1901 defense strategy of Joseph S. Bloch against the libel complaint of August Rohling, supplying the 3000 florin incentive for Rohling to defend publicly his linguistic

competency to argue for the textual basis of the Blood Libel.²⁴ Wilhelm Isak and his younger brother David, co-founder of their immensely successful firm were represented, one or both, on the board of the *Israelitische Allianz* from 1882 at least until World War I. Professor Joseph Polack was the business manager of the *AGW* and also served on the *Allianz* board. As indicated later in the discussion of the Ethnographic Commission, Krauss, David Heinrich Müller, already in 1883 a contributor to the *Allianz*, and Friedrich Philipp Kanitz were Jewish.

The events, personalities and forces that are of interest in this project existed in real time, in the complexity of life-worlds that are obscured, but they can be better understood in creating maps, for example, of the complexities of affiliation and of coordinated and collaborative work. As such they elucidate the process that accompanies the textual analysis and the reconstruction of historical configurations. The non-linearity of the *reading* of figures, and especially of webs, can proceed, for example, from outside to inside, from upper left sweeping in arcs, top to left side, or following the chains of sequential linkage. Some of the potency of multi-modal historiographic representation consists in testing the limits of what can and cannot be known. Examining the sociability of the liberal ethnographic discourse networks in Vienna, 1883-95, does not, however, seek the total reconstruction of “*Wie es eigentlich gewesen,*” as was the intention of the 19th-century historian Leopold von Ranke, “as it actually occurred.”

The early lives of Riegl and Krauss, before coming to Vienna as students in 1875 and 1877, respectively are treated in the detail available. Riegl’s father was a tax official in a state tobacco processing factory, and his childhood played out along the stretch of 42

²⁴ Bloch, *ibid.*

kilometers of railroad between Czernowitz and Kolomea. Beyond the privilege of his social position, and the fact that he returned to the area of his familiarity during his fall 1891 ethnographic expedition, there is little evidence of his early life in the historical record. Krauss's childhood was humbler, in the rural and woodland landscapes around Požega in Slavonia, and he recounted later his encounters with diverse, character types of ethnographic diversity.

The personal experience of childhood, *Bildung* and professionalization are of interest in the formation of Riegl and Krauss as ethnographic observers: the training of the ear and the constitution of the voice of empathy for the ethnographic subject. Ultimately one concludes in relation to the liberal ethnographers, that they are finely tuned conduits and themselves the most interesting subjects of historical examination, viz. the manner in which they document and seek to understand the lives of others. We take special interest in recognition of the acuity of linguistic competency of the polyglot and the ear for dialect and common speech required to record details of observed behavior and such a complex task as the accurate recording of Krauss's 160,000 lines of oral epic narrative.

This is a project whose innovation comes in grappling with membership lists, boards of organizations, executive committee, institutions and the people who practiced historical and cultural analysis. The translation of lists of people into two-dimensional representations of clusters, nodes and lines has proven useful as a tool for simply distinguishing who was who, and who had what sort of connections both proximate, and sprawling across disciplines and social worlds.²⁵ A very powerful tool, which even

²⁵ I created quick brainstorming records of relationships, contingent or more concrete representations of social networks, associograms, maps of ideas and timelines using the software tool Scapple, which

average humanists can easily use, has great power also to import massive data sets: NodeXL, a free template for Excel on PC has been developed particularly in its capacity for mapping with data from social media applications such as Twitter and Facebook.²⁶ NodeXL requires no programming. Cells in the NodeXL template are populated by hand or with imported CSV files. (See Figure 5) The greatest success was in copying the membership list of some 950 of the supporters of *VöV* in 1895 from the first volume of the *ZVöV*. (See Figure 4)²⁷ The text as distinct from PDF views of the journal in Google Books were translated into CSV files. Populating the first two columns in the template's spreadsheet view creates two nodes (people, entities or ideas) and an edge (their connection) represented as a line. Color coding for certain categories—for example, Jewish, connected to *VöV*, or to the Vienna School of Art History-- and additional columns of data were the subject of preliminary experimentation: profession, sphere (*e.g. Kultur*), sociological context (family connection, personal relationship, correspondence by mail), and qualities of animosity and affinity, and the relations to

integrates easily with the powerful writing software Scrivener. Quick notes can be enclosed in square or rounded boxes and bubbles, with different qualities of lines and arrows of connection. I sketched and annotated freehand, producing perspectival, spatial representations that represented timelines, network clusters and maps, and I aspire to the integration of all three.

²⁶ Derek L Hansen, Ben Schneiderman, and Marc A Smith, *Analyzing Social Media Networks with NodeXL Insights from a Connected World* (Amsterdam; Boston: M. Kaufmann, 2010), <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/book/9780123822291>.

²⁷ These drawing were produced in 2011 with different versions of Excel and NodeXL and were not optimized and manipulated at the time to show the full potential of the information they contain, notably using different algorithms to distribute nodes for readability and to indicate various layers of meaning. The initial experimentation in NodeXL was curtailed given Mac world citizenship and obstacles created by different versions of incompatible Office software. Figure 2 shows the initial 950 *VöV* members in an outer circle but with limited legibility. As such it shows a crowd of names and within the circle regions that are communicative with the help of annotations and boxes that separate. Arrows indicate the antagonistic or repulsive forces of Krauss's diaffiliation with the inner circle of the *VöV*, specifically Michael Haberlandt and Vatroslav Žagic who criticized his transcription of South Slavic speech in response to Krauss's 1887 AGW talk. Krauss captured the *speech* of the vernacular: dialect and socially specific vocabulary of lower classes, all of which differed from the clarity of cultivated and literary Slavic *language*. Žagic served on the committee that rejected his application for *Habilitation* at the University of Vienna in 1887.

specific moment of engagement suggested possible avenues to pursue.

The NodeXL graphs are quite elementary but do show Krauss and Riegl and select relationships. A large graph shows the *VöV* members condensed in a circle around the

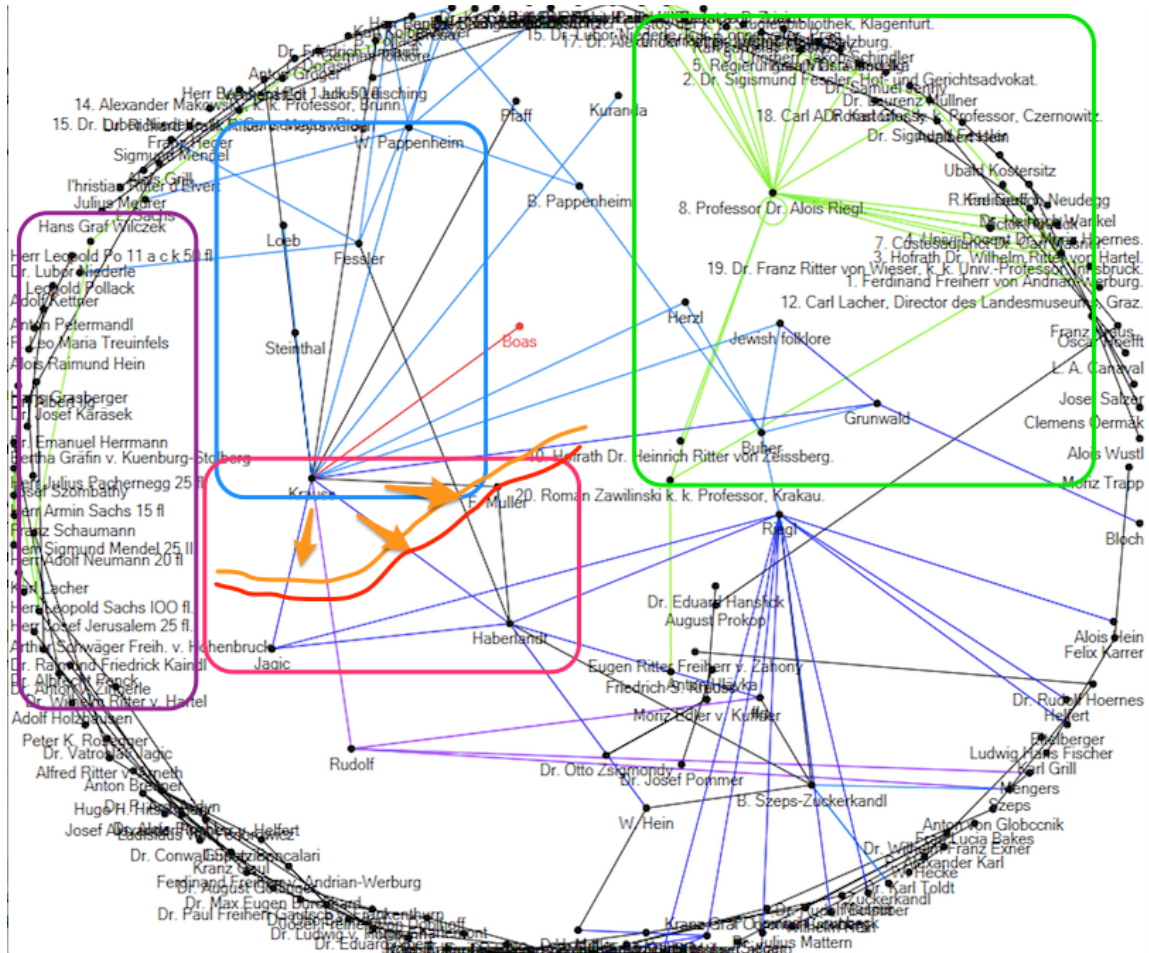


Figure 4, NodeXL graph (see corresponding spreadsheet section below), annotated in Evernote; membership of *VöV* on outer circle; upper right, green box shows Riegl and *VöV* executive committee members in Vienna (10) and in the Crown Lands (10); lower right, Riegl close connections; lower left, red box shows Krauss disaffiliations, Zagič, Haberlandt, F. Müller; far left, purple box shows Jewish donors to *VöV*, 1894-96, with amount of donation (florins); left-center, blue box shows Krauss's affiliations to major Jewish activists

edge, with for example, a series of Jewish donors to *VöV* in a region on the left²⁸ Of interest perhaps is the fact that a person's name appears many times in sequence in column A to denote connection to entries in consecutive cells in column B. The same

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1			Visual Properties					Label		Sociological Conenctions								
2	Vertex 1	Vertex 2	Color							Profession	Relationship	Animosity	Affinity				Moment of engagement	
3	Schlosser	Kauffman	255, 128, 128							Kultur								
4	Schlosser	D.H. Muller	255, 128, 128							Kultur								
5	Schlosser	Wickhoff	255, 128, 128							Kultur								
6	Ilg	Haberlandt								Fuchsia								
7	Riegl	Jagic								Fuchsia								
8	Riegl	Ilg								Fuchsia								
9	Riegl	Schlosser								Fuchsia								
10	Riegl	Stieger								Fuchsia								
11	Riegl	Masner								Fuchsia								
12	Riegl	Haberlandt	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
13	Riegl	Wickhoff	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
14	Riegl	Alois Hein	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
15	Riegl	Wilhelm Hein	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
16	Riegl	Helfert	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
17	Riegl	Eitelberger	255, 128, 64							Kultur								
18	Haberlandt	W. Hein								Kultur	personal							
19	Haberlandt	Krauss								Kultur	personal							
20	Haberlandt	Jagic								Kultur	personal							
21	Krauss	Jagic								Kultur								
22	Krauss	Grunwald								Kultur	family							
23	Grunwald	Bloch	0, 128, 255							Kultur								
24	Grunwald	Jewish folklore	0, 128, 255							Kultur								
25	Buber	Jewish folklore	0, 128, 255							Kultur								
26	Krauss	Jewish folklore	0, 128, 255							Kultur								
27	Krauss	F. Muller																
28	Haberlandt	F. Muller																
29	W. Hein	D.H. Muller																
30	Szepts	B. Szepts-Zuckerkandl	0, 128, 255									Salon						
31	B. Szepts-Zucker	Ilg																
32	B. Szepts-Zucker	Riegl																
33	B. Szepts-Zucker	Haberlandt																
34	B. Szepts-Zucker	W. Hein																

Figure 5, NodeXL cells excerpt from Excel spreadsheet, showing Vienna School contributors: facsimile edition of Sarajevo Haggadah 1897 (red), executive committee members of VöV (green)

name can appear as multiple *topoi* on the graph that drops down in the template's additional graphic window, to the right of the columns of data. Elements can be highlighted, dragged and dropped without their changing place in the spreadsheet cells. An Evernote annotation defines the line of cleavage between Riegl's social networks, but only as constructed, tweaked, annotated and arranged by dragging and dropping, and by

²⁸ Of interest is the fact that a person's name appears many times in sequence in column A to denote connection to entries in consecutive cells in column B. The same name can appear as multiple *topoi* on the graph that drops down in the template's additional graphic window, to the right of the columns of data. Elements can be highlighted, dragged and dropped without their changing place in the spreadsheet cells.

choice in the point of insertion of edges and nodes. The representational tools in the Office suite, e.g. for organizational diagrams were recognized as deliberately wonky to discourage their utility for anything but simplistic illustration. A single central node with dependent elements is possible but not a stable diagram of multi-centered arrangement. With any of these representations, bitter experience shows that the drawing may simply choose to self-destruct.

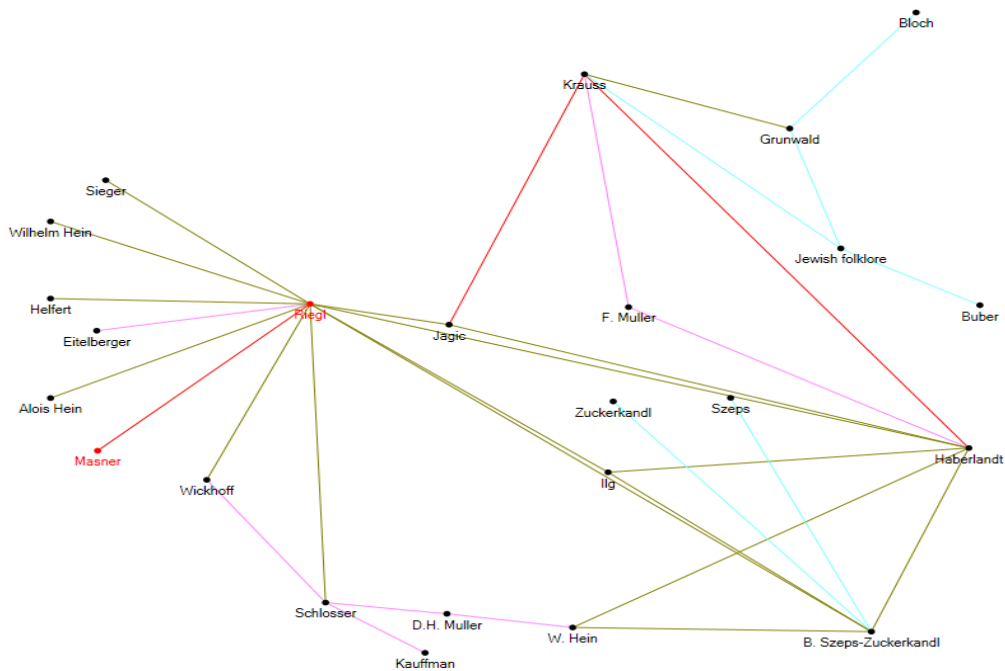


Figure 6, NodeXL Graph (See Spreadsheet Section Above). Alois Riegl and Friedrich S. Krauss non-interlocking social networks (selective). Riegl, left to right, Vienna School connections, *VöV* executive committee, Bertha Szeps-Zuckerkandl Salon; Krauss, disaffiliation: Zagič, Haberlandt, Friedrich Müller; Krauss and *Jüdische Volkskunde*

Chapter 3

The Ethnographic Turn

The social network map as schematic representation tool for social analysis and graphic representation of relationships, remains distinct from a graphic illustration that is constructed primarily to convince viewers of relationships linked to an ideologically argumentative position. Discussion of the formation of Viennese *Ethnographie* begins in 1883 with the concerns of Crown Prince Rudolf about the divisive forces of ethnic difference, tending towards ethnic nationalism that might be normalized with ethnographic understanding. His letters of 1882-83 to his political mentor and confidante Moritz Szepe revealed his concerns about German, Croatian and Czech nationalisms and the backwardness of Hungary with its weak bourgeoisie, undeveloped bureaucratic class and social backwardness.²⁹ The encyclopedic work *Austria in Word and Image* and the establishment of the Ethnographic Commission were two strategies of his response that developed in 1883/84. In 1894/95 the patriotic legacy of Rudolf was surfaced as a motivation for the *VöV* specifically by Bertha Zuckermandl Szepe, like her father a friend of the prince.³⁰

One measure of the degree of crisis was marked in the international support for anti-Semitism that grew out of the much-publicized Tiszaeslár Blood Libel trial in Hungary in 1882-83. The possibilities of scholarly Enlightenment impacting public affairs appeared to take a leap forward in the challenge by Joseph S. Bloch to the expert witness testimony

²⁹ Julius Szepe, ed. *Kronprinz und Journalist, Neues Wiener Journal*, Jan 13, March 2, March 9 1924. Szepe Rudolf, *Politische Briefe an einen Freund 1882-1889* (Wien: Rikola Verlag, 1922).

³⁰ Bertha Szepe Zuckermandl, *Oesterreich intim: Erinnerungen 1892-1942* (Propyläen, 1970).

of August Rohling. Bloch, who represented Kolomea in the *Reichsrat* from 1884-1896, attacked the author of *Der Talmudjude* beginning in 1881 and in 1883 drew fire from Rohling in a libel suit, which Bloch fought with the legal advice of the attorney Joseph Kopp and the secret financial support of the ennobled Jewish coal baron Wilhelm Isak Freiherr von Guttman. Bloch issued a challenge in which he called Rohling to defend his anti-Semitic assertions and his competency in open court in exegesis of some 319 textual excerpts which Bloch enumerated.³¹ Rohling backed down in 1884 just before the trial to the delight of *Ostjuden* living in Vienna and in the East. Rohling was fired from his position.³² His *Talmudjude* continued popular in multiple editions and Rohling continued to offer financial and political drive to anti-Semitism, including support of the priest Josef Deckert's preaching of the Blood Libel.

In 1893 the Liberal party leader Ernst von Plener declined to push for prosecution of Deckert given the bias of the jury pool, the partiality of the lower judiciary and the catastrophic effect that a failed prosecution would bring. Bloch stepped in to support the prosecution.³³ The Liberal party was in steady and then precipitous decline through the 1880's and early 1890's, and its commitment to fighting anti-Semitism also faltered as that position drew blowback and electoral losses for public figures and politicians.

Not exactly an ethnographer, Joseph S. Bloch sought to rebut assertions of a Jewish connection to the Jack the Ripper murders in 1888. Bloch was described as an expert on folklore in Galicia in a report from the Vienna correspondent to the *Standard*, that was

³¹ J. S Bloch, *My Reminiscences* (New York: Arno Press, 1973); J. S. Bloch, *Des k.k. Prof. Rohling Neueste Fälschungen* (Wien: Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, 1883).

³² Jacques Kornberg, *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism* (Indiana University Press, 1993).

³³ Kornberg, *Ibid.*

picked up by other papers during the week of 12 October 1888 at the time that an anti-Semitic graffito was found on the wall close to place of discovery of one of the disemboweled victims. Jewish tradition believed in the sanctity of the human body, he said, though he described the superstition still prevalent in Eastern Europe—and brought up during the murder trial of the Ritters that year-- of the Thieves' Candle, which included uterine tissue, and whose light either made criminals invisible or made victims fall into a deep sleep.³⁴

Bloch challenged the passivity of Jewish German Austrians in their support of Habsburg centralized power and identification with German cultural hegemony. Schooled both in universities and Jewish seminary, Bloch's social historical and ethnographic knowledge had illuminatory utility in the public sphere. In 1896 the rabbi of the progressive Dammtor Synagogue in Hamburg, Max Grunwald, who would marry Bloch's daughter and move to Vienna, began an initiative to create a *Verein für jüdische Volkskunde* with an *Aufruf* (call to action) modeled on that of the *VöV*. Krauss in his responses to the undertaking was at his sarcastic best in criticizing the policy of a particularist search for a Jewish folkloric essence. Nowhere would one find, he said, a Jewish folkloric or linguistic unity, except in the mind *eines umstulpten Antisemitist* (of an inverted anti-Semite). The pursuit of that essence was pursuit of an *Irrlicht* (a will'o the wisp).

At its core this project seeks to explain the “ethnographic turn” in the work of liberal scholarship as a humanist phenomenon in Vienna via the *Bildungsgänge* of Friedrich S.

³⁴ Jewish Chronicle, 12 October 1888
http://www.casebook.org/press_reports/jewish_chronicle/jc881012.html

Krauss and Alois Riegl. The innovations of ethnographic method and the rigor and anti-ideological commitment are shared. Riegl and Krauss intersect directly at very few points in the historiographic record despite the fact that they share first degree connections in the sphere of the *AGW*. Krauss resigned from the *AGW* in 1889 after the failure of his applications for *Habilitation* and for appointment as a lecturer, and his falling out with his mentor Friedrich Müller and Slavists Michael Haberlandt and Vatroslav Zagič over the manner of his transcription of Slavic speech. At that moment Riegl by contrast was working his way towards election to the *AGW* in 1892.

Krauss's estrangement beginning in 1887 from Haberlandt and Zagič, later executive committee members of the *VöV*, suggests lines of affinity and repulsion in their social network map, and a divide between Riegl's and Krauss's networks that grew as Krauss left the *AGW*. Krauss's skepticism of bourgeois *Salonwissenschaft* (Salon science) and his failure to adhere to certain codes of propriety, notably in treatment of sexual folklore, marked a growing divergence from the liberal, bourgeois figures of *VöV* organizers and the wealthy ennobled Jewish financial supporters of the groups' first years places. Riegl and Krauss lived in divergent social niveaus. Krauss's dismissiveness of *Salonwissenschaft*, may refer to the Salon of Bertha Szeps-Zuckerandl where the *VöV* was conceived.

Krauss was an early leader in ethnography as public engagement. Rudolf sponsored his ethnographic journey to Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1883-84 where he traveled 3000 kilometers on foot and horseback and transcribed some 160,000 lines of oral epic poetry. Krauss touted the uses of the questionnaire, producing one specifically for South Slavic folklore with 1000 questions, in consultation with the experts on the region concentrated

within the Ethnographic Commission.³⁵ In Krauss's journal *Am Ur-Quell* he pioneered publication of *Umfragen*, surveys or queries about information on a specific topic, in 1891 for example, on superstitious belief with structural relation to the Blood Libel: uses of body parts or blood in ritual and mythemes about disappearing children.

Krauss was Jewish, combative and sarcastic and later radicalized, bringing aid to pogrom victims together with Wilhelm Pappenheim, the civil rights attorney. As a student he began collecting and publishing sexual folklore, attending the Wednesday Psychoanalytic Society meetings beginning in 1910 and challenging Theodor Herzl together with Wilhelm Pappenheim at a meeting of the *Israelitische Allianz* in 1900, presenting thereby such a threat to political Zionism that Herzl engineered their removal from their positions in leadership of the aid agency. Krauss had been the professional secretary there for ten years but that service was redacted from the 1906 entry on the *Allianz* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.³⁶

Riegl was sympathetic to the Jews and went to school for part of his childhood in Kolomea a town with significant minority and then Jewish majority. He noted the harassment of his teacher Moritz Thausig and worked with assimilated and Jewish students Hans Tietze, who wrote his obituary; Erica Conrad, who married Tietze, and was the first woman PhD in art history in Vienna; and Martin Buber. Riegl recounted to Tietze that had it not been for his father dying and the family's return to Austria, he might

³⁵ *Fragebogen über die Ethnographie der Südslaven, Ausschussstizug am 12. Februar, 1884 MAGW XVI, 1884, 18.* (See Burt, 23.)

³⁶ Adler, Cyrus, and Isidore Singer. *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901-1905. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8306-israelitische-allianz-zu-wien> *Allianz* "Secretaries, 1874-76, Dr. P. Frankl; 1880-90, Dr. M. Friedländer; and since 1901 Rabbi A. Kaminka."

have become Polish. By personality Riegl was private and by his appearance, photographed with a monocle, he was aristocratic and proper, to the extent that he advanced steadily within academic and cultural resource management entities. From the time he began study in Vienna in 1875, Riegl was an insider in the leadership of the *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten* (Reading Society of the German Students).³⁷ Krauss was an outsider, a penniless student who depended on the sponsorship of benefactors: of a renowned operatic singer and Max Neuda, a leading Jewish defense attorney and editor at the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Riegl appeared to wear the ethnographer's hat and speak with the ethnographer's voice in narrating his encounter with a peasant woman in Bucovina in 1891, while collecting examples of contemporary and historic textiles for an exhibition in Czernowitz and for the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry. A woman who would not sell her handmade textiles at any price was an exemplum, a moment of first-hand encounter with an artist inhabiting a different chronotope, a "Golden Age" of pre-capitalist production.³⁸ In the climate of reaction against the effects of free market economics that Christian Socialism brought to Vienna with increasing intensity in the early 1890's, Riegl's economic analysis written in the voice of ethnographer, brought the rigor of the empirical social sciences and the emotional presence of the empathetic participant observer, as in the work of Franz Boas.

In his 1894 essay *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie* from 1894, where reference was made to this encounter, Riegl drew on the work of the Leipzig economic

³⁷ See Cordileone.

³⁸ Riegl, Alois. *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*. (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1978) 54.

historian Carl Bücher and his designations of stages of the organization of economic production, as the structural foundation of a linkage of artistic and economic factors.³⁹ Riegl sought to *de-aestheticize* the folkloric chronotope and the fantasmatic attraction it held to anti-modernism and nostalgia. Objects of genuine *Volkskunst*, produced for their producers or domestic use, rather than for barter exchange or financial exchange, did not come into the marketplace except, Riegl said, under the conditions of dire necessity. This might come when a Jewish trader acquired heirloom objects of textile *Volkskunst* in payment of debts incurred in the putting-out system of *Hausindustrie*, where raw materials were acquired on credit from a *Faktor* who charged also expenses of transportation of products to a fluctuating market.

Riegl described this relationship of profound disadvantage of the handicraft producer, though the constellation was described as *almost* rapacious, with the distinction being that Riegl understood that the economic system was structural, blind to the individual and her affective and creaturely subjectivity. He avoided characterizing Jewish traders as rapacious, thereby refusing the pervasive linkage of anti-Semitism and anti-capitalism. Hypostatized Jewish essence in superstitious folklore (Blood Libel) and the *aestheticizing of the economic* were tied together in anti-Semitic discourse.

Riegl the observer made one of only a few other references in his oeuvre to Jews in a reference to this same collecting journey of 1891. Riegl described his travel by train “under the suspicious gaze” of Jewish traders from Tarnopol.⁴⁰ The Jewish trader and

³⁹ Bücher, Karl. *Die Entstehung Der Volkswirtschaft : Sechs Vorträge*. Tübingen : Verlag der H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1893. Bücher, Karl. *Die Wirtschaft der Naturvölker: Vortrag, Gehalten in der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden am 13. November 1897*. v. Zahn & Jaensch, 1898.

⁴⁰Riegl, A. “Zur frage der Polenteppiche,” *Mittheilungen: Monatschrift für Kunstgewerbe, (1891)*, 9: 225.

Faktor were among the characters encountered by the empirical observer doing fieldwork.

In the *Volkskunst* essay Riegl interrogated the misguided liberal policy of the Austrian Museum encouraging *Hausindustrie* through its network of regional craft schools, as well as Christian Socialism's underlying ideological exploitation of the reactionary fantasy of the reversal of modernization, capitalism and economic development. Riegl noted with distress the labile connections of the modern subject, battered by *Kampf um Dasein*, to the vernacular, the object of folk production, and the age value of the historical monument, e.g. to broken-down, historical houses whose destruction, as in the case of those threatened by the construction of a railroad bridge in Weissenkirchen.⁴¹ The social ethos of *Volkskunst* and pre-industrial production presented a sticky, idealized space of saturated age value, which appealed, like Dehio's patriotic nationalist monuments preservation rhetoric, to modern subjects suffering from what Riegl called "*untilgbares Leid*."⁴² Walter Benjamin articulated the hypostatization of the German folkloric as *Verstellung*, in his fragments on "*Volkskunst*" and "*Traumkitsch*."⁴³ In contrast to the great artwork, which allowed the viewer to see from himself *hinaus* (outward), the object of *Volkskunst* made possible the viewers immersion into himself

⁴¹Riegl, Alois. *Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege. Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, 3. Folge, Bd. 4 (1905), 85-104, 103-104. Riegl, Alois. *Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege*. Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1905. <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2014/2813> Riegl, Alois, and Ernst Bacher. *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal?: Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*. Wien: Böhlau, 1995.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³ Benjamin, Walter. "Einiges zur Volkskunst," *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Herman Schweppenhauser, (Frankfurt am Main, 1972-89), 6:187. Benjamin, W. "Traumkitsch," (1927), *Gesammelte Schriften*, 11:2: 620-622.

hinein (inward).⁴⁴

Alois Riegl and Friedrich S. Krauss viewed the practice of ethnography in the study of the forms of not-modern artistic and ethnographic phenomena using modern methods and in relation to modern crisis. Examining the affective appeal and power of historical artifacts and icons was a topic of urgency during the decades of nationalist and ethnic conflict of the 1880's and 1890's. *Volkskunde* and ethnography were used interchangeably in Austria. As a liberal discourse it crossed over from the abstract Enlightenment intention to illuminate all phenomena to the careful formulation of a popularly digestible taxonomy ethnicity that normalized variability and difference. The idealized condition, *volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit* (mutual exchange of neighboring peoples) was articulated by Freiherr von Helfert in the first issue of the *Zeitschrift der Verein für österreichische Volkskunde (ZVöV)* in 1895.⁴⁵

This project began research on Friedrich S. Krauss to illuminate Alois Riegl's ethnographic turn, signified in his affiliation with the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien* and election to membership in 1892. Krauss turned towards ethnography as a favored student of Friedrich Müller in comparative philology. The ethnographic turn was generational and institutional in Vienna as a branch of *Kulturwissenschaft* that differentiated itself-- under the shared framework of the *AGW*-- from physical anthropology, the study of bones, physiology and race. 1889 was a high water mark of inauguration of the field of Viennese ethnography in the opening of the *Hofmuseum für Naturgeschichte*, in conjunction with which a conference was held bringing together the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* "Volkskunst," 187

⁴⁵ Helfert, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde: Organ des Vereins für Österreichische Volkskunde in Wien*. F. Tempsky, 1896.

Austrian and German membership of their respective anthropological societies. Krauss shared the ideals of Franz Boas, the Jewish anthropologist, born in 1858, who left Germany permanently in 1887 to pursue his meteoric academic career in the United States.⁴⁶ At that time Boas was also turning from his focus in *Naturwissenschaft* (natural science) to *Geisteswissenschaft* (humanities); this is consistent with what Douglas Cole noted in the turn from the emphasis on nomothetic to the idiographic,⁴⁷ from the geographical to the historical, from an emphasis on the aesthetic (organizing) categorization of pattern to a mode of affective (empathetic) relationships to unique occurrences.

Though Boas was not Viennese, and this story is, he nonetheless figures large. Boas provides a crucial lattice on which to support the historical narration of Riegl's and Krauss's biographies, of the formation of the Ethnographic Commission and the *VöV* and of the overlap between left liberal *Volkskunde* and the advocates of the anti-anti, Jewish and non-Jewish. If the paradigm of the heroic, Germanophone Jewish Polar explorer was a limited one, Boas had the stature to support it. In 1889 Sigismund Fessler, later to become business manager of the *VöV*, presented a talk to the *Österreichische Israelitische Union* about famous Jewish Polar explorers, and Krauss covered that topic as well in 1896 in *Freies Blatt*, the weekly newspaper of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*. His ambitious expedition to Baffinland (1883-84) undertaken in connection with the International Polar Years 1881-83, serves as a parallel to Krauss's

⁴⁶ Boas waited with disappointment in 1887-88 for an academic appointment under discussion in Vienna at the Hölzel Geographical Institute. Cole's biography of Boas mentions this event but does not give further attention to Boas's consideration of Vienna. See Cole, Douglas. *Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1858-1906*. Vancouver; Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre ; University of Washington Press, 1999.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

14-month journey to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1884-85, and Riegl's 1891 trip to Galicia and Bucovina to examine textile production and search for authentic examples of textile *Volkskunst*.

The triangle of mutual interrelationship between Krauss, Boas and Daniel Brinton, extending between the United States and Vienna is highly suggestive. Brinton held the first chair in anthropology in the United States at the University of Pennsylvania, supported and published Krauss's and Boas's work and presumably extended the invitation for Krauss to come to Philadelphia in 1885 to present on his Bosnia-Herzegovina journey. In the *MAGW* in 1890 Boas, then teaching in the experimental and short-lived graduate program at Clark University was among a small group of American corresponding members to the *AGW*, together with Daniel Brinton, president of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Anthropological Society, and Albert Gatschet, with whom Krauss maintained long-standing relationships.

Krauss met Boas at the international anthropological meetings at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, carried on a correspondence with him from 1894 to 1931 and sought his support when he began to publish his scientific, but not unexpectedly controversial, journal of sexual folklore *Anthropophyteia* in 1905. That same year Krauss submitted a letter of praise and an essay to the *Festschrift* of the APS honoring the 25th anniversary of Boas's dissertation.⁴⁸

⁴⁸*Boas Anniversary Volume, Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas*, 1906. New York: G.E. Steichert & Co., 1906. Krauss submitted a paper and a letter in which he praised the influence of Boas on him. He compared Boas to Werner Munzinger and his works: about *Sitten und Recht* (customs and laws), *Über die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos* (1859); *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864; 2nd ed., 1883); and *Die deutsche Expedition in Ostafrika* (1865). Heger also submitted an essay.

As modernization of technical and administrative infrastructure took place from 1870-1900, and spheres of economic circulation and production grew differentially across Central and Eastern Europe, ethnographers were sensitive recorders of fine-grained, granular evidence of the translation of structural change to individuals and communities. Ethnography, at its best, took on a tentative public sphere role to report, to testify and to give evidence even as other spheres of liberal political action failed. In one version of the liberal signal broadcast by ethnography, one voice of reconciliation, was the curious formulation of the “neighborly”⁴⁹ from *volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit* (reciprocity of neighboring peoples). Though there is little to suggest that Helfert was innovative in social thought, we can choose to understand his “*volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit*” as he intended it: as a model for peaceful coexistence in ethnically mixed regions and as a description of how *some* adjacent cultures did interact.⁵⁰

Unbefangenheit --absence of both prejudice and methodological bias-- was to be a fundamental principle of Austrian *Volkskunde* as expressed by Michael Haberlandt in the introductory essay to the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (*ZöV*) in 1895.⁵¹

Franz Heger (1853-1931), head of the ethnographic section of the *Hofmuseum für*

⁴⁹ Cf. Santner, *On Creaturely Life*. Santner described the literature of W.G. Sebald as constituting an archive of the creaturely: “For Sebald, the work on such an archive was inseparable from his understanding of what it means to engage ethically with another person’s history and pain, an engagement that transforms us from indifferent individuals into neighbors.”

⁵⁰ One gains some sense of the plasticity of metaphorical adaptation of terminology into which the term *volksnachbarliche Wechselseitigkeit* (reciprocity, mutual exchange between adjacent peoples) might fit with the prevalence of the metaphor of *Sprachinseln*, non-contiguous areas of the distribution of languages, a term of utility in describing Germanophone areas in Austria surrounded by Slavophone seas; and generally the distribution of distinctive phenomena on both sides of thresholds of varying precision, encompassing fields of varying concentration and distribution.

⁵¹ Michael Haberlandt, *ZöV*, I, 1895.

Naturgeschichte wrote an introduction in the 1893 edition of a catalogue of South Sea artifacts from 1888, one of its earliest exhibition catalogues.⁵² He encapsulated the methodological rigor, “creaturely” empathy, ethical consciousness, and the wariness of German nationalism distinctive of Vienna’s liberal ethnography. The catalogue concerned a collection about which Alois Riegl was to address his 1890 essay, his first and perhaps most conventionally anthropological article.⁵³ Heger’s ambivalence was clear however concerning the effects of modernization, particularly of European imperialism. Ethnographers were selectively aware, or concerned, about the ethical dimensions of the terms of their collecting, caught up in the rush to record and collect (or plunder) the fragmentary relics and practices of vanishing peoples.

Like the snow before the sun, they [Naturvölker] melt away, without leaving behind any notable traces... Among the peoples without writing, their words are swept away by the wind, and with them also the thoughts; the languages die out, custom and practice pass away and there remains from some peoples nothing more than the dead object in our museums, that only too often then presents itself to the inquiring mind as a great question mark staring back.⁵⁴

Heger noted the process of destruction proceeding “with unimaginable vehemence” in the islands of the South Pacific. Heger compared the “destructive activity” in the South Pacific in the century since Captain Cook’s explorations to the *Schalten* (passage) of the Conquistadors of the 16th century in America. The ethnologist was confronted with

⁵² Otto Finsch, Franz Heger, and *Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum. Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee: beschreibender Katalog einer Sammlung im K.K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Wien* (A. Hölder, 1893). O. Finsch and Naturhistorisches Museum (Austria), *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee: Beschreibender Katalog einer Sammlung im k.k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Wien Erste Abtheilung*, (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1888).

⁵³ Riegl. *Neuseeländische Ornamentik*, *MAGV*, (1891) XVIII, 17-18.

⁵⁴ Heger, *Ibid.*

“*wüste Trümmerhaufen*,” desolate piles of rubble, stones without inscriptions, viewed without historical data or clues to the people who produced them. Dr. Otto Finsch (1839-1917) explored the least effected of these, the islands near New Guinea, which had until the early 1880’s been spared this great destruction. Finsch was thus, far from an empathetic, participant-observer, in the model of Boasian anthropology. Rather, he was an ambitious imperialist, whose acquisitions were saleable commodities, funding his travel, as of course Boas’s collections of artifacts from the Pacific Northwest Native Americans also did. Finsch explored the islands of Micronesia with the aid of the *Humboldt-Stiftung für Naturforschung und Reisen zu Berlin*, an acknowledgement by Heger of the liberal legacy of Humboldt and the foundation’s good works in “salvage anthropology” as Adolf Bastian, director of Berlin ethnology museum advocated, but accompanied by the presence of German warships.⁵⁵

Riegl and Krauss researched along the thresholds of uneven development in the Slavic East, documenting phenomena in that chronotope of the folkloric that became condensations of anti-modernist affect and nostalgia; these were symptomatic, Riegl suggested, of dwelling under the regime of *Kampf um Dasein*. Suffering, superstition, poverty and the barbarism of exploitation, violence and ignorance were the obverse of the fantasized, claustral unities of the pre-modern. Vienna of the 1880’s and 1890’s was the locus of the concentration and also the limits of the spread of Enlightenment and modernity. The trope of the distorted representation of ritual Kosher *Schachten* (slaughter) in the accusation of the Blood Libel: harvesting of human blood for Jewish

⁵⁵ In 1884 he returned to New Guinea as an Imperial Commissioner and subsequently spent two years as advisor to the *Neuguinea-Kompagnie*.

ritual, had the power to generate political momentum out of fear in an irrational, mythical space of false memory and synthetic and ideological historicizing.

In 1897 *Hofadvocat* Wilhelm Pappenheim represented the Jewish people of Rumburg against its *Stadtgemeinde* (municipal council) which had passed a law forbidding kosher *Schachten* (butchering) in the publicly slaughterhouse. The law was overturned and Pappenheim joined the case when the *Stadtgemeinde* appealed to a higher court.⁵⁶ Pappenheim was second vice president of the *Israelitische Allianz* while Krauss was its secretary, and the two traveled together to Russia in 1892 and 1897 to distribute aid to victims of pogroms.

In 1891 Riegl as curator of textiles of the Austrian Museum undertook a journey, which provided narrative material that he referred back to in his writings of subsequent years. The ethnographic journey as *Bildungsreise* (journey of edification, fieldwork) provides a linkage between Riegl and Krauss, with their observations beyond those of the travel writer. In 1884-85 Krauss the Croatian Jew undertook a 14-month journey with the sponsorship of the Ethnographic Commission to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Riegl traveled to the environs of his childhood, southeastern Galicia and Bucovina in search of authentic examples of textile *Volkskunst* and to collect examples for an exhibition in the capital Czernowitz. Riegl wrote of his conclusions at various points, notably in his 1894 essay *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, in which he argued that “pristine” modes of

⁵⁶ *Erkenntnisse des k.k. Verwaltungsgerichtshofes, Volume 21, Issue 2, 30 April 1897, no. 10666*
Vornahme ritueller Schlachtungen in dem städtische» Schlachthäuser in Rumburg.

Volkskunst, products of household production, had vanished centuries before and now lived the existence of the blue flower of the Romantic poets, vanishing as on waking from a dream.⁵⁷

Riegl, raised for part of his childhood in Galicia, along the Ukrainian border, was protected from much as the son of a highly placed bureaucrat. He went to school in Zablotov on the Ukrainian border and Kolomea, a town first linked by rail in 1869 to the Lvov-Jassy-Czernowicz railway line, the same year that the emancipation of the Jews in Galicia was declared. At that moment the Jewish population of the town slightly over 8000, was approximately fifty percent of the total population and continued at that level or above through the turn of the century.⁵⁸ His student Hans Tietze, an assimilated Jew who married another of his wealthy Jewish students, Erica Conrad, the first female art history Ph.D. in Vienna—Martin Buber was also his student—recounted Riegl’s assertion that but for the death of his father, necessitating the family’s return to Austria, Riegl could have become a Pole.⁵⁹ Margaret Olin has noted Riegl’s sympathy for Jewish scholars like his teacher Moritz Thaussing to vicious anti-Semitism from Germanic scholars.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ In 1873 Dr. Oscar Henigman became the first Jewish representative from the district of Kolomea to the Reichsrat in Vienna, a position to which Joseph S. Bloch, chief rabbi of Florisdorf, a suburb of Vienna was elected in 1883.

⁵⁹ This contrasts distinctly with the German identification of his hostile *Komilliton* (fellow student) and secessionist nemesis, Josef Strzygowski, known as the “Attila the Hun” of the art historians, who established a second art historical institute in Vienna, and whose hostility is the subject of Riegl’s article, much read in English, *Late Roman or Oriental*, in Schiff, Gert. *German Essays on Art History*, (New York: Continuum, 1988). Strzygowski grew up in humbler circumstances than had Riegl as son of a senior bureaucratic official and was heartily German identifying, denying that he spoke Polish.

⁶⁰Olin, Margaret. “The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria Wiener, Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte,” (1985) XXXVIII: 177-198.

Krauss's description of his childhood in Slavonia, in the eastern part of Croatia, revolved around the details of a frequently conflicted coexistence in multiethnic communities of the Slavic East.⁶¹ Unlike Jews or other migrants to Vienna, who sought to distance themselves from their place of origin, socially, spatially and culturally, Riegl and Krauss each returned for an ethnographic *Bildungsreise* to his cultural hearth, Krauss in 1884-85 and Riegl in the fall of 1891. In 1891 Riegl as curator of textiles of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, traveled to Galicia and Bucovina, to collect examples for inclusion in the collections of the museum and for an exhibition in the city of Czernowitz. References to the trip recur in his work of the next, with significant attention to the authentic products of textile *Volkskunst*. These rarely found their way into commercial circulation, only, as he suggested under conditions of extreme need and debt, where a Jewish trader might exploit the desperation of a farmer to sell historic pieces at a bargain price. Riegl appeared to be referring to the situation of farmers engaged in *Hausindustrie*, and then tied by debt for raw materials to a Factor or middleman who might be Jewish. In any case Riegl wrote here of the Jew as an economic figure but in a matter of fact way. Similarly he described his search for examples of *Textile Volkskunst* in Galicia under the “*scheelen Augen*,” the suspicious gaze of the Jewish traders of Tarnopol.⁶²

Riegl described an encounter with a farmer's wife who was unwilling to sell or lend any of her textile products, even with the security of a significant deposit. This was,

⁶¹Burt, 9-15.

⁶²Riegl. *Zur frage der Polenteppiche, Mittheilungen: Monatschrift für Kunstgewerbe*, (1891), 9: 225.

Riegl, explained an encounter with a golden age of pre-capitalist economy, a mode of production of which he said: “One would have to surround Bucovina with a Chinese wall, if one wanted to preserve that quality of noble simplicity [edeler Einfalt] in the Rumanian farmer’s wife.”⁶³

The section that follows evokes the recollections of Krauss as a child in multi-ethnic Slavonia with the intention of establishing the quality of his narrative and ethnographic voice. Riegl’s voice must be distilled from more fragmentary elements which he speaks or seems to speak in the first person. Friedrich Solomon Krauss was born in 1859, the son of a Jewish dry goods merchant in Purnazovica, a formerly Turkish town with a population of 2,800 near Požega.⁶⁴ Krauss grew up immersed in an environment still dominated by beliefs in folklore, magic and superstition in a multi-ethnic community of Slavs, Gypsies, Catholic and Orthodox Christians, Jews and Moslems, and in contact with rural populations of humble means. Though Krauss's ideals and later ethnographic and philanthropic activism were of harmony among races and ethnic groups, as a child he was frequently the victim of verbal insults, notably from his teacher. He was witness to much cruelty and harassment. Krauss referred to a Gypsy with whom he grew up, and his suffering: clever, but humble and quiet he died early from insults of poverty and harassment.⁶⁵

The qualities of Krauss's description of poverty and prejudice support the understanding of his ethnography growing out of his own capacity for *creaturely* empathy, as Eric Santner has described the capacity to imagine the suffering of the

⁶³ Reynolds, 69.

⁶⁴ Burt, 9-15

⁶⁵ Krauss. Am Urquell III, 1892, 111. Cited in Burt, 14.

other.⁶⁶ Krauss described himself as a loner, nicknamed Suleiman disparagingly by his cohorts, a play on his middle name Samuel, and an indicator of the prevailing grouping together of Jews and Muslim as Asiatic. A narrative of the adolescent sexual escapades of the other students provided the basis for his later ambivalent interest in the ethnography of sexual life. The students invited him to attend a gathering, which he did not attend, at the *Gasthof beim goldnen Lamm*, where they had engaged the services of a village girl Kata, the *Gasthofschlampen* (slattern). Krauss had encountered her previously as a combative customer in the family store and had driven her out with blows with a stick. In his absence from the party the hated teacher had taken his place in cavorting with Kata.⁶⁷ This event was the genesis of Krauss's intensive engagement with sexuality as a topic of interest and horror. Following the evening's sexual encounters, the teacher and a number of students contracted syphilis. The atmosphere in the classroom grew increasingly fetid with the atmosphere of untreated disease, with Krauss sitting alone at the front of the classroom as afflicted students moved to the back. Suicides, madness and institutionalization were the fate of many.⁶⁸ On another occasion

⁶⁶ Santner, Eric L., *On Creaturely Life: Rilke, Benjamin, Sebald*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

⁶⁷ Alfred Kind. "Friedrich S. Krauss: Bio-Bibliographisches," *Blätter für Bibliophile*, Berlin, 1908, 130f. Burt, 14-16.

⁶⁸ Another line of recent inquiry concerns Krauss's link to Freud. Krauss collected material on sexual folklore, particularly of the South Slavic lands, beginning in 1877 when he came to Vienna from Slavonia. As a student he wrote a translation of *Das Traumbuch* (Book of Dreams) by Artemidorus of Daldis, which Freud cited in the *Interpretation of Dreams*, noting the omission of the most sexual portions of the text by on the advice of Krauss's mentors. Beginning in 1905 Krauss published the journal of sexology *Anthropophyteia*, with the co-editorship and support of esteemed anthropologists and sexologists including Franz Boas, but within the severe constraints of censorship of that moment. Freud was a regular attendee of the Psychoanalytic Society beginning in 1910 and attracted particularly the acknowledgement of Wilhelm Stekel before his withdrawal in 1913. With the specialized publication experience (numbered copies for specialists, not distributed in bookstores) of the already-censored editor, Krauss published his translation in 1910, with a preface by Freud, of the scatological treatise of the American anthropologist John Gregory

Krauss accompanied a friend who had heard about a *Vrcara* (sorceress) who was a wondrous fortuneteller. They walked three hours to Zagragje, through Ferkljevi and Kadanovci, to arrive at a farmhouse consisting of two *Stuben* (rooms) separated by a cooking area. In one room the woman, an elderly widow lay on a tall bed in the close air with smoked hams and a huge side of bacon hanging from the roof beams. Embroidered textiles were displayed on rods, and three big bread baskets on a table held coins, offerings from her visitors, one *Kreuzer*, another of *Silbersechserln* and one with larger silver coins. The fortuneteller recognized him and knew him and his parents. She sent the other visitors out of the room to speak with him privately; she begged him not to reveal the secret of her deceptions, to speak well of him to his parents, and to understand her difficult circumstances, and that fortunetelling was her only source of support. Krauss agreed and told the others outside what wondrous abilities she had.

In 1877 Krauss left for Vienna, to study classical philology and history, with the snide prediction of his teacher that he would be back defeated in six weeks. He had limited means and depended during his student years on the generosity of several benefactors, including the influential Jewish attorney Max Neuda. From his first year he began to collect elements of erotic *Volkskunde*. Krauss later was dismissive of the

Bourke, whom he may have met in 1893 at the anthropological meetings at the Columbian exposition. Further close connections of Krauss to psychoanalysis are indicated in his position as secretary of the philanthropic entity *Israelitische Allianz*. In 1892 and 1897 he traveled with Wilhelm Pappenheim to Russia to distribute aid to victims of anti-Semitic violence. Pappenheim's sister Bertha was Anna O., the medical patient of Josef Breuer, the narration of whose treatment made her Freud's first case study of the psychoanalytic patient. Breuer was a significant supporter of the *Allianz* through 1915. Krauss established himself as a significant critic of political Zionism in 1893 in *Freies Blatt*, in advance of Herzl's *Judenstaat* (1894). The criticism by Krauss and Pappenheim of Herzl on the occasion of his talk to the *Allianz* in May 1900 was critical enough of Herzl. He saw it as threatening enough that he worked through channels of influence during the subsequent year to have Krauss removed from his professional position and to force reorganization of the board of the *Allianz*, including Pappenheim's removal from his position as second vice president.

diluted spirit of *Salonwissenschaft*, inclined rather to examine ethnographic phenomena as they really were: in their raw state, not sanitized and interpreted by some romanticizing *Weltumkrempler* (world-traveler) who represented them as picturesque or exotic.⁶⁹

Beyond his coursework in Greek and Latin philology, Krauss studied Sanskrit with Friedrich Müller and also worked with him on a translation of *Das Gemälde von Krebes* (1890) and in 1882 published a translation of Artemidoros of Daldis's *Symbolism of Dreams*, a translation later read by Sigmund Freud. At the age 28 Krauss knew twelve languages. The work still provoked prudish hostility when it appeared, though Krauss allowed himself to be swayed to leave out a chapter devoted to sexuality in dreams, a fact that Freud notes in a footnote in the original 1900 edition of his *Interpretation of Dreams*.⁷⁰ Though showing gratitude, and the dedication to him of an early work, to Müller, an obituary in 1897 that Krauss wrote in *Am-Urquell* was ambivalent. He praised the significance of Müller as his teacher for four years, during which time Krauss was his favorite pupil and for one semester as his only *Hörer* (attendee). Müller was the only faculty member with whom he maintained a relationship past the time of his studies, and he encouraged Krauss in his choice of career in *Volkskunde*. But a bitterness of Müller's spirit, attributed by Krauss to his 15-year suffering with intestinal cancer, and methodological conservatism led Krauss not to become his disciple but pushed him towards other luminaries, "A.H. Post, A. Bastian, the English and the Americans." Müller

⁶⁹ See Kind.

⁷⁰ The tight circles in which these events played out are further corroborated by the evidence of Freud seeking to have the *Interpretation of Dreams* reviewed in *Neue Freie Presse* and writing to Theodor Herzl in 1901, who referred him to his editorial colleague Max Neuda.

failed to recognize that his linguistic “Sprachwissenschaft” was inadequate, that his “*Systematik der Völkerkunde und Racenkunde*” did not constitute a sufficient method. Müller attacked Krauss harshly, though they not fight publicly, in the eminent publications three times in the eminent geographic journals *Ausland* and *Globus* in defense of his own methods.⁷¹

⁷¹ Friedrich S. Krauss, “Friedrich Müller [Obituary],” *Der Urquell*, 2, (1898) 189.

Chapter 4

Völkerpsychologie and the Plasticity of *Geist*

Heyman Steinthal (1823-1899) and Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903) and their *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie and Sprachwissenschaft*, published in twenty volumes from 1860-1890 were foundational for liberal ethnography in Austria and Germany in the 1880's as Jewish integration begins to lose steam.⁷² In his *Wissenschaft vom Volksgeiste* Lazarus argued against anti-Semitic notions of racial purity, and asserted the "cosmopolitan plasticity of Geist" and its relation to the "plenitude of universal humanity." In *Was Heisst National?* he suggested "When we speak of nationality, we only belong to one nation, the German nation... Judaism is German in the same sense that Christianity is German."⁷³ *Introductory Thoughts about Völkerpsychologie* (ethno-psychology) in the first issue of the journal in 1860 began with the reference to the construction of a building, a metaphor, which reflected the hopes of institutional formation that are the mark of that idealistic moment. The essay intended "to present the general purpose of the building that is to be constructed, at least the plan, the outline and the internal division and furnishing (*Einrichtung*), of course not to scale."⁷⁴ Lazarus reflected further on the project of *Völkerpsychologie* with a review and reprinting of an excerpt from the geographer and journalist Karl Andree's *Geographical Wanderings* of the previous year, which Lazarus called *Geography and Psychology*.⁷⁵ Lazarus suggested that

⁷² Penny, H. Glenn., and Matti Bunzl. *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology In the Age of Empire*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003, 77.

⁷³ Lazarus, Moritz. *Was heisst national?* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1860).

⁷⁴ Lazarus, Moritz. *Einführende Gedanken zur Völkerpsychologie, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*. (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler, 1860) 2.

⁷⁵ *Auf Anlass von Karl Andree, Geographische Wanderungen*, Dresden, s.n., 1859, reprinted as *Geographie*

The history of all knowledge demonstrates that the division of the work is both a sign and a requirement of progress. The linkage of divided research from different fields produces a relationship between them and intensification... [as] all the spokes of knowledge converge...⁷⁶

The Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* opened in 1886 with its artifacts displayed according to the regions where they originated, a strategy that within a few years proved problematic with the galleries chaotic as acquisitions had to be integrated into that schema. In 1885 the interior spaces of the Vienna museum were essentially completed, though Gottfried Semper's stunning allegories of knowledge spiraling upward were not yet painted in the stair hall. Riegl became a *Voluntär* (volunteer) at the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, rising to the rank of *Kustos-Adjunct* (adjunct conservator) with the bureaucratic rank of seven, and curating the textile collection. The commercial significance of the museums of art and industry or applied art, as *types*, had distinctly less historical emphasis in proportion to the depth of their engagement with fostering trade in consumer goods of antique or modern fabrication, for the bourgeoisie with available capital and serving national economy. Franz Boas, with the reputation that his work on his trips to Baffinland and the Pacific Northwest brought, held one of the first assistantships at the Berlin *Völkerkunde* museum in 1885-86 as he pursued his *Habilitation* in geography.

Shortly thereafter he moved permanently to the United States and assumed the role of geography editor of the journal *Science*, still published in Germany, and which he hoped to turn into a significant organ, on the way towards establishing a vigorous

und Psychologie, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, 1: 212-221.

⁷⁶Lazarus, Einführende Gedanken, 2.

ethnographic-geographic discipline in the US. In an article that produced a substantive exchange in the journal, Boas addressed real problems of collecting and exhibiting with his critique of Otis Mason's schema of organizing the Smithsonian.⁷⁷

The leading idea of Otis T. Mason's writings on ethnology is the attempt to classify human inventions and other ethnological phenomena in the light of biological specimens.

Therefore one should study each "ethnological specimen individually in its history and in its medium." Boas is compelling in his analysis

By regarding a single implement outside of its surroundings, outside of other inventions of the people to whom it belongs, and outside of other inventions of the people to whom it belongs, and outside of other phenomena affecting the that people and its productions, we cannot understand its meaning.

Boas praised the successful display of objects in the museum according to the comparative method, among objects "with close connection to each other...[the} 'moon-shaped Eskimo knives' or labrets (scrapers)" from Northwest America "has given us great pleasure"-- an appealing moment of Boas stepping out of the rhetoric of scholarly distance-- "and in fact provides useful information." According to Cole

The physical scientist, Boas wrote, was concerned with compiling similar facts in order to isolate a general principle common to them all. Single facts were unimportant; the stress was upon their accumulation to demonstrate a general law. To the historian, however, the facts themselves were interesting and important.

⁷⁷Boas, Franz. [review] *Masks, Labrets and Certain Aboriginal Customs*, William Heally Dall (1885) *Verhandlungen der gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 13 (1886), 380-381. Boas, *The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology*, 1886, Franz Boas, "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," *Science*, New Series, 4, no. 103 (December 18, 1896): 901-8.

Cole cited Boas's reference to Humboldt who

considered 'every phenomenon as worthy of being studied for its own sake' its mere existence entitling it to a full share of attention, no matter what its relationship might be to general laws.⁷⁸

A notable moment in the development of collaborative study of *Kulturwissenschaft* in Austria was announced in 1883 in the journal of the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien*. The *Akademie der Wissenschaften* and the *k.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmals* (CEED) provided financial backing for excavation in 1881 of seven pre-historic tumuli. The following summer a Commission was assembled, a delegation from the AGW that inspected excavated sites and initiated excavation of a further 81 tumuli. The support of the wealthy and ennobled Jewish coal-mining magnate Baron Wilhem Isak Gutmann stood out as Jewish among the other aristocratic contributors to the excavation fund.⁷⁹

Drawing on childhood collecting and material from colleagues, teachers and journals, Krauss completed in October 1882 the first volume of *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven* (Legends and Fairy Tales of the South-Slavs) published the following year and garnering critical acclaim, including the interest of Crown Prince Rudolf who quickly became his supporter. With the support of Friedrich Müller and Ferdinand von Hochstetter, Krauss approached Andrian-Werburg (1835-1914) the president of the AGW in May 1883 with a plan for support of systematic study of South Slavic folklore.

⁷⁸ Cole, Franz Boas.

⁷⁹ MAGW. (1884) XIV:1,17. Pusman, Karl. *Die "wissenschaften Vom Menschen" Auf Wiener Boden (1870 - 1959): Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft In Wien Und Die Anthropologischen Disziplinen Im Fokus Von Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Wissenschafts Und Verdrängungspolitik*. Wien: Lit Verlag, 2008.

Franz Heger, the director of the section for ethnography of the *Hofmuseum*, together with Müller, lobbied for creation of an ethnographic commission within the AGW. The proposal was debated and passed on February 12, 1884, following closely the date, December 23, 1883, when Rudolf completed his proposal for the encyclopedic KPW.⁸⁰ Krauss's expedition to the South Slavic lands, was intended to be the first of many expeditions concerned with the cultural exploration of the lands and *Völkerstämme* of Austria-Hungary. Since the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 there was growing interest in this new frontier of economic and political development. The AGW recognized the still intact and unexplored folkloric traditions, as well as sites of archaeological significance. Krauss designed a questionnaire with one thousand entries.⁸¹

The *Antrag zur Einsetzung einer ethnographischen Commission* (Application for Establishment of an Ethnographic Commission) like Lazarus's *Introductory Thoughts Concerning Ethno-Psychology*, texts like those of Riegl and Haberlandt in the *ZöV*, and Max Grunwald's introductory statement in the first issue of *Mitteilungen des Vereines für jüdische Volkskunde (MVjV)* in 1897 are rich sources, examples of a certain genre of foundational public statement.⁸² They were ambitious, self-conscious and anticipated a trajectory of increasing importance, formalization, financial support and prestige.

The composition of the Ethnographic Commission agreed on in the meeting 12 February 1884 included leading members of the AGW and personnel of the *Hofmuseum*,

⁸⁰ Rudolf, and Christiane Zintzen. *Die österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie In Wort Und Bild: Aus Dem "kronprinzenwerk" Von Erzherzog Rudolf*. Wien: Böhlau, 1999. p.10

⁸¹ Burt, 23. Krauss, Friedrich. *Fragebogen über die Ethnographie der Südslaven., Ausschussstizug am 12. Februar, 1884 M AGW XVI, 1884:1,18.*

⁸² Grunwald still lived in Hamburg, rabbi of the progressive Dammtor synagogue, but was soon engaged to the daughter of Joseph S. Bloch. He was doubtless impacted by the activism of Bloch.

and a variety of experts whose specialties indicated their contribution to a powerful base of knowledge and experience accumulated over the previous decades. Six held professorships at the university, all of them, with the exception of the Austrian historian Prof. Dr. K. J. Schröer, in fields related to Oriental studies. Four of these academics were philologists: the chair of the Commission, Friedrich H. Müller, an expert in Sanskrit, G. Bühler, a philologist of Indian and Aryan languages and expert in Jaina Sculpture; J. Karabaček, a Slavist and Oriental numismatist; David H. Müller, a Jewish scholar of Middle Eastern philology and antiquities, appointed as *Dekan* (dean) of the university in 1901; and Leo Reinisch, African and Oriental philologist and expert on the Bogo culture. Three were pre-historic archaeologists without doctorates, Ferdinand Freiherr von Andrian-Werburg, president of the AGW; Graf G. Wurmbrand; and Joseph Szombathy, later a curator of physical anthropology at the Hofmuseum. The vice-chair of the Commission Heger, was curator of ethnography at the Hofmuseum, and as editor of the *MAGW*, gatekeeper to the path of membership in the AGW for recipients of doctorates including Riegl, Krauss and his competitor for leadership in the field of ethnography, Michael Haberlandt. This was definitively a group of experts engaged with the geography, physical artifacts, and languages and literature of the East. Felix Philipp Kanitz, a native of Požega near which Krauss grew up was of particular interest as a geographer and archaeologist of the South Slavic lands.

As Kanitz surveyed territories, he made multiple transits across, to trace topography by connecting multiple points. In the 14-month exploration of western Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krauss followed the rivers along which population was concentrated. He traveled in Slavonia, the eastern region of Croatia of his childhood,

Dalmatia, and in other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, something over three thousand kilometers. He followed the tributary rivers on foot and horseback, multiple transits east to west and back, ascending and crossing the mountains and high plains, observing and fitting in, and looking for native informants, people who would talk with him, share information and direct him towards people renowned for their knowledge of oral tradition. The transcription, line by line, of 160,000 lines of epic poetry was an extraordinary achievement, and they were published gradually over subsequent years.⁸³

As much as possible Krauss went native, carrying little money making himself unobtrusive in the garments of a penniless vagabond and thereby avoiding the predations of bands of outlaws. He had at least one experience of finding refuge inside a house while bullets from bandits outside hit the walls and window frames.⁸⁴

The Jewish membership of the Commission, Krauss, Kanitz and David H. Müller, suggested the normalcy of the participation of Jews in scholarly in academic activities but presumably also an implicit statement of the qualifications of Jewish scholars to write objectively about culture. Müller was also notable in 1883, as being among the contributors to the *Israelitische Allianz*.

Similar *Fragebögen*, it was stated, were expected to be formulated for other *Völkerstämme* of Austria-Hungary together with *Instructionen für grössere Reisen*, instructions/plans/concepts for significant expeditions anticipated in the future.⁸⁵ The

⁸³ Krauss. *Aus Bosnia und der Hercegovina*, (Presented 2 October 1885) *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1885) XXIII, 87.

⁸⁴ Raymond L. Burt ; mit dem Beitrag von Michael Martischnig, Zum 50. Todestag von Friedrich Salomo Krauss: eine Nachlese.

⁸⁵ Fragebogen über die Ethnographie der Südslaven, note 20, Burt 23;

ambitions for further large-scale collaboration on ethnography of *Völkerstämme* and organized expeditions were not fulfilled. Following Krauss's presentations on his findings in 1885, there was no further mention of the Ethnographic Commission in the *AGW*. The formation of *VöV* in 1894-95 appeared as a successor of the intention of the Ethnographic Commission, to present a comprehensive and politically crucial image of the diversity and richness of tradition of the peoples of the Empire.

On his return Krauss from Bosnia-Hercegovina in summer 1885, he first presented an account of his work at the *Wanderversammlung der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* in Klagenfurt,⁸⁶ again in Philadelphia 2 October, 1885 at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and back in Vienna, November 10 at the *AGW*. His presentation began with a description of his route, by the listing of names of the rivers along which he walked, which for Austrian audiences with geographical knowledge might situate the journey. However, this also comes across as a lyrical, poetic convention of travel narratives, where the succession of place names opens the imagination to expanses of time and place. He traveled in Slavonia, the eastern region of Croatia of his childhood, Dalmatia, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, along the eastern frontier of Serbia, altogether something over three thousand kilometers. He followed the tributaries of the Bosna River: Bobovača, Lašva, Tešanka and Spreča; also the region of the Drina, which forms the boundary between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, the Drinača, the Vrba, Neretva, Rama and Cetina and the largest portion of the Bosnian Laveland; along the rivers among the denser population of farmers he found more expression of the *Volksgeist* than among

Ausschusssitzung am 12. Februar, 1884 M *AGW* XVI, 1884, 18.

Member of the Commission who was renowned as founder of India Studies in Great Britain.

⁸⁶ *Wanderversammlung der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Klagenfurt*, August 19- 25, 1885

the shepherds isolated in the highlands. He explored the highlands of Majevisa and Treskavica plain and from Livno over the high plateau of Malovan north to the outlets of the Kunar, the Otrosa and the Orahovica.

Krauss reported on the continuity of oral transmission of epic songs.

The remarkable fact remains, that one-and-a-half days of railroad travel from Vienna, a Slavic *Volkstamm* closely related to the German lives, by which illiterate individuals *im Volke* can recite (langmichtige) epics. In this stage of culture, I mean simply in terms of a folk epic, the Greeks found themselves approximately in the seventh century before Christ, the Germans to some extent still in the time of the first Carolingians.⁸⁷

Krauss established the trust of his informants, as he said in a later account, by dressing in the clothing of the *erbärmlicher Landstreicher* (wretched tramp), whereby he avoided raising suspicion. He encouraged his subjects them to recount their poems, and he wrote them down secretly. He had little money with him, staying in humble huts or sleeping out with his Guslar companion, Milovan Llija Crljic Martinovic Rgovljanin. As he reported, “So it happened, that I traveled around for fourteen months without having faced even a single time any misfortune worth mentioning.”⁸⁸ He described his ethnographic mode of total immersion, writing down songs, observing behaviors, recording and constantly asking questions.⁸⁹

Krauss’s efforts to gather these songs from Catholics and *Altgläubigen* (Eastern Orthodox Christians) failed.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1885. All translations of Krauss texts in this section are my own.

⁸⁸ Krauss. *Am Ur-Quell*, (1892) III: 111.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Burt. 27

And it was only after I had completely immersed myself in the *Lebensweise* (manner of living) of the Slavic Mohammedans, and the Mohammedan began to regard me as his equal, that opened up to me the sluiceways **der ergiebigsten epischen Volksdichtung (the richest epic folk poetry).**⁹⁰

In a letter to the president of the AGW, Ferdinand Freiherr von Andrian-Werburg, 26 December 1884 from Srebrnik he wrote

I would have written to you twenty times if I had not had to survive such severe physical hardships. I have sampled extensively the tortures of sleeping in drafty and foul-smelling farmhouses and am now somewhat acclimatized. The rich material in experience rewards me well for my exertions. My patron will be well pleased.⁹¹

In February 1885, he was traveling in the Banovina region of Srebrnik. High in the mountains where there are

...no roads and no post offices, Slavic *Volkstum* is wonderfully preserved. I was for the last ten days in *Spinnstuben* where I was with one of the most regarded Gusle players, who knows 50,000 lines of verse from the heroic sagas by heart. His old voice is wonderful. I will bring this man to Vienna and introduce him to society.

Krauss promised that other ethnographic elements would please his sponsors but begged that he not be forced into humiliating begging for funds. "It concerns only a triviality.

Through my work I can offer thousand-fold reward in exchange for the small expenditures of the state."⁹²

On 3 February 1885 he reached the village of Rocevic in the mountains near Kozluk and February 12 he was in Ljubvija.

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I wrote down the second song on 12 February 1885 in Ljubvija. I sat in the open under a tree at a table and wrote down songs. Around me were five or six people, for whom I had provided coffee and tobacco. A Serbian ferryman crossed over the Drina to us out of curiosity and inquired about what I was doing. I explained to him that I was collecting old [folkloric] traditions (*Überlieferungen*) to have them printed and so to prevent them from being forgotten. At which he bade me also to record a song from him, so that it would “come into the book.” In order to get rid of him, I granted his request. The people called him Pero Deregljas (Peter Boat-man). He was from the region of Loznica in Serbia.⁹³

Krauss recounted a particularly vivid set of events from 27 February 1885.

At 10:30, after having emerged early in the morning from the gorge of Srebenica and we rode through a clearing above a **Kammrücken** of the snow-covered Treskavic plain. Some 50 steps behind trotted my servant, the Guslar Milovan Ilija Crljic Martinovic.

Of his encounter in these majestic settings, he reported

All of a sudden Milovan called to me: ‘Wait, master, I want to ask you about something!’ — ‘Speak!’ — ‘The friar (he meant the monk in Saveland to whose parish he belonged) advised me not to wander with you, because you, he said, were a *Ketzer* (heretic).’ ‘You should have listened to him!’ I replied suddenly flaring up, ‘I did not bid you to allegiance. You joined me by your choice. You have enjoyed for months from me every benefit with nothing asked in return. Whoever is free has no servant! I will pay for your time spent, you go your way and leave me in peace!’⁹⁴

Krauss followed a trail of switchbacks down to the valley, out of the snow into a spring landscape by the Drinaca River, during the descent his anger also having melted away. “At a watermill, where an old Roman gravestone half served as threshold, I took lodging with the miller, a Moslem.” He described throwing off his Astrakhan hat, leggings and

⁹³*Ibid.*, 30.

⁹⁴Krauss. “*Guslarenlieder—Die Milchbrüder*,” *Am Ur-Quelle* (1898) II: 21-22.

shoes and waltzing around in the meadow with the two red-haired, blue-eyed lads of the miller to whom he tried to demonstrate somersaults and to stand on his head, and then was shown up by the older who did nine handsprings and ended standing on his head with his arms crossed across his chest. Krauss continued

Meanwhile people from the area had gathered, and told of heroes from olden times and dug deeply, in order to record their deeds for the *Schwaben* (German)...

All the listeners took in the song approvingly; then I had it repeated for the pen. Down to the last letter all waited and watched still as mice, and when I read back the song word for word, they were literally enchanted and toasted me. The miller would take no payment for the hospitality. The honor that I had passed the time with them was worth more than money.⁹⁵

In 1887 Krauss's application for habilitation was denied, and the subsequent year, the application for a lecturer position was also turned down, leaving him bitter, particularly at Zagić, and the university committees, which as a type of oppressive entity he subsequently ironized with the neologism *Chrowotische Tribunale* referring to an invented Slavic tribe. In 1889, in the aftermath of these conflicts and the loss of his patron with the suicide of Rudolf early in the year, Krauss withdrew from the AGW.

Krauss's connection to the United States has not been substantively discussed in the few works on Krauss and his travels there in 1885, 1888 and 1893 were far from the norm among Austrian or German ethnographers. The ethnographic travels of Krauss, the Croatian Jew, link him to Boas, and the much-discussed journey of the German Jewish art historian Aby Warburg in 1895, about which he wrote his essay about the

⁹⁵Ibid.

Snake Ritual among the Hopi.⁹⁶ In May 1893 Krauss was one of only twelve invited speakers who presented their work during the celebration of the sesquicentennial of the American Philosophical Society.⁹⁷ It is unclear what Krauss did during the intervening period until August and the anthropological meetings at the Columbian Exhibition. Known is the fact that he stayed in the US at least through the September 13-14 meeting in Montreal of the American Folk-lore Society,⁹⁸ where he was elected to honorary membership. It is tempting to imagine Krauss undertaking a journey to the American West on the model of Warburg, given his interest in Native American religion, indicated by extensive inclusion of American material in *Am Ur-Quell*. In 1890 Krauss published a translation of Colonel Garrick Mallery's *Israeliten und Indianer, Eine Ethnographische Parallel*, which had appeared in *Popular Science Monthly* in 1889.⁹⁹ A review by the perspicacious Max Bartels, who also reviewed works by Wilhelm Hein and Riegl, dispelled the fear "that this might be a thesis about the lost tribes of Israel."¹⁰⁰ Phillippe-Alain Michaud has asserted that Warburg read this essay before his American journey in 1895, either in English or in Krauss's German translation.¹⁰¹

Krauss was, as his description of his travel in Bosnia-Herzegovina a decade before suggested, like Boas in his willingness to go fearlessly into unknown and rugged places without the comforts of civilization. This, by the way, was not the same as Riegl the

⁹⁶ Michaud, Philippe-Alain. *Aby Warburg and the Image In Motion*. New York: Zone Books, 2004.

⁹⁷ *Ein Guslarenlied der slavischen Mohammedaner, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Commemoration of the One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Philosophical Society*, Jan 1894, Vol 32, 143, 1-161. Celebrations May 22-26, 1893.

⁹⁸ *Folk-lore was the term adopted from early 19th century British study of the vernacular.*

⁹⁹ Mallery, Garrick. 1891. *Israeliten und Indianer*. Leipzig: Th. Grieben's Verlag (L. Fernau).

¹⁰⁰ Bartels, Max. 1891. "Book Review: *Israeliten und Indianer. Eine ethnographische Parallele*. *Psychiatrische Untersuchungen*". *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*. 23: 248.

¹⁰¹ Michaud, Philippe-Alain. 2007. *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. New York: Zone Books.

traveler, whose formal and aristocratic appearance with monocle suggested a different degree of comfort with rustic conditions. From at least 1894 to 1931 Krauss and Boas were regular correspondents.¹⁰² The substantive fact of Boas regard for Krauss is attested to in his co-editorial involvement in Krauss's journal of sexual ethnography *Anthropophyteia* that began publication in 1905.

Details from the program of the International Congress of Anthropology at the Columbian Exposition held 28 August to 2 September 1893 suggest the degree of importance to be attached to Krauss's presence there, renewing his acquaintance with American scholars, and representing Austria.¹⁰³ The Congress showed 250 scholars from around the world registered and multiple panels. Ulrich Jahn presented on the ethnological collection in the German village erected on the Midway plaisance. The presidential address by Daniel G. Brinton "The 'Nation' as an Element in Anthropology" suggested the consistency with which issues of national identity were linked to the ethnological. Boas made two presentations *The Anthropology of the North American Indian* and *Classification of the Languages of the North Pacific Coast*. The presentations of the folklore section of the conference included treatments of myth, folktale and ritual that are very much along the same basic lines as Krauss' presentation, given in a supplementary panel with another German-language presentation, *Vilen als Heilkundige im Volksglauben der Südslaven*.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Friedrich S. Krauss Papers (Collection 996). Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Krauss to Boas, 21 letters and postcards, 1894-1931. Boas to Krauss 11 letters and postcards, 1904-31.

¹⁰³ International Congress of Anthropology, and C. Staniland Wake. 1894. *Memoirs of the International congress of anthropology*. Chicago: Schulte Pub. Co.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

For Riegl the *Hofmuseum* held extraordinary power, as the localized expression of the museum as a type, by the renowned designer of ideal plans, Gottfried Semper. In his theorizing Semper turned frequently to anthropology to explain type. His *Der Stil* was a foil for Riegl's criticism of the schematic, mechanistic thought of Semper's followers in Riegl's *Stilfragen (Problems of Style)*. Semper's critique of the Crystal Palace exhibition¹⁰⁵ had helped launch the applied arts museum as a type: as an institution of economic development, as a practical archive of high quality products of applied art, of service to the developing tradesmen, but catering also to the aristocratic tastes and capitalist budgets of those furnishing grand apartments. The mission of curatorship was not compromised, in theory, by the highly successful programs of 200 craft schools run around the empire, in support of a liberal policy of *Nationale Hausindustrie*. (national cottage industry)¹⁰⁶ Riegl drilled down, however the terms of socio-economic conditions in transitional modes of textile production, under the influence of an ill-conceived policy, that frequently taught non-native and invented patterns of ornament, de-skilling the practitioners of traditional craft.

In 1893-94 a substantial group of articles published by Krauss were regionally specific treatments of Jewish topics: *Zur Volkskunde der Juden Böhmens* (Concerning the Folklore of the Jews of Bohemia) by S. Schweinburg-Eibenschitz; *Judendeutsches Wiegenlied von Süd-Mähren* (Yiddish Lullaby of S. Moravia), Eduard Kulke; *Zum Volksglauben der Juden Galiziens* (Concerning the Folk-beliefs of the Jews of Galicia) by J. Robinson (Brody); M. Landau,

¹⁰⁵ Semper, Gottfried. *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst: Vorschläge zur Anregung nationalen Kunstgefühles. Bei dem Schlusse der Londoner Industrie-Ausstellung. London, den 11. October 1851.* (Braunschweig: s.n., 1852).

¹⁰⁶ Reynolds-Cordileone, Diana. *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905: An Institutional Biography.* Studies in Art Historiography. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.

(Vienna) *Rätsel galizischer Juden* (Riddles of Galician Jews) Isak Robinsohn, *Zur Ethnographie der ostgalizische Juden* (Concerning the Ethnography of East Galician Jews); and Wolf Schiffer published a serialized, substantive treatment *Zur Volkskunde palaestinischer Juden*, (Concerning the Folklore of Palestinian Jews).¹⁰⁷

The piece *Volkstümliche Heilkunde der Juden, gesammelt unter den in London sich aufhaltenden jüdische Auswandernden aus Russisch-Polen*, (Folklorish Medicine of the Jews, collected among the Jewish Emigrants from Russian-Poland Residing in London), by J Charap, is neither picturesque nor exotic, but rather an examination of the poverty and backwardness of new immigrants who had fled the rising tide of pogroms. These region-by-region accounts have the quality of the coverage of the philanthropy-oriented Krauss, similar to the annual reports or longer-term overviews of the umbrella *Alliance Israélite universelle*, or later of the American Joint Distribution Committee during the period of World War I. Isidore Loeb (1839–1892) held the position of secretary of the Alliance from 1869 until his death. In large part because of his labors the association became an important factor in the welfare of Eastern Jews.¹⁰⁸

In the first issue of the *ZöV* in 1895, the circumscribed manner of the presentation of Jewish reference addressed the careful intention to keep it unobtrusive: to be present in a weak concentration, and not to attract attention as Jewish narration or self-representation. A small notice on the *Purimspiel: Das Hamanfest in Limanova, Galicia* (Purim Play: the Festival of Haman) attended by Karl Wilhelm Hallama of Saybusch represented a

¹⁰⁷ *Am Ur-Quelle*, 1893-94, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* used diplomatic means among others using paragraph 46 of the Paris Convention declaring the principle of equal rights for Jews to bring about improved conditions for Jews in Serbia and Romania. Among his works, "*La Situation des Israélites en Turquie, en Serbie, et en Roumanie*" (1869) and "*Les Juifs de Russie*" (1891) were scholarly and descriptive conditions under which Jews lived in the East.

noteworthy but relatively common inversion typical of the carnivalesque with Christians playing as Jews. Hallama reported that on the previous *Fasching* (Carnival) Tuesday the small town of Limanova, three miles from Neu-Sandec “was the place of performance of an unusual celebration.”¹⁰⁹

The Haman or Purim festival, otherwise only practiced among the Jews (in commemoration of the death of Haman, a favorite of the legendary King Ahasverus [Xerxes], who wanted to persuade the latter to exterminate them, but himself by [the intervention of] Esther and Mordechai was sentenced to the gallows.

The holiday was celebrated there, the informant reported, among the Christian populations for whom it was a form of *Volksbelustigung* (popular entertainment). He reported that in the afternoon 30 to 50 young men of different craft classes gathered “masked in the Atlas-Kaftan and fur hats (costume of the Orthodox Jews), which clothing items themselves are loaned gladly by the Israelites living there.” A Haman figure fashioned from straw and dressed in old clothes was prepared and placed on a small handcart and the procession through the street commenced.

At certain places the group halts and dances around the cart accompanied by songs and performances that explain the significance of the holiday. The performers receive small donations. Following a procession of over an hour the group stops at a gallows, a wooden column that had stood on the Ringplatz for that purpose for many years; the eldest reads the *Anklageschrift* [accusation], and the death sentence is passed and then with song and jubilation of the crowd, Haman is hanged. Then the figure is removed, laid back on the cart, and then proceeds to the bridge of a river on the edge of town where the corpse of the *Stroh-Haman* is thrown into the water.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *ZöV, Kleine Mittheilungen*, 217-219. Hallama, a postmaster and member from his member of the Society of Austrian Numismatists, reported on attending on the Tuesday of *Fasching* (Carnival), February 6, 1895.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Also in the first volume of the *ZöV*, Demeter Dan, a priest from Luzan just north of Czernowitz, began a series of articles from that continued through 1901, as political repression of Jews in Bukovina was increasing. He wrote about the Jews of Bucovina, notably under the heading “*Was der Jude Glaubt*” (What a Jew Believes), snippets that he had “collected.” Dan was able to maintain some degree of authority as a priest, and not *too* close to the Jews. As a priest from "out there," a distal place of already-foreign identity, he spoke in an ingenuous, naive voice, about elementary understanding of the religious practices of Jews. Elements of regional specificity described variations of religious and non-religious Jewish practices in Bucovina. The enumeration of individual practices essentially in lists was, it appears, both deliberately simple for a general Austrian readership; but it also seems that his knowledge of Jewish practices was elementary, though it increased over time, as reflected in his articles over the next six years, in more systematic patterns and organized paragraphs.

Dan’s understanding of the Jews was limited and unsystematic, indicating an apparent ignorance, for example, of comparative knowledge of Jewish practices elsewhere. He appeared, for example unable to distinguish between the regional-- thus essentially folkloric practices in Bucovina-- and long-standing elements of widespread Jewish practice based in Hebraic texts. Dan was an outsider to Jewish observance, and therein lay his authority to write to a general audience of open-minded Austrians, distinctively *not* an expert of Jewish topics, which especially as a priest allowed him to write as *sympathetic* to the Jews and to convey in his narration the experience of the outsider encountering Jews and articulating elements of Jewish observance.

The executive committee members of the *Verein für österreichische Volkskunde*, ten, and ten more in the provinces were not Jewish, and as shown above in Figure 3. The business manager Sigismund Fessler was, however, as was the accountant Julius Botstiber. Fessler was related by marriage to several prominent, ennobled Jewish families who constitute a plurality among the small group of donors to the *Verein*, but whose names are not duplicated in the list of members, which reads as a “Who’s Who” of Viennese and Austrian cultural and economic elite.

David Heinrich Müller served on the Ethnographic Commission with Krauss from 1884-87, and in 1897 he worked on the publication of facsimile edition of the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, together with Julius von Schlosser and the eminent scholar of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, David Kauffmann. This collaborative undertaking cannot be understood as anything but a carefully calculated project intended to bring a positive example of Jewish art to public view. In the same year the museum for Jewish art was established in Vienna, which also funded publication of the *Mitteilungen of the Verein für jüdische Volkskunde*. These three instances, *Haggadah* publication, establishment of the museum and establishment of Verein für jüdische Volksunde were touted in 1901 in a speech by Martin Buber at the fifth Zionist Congress in Basle as evidence of a significant revival of Jewish culture.¹¹¹

In 1896-97 when Rabbi Max Grunwald sought support for a *Verein für jüdische Volkskunde*, Krauss was critical of this attempt to hypostatize a separate and distinguishable tradition of Jewish *Volkskunde*. Krauss perceived the specificity of the undertaking as contrary to founding of a universal *Wissenschaft von Menschen* (Science

¹¹¹ See Olin, Margaret Rose. *The Nation Without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art*. U of Nebraska Press, 2001.

of Mankind), rather than one aimed at nationality or religious specificity, and saw the entity as a return to isolation of the medieval ghetto.¹¹²

In a folkloric sense, the Jews are identical to the peoples in whose midst they exist and distinguish themselves only through their social exceptionalism and through their observance of certain textually transmitted religious prescriptions, that are drilled into them through compulsory schooling.¹¹³

“*Erwäge stets*” (consider always) Krauss cautioned, that

...humanity is of unitary origin. Its path of development was overall in its essence the same from the beginning on; it moves in different geographic areas in though formally varied, substantively however [following the same paths and stages of development] in all *Völker* (peoples)... presuming they had reached the same stage of development, [they] are of great similarity.

Krauss was enthusiastic in his observations concerning the founding in 1891 of the German *Verein für Volkskunde*, and was encouraging when writing to Karl Weinhold concerning its *Aufruf* (call for membership), cautionary, however, that it

...should not concern only the German *Volkstum*, not just the German people but all Germanic peoples: Romanians, Slavs, Finns, but all groups that rise to the level of people.¹¹⁴

Krauss was critical of the premise of Grunwald’s *VjV*, which should advocate “not study that is Jewish, Christian, not Muslim, not Buddhist, not German, not Slovakian, not English, not Chinese, but *eine Wissenschaft vom Menschen* (a science of mankind).” It would be impossible, Krauss suggested, “to separate out the ethnic background of the

¹¹²Jacobeit, Lixfeld, and Bockhorn, *Völkische Wissenschaft*, 284-285.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Friedrich S. Krauss, Eine Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. In: Am Ur-Quell. Monatschrift für Volkskunde 2, Heft 2, 1891, 33-34.

Jewish residents of Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Arabia, Persia, India, China, Abyssinia, or Central and North Africa.”¹¹⁵ Therefore they are founding a kind of “folkloristic ghetto.”¹¹⁶ The Jewish *Volksgeist* was, according to Krauss, a *Fata morgana*.

In a folkloric sense, the Jews are identical to the peoples in whose midst they exist, and distinguish themselves only through their social exceptionalism and through their observance of certain textually transmitted religious prescriptions that are drilled into them through compulsory schooling.¹¹⁷

Krauss asked in 1893

Where however in the world is there today a Jewish people? It would only be in the fantasy of the Zionists, who “als umgestülpte Antisemitisten (inverted anti-Semites), who in search of the essence of Jewishness deny its exclusively religious-social significance.”¹¹⁸

Krauss went further in his critique of weak method picking on the phrase “The Jews are linguistic chameleons,” of the philologist Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), Grunwald’s epigram in the first issue of his journal *ZjV*. Krauss pointed to the foolishness of describing Jews as “linguistic amphibians.” Rather than trying to determine if “the Jews are part of the *Labyrinthodont* Family of the Triassic era or the *Gymnophiona* (*Blindwühler*) or *Urodela* (*Schwanzlurchen*) oder *Anura* (*Flusslurchen*) of the present.” For Krauss, the issue was simple: “Jews speak German among the Germans, not German among other peoples”. For Krauss, it was clear that this manner of Jewish folkloristic search “where ostensibly every element of a culture of its own

¹¹⁵ Krauss, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Volkskunde. In: Am Ur-Quell. Monatschrift für Volkskunde N.F. 1, 1897, p. 284-85.

¹¹⁶ Am Ur-Quell, ann. 2, (1898) 98.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 187-88.

¹¹⁸ Friedrich S. Krauss, Freies Blatt, 1893.

(*eigenkulturelle*) was absent, was chasing an *Irrlicht* (phantom).”¹¹⁹

In his 1893 *Böhmische Korallen: Folkloristische Börseberichte von Götter- und Mythenmarkte* (Bohemian Corals [cheap brass beads]: Folkloristic Stockmarket Reports from the Gods- and Myth-Markets) Krauss was at his sarcastically bitter best as he persiflaged with vicious neologisms, the fraudulent “*Volkkunde*” practiced by those “*Antsemistlinge*” whose “geistige Pestilenz... grassiert” (mental pestilence was rife). Krauss pointed to one philologist of South Slavic dialects

Who was accustomed to make every casual stranger from an out-of-the-way district stand and deliver whatever he had in the way of obscure words or phrases. On one occasion he got a hold of the doctor's servant and, according to his usual method, set him down before a bottle of wine, reinforced by fifty *Kreutzer*¹²⁰ and called upon him for "uncommon words." The rascal, as the informant admitted himself to be later, boasted and "invented such words as were never heard." When the doctor visited the professor later he found him "in ecstasies over having obtained sixteen new words in a single hour."¹²¹

One cannot, Krauss said, accept the informant's information uncritically: "the collector should be distrustful." "Police-like questioning," said Krauss, produced very seldom the desired results. "One should sound out the people, not interrogate them." In his travels in the South, he was viewed as a "*Kundschafter*" (scout a kind of spy, "but no one understands what he was spying out." Not the questioned but the questioner has to know what he is doing and should not

¹¹⁹ Richard Andree. *Zur Volkskunde der Juden*, Leipzig, 1881. Grunwald suggested that it be used with caution.

¹²⁰ Krauss, Friedrich S. *Böhmische Korallen Aus Der Götterwelt: Folkloristische Börseberichte Vom Götter- Und Mythenmarkte*. Wien: Gebrüder Rubinstein, 1893.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

be led around by the nose, otherwise he does not deserve the honorable title of the observer.¹²²

Krauss the ethnographer sat with people and repeated their songs back to them as he transcribed them. These complex possibilities of being inside and outside multiple spheres of identification are apparent in relation to the Sefardic Jews, who were, he reported "without exception helpful and welcoming because despite his German name, they thought he was a real Slav, one of their own."¹²³

Riegl and Krauss recorded and sought to guide the understanding of tradition at the moment that it flashed briefly onto screens of visibility. Railroads made accessible regions to ethnographers, for salvage and documentation of fragile cultural eco-systems, just before the phenomena of interest were destroyed. The ethics of Austrian *Volkskunde* were of great interest to Riegl. His *Volkskunst* essay from 1894 critiqued the bad quasi-governmental policy of *nationale Hausindustrie*. Authentic handicraft production could not be preserved, he recognized, except by constructing a huge Chinese wall around intact cultural eco-topes. Riegl described the activity of the natural historian, who pulls up the Blue Flower of the Romantic poetry to examine its roots.

The project has been significantly impacted by reading Walter Benjamin who was a careful reader of Riegl. Benjamin, except for brief reference to his fragments *Volkskunst* and *Traumkitsch*, is left out of the discussion which really is about the historical circumstances in Vienna 1883-1895. Riegl's landscape of Viennese modernity under crisis from the right rehearses, however, Benjamin's subsequent theorizing from the edge

¹²² Burt 25, Krauss, Friedrich S. *Haarschurgodschaft bei den Südslaven*. (Leiden: s.n., 1894) 37.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

of the abyss. The dimensions of reading forward from Riegl towards Benjamin and backwards from Benjamin become quickly dizzying, though the benefits of these readings elucidates each.

Riegl considered the attraction of the folkloric to the contemporary subject, battered in *Kampf um Dasein*, willing to meander into nostalgic and then melancholic fantasizing about claustral identities. This is the trajectory of one of Riegl's last essays of 1905 shortly before his death, *Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege* (New Currents in Monuments Preservation), in which he described the malleability of modern subjectivity and the affective power of age value for those suffering under the “*untilgbares Leid*” (inconsolable pain) of modernity. Writing in 1894 in the *Volkskunst* essay he conveyed the insights of the curator of textiles, and representative of the Austrian Museum's *Nationale Hausindustrie* (national cottage industry) policy. He recognized the production of simulacral forms and the affective power of objects with real or counterfeit age value, and a pervasive inability to make distinctions. He considered the *Aestheticization of the Economic*, a tweaking of Benjamin's formulation of the *aestheticization of politics* under National Socialism and of the *(Volks)kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (The (Folk) Artwork in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility).

In a 1905 speech on the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II Georg Dehio refuted the careful articulation of differing values, corresponding to the pathways of significance and

of affect of a *Denkmal* (monument) that Riegl's *Monuments* essay laid out.¹²⁴ In light of Riegl's extensive engagement with *das Volksmässige*, (the folk-like), and with applied art, he also expanded the category of the monument to include any artifact with historical signifying power, including as he said, a scrap of paper. All of that careful modulation in service of the curatorship of the *Penates* of the Austrian civic nation was explicitly attacked by Dehio's essay which argued

We conserve a monument not because it is beautiful, but because it constitutes a piece of our national existence (*Dasein*). Preserving a monument is not to pursue *Genuss* (enjoyment), but rather to practice piety. Aesthetic and even art historical judgments shift; here [that is in the piece of national existence] rests an unchangeable *Wertkennzeichen* (indicator/signifier of value).¹²⁵

Riegl criticized Dehio's nationalist practice of the *Totenkult*, obeisance to the monuments of patriotic sacrifice, the sites of totally immersive fetishistic practices and pathologies.¹²⁶ Riegl's title for the essay, whose central premises of unpoliticized monuments policy Dehio undermined, *Modern Cult of Monuments*, was based in an implicit mourning play, which became explicit in 1905. The affect for the monument was redirected by Dehio, turned away from "historic and artistic interest, as one defined it before..." Neither was the monument's power, for Dehio, in "egoistsches Lustgefühl," (egoistic sense of pleasure)

... produced by the form and color of the monument, or even the *verständesmäßige*

¹²⁴ Riegl, Alois. *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? : Alois Riegls Schriften Zur Denkmalpflege; Alois Riegls Schriften Zur Denkmalpflege*. Wien: Böhlau, 1995.

¹²⁵ Dehio, Georg. *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser Wilhelms Universität am 27 Januar 1905 von Dr. Georg Gottfried Dehio, o. Prof. der Kunstgeschichte*. Strassburg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1905

Befriedigung (rational gratification) from the associations produced in the historical, that is art historical ideas are sufficient to explain the often *schwärmerische Begeisterung* (fanatical enthusiasm) of modern people ... an attraction that doesn't fit the aesthetic and scientific pattern of art and historical value; the compelling motive of the Cult of Monuments rests in altruistic feelings, piety, that is self-sacrifice of certain contradictory egoistic strivings as inner duty imposes.¹²⁷

Dehio's stewardship of monuments performed a sleight of hand, an inversion as the artifact was declared "a piece of national existence." Dehio, Riegl said, was "*unter Bannes der Anschauung*" (under the spell of perception) of the 19th century which "searched for the meaning of the monument essentially in the historical moment," above all as an intentional monument.¹²⁸

Riegl continued, referring to the "loss" of the Jamnitz Cup, which escaped German patrimony, and was acquired on the open market by French Jews, bought into exile in the Louvre; the German Jews had not stepped up to deploy their wealth patriotically, in service of national honor. Dehio bemoaned the reality that "A German has to look for that monument of German artistic creation in Paris." Riegl perceived the same tendency of pride in "national monuments," erected to the glory of the French nation. Riegl returned to the constitutive moment of the individual in the presence of the art object, in the "momentary experience," pausing in front of a monument, "*Geschwelgt*" (reveling), "without awareness at that moment of its national origin; and not feeling less because of its foreignness, say, Italian."

Riegl evoked a quintessential encounter of the monument with modernity; he mentioned a recent report, that construction of a railroad bridge threatened old houses in

¹²⁷ Riegl, *Neue Strömungen*, 87. See Riegl, Alois. *Kunstwerk Oder Denkmal? : Alois Riegls Schriften Zur Denkmalpflege; Alois Riegls Schriften Zur Denkmalpflege*. Wien: Böhlau, 1995.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

the village of Weissenkirchen, which caused pain to *Denkmalfreunde* (friends of monuments).¹²⁹

“What would be lost with these houses,” Riegl asked. The experience of their proximity produced “*tröstlichen Erwägungen*” (comforting dimensions). Various imperfections of the building were overlooked, that

Certain dimensions are too narrow or too high, upper stories protruding irregularly on rough arches, awkward columns, crooked outside staircases that would be intolerable from an artistic point of view in a new building; in the art historical sense, there are elsewhere countless significantly more valuable alternative examples

Riegl considered these traces, “from Richard the Lion-hearted to Napoleon” and their historical presence there. “These historical associations,” Riegl said “are not present in these houses,” leading him to ask

What is the element whose threatened loss, despite all rational argument, creates the sense of *untilgbares Leid* (inconsolable pain). It cannot be anything beyond simply the old, in and of itself the *Nichtmoderne* (not-modern), the witness of the creation of an earlier human generation, whose descendent we ourselves are. As our ancestors at the same time are an extension of our own existence backwards, and perceived in this light they create interest for us such that for their preservation we offer sacrifice in modern, *zeitlichen Gütern* (temporal goods).¹³⁰

Riegl articulated the manner of empathy formation and collective affective attachment “In the sense that they were built by German-Austrians and we feel ourselves as German-Austrians” in the presence of *die Wiege*, the cradle of Austrian-Germanness.¹³¹

For Riegl 1905 in the year he died of cancer, the setbacks that liberalism had already suffered did not bode well. His essay *Neue Strömungen* applied a Nietzschean critique of

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 87-90.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 88-89.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 88-90.

Ruhmsucht (thirst for glory, perhaps even will to power) masked as piety, to the rhetoric of Georg Dehio's patriotic speech. At a larger scale Riegl's critique addressed a larger scale of the politicization of culture as the patriotism of antiquarian piety, *unter Bannes* (under the spell) of the 19th century masked German national *Ruhmsucht*, expressed, for example in the campaign for the Leipzig *Völkerschlachtdenkmal*, the monument to the battle of the nations commemorating Napoleon's defeat, supported by mass subscription for dedication in 1913.¹³² The manipulation of basic structures of subject-object relations was distressing for Riegl, for whom the mode of cognitive engagement with the object-- and its historic, artistic and age value-- should be beyond the narrow perspective of national citizenship.

¹³²Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann, eds., *Der Politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in Der Moderne*, Bild Und Text (München: Fink, 1994).

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