

PROLOGUE: **The Viennese Cuisine before Hitler — ‘One Cuisine in the Use of Two Nations’**

Susanne Belovari (©2020), Sophie Coe Prize 2020

In spring 1997, in a small university town in the American Midwest, I accepted a job cleaning the house of a psychologist and a professor of classics to earn money to pay for my dissertation copies. As it happened, the family was Orthodox Jewish of Austro-Hungarian and Eastern European background. Because we got along well, eventually we became friends, and because I was quick in learning the requisite kosher rules, they also had me clean and cook for orthodox Pesach (Passover), the most restricted kosher cooking there is. When they asked me, however, to bake some of their typical Pesach desserts, I balked at it. I had grown up in Vienna from the 1960s to 1980s eating very traditional Viennese cuisine and its desserts made by my mother, who had been an excellent cook. My mother's mother had run her own small Viennese coffeehouse until 1920 and so renowned were her apple strudels and other desserts that my much older cousin would bike even from Graz to Vienna in the 1950s to get a piece. My other grandmother had been a pastry chef for an aristocratic family in Graz until the end of World War I. In this kind of family, the recipes handed to me for Pesach desserts were not palatable.

*Instead, I leafed through my Viennese grandmother's handwritten cookbook and my copy of *Die Wiener Küche* by Olga and Adolf Hess from ca. 1929 and I baked what were our quintessential family Christmas cookies, *Haselnußbusslerln* and a Viennese *Veilchentorte* (like the hazelnut cake you will read about below) among others. None of these dishes needed leavening, flour, or fermentable ingredients which are all prohibited during Pesach, and while Pesach guests were delighted and wanted the recipes, I was left with a puzzle: how was it possible that many of my grandmother's recipes, menu plans, and those of the archetypical Hess cookbook were applicable to even the strictest Jewish culinary rules without needing any adjustments for kosher cooking? And my next thought was an unsubstantiated leap: was our famous historical Viennese Cuisine perhaps a shared culinary product, practice, and legacy of Viennese Jews and non-Jews alike?*

Trying to search for answers led me along paths of archival and historical research as part of which I met many Viennese Holocaust survivors, formed close friendships with them, and learnt from their stories. The context within which I situate my culinary history is deeply influenced by my interdisciplinary background and my work as a former Holocaust restitution historian and archivist for the Jewish Community of Vienna, Austria (IKG), where I rebuilt the historical IKG archives the National Socialists had closed down. If this culinary research helps to unearth, acknowledge, and honor the contributions of Viennese Jews to our Viennese Cuisine; if it helps us see the complexities involved in everyday culture and its most simple of acts; if it helps us understand that a genocide kills and maims people and cultures; if it helps us to remember and honor the Viennese Jews I met along the way as well as the amazing grandparents on both sides of my family who held on to the humanity of their neighbors, friends, and their own in troubling and dangerous times, then this research served its purpose.

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In 1938 Alice Urbach’s publisher forced her to rescind her rights to her renowned cookbook “*So kocht man in Wien!*” [*How One Cooks in Vienna*, first published 1935]. In fall 1938 it was republished under the name of Rudolf Rösch, who accumulated accolades and royalties through seven editions until the 1960s.¹ “... yet my Jewish hands in the photographs stayed in the cookbook,” Urbach commented ironically after the war (Figure 1). In the 1950s her restitution claim for the cookbook was rejected. The attempt to aryanize a famous and (largely) intangible Viennese culinary culture failed. National Socialists (NS) may have erased Urbach’s name as a very visible Jewish representative of this cuisine, but her recipes and her hands continued to shape it for the next 30 years. Moreover, Urbach was literally just the tip of the iceberg. Over the preceding 150 years the Viennese Cuisine had become a collective creation, product, and legacy of Viennese Jews and Non-Jews alike.² Sources draw a complex and persuasive picture of Jewish culinary involvements and the collective Christian and Jewish efforts and daily encounters involved in the making of the Viennese Cuisine from the late 18th century until 1938. Individual contributions played a major role as did respective culinary influences against the backdrop of early Jewish emancipation, a largely secular Jewish population, and Anti-Semitism.³ After 1938, systematic NS persecution of Jews culminated in the Holocaust and helped erase all knowledge about the common cuisine.⁴

The Viennese Cuisine (*Wiener Küche*) has long been a source of proud identification for the Viennese. The fragrance of *Vanillekipferl*, the *Faschingskrapfen*, the *Gugelhupf*, the *Strudels*, roasted duck or carp for Christmas, hearty soups and beef dishes, *Polsterzipf*, *Krautfleckerln*, and *Striezel*—all these and in particular ‘*Mehlspeisen*’ made up the quintessential *Wiener Küche* prior to 1938.⁵ As practice and cultural reference, it had developed over the preceding 150 years. Around 1880 it became an integral part of Viennese culture and identity.⁶ By 1900, it was the only city-based cuisine known internationally.⁷ It left

¹ Alice Urbach, *So kocht man in Wien! Ein Koch- u. Haushaltungsb. d. gut bürgerl. Küche* (Wien: Zentralges. f. buchgewerbl. u. graph. Betriebe, spring 1938, 3rd edition; German publisher Ernst Reinhardt, Munich). I noticed that Urbach’s cookbook was published under Rösch in fall 1938 and suspected him to have ‘stolen’ it with the agreement of the publisher. Having located and told Urbach’s descendants about my findings, they informed me of Alice’s failed restitution case. Contrary to Rösch’s claim of being a famous Viennese cook, I did not find him in city directories and newspapers. A Rösch spoke on Munich cooking radio shows aired in Vienna in the 1930s (*Radio Wien*, “München. 6:45. Rudolf Rösch: Ratschläge für die Zubereitung von Saucen,” March 3, 1933: 48, and “München. 6:30. Hausfrauenstunde; Eßt mehr rote Rüben, Vorschläge von Rudolf Rösch,” November 22, 1935: 35). Rösch began publishing cookbooks during WWII: *Die fleischlose Kost. Bewährte Rezepte für die fleischlose Küche* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1939) and *Hausfrauen, jetzt verwendet, was die Scholle spendet!* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1940).

² For ethnic influences from across the empire see Katharina Prato Scheiger, *Die süddeutsche Küche* (Graz: Styria, 1903): V. Early international influences include Italian candied fruits and spices (1300s), Dutch confectioners settling in Vienna (1600s), French cuisine (1800s), enclosed kitchen stoves, Dutch refinements to cocoa powder, tomatoes, and potatoes; Darra Goldstein, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets*: entry for Van Houten, Coenraad Johannes, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 762-763; Ingrid Haslinger, “Die Wiener Mehlspeisküche,” In *Heut musz der Tisch sich völlig biegen: Wiener Küche und ihre Kochbücher*, eds. Julia Danielczyk and Isabella Wasner-Peter, 49-57 (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2007).

³ A person is (considered) Viennese who lived in Vienna for a significant portion of his or her adult life - against the backdrop of massive im/migration before WWI (about 56% of Viennese were im/migrants) and 16 official languages.

⁴ 65,000 of approximately 185,000 Viennese Jews (1938) were killed; IKG [Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Vienna], *History of IKG Vienna*, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.ikg-wien.at/history-of-the-viennese-jewish-community/?lang=en>. After 1945 a few thousand Jews, many from other nations, moved permanently to Vienna.

⁵ In Vienna and Austria, *Mehlspeisen* are an array of primarily sweet dishes largely made with flour (or other starches). Partially *Mehlspeisen* were a consequence of (1) almost 150 Catholic fasting days/year (butter, eggs, and milk permitted since the 1500s) during which inns had to offer fasting dishes; (2) a relatively short growing season, thus limited produce; and (3) a population so poor that, at best, it could afford meat once a year.

⁶ Vienna grew from ca. 50,000 inhabitants in 1750 (inside/outside city walls) to 426,000 in the 1850s and 2,000,000 by 1914 (*Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien für das Jahr 1913*: 44).

⁷ Danielczyk and Wasner-Peter, 2007: 7.

lasting traces in the arts,⁸ publications,⁹ as well as in legal and family disputes.¹⁰ The Viennese Cuisine was a kind of prism through which the Viennese, who took food quite seriously, understood their world before 1938. It defined us Viennese in ways that no other art (as it was then described) could.¹¹ Through production, selling, buying and cooking, the last three done largely by women, its daily tasks created morsels and memories of smells, tastes, rituals, childhood and comforts, which we inhaled and swallowed.

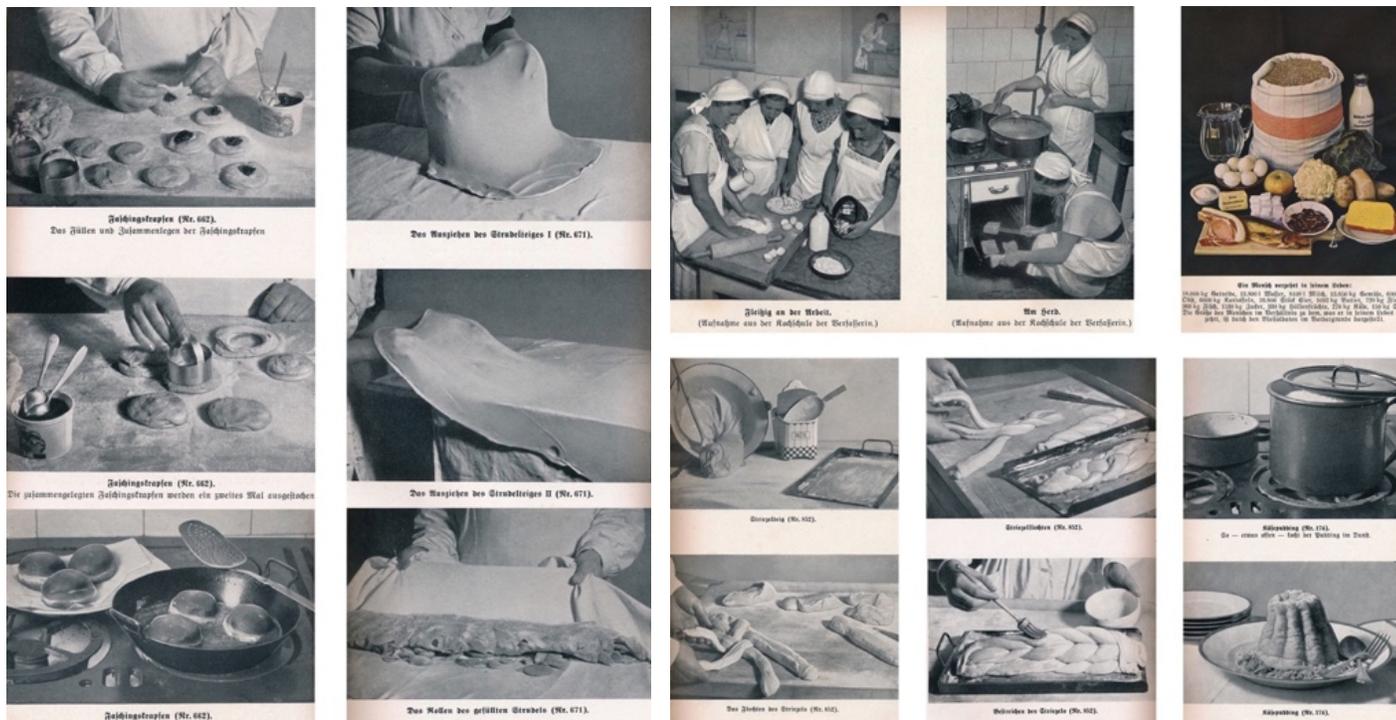


Figure 1: Urbach, *So kocht man in Wien!* (1938): Krapfen, Strudel, cooking school, Striezel, puddings (i.e. kochs), and her hands!

Starting around 1750 cookbooks helped shape and define this distinct city cuisine, and the *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* (circa 1760) was possibly the first to include the name “Viennese” in its title.¹² As women began to take over publishing Viennese cookbooks in the 1800s, the audience changed from aristocratic families to typically bourgeois housewives. For the first time in history, their aspirations to imitate aristocratic lifestyles, combined with developments in papermaking, printing, publishing, and increasing literacy (compulsory education for boys and girls was introduced in 1774) created a large and socio-economically diverse market for cookbooks. Even less wealthy women routinely swapped and copied recipes from each other, from newspapers, and famous cookbooks.¹³ As a result, the reach and significance

⁸ E.g. Johann Strauss II dedicated the *Viennese Punch Songs* to Moritz Saphir (see below). Because Strauss’s grandfather was a converted Jew, the NS forged church records to delete his Jewish ancestry.

⁹ Advertisements and stories about iconic Viennese dishes proliferated in contemporary newspapers. Aimed at elite, liberal bourgeoisie, working class, or even anti-Semitic readers, *Faschingskrapfen* were promoted for carnival, *Vanillekipferl* for Christmas, or *Gugelhupf* for a Sunday treat among many others. Here is a small sample: *Die Bombe*, “Aus der Weisheit des Brahmanen,” September 8, 1910: 3; Otto Hofbauer, “Krapfen von der Hausfrau,” *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung* 23, March 5, 1911, no. 23: 572; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, “Liebe und Gugelhupf (movie),” July 25, 1915: 12; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, “Die Poesie der Küche,” July 26, 1917: 6; *Neue Freie Presse*, “Das Märchen vom Fasching,” January 6, 1918: 8.

¹⁰ *Grazer Mittags-Zeitung*, “Das alte Kochbuch und die neue Preistreiberi-Verordnungen,” January 11, 1918: 3, with Olga Hess as expert witness; *Wiener Mittagsausgabe*, “Ein Prozess durch drei Instanzen,” December 10, 1938: 3-4.

¹¹ *Neue Freie Presse* “Die Wiener Koch-Kunstaussstellung,” January 6, 1884: 5.

¹² Authorship/editions are uncertain for Ignaz Gartler and Barbara Hickmann’s, *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch*; first editions listed for various years (1740 most citations). In 1768 ‘*Wienerisches*’ was added to a German edition (Bamberg) without indicating Gartler as author; later editions (1793) also list Hickmann. I found no historical records on Gartler or Hickmann.

¹³ It has taken twenty years to find traditional and non-traditional culinary source materials and trace this forgotten history. Culinary records are rather rare before cookbooks became widespread in the 1800s. Recipes are typically not authored; lists of

even of expensive Viennese cookbooks expanded dramatically as surviving recipe collections and newspaper archives document.¹⁴

“... ONE CUISINE À L’USAGE DE DEUX NATIONS” (SAPHIR 1852)

At the same time the city's Jewish community became one of Europe's largest, most successful, and secular. It grew from 1,200 (0.5%) in 1800 to 176,000 (10% of Vienna's population) in 1934;¹⁵ Protestants comprised about 6% in this otherwise Catholic city. And Jews and Christians —be they religious, secular, or converted—contributed to the collective Viennese cuisine.¹⁶ They worked as cooks or taught cooking, wrote cookbooks, produced, sold, and consumed its food. Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795-1858), a journalist and author who had denounced Judaism, already recognized the interwoven nature of Viennese cookery, and his is the only historical baseline we have for knowing about traditional Viennese Jewish dishes and “Vogl's Israelitische Garküche” [Israelite restaurant] from around 1810. Saphir lists brown carp with Jewish sauce; sour Jewish fish heads with a sauce of raisins, sweet almonds, walnuts, celery, and ginger breads; beef dishes; Scholet-egg and Scholet [stew usually made with barley] which, like Jews, had no ‘citizen rights’ in cookbooks; lard kugel; Ganes [Scholet with dough]; stuffed goose neck, ‘Dicht mit Reis,’ ‘besteckte Belek’ [perhaps the medieval Yiddish dish of beleg, goose sandwich], ‘Zimmesen’ [perhaps Tzimmes or zimmukim, a medieval Yiddish dish of dried raisins], spicy Farperoes and ‘Gänsekraß mit Penetzlech’(?). And garlic was the magical “je ne sais quoi” and sensual side of Jewish cuisine. Saphir laments how observant Jews and their religious and ethnically-based traditional cuisine had disappeared.¹⁷ Not only Jews had emancipated but also their cuisine. While he still misses this old cuisine in 1852 he also praises the “emancipation-restaurants” of the converted owner, Ehrmann (formerly Herzl), which offers “one cuisine à l’usage de deux nations” [Jews and Christians] and includes everything for everyone and in a superb fashion.¹⁸



Figure 2: Moritz Saphir (1835).

ingredients are not intellectual property, usually appropriated without reference to creators, and rarely indicate religious proclivities. Cooks and authors – since the 1850s, increasingly women from the lower and middle classes – normally had not published anything else to help trace them. Women changed surnames upon marriage and were routinely forbidden to work outside the anonymity of ‘home.’ Studying Viennese culinary history is also hampered by stringent privacy laws, cemetery policies, Anti-Semitism prompting religious conversions, pseudonyms, and name changes, and two world wars and destruction of records. Therefore my research relied on journalistic writing on food; popular, even Anti-Semitic culinary portrayals in newsprint, the arts, and exhibitions; patents; medical, race biological, and city records; contemporary Anti-Semitic and post-WII Holocaust-restitution literature; genealogical records; biographies with culinary relevance; the authoritative Viennese cookbook of the interwar period; and evidence of Viennese Jews identifying with Viennese Cuisine from the 1890s until today.

¹⁴ Danielczyk and Wasner-Peter (2007: 61). For historical Viennese cookbooks: Peter Peter, *Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Küche* (Wien: C. H. Beck, 2013); recipe collections by Holocaust refugees cited below.

¹⁵ Numbers are for registered Jews: 15,600 in 1856, 201,000 in 1923 with definitions of “Jewish” ranging from NS ancestry-based definitions, religious membership, to degree of orthodoxy, in: IKG, Matrikenamt, *Tätigkeitsbericht 1933-36*: 110-116 (Wien: Verlag der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien, 1936).

¹⁶ E.g. Anne Staudacher, *Jüdische Konvertiten in Wien 1782-1868. Teil 1* (Wien: Peter Lang, 2002), and Staudacher “... *meldet den Austritt aus dem mosaischen Glauben.*” Between 1923 and 1935, the IKG recorded 11,013 individuals renouncing and about 4,400 converting to Judaism (about 0.8% of Viennese, IKG 1936: 116). In 1938 estimates put Viennese of mixed Jewish-Christian ancestry between 35,000 and 80,000 (4.5% of population). Nuremberg Laws defined about 24,000 of those converted as Jewish.

¹⁷ Moritz Saphir, “Die Gastronomie der Juden, oder: Vogls Garküche. Eine Jugenderinnerung,” *Der Humorist*, August 30, 1847, part I: 1-2; and August 31, part II: 1-2; “Badner Kipfel,” *Der Humorist*, June 26, 1852: 11.

¹⁸ Famous and imprisoned throughout Europe for political articles and activities, Saphir founded the Viennese journal, *Der Humorist*. In reviewing Julie Löw's Jewish cookbook, *Die wirtschaftliche israelitische Köchin* (1840, Pressburg), he notes the disappearance of typical dishes such as *Schalet* (*Scholet*), kugel, and matzah (Saphir, “Pesther Salon,” *Der Humorist*, September

Intriguingly, his observations are confirmed by the fact that not one Viennese Jewish cookbook was published before 1938. Elsewhere in Austria-Hungary, such “Jewish” cookbooks catered to observant Jews and won awards even at international fairs in Vienna (the German empire saw a similar proliferation of Jewish cookbooks).¹⁹ Yet in the imperial Habsburg capital, authors apparently saw no need or market for them.

From the 1850s, Jewish, non-Jewish, and Anti-Semitic newspapers – the only other widespread reports on culinary developments – mentioned fewer and fewer paradigmatic Jewish dishes; or what they considered as such.²⁰ In 1893, for instance, readers encountered an ironic poem about a dream. In it, the author praised dishes which a Catholic dignitary had refused to eat when visiting a Jewish millionaire. Here we still encounter iconic Jewish dishes: the Kugel, the goose, the Ritscher (Scholet), the barches (Challah) or the layered cake known as Fladen (i.e. Fächertorte), which could “bridge the chasm between Christendom and Jews.”²¹ Thirty years later, most of these dishes were no longer regarded as Jewish. They had become ‘Viennese,’ were routinely included in Viennese cookbooks. Although eaten by Jews and Christians alike, Ritscher was sometimes still mentioned as a Jewish dish.²²

Moreover, linguistic differentiations also began to disappear after 1850: expressions for Jewish and non-Jewish religious holidays, dishes, and ingredients became increasingly interchangeable. Easter referred routinely to both Jewish Pesach and Christian Easter. Barches, the Shabbat bread, was also known as braided bread (*Zopf* or *Striezel*). Made with or without milk (parve), it fit with kosher meals; Non-Jews ate it as dessert. Even recipes containing lard could be kosher: at the time, lard referred either to pork, clarified

28, 1840: 791). In Vienna *Scholet* was definitely known as *Ritscher(t)* by 1896, *Wiener Caricaturen*, “Theater Caricaturen: ‘Die lebende Brücke,’” June 7, 1896: 3; “Vertrauliche Gedanken des Moriz Schubyak,” June 10, 1897: 2.

¹⁹ E.g.: Marie Kauders, *Vollständiges israelitisches Kochbuch mit Berücksichtigung der österreichischen, ungarischen, deutschen, französischen und englischen Küche, sowie der Osterküche* (Jakob B. Brandeis: Prag und Breslau, 1903), advertised in Vienna but ordered through Prague. Therese Lederer, *Koch-Buch für israelitische Frauen* (Budapest: Dessauer, 1876). I found one citation but not a copy of a Yiddish cookbook presumably published in Vienna and Pest (*Nayes folshtendiges Kokhbukh fir di yidische kikhe. Ayn unentbehrlikhes handbukh fir yidische froyen und tökhter nebst forshrift fon flaysh kosher makhen und khale nehmen, iberhoypt iber raynlkhkayt und kashrut*. Vienna and Pest, 1854). In Vienna, the first Jewish cookbook was published after WWII (Frida Hochstimm, *Koscheres Ambrosia. Ein jüdisches Kochbuch*, Wien: Sefer, 1959). Most early German Jewish cookbooks are now listed online, Wolf-Dieter Grün (2017), “Jüdische Küche und Essgewohnheiten in Deutschland vor dem Holocaust,” accessed February 23, 2018, http://www.heimatbund-finnentrop.de/historie/juedische_kueche.pdf, some are missing, e.g. Frauenvereinigung der Frankfurt-Loge, *Kriegskochbuch für die rituelle Küche* (Frankfurt: Englert & Schlosser, ca. 1915). Given NS history, Austro-Hungarian cookbooks are curiously listed under Germany or as ‘German’ by Grün and also by Ruth Abusch-Magder, „Jüdische Kochbücher als Medien der Verbürgerlichung,” In *Deutsch jüdische Geschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte. Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Kirsten Heinsohn and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, 159-176 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006).

²⁰ Anti-Semitic articles worked with even fewer stereotypical Jewish dishes. *Der Floh*, “Nachtrag (Aus Rom),” February 28, 1869: 35, listed matzah. *Sholet* and *Kugel* were the only dishes in an Anti-Semitic Jewish choir program (*Figaro*, “Programm der Liedertafel des Gesangsvereins Zion,” January 7, 1860, vol. 4, no. 2: 3) and for Jewish soldiers (*Kikeriki*, “Ein Vorschlag aus kompetenten Kreisen,” July 18, 1889, Nr. 57 (XXIX): 2). Jews refused blood-sausage and preferred garlic in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, “In eigener Sache,” February 4, 1897: 6. Compare this to Saphir and rabbi Löwy’s culinary reminiscences (D. Löwy, “Jugenderinnerungen eines Greises aus dem [Eidlitz] Ghetto, Teil XXXV,” *Die Neuzeit. Wochenschrift für politische, religiöse und Cultur-Interessen*, March 11, 1898, no. 10: 104-105); Löwy uses the word ‘lard.’

²¹ “Die geträumten Tafelgenüsse,” *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung*, December 4, 1893: 2-3. Footnote 73 for Fladen; by 1915 a children rhyme identified it as having become unaffordable (*Die Frau und Mutter*, 1915, “Für kleine Mädchen,” Oktober, Heft 1: 18).

²² Hans Ziegenbein and Julius Eckel, *Was koche ich heute? - (Wiener Küche)* (Wien: Wehle & Höfels, 1931) list goose wings with Ritscher before their ‘Jewish Cuisine’ (twelve) recipes that include Scholet(!) and matzah ball soup, and mention Shabbat bakeries. Ritscher was a contemporary Alpine dish.

butter (often called beef lard), goose, or vegetable lard.²³ Matzah, the unleavened Pesach bread, and matzo meal were also called Easter bread, bread crumbs, or semolina.²⁴ Scholet was now called Ritscher.

The collective invention, production, naming, sale, and consumption of food items (eaten sometimes for different reasons) make it difficult to decipher historical records. In 1884, an article about Vienna's *First International Culinary Art Exhibition* listed some iconic Viennese desserts and pastry chefs. The baker guild exhibit “astonishes by its variety of products, of which especially the gigantic Gugelhupfs by Anton Mayer, the egg braids and fruit bread by Ignaz Kantor appear to please the public’s taste...” creating with other desserts “an image of true Viennese contentment and indulgence.” Yet only contemporaries would know why these specific pastries and bakers were singled out to represent the breadth of Viennese cuisine.²⁵ Kantor's universally popular braids and fruit breads were in fact the Shabbat barches and Sukkot fruit breads from his famous Jewish bakery, which existed until the early 1930s on the so-called Mazzes Island!, Vienna's 2nd district. [Its population was 40% Jewish before 1938]. At the first culinary art fair, Vienna's cuisine was thus already exhibited and understood to be a collectively produced and collectively savoured cuisine, including what was most important to Viennese, their desserts.

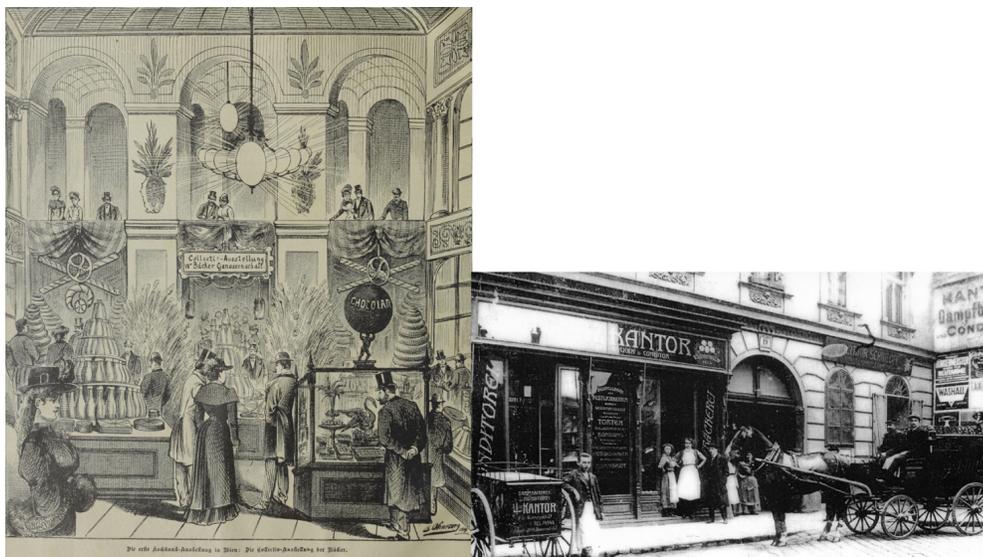


Figure 3: The First Culinary Art Exhibit 1884; Kantor's Bakery ca 1910.²⁶

²³ For beef lard as clarified butter: Gartler-Hickman's cookbook published by F. G. Zenker (Wien: Carl Gerold, 1828); Olga and Adolf Hess, *Wiener Küche - Sammlung von Kochrezepten aus der Staatl. Bildungsanstalt für Koch- und Haushaltungsschul-Lehrerinnen der Gastwirte in Wien* (Wien: Deuticke ca. 1929): 645, 625. Jewish authors used 'lard' to refer to various fats. It was clarified butter for *Wiener Faschingskrapfen* among others in Jac(k)ob Ebstein, *Der Wiener Conditor. Praktisches Handbuch für kleinere und größere Haushaltungen, Hotels, Gasthäuser und Conditoreien. Zweiter Theil* (Wien: C. Daberkow's Verlag, 1890): 28, subs. Without specifying type of lard, Lederer (1876: 48-57) and Kauders (1903: 17, 217) use lard for fowl recipes (that use blood!), liver pâté, and lard tortes.

²⁴ Advertisements of 'Rumänische Mazzes oder Brösel' [breadcrumbs]: e.g. *Reichspost*, "Beredte Händleranzeigen," August 29, 1916: 8; 'semolina' as matzah e.g. *Reichspost*, "Mazzes bleibt billig!" March 29, 1916: 3. 'Osterflecken' [Easter flat breads] referring to Pesach and not Catholic Easter e.g. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, "Gerichtssaal. Wien, 14. Juni," June 15, 1867: 4, and Friedmann grocery advertising "the complete Easter articles (matzah, spices, slivovitz, wine etc.)," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, "Kleine Anzeigen: In Döbling, Hauptstr. 37," March 13, 1904: 39. Orthodox Jewish newspapers routinely used 'Easter' to refer to Pesach, e.g. Oster(brot)mehl [Easter flour] and Osterbrot: e.g. *Jüdische Korrespondenz*: "Ausweis der Unterstützungen zu Ostern 1917 durch die Agudas-Jisroel," May 10, 1917: 3; "Mazzoht für jüdische Kriegsgefangene," March 14, 1918: 4; "Wiener Fragen," March 20, 1919: 11. *Jüdische Presse* advertised Pesach coffee for Easter ("Pessach Kaffeezusatz," December 31, 1920: 8); *Easter goods* ("An Spezerei- und Delikatessenhändler," March 11, 1921: 7); *Happy Easter* for ordering U.S. kosher Pessah groceries ("Ihr werdet fröhliche Ostern haben," January 14, 1921: 8); and kosher Easter chocolates (Stollwerck Osterschokolade," April 22, 1921: 11).

²⁵ *Neue Freie Presse* 1884: 5; Kantor as Chocolaterie Gourmet Ignaz Kantor, *Adolph Lehmann's allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger* (Wien: Österreichische AG, 1931): 32.

²⁶ *Das Interessante Blatt*, "Die erste Kochkunst-Ausstellung in Wien," January 10, 1884: 2-3; "Die Leopoldstadt und die Geschichte der Juden Wiens," *Museums Nachrichten Bezirksmuseum Leopoldstadt*, Herbst 2015: 1-8.

All this -- shared restaurants, cookbooks, terms, and dishes -- indicate that Christians and Jews had long met through food and foodways, with each making their contributions. This was to be expected. In 1850, the two had lived in proximity with each other for decades. Since the late 1700s the segregation by professions was increasingly eliminated. Both groups acquired full citizenship rights in 1867.²⁷ And before 1914 Christians and Jews increasingly moved to Vienna, their knapsacks filled with culinary ethnic traditions from across the Empire. They studied, married, worked, shopped, converted, befriended, fought with, and employed each other.

EXEMPLARY FOOD ENCOUNTERS: 1790s-1938

Exemplary for this culinary mélange between 1790 and 1938 are the biographies of two prominent cookbook authors – Theresia Ballauf, a Catholic cook, and Jacob Ebstein, a Jewish pastry chef – and of a Protestant working-class housewife, my own grandmother Agnes Wlczek, living on Mazzes island.

At a time when women had few rights and little public recognition, the Catholic Theresia Ballauf (ca. 1750 -1840s) was among the first women to publish a Viennese cookbook.²⁸ Selling out within three years, *The Female Viennese Cook as She Ought to Be ...* (1810) was explicitly written for middle class women. Until 1844 the title of the four editions listed Ballauf as having been cook to Freiherr von Arnstein, obviously added in order to boost sales.²⁹ Arnstein was a prominent Viennese Jew; Ballauf probably left him upon her marriage.³⁰ Thereafter she taught cooking and wrote her cookbook. Without further documentation, it is difficult to uncover culinary influences from her time at the Arnsteins, particularly because recipes rarely reflect religious background. Sometimes, though, one can pinpoint relevant influences: take her recipe for ‘Judenbratel’ [Jewish Roast]. Ballauf knew what she was doing when she roasted veal with milk and butter and served it with a sauce of sour cream, capers, and lemon peels. Disregarding kosher rules by mixing dairy and meat apparently meant little to the Arnsteins by 1800; capers and lemon peels reflected savory influences of the traditional Jewish cuisine that Saphir remembered fondly forty years later.

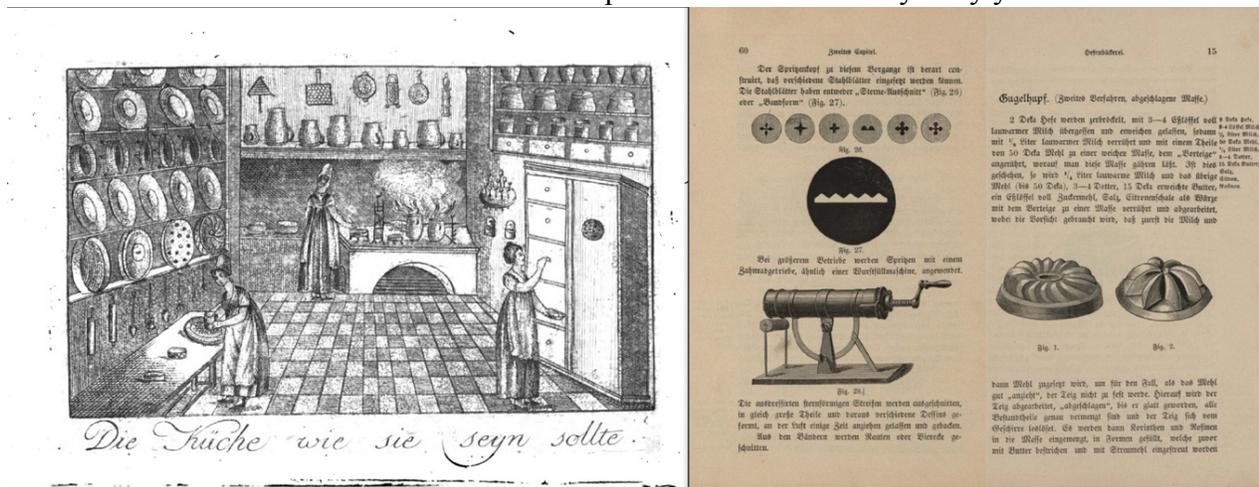


Figure 4: ‘Ballauf (1810); Ebstein (1890).

²⁷ Especially the Jew Decree of 1764, the Edict of Toleration of 1782, and the new December Constitution of 1867.

²⁸ Theresia Ballauf, *Die Wiener-Köchinn wie sie seyn soll: oder mein eigenes durch dreyßig Jahre geprüfetes Kochbuch in sechs Abtheilungen...* Verfaßt von Theresia Ballauf, vereheligten Muck, gewesene Freyherrlich Arnstein'sche Köchinn (Wien: Kupffer und Wimmer, 1810).

²⁹ Elevated to nobility in 1797, Arnstein (1748-1838) was a banker, merchant, co-founder, and director of the national bank of Austria who shaped the empire’s finances. Fanny Itzig Arnstein (1758-1818) supposedly introduced the Christmas tree/presents to Vienna during the Vienna Congress; Felix, Czeike (1992-1997), “*Historisches Lexikon* (online), vol. 1. A-Da: 163-164, *Arnsteiner Nathan Adam*,” accessed March 23 2018, <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/titleinfo/1112764>.

³⁰ Perhaps Arnstein hired Ballauf because male cooks working for aristocrats may have refused to work for Jews; female cooks worked for the middle class. Echoing her feisty sense as a woman within a male-dominated profession, Ballauf described women as being more economic and producing tastier dishes (Ballauf 1834: 10-11).

Jac(k)ob Eb(p)stein (1830-1904) was Jewish, originally from Kremsier, Moravia, and a famous pastry chef and manufacturer. Apparently, he was one of the first Viennese Jews to receive the *Imperial and Royal Privilege*, in this case for dried vegetables, which he sold in his downtown store next to canned foods, jams, juices, mixed pickles, desserts, and his patented food processor. He was at the forefront of his times: his products reflected revolutionary changes in food preservation and processing, for which he received a medal at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition.³¹ In the city of desserts, Ebstein wrote one of the first and rare pastry cookbooks, *The Viennese Pastry Shop* (1860). Its main title and his 2nd volume, *The Viennese Pastry Chef* (1887), clearly indicate that Ebstein had written primarily for professionals (subtitles refer to households),³² and his publisher astutely advertised them to trade schools just when these became professional (and consolidated into the Viennese Trade School for Innkeepers under Adolf Hess in 1891).³³ Containing hundreds of recipes, Ebstein's cookbooks shaped Viennese patisserie in innumerable ways in trade schools, pastry shops, and gastronomical circles, as well as households. As little as Ballauf's recipes were related to her Catholicism, Ebstein's culinary contributions were almost never related to his Jewishness. He did, however, include the quintessential Jewish *Fladen* which supposedly bridged any chasm between Jews and Christendom.

The story of Protestant Agnes Wlczek (1891-1961, married Müller) brings these food encounters and shared culinary legacies to the working class and the private home until 1938. Born in Moravia, Agnes was sent to Budapest around 1905 to live with a Jewish family as housemaid and playmate for their handicapped daughter. Before World War I, the family moved to Vienna and took Agnes along. She opened a small Viennese coffee house in the ninth district, where professional secular Jews or those who had converted lived and worked. She married in 1920 and in 1927 moved to the Mazzes Island where she and her husband ran a small carpentry workshop (Figure 4). From her Budapest Jewish family and Viennese Jewish neighbors, friends, and stores, Agnes had of course learned what was widely known in Vienna: kosher rules and a collective cuisine. What she knew and liked about such dishes, menus, as well as ingredients, she adopted and adapted. Instead of using flour, Agnes dusted baking pans with bread crumbs, an alternate name for matzah at the time. She invented desserts that needed neither flour nor leavening (e.g. hazelnut kisses), a recipe for a Ritscher-type barley dish, and used 'cooking boxes.' Her three-day rotations of *Mehlspeise* (mostly flour/dairy dishes), vegetables (*parve*), and meat recalled kosher divisions and remained a guiding principle even throughout my childhood. And she handed all this down to her three daughters -

³¹ Ebstein founded his store in 1860. Ja(k)cob Ebstein, *Die Wiener Conditorei. Handbuch für die Haushaltung, für Küche und Conditoren. 1. Theil: Die Backwerke* (Wien: Wallischausser'sche Buchhandlung, 1860). *Officieller General-Catalog, Welt-Ausstellung Wien 1873* (Wien: Zweite Auflage, Verlag der General-Direction, 1783): 470, 536. Despite its Anti-Semitic stance, the Catholic press praised Ebstein's products, cookbooks, and carried his advertisements: *Illustrierte Katholische Presse*, "Konserven- und Bisquit-Fabrik von Jakob Ebstein, Konditor und k.k. Privilegiums-Inhaber," April 1, 1877: 20, and "Compots..." April 15, 1877: 6.

³² It is unclear if Ebstein's advertised third volume was published, *Österreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz*, Ebstein advertisement, September 13, 1890, no. 37: 415.

³³ *Österreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz*, "C. Daberkow" advertisement, 18 August 18, 1888: 4.

upon marriage each received a copy of the *Hess* cookbook – and her grandchildren, including myself, who by then knew nothing about Viennese Jewish culinary origins and influences.³⁴



Figure 5: Agnes and husband (1920); with their daughters (my mother the youngest) on Mazzes Island (ca. 1932); The *Hess* Cookbook (ca. 1929).

THE HESS COOKBOOK IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Agnes used the cookbook *Wiener Küche* (the *Hess*) first published 1913 by Adolf Franz Hess (1862-1928) and Olga Clara Hess (1881-1965). Exceptional in crediting contributors and sources, the *Hess* represented a cross section of Viennese cuisine through all socio-economic strata with recipes coming from culinary teachers, trade schools, restaurants, cooks, and housewives. Next to healthy, diverse fare that could be inexpensive and tasty, it also offered modern nutritional information.³⁵ Its scientific content, authoritative scope, comprehensiveness and presentation, the excellent quality of its recipes and contacts of the authors, and a post-WWI nostalgia for the dissolved Empire, may explain its huge popularity in homes, trade schools -- where it was the standard textbook for decades to come -- and abroad.³⁶ The *Hess* went through 27 editions in 27 years. My analysis and citations are based on an undated Hess edition (circa 1929). It originally belonged to Helene Kohn, mother of actor Fritz Kortner and a Viennese Jewish Holocaust refugee, who took it with her.

The Content of the Hess

As authoritative codification of the Viennese Cuisine, the *Hess* exemplifies the collective culinary legacy of Viennese Jews and non-Jews. One can trace this in various way, for instance in the presence of recipes that one could use in kosher and stringent Pesach cuisine, but which for everyone else were simply dishes with or without certain ingredients.³⁷

³⁴ The Müllers hired Jewish neighbors and friends when they were fired after March 1938; they invited them for dinners; shared food and supplies; sent packages containing food and shoe strings to concentration camps (for which the Gestapo hawled in and questioned Agnes); and, every week, brought parve stews to an elderly Jewish woman living in a collective apartment.

³⁵ In 1913, the *Hess* cost 19 kronen (equivalent to 57 kilograms of bread or 3 kilograms of butter). In 1914, a baker earned 38 kronen, a bricklayer 34 kronen/week, Benedikt Kautsky, "Löhne und Gehälter," *Schriften des Vereins fuer Sozialpolitik* (München), 1925, (169):108.

³⁶ The Jewish cookbook author Ida Bock ("Eine bemerkenswerte Ausstellung," *Neue Freie Presse*, January 1, 1931:13) reviewed e.g. an exhibit about the *Hess*. In the League of Nations yearly catalog of most remarkable/best books from each country, the 1925 *Hess* edition was listed among Austria's ten books (The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Ouvrages remarquables parus dans différents pays au cours de l'année 1925*, Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927). The *Hess* was displayed next to Mozart scores at the 1958 Brussels World Fair, *Eigenbericht der "Presse" von Peter Wolf*, "Frau Heß rehabilitierte den Kaiserschmarrn. Ein Wiener Kochbuch erobert die halbe Welt," undated clipping, property of Olga Hess relatives.

³⁷ Many Viennese Jews were liberal and secular neither keeping Shabbat nor following kosher laws. On holidays 'non-ritual' circles cooked 'Jewish' specialties akin to liberal Christians eating fish on Fridays and attending church on Christmas, e.g. *Jüdische Korrespondenz* (1919).

At a time when cooks prepared almost everything from scratch, kosher cooking was simpler.³⁸ Meat is not prepared with dairy, everything else is *parve* (neutral); there are permitted and prohibited animals or animal products such as pork, shell fish, or blood; there are slow cooking recipes for Shabbat; and recipes without leavening, flour, and other fermentable ingredients for Pesach.³⁹ But how does one find kosher recipes in a general cookbook? Knowing the names of dishes, cooks usually use the alphabetic index to locate a recipe. The *Hess*, however, also included a 35-page systematic index listing recipes by types of dishes and ingredients to help cooks assemble ‘the order of courses or dishes’ or cook something new.⁴⁰ However, accessing dishes by ingredients, one could also locate the many recipes for kosher and Pesach dishes. Keywords helped find recipes without dairy, flour, animal fats, various types of meat, or leavening, or those substituting for meat and dairy (Strudel with butter, pork lard, or vegetable oil). Characteristic of Viennese Cuisine, there were few recipes for pork(!) and plenty for beef, fish, lamb, and fowl. Almost every section included at least one recipe suitable for strict Pesach cooking (boiled elderberries made with or without flour and milk). This systematic index may appear unremarkable but its granular intellectual classification system is fundamentally only of use for kosher cuisine – not even the strictest diets for the sick would need such detail.

Additionally, a 48-page appendix offered two daily menu suggestions: an expensive, labor-intensive *menu A* for professional cooks and a cheaper, labor-saving *menu B* for those who also did housework. Here pork was easy to avoid. On the very rare occasions when *menu B* listed pork, *menu A* offered an alternative.⁴¹ Intriguingly these distinct menus also illustrate what wealthy, rather more secular Viennese Jews would eat in contrast to poorer, often observant Jews recently immigrated from the East.

Another feature of a shared cuisine is the presence of previously ‘typical Jewish’ (and ‘Christian’) dishes and this is true for the *Hess* except for the *Fladen*. While the Scholet had had “no citizen rights in cookbooks” in 1847 (Saphir), the *Hess* included three Ritscher recipes and a fourth under stews. To enjoy Scholet in 1847 “one had to liberate oneself of all prejudices, had to have emancipated the stomach; the tongue may not hold any hate against Jews, and the palate had to be at the height of its time and culture.”⁴² By the interwar period, Ritscher belonged to the general *Viennese Cuisine* and remained essential for poorer observant Jews. Neither permitted to work nor light a fire and cook on holidays, they used slow-cooking dishes including Ritscher that simmered on banked up fires or stayed warm in cooking boxes. Or they brought Ritscher to local bakeries on Friday to be picked up on Saturday.⁴³ The *Hess* also contained some typical Jewish dishes under traditional Yiddish names such as cheap goose dishes (*Gansbiegel* also known as *Biagl*, *Ganseljunges*, *i.e. Gänseklein*). Others such as barches, kugels, Rugelach and Hamantaschen,

³⁸ Catholic culinary practices were equally distinct: non-kosher slaughtering, rules for fasting, and holiday dishes including a *Striezel* for god parents (All Saints day); fish on Fridays; no sweets/meat during Lent; spinach on Maundy Thursday; or a red-dyed egg for Easter. Old testament Jewish kosher restrictions were compulsory for Christians, rescinded by Pope Eleuterius (175-189 AC) or more likely around 500 AC. Horses, carrion-eating animals, and animals that could not be bled completely remained ‘impure’ for Christians until the middle ages while communion wafers in the Latin Catholic Church are made with unleavened flour to this day.

³⁹ Kosher meats were bought or koshered at home (Lederer 1876).

⁴⁰ The order of dishes is essential in kosher cooking: meat and dairy dishes cannot be eaten together. Indicatively, Olga Hess developed the ‘Viennese method’ of teaching culinary arts, namely to cook complete menus (not individual recipes), Christine Kralovics-Nitsch, ed. *Festschrift: Brückengasse 1904 – Dörfelstrasse 2004 FS Wien 12* (Wien: FS Wien 12, 2004). In Central Europe, the waiting period between eating dairy and meat was interpreted flexibly, sometimes permitting dairy and meat at the same meal. Not always considered ‘meat’, fowl was served with dairy in German Jewish cuisine (Abusch-Magder 2006: 169).

⁴¹ The one exception is the fourth Sunday in October. Pork listed in both menus on the fourth Thursday in April is a typo: listing mustard pork roast, the *Hess* only contained a recipe for mustard beef roast.

⁴² Saphir (1847, August 31: 1-2). Zenker (1828: 80) included Ritscher.

⁴³ Ziegenbein (1931) listed *Scholet* as ‘Jewish Cuisine.’ *Wiener Caricaturen* (1897) refers to Jewish Ritscher(t) with *Gansbiegel*. Apprenticed to a secular Jewish tailor in Mazzes island, Holocaust refugee Trudy Duhl (married Faust, 1921-2016) tells of the observant mother-in-law bringing *Ritscher* to a bakery; my mother’s cookbook includes Ritscher as a barley dish, Hilde Müller, *Kochbuch* (handwritten, Wien: author’s collection, ca. 1938-1950).

goose and fish dishes (e.g. gefüllte fish), and pickled vegetables and fruits were listed under the by then prevailing Viennese names.⁴⁴

Names are important, and their presence or absence indicative. In Vienna, particular dishes were routinely named for Christian holidays such as Christmas, Easter, or All Saints Day (e.g. Osterbinsen). Listed as such in cookbooks, they were of seasonal significance for the hospitality sector.⁴⁵ Yet in the *Hess*, neither recipes nor menus referred to religious holidays. With Viennese Jews being the second largest religious group, it was at least a sensible marketing strategy to address the largest possible audience by including recipes but excluding references to religious holidays.

As noted, contemporary cooks knew alternate designations for ingredients and dishes, e.g. for lard, matzah, or barches. Recipes that today appear unsuited for kosher cooking may therefore have been totally appropriate at the time. In addition, being able to substitute ingredients was a valuable skill and financial necessity, and the *Hess* offered extensive advice in its introduction, glossary, and recipes: e.g. replacing meat with plant broths, milk with water, and dairy/meat with vegetable fats, which is particularly tricky in desserts.⁴⁶ Many dishes thus became parve (e.g. dumplings and cakes) or kosher (e.g. substituting sour cream in meat dishes).⁴⁷

Even cooking appliances could have different meaning. For Jews it was nothing new when the *Hess* glossary explained how to construct and use cooking boxes – which became essential during WWI - and suggested some recipes also containing Ritscher ingredients. In contrast to non-Jewish housewives, observant Jews had long used insulated boxes in which hot dishes continued to cook without added fuel on holidays.⁴⁸ They would certainly agree with the cookbook that separate cooking instructions were not necessary for the box and that warm water would be available “even for those times during which the stove is not heated.”⁴⁹



Figure 6: Olga (ca. 1901), Adolf Hess, cooking trade school founded by Hess (circa 1920s).

A Few Hess Contributors

We owe the content of the *Hess* to particular individuals who directly shaped the Viennese Cuisine but remain mostly unknown. Careful reading of the *Hess*, however, reveals Friedrich Sgalitzer, Wilhelm Schlesinger, and Heinrich Reichel: one was murdered in the Holocaust, one managed to escape, and one

⁴⁴ Because 'Kugel' means a particular cut of meat in Vienna, Jewish 'kugels' ('kochs') were called *Pudding*, *Fleckerln*, etc. in Viennese cookbooks.

⁴⁵ Ziegenbein and Eckel (1931) include e.g. *Weihnachtsstollen* [Christmas Stollen] and *Osterbinsen* [Easter bread].

⁴⁶ E.g. *Hess* recipes include substitutions in square brackets.

⁴⁷ E.g. *Sparen beim Kochen* (Hess ca. 1929: XCII; 1). See Olga Hess' cookbook on vegetable fat replacing butter, *Die moderne Kochkunst: Kochbuch zusammengestellt aus den vorzüglichsten Rezepten der Großen Ceres-Preiskonkurrenz ...* (Wien: Steiner, 1908).

⁴⁸ Jews used cooking boxes throughout millenia, Ida Bock, *Die Kochkiste: Selbstanfertigung, Behandlung, Rezepte* (Wien: Gerold, 1918).

⁴⁹ *Kochkiste*, Hess ca. 1929: LXXXIII-LXXXIV. Whereas special cookbooks for cooking boxes were published around WWI, the *Hess* was apparently the only general Viennese cookbook to mention them.

helped bring about the Holocaust. Here the *Viennese Cuisine* – the cookbook and the city's culinary culture – becomes visible as a collaborative endeavor regardless of religious or ideological backgrounds.⁵⁰

Content and arrangement of the last chapter included sections of recipes for patients, large groups, and emergencies. It was certainly reasonable that only two recipes for the sick contained pork, which is hard to digest. But the sections for large groups and emergencies also did not contain it even though the Viennese had consumed more pork than beef since the early 1900s, its consumption had doubled by 1936, and it had been almost as cheap as beef since 1914.⁵¹ In these sections recipes did not combine dairy with meat; most soups, all side dishes, and some desserts were *parve*.⁵² For observant Jews or Catholics, who wanted to avoid meat when fasting, it was moreover convenient that emergency recipes separated meat from meat-substitute dishes that were *parve*. And there were recipes for *Rotei*, a type of blood flour.

In *Rotei* [red egg] we have an explicit link to a Viennese Jew and the city's war and communal kitchens for the poor. *Rotei*, as *the Hess* glossary explained, was a meat substitute invented by Dr. Friedrich Fritz Sgalitzer (1886-1944) and patented in Austria (1916) and numerous other countries including the U.K.⁵³ Because there was little to eat during World War I, Sgalitzer developed an inexpensive and easily available food, apparently when he experimented making plastics out of blood. He created a cheap, durable, and digestible foodstuff called 'Rotei' for which fresh animal blood was quickly frozen and evaporated in a vacuum. His odorless and tasteless powder still contained all the albumin and other constituent parts and was thus more nutritious than other products. It was such a revolutionary contribution to feeding the poor that Olga Hess' trade school for cooks and home economics teachers developed recipes for the city's communal kitchens, subsequently included in the *Hess*. Sgalitzer's invention is also a perfect example of how secular Viennese Jews did not feel obliged to follow religious restrictions: consumption of animal blood is not kosher. Sgalitzer, like many Viennese, was born to a Jewish family in Prague and moved to Vienna around 1900 to study chemistry.⁵⁴ After 1938, he hid in Prague where he lived with his second wife and children. Denounced by neighbors, Sgalitzer was brought to the political prison camp *Kleine Festung* (Theresienstadt camp-ghetto) and shot in late 1944. His wife, a devout Catholic, complained about his

⁵⁰ While I traced male *Hess* contributors through their publications, I could not locate female contributors (cooks, housewives, home-economics and culinary teachers): they had not published. An upcoming publication will cover Adolf and Olga Hess' biographies.

⁵¹ According to Viennese cookbooks and culinary literature, pork never gained much traction until after 1945 (e.g. Haslinger 2007: 27) and, supposedly, because pigs were too difficult to transport. The prevalence of recipes for beef may rather indicate aristocratic and bourgeois (and Jewish) preferences than actual eating habits. Sausages (often made with pork) became a ubiquitous and cheaper staple for the poor and wealthier classes starting in the 1850s, Friedrich Schlögl, "Die Saison der Wurst" in: *Wienerisches. Kleine Kulturbilder aus dem Volksleben der alten Kaiserstadt an der Donau* (Wien: Karl Prochaska, 1883, 2^a edition): 100-109. By early 1900s, pigs (mostly from Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia) outnumbered cattle on markets by a factor of three or four; by 1936 twice as much pork than beef was sold by weight: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien 1903* (Wien: 1905): 617; *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Österreich, 1930-1935* (Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, undated): 130-154; see the *Hess* (ca. 1929: 623-654) for 1914 meat prices.

⁵² Recipes for large groups (listing only ingredients) were based on 1924 city council regulations concerning welfare institutions. Emergency recipes were selected from war recipes and adapted for households by Hess, and intended for the city, its war grain administration, and communal kitchens.

⁵³ Listed as *Rotei*, explained under 'Blutmehl' (Hess ca 1929: LXX); *Monthly Bulletin of Information on Refrigeration*, "Manufacture of Dried Blood, New Process by Chemist Dr. Sgalitzer," 1922, 3:154. Sgalitzer completed his doctorate in Munich (1911). In 1915, he developed a process for *Rotei* in Munich or Vienna to which he had returned by 1916 (*Chemisches Zentralblatt*, "Kl. 531. Nr. 291911 Friedrich Sgalitzer, München, Verfahren zur Herstellung eines festen ...," June 28, 1916, Vol. I/26: 1288). He gave *Rotei* lecture to wholesale butchers and in 1919 founded a food company to produce *Rotei* (*Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung*, "Firmenprotokollierungen: 3. Bez., Rechte Bahngasse 16, Dr. Sgalitzer & Hamburger Gesellschaft für hochwertige Nahrungsmittel m. b. H.," 1919, Nr. 291, December 23: 1003); liquidated 1929 (*Wiener Zeitung*, "Firmenprotokollierungen," June 7, 1929: 18).

⁵⁴Geni, "Friedrich Fritz Sgalitzer," accessed December 6, 2015, <http://www.geni.com/people/Friedrich-Sgalitzer/6000000013796299589>.

imprisonment, was sentenced, and died in the *Kleine Festung* in 1945. Sgalitzer's two sons from his first marriage were murdered in concentration camps.⁵⁵



Figure 7. Friedrich and Ilse Sgalitzer, their children, July 1938.

Adolf and Olga Hess also called upon the expert of diets to contribute his recipes for the ailing.⁵⁶ As pioneer in the research of metabolism, nutrition, and diabetes, Dr. Wilhelm Schlesinger's lectures and recipes had a tremendous impact on scientific literature, city policies, and professional and private cooks. Trained in general and internal medicine, Schlesinger (1869-1957) headed several Viennese clinics and was the first professor to combine university lectures with practical exercises about diet and cooking (1907). During WWI, he instructed physicians about correct diets. And after 1918 he published information about convalescent diets for the home as well as fruit and vegetable diets for the public health department. Related to one of Vienna's oldest, distinguished Jewish families dating back to the 1700s, Schlesinger had converted to Protestantism after his father died in 1896 and he had returned to Vienna.⁵⁷ He fled in 1939 and survived the Holocaust.

To help physicians select an appropriate diet, the nutritional values (grams and calories of fat, protein, and carbohydrates) were noted for each *Hess* recipe for the ailing; otherwise only for the first recipe in each section. Nutritional values were based on the chemical analyses of Heinrich Reichel and Rudolf Bernhart, who were listed as the most important collaborators in the cookbook.⁵⁸ Reichel (1876-1943) taught at Adolf Hess' trade school. Foremost, though, he was a physician and university professor of hygiene, one of Austria's most influential proponents of 'race eugenics and biology,' and instrumental in popularizing both in schools, museums, the sciences, and public policy. Closely collaborating with eugenicists abroad, he argued against mixing the Jewish with the (equally fictitious) North European race and trained a generation of eugenicists who helped implement the genocide against Jews and others. Indicative of a simultaneously integrated as well as Anti-Semitic Vienna, Reichel's work analyzed and supplied the nutritional values for scientific dietary recipes by the Jewish Viennese scientist Schlesinger. Completely different from Ballauf,

⁵⁵ Conversations with G. Sgalitzer, May 11, 2018. An upcoming article will include Sgalitzer's biography.

⁵⁶ Some recipes from Wilhelmine Frerichs and anonymous (Hess ca. 1929: VI).

⁵⁷ Universitätsbibliothek Medizinische Universität Wien (website), "Schlagwortarchiv: Wilhelm Schlesinger (1869-1947): Vertrieben 1938," accessed February 23, 2018, <https://ub.meduniwien.ac.at/blog/?p=707>; Wilhelm Schlesinger, *Vorlesungen über Diät und Küche: Lehrbuch für Ärzte und Studierende* (Wien: Urban & Schwarzenberg Verlag, 1917), also *Krankenkost im Haushalte. Hausbuch der Heilkunde, Teil 1* (Tagblatt-Bibliothek. 80/84. Wien: Steyermühl, 1924); Karl Tragl, *Chronik der Wiener Krankenanstalten* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2007).

⁵⁸ The *Hess* listed calories for all recipes and included a 31-page inventory of nutritional values and prices.

Ebstein, and Wlzcsek, these three scientists hence offer a darker glimpse into the collective nature of the *Viennese Cuisine* as it existed before 1938.⁵⁹

Figure 8: IKG Hospital Kitchen (IKG 1936).

BEYOND THE COOKBOOK'S PAGES

The *Hess* did not exist in a vacuum. The Viennese Cuisine was a mirror image of a city in which Jews and non-Jews interacted daily through foodstuff: they owned or managed food related businesses and shops, hospitality industry or soup kitchens, and interacted e.g. through servants, cookbooks, and cooking schools. We no longer have reliable statistical records on how large the Jewish participation in food businesses was before March 1938. This is due to several reasons. The census stopped cross-referencing religion with professions after 1910.⁶⁰ Statistics by contemporary Anti-Semitic authors are largely propaganda and unverifiable.⁶¹ And unorganized Aryanizations of Jewish properties as well as undocumented flight by Viennese Jews after March 1938 frustrated even NS record keeping.⁶²



Jewish participation in the food industry was extensive, though, given anecdotal evidence, recent research,⁶³ restitution cases,⁶⁴ individual biographies, and literary accounts.⁶⁵ Jewish and Non-Jewish Viennese also met in soup kitchens run by the city and the IKG. They shopped in non-kosher and kosher stores.⁶⁶ They

⁵⁹ See Thomas Mayer, "... dasz die eigentliche Rassenhygiene in der Hauptsache das Werk Reichels ist," In *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938, Zur Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien 3*, eds. Heinz Eberhard Gabriel and Wolfgang Hügebauer (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2005): 65-98

⁶⁰ See the authoritative statistical study on Viennese Jews: Leo Goldhammer, *Die Juden Wiens: Eine statistische Studie* (Wien: R. Löwit Verlag, 1927): 53-59.

⁶¹ In Glockemeier's Anti-Semitic book, Viennese Jews - presumably traced by religion, ancestry, and marriage - supposedly owned/controlled 60% of bakeries; 73.6% of wine companies, 70% of candy stores, 40% of coffee houses, 23% of butchers, and 4.7% of restaurant and others selling alcohol; at the central animal market they represented 45% of independent merchants and 25% of mixed Jewish/non-Jewish businesses; Georg Glockemeier, *Zur Wiener Judenfrage* (Wien: Johannes Günther, 1936) incorrectly cited even by Jewish sources as being based on the 1934 census. Glockemeier neither listed sources nor did the census cross-reference professions with religion.

⁶² Until early 1939, organized Aryanization/liquidations of Jewish-owned/managed stores concerned 17.21% of groceries, 14.2% of inns and bars, 12.2% of butchers (Ulrike Felber et al. *Ökonomie der Arisierung, Teil 1: Grundzüge, Akteure und Institutionen*, Österreichische Historiker Kommission vol.10/1: 324, Wien: Oldenburg Verlag, 2004).

⁶³ Bern Semrad, "Vertrieben, verdrängt oder vergessen? Die Wiener Schule der Werbeforschung und ihre fachhistorischen Implikationen," *Medien und Zeit, Kommunikation in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 20, no. 4 (2005): 50-64, confirms that Glockemeier's numbers are somewhat accurate for advertising agencies.

⁶⁴ In 1938, at least 42.6% of market drivers and many peddlers and traveling salesmen were Jewish; 13.5% of market booths were aryanized (Fritz Keller, *Das Wiener Marktamt 1938-1945*, Österreichische Historiker Kommission vol. 12, Wien: Oldenburg Verlag, 2004: 26). Recent publications highlight examples of Jewish involvement in food-related businesses: e.g. about twenty-four coffee houses were closed or aryanized being owned by Jews or part of the Jewish coffee-house culture, Tina Walzer and Stephan Templ, *Unser Wien: 'Arisierung' auf österreichisch* (Wien: Aufbau-Verlag, 2001).

⁶⁵ High 'Jewish' representation in certain food sectors was related to how National Socialists defined 'Jewish' and to monopolies e.g. in beer brewing, vinegar and mustard production, coffee and delicatessen stores, or industrial bakeries, see Mautner Markhof, Julius Meinel AG, and Anker (Jewish owners) and Hammer bread factories (Jewish franchise owners) then producing most of the bread: Czeike (online): "Silberberg, Maximilian (Max)," *Neues 8 Uhr Blatt*, "Heinrich Mendl," February 5, 1917: 3; Sonja Niederacher, *Eigentum und Geschlecht: Jüdische Unternehmerfamilien in Wien 1900-1960* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

⁶⁶ According to Holocaust survivor Lilly Weit (married Roth-Heller, 1924-2020) numerous kosher symbols existed. The IKG only supervised some kosher stores. During World War I, the *Society for the Establishment of Kosher Soup Kitchens* e.g. served hundreds of thousands of free, almost free meals regardless of religion; Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (Oxford: University Press, 2001): 62. Advertisements for kosher businesses e.g.: Loebel Taubes and Chajem Bloch, eds. *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Österreich* (Wien: o. Vlg., 1932): 71-72, 84-85, 235-236; and IKG (1936): 20.

purchased Viennese cookbooks published by Jewish authors such as Sidonie Rosenberg, Emma Schreiber,⁶⁷ Ludwig Karpath,⁶⁸ Mela Weisz, and Ida Bock.⁶⁹ They were guests at each other's homes or worked there as servants and cooks.⁷⁰ Prior to marriage, wealthier Jewish women attended culinary seminars at the prestigious Hotel Bristol and cooking schools,⁷¹ all part of being fashionable and bourgeois.

It was equally fashionable for Non-Jewish women to attend Viennese culinary lectures and cooking schools run by Jewish Viennese. From the mid 1920s, Alice Urbach nee Mayer (1886-1983), who was Jewish, ran a successful culinary school (*Moderne Kochkurse*) for professionals, housewives, modern girls, and bachelors, and later published her famous cookbook, *So kocht man in Wien!* She gave widely advertised and popular lectures on Viennese classical and modern cuisine in the famous Café Landtmann and elsewhere. She organized culinary exhibits, published recipes and menus in newspapers, offered home delivery of nutritious and inexpensive menus, and in 1925 wrote her first cookbook with her half-sister Sidonie Rosenberg (1864-1942). Rosenberg had been instrumental in starting Urbach on her culinary career after Urbach's husband's death had left her and her sons destitute.⁷² Rosenberg was murdered in Treblinka. Urbach managed to flee to the UK in 1938, taking care of traumatized Jewish Kindertransport children there, and to the U.S. in 1946.



Figure 9. Alice Urbach and her sister Dr. Helene Eissler, killed in the Chelmno death camp (ca. 1906).

One Shared Cuisine

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. A collective Viennese Cuisine meant more than just participating in the food industry, food production, or cooking schools and cookbooks. While cooking or eating, non-Jewish Viennese certainly identified with the Viennese Cuisine and its authoritative codification, the *Hess*. It was their cuisine, after all. Viennese Jews were no different. Historically speaking they were instrumental

⁶⁷ Sidonie Rosenberg and Alice Urbach, *Das Kochbuch für Feinschmecker Vorspeisen, Torten, Bäckereien* (Wien: Moritz Perles, 1925); Rosenberg and Emma Schreiber, *Das Kochbuch des Junggesellen 101 Rezepte für leicht herzustellende Gerichte* (Wien: Moritz Perles, 1926); Rosenberg and Emma Schreiber, *Das Weekend-Kochbuch für das Wochenend-Häuschen* (Wien: Moritz Perles, 1928); Geni-website, "Sidonie Sida Rosenberg," accessed February 27 2020, <https://www.geni.com/people/Sidonie-Rosenberg/6000000024633195072>.

⁶⁸ Ludwig Karpath, *Jedermann seine eigene Köchin. 222 auserlesene Kochrezepte mit Ratschlägen und einer Betrachtung über Feinschmeckerei* (München: Knorr & Hirth, 1928).

⁶⁹ Author and journalist Ida Bock nee Schlesinger (1872-1940, pseudonyms Inge Troll, Stieber, Bock-Stieber, and Paracelsus) frequently covered food issues, Ida Bock, "Die Gemeinschaftsküche als Rächerin," *Mittagsblatt des Neuen Wiener Journals*, June 14, 1918: 3, and "Ein Vorschlag zur Reform der Krankenernährung," *Mittagsblatt des Neuen Wiener Journals*, December 15, 1918: 3. She published at least three cookbooks, one with Mela Weisz (a Viennese Jewish author), and died in Vienna in 1940 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Handbuch österreichischer Autorinnen und Autoren jüdischer Herkunft: 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, Wien: Walter de Gruyter, 2002).

⁷⁰ Jewish women usually did not work as servants; in the last available census (1910) 977 of approx. 100,000 cooks and servants were Jewish (Goldhammer 1927: 51). Wealthier Jewish families hired non-Jewish staff.

⁷¹ E.g.: Margareta Wolf nee Langer (1902-2002), daughter of a wealthy secular Viennese Jewish family, attended a culinary seminar at the Bristol (Guide to the Papers of Max and Margareta Wolf, AR 10699, Leo Baeck Institute, accessed February 6, 2019, <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=431012>); Peter Braunfeld (1930-), a Viennese Holocaust refugee and professor emeritus, University of Illinois, tells of his mother taking a prestigious cooking course before marriage; thereafter they had a Christian cook.

⁷² For articles about Urbach and advertisements e.g. *Neues Wiener Journal*, "Das Kochbuch für Feinschmecker: Von Vorspeisen und anderen guten Dingen," May 13, 1925: 6; "Advertisement: Aparte Vorspeisen (etc.)," March 20, 1927: 40, and delivery service and menu suggestions (including pork) in "Neuzeitliche Küche für die moderne Frau," January 31, 1932: 23; *Neue Freie Presse*, "Die sechste Kochkunstausstellung," October 31, 1928: 9, "Das Girl am Herd," November 27, 1929: 7, and "Die 'Modernen Kochkurse'," September 8, 1935: 10. An upcoming article will cover Urbach's biography.

in creating the public image of the Viennese Cuisine up to and even beyond 1938.⁷³ As far back as Saphir's or August Silberstein's investigation of the *Faschingskrapfen* (1857), Jewish writers and artists helped to immortalize Viennese dishes, drinks, coffeehouses, and vineyards.⁷⁴ Whether persecuted or protected, Viennese Jews such as Gerhard Bronner, Peter Herz, Friedrich Torberg, and Peter Wehle composed songs, texts, and cabarets with culinary references during exile and upon returning to Vienna.⁷⁵ And Viennese Jews certainly identified with Viennese cuisine in their homes. They cooked and ate it. They saw no need to have separate Viennese Jewish cookbooks. And typical Christian dishes were incorporated into Jewish children rhymes and religious holidays.

“We baked Vanillekipferl for Hanukkah and ate them for Christmas.”⁷⁶
 “For Purim you eat Krapfen and don't forget the Haman!”

[Zu Purim muß man Krapfen essen und den Haman nicht vergessen! ca. 1880s to 1938. Two friends told me about the rhyme: Lilly Weit from a liberal and kosher household (her grandfather was a rabbi), and Peter Braunfeld from a bourgeois, secular household.]⁷⁷



Figure 10: Two of my research collaborators and dear friends: Lilly Weit, a Viennese Holocaust survivor: 1930, ca. 1960, in Manhattan 2009. Lilly died while I edited this article. And Trudy Duhl, a Viennese Holocaust refugee, with author in Massachusetts 2015.

In as much as Viennese Jews identified as Viennese, they identified with its cuisine before 1938. And they continued to do so as refugees and survivors of the Holocaust. It was their cuisine, after all. Female Holocaust refugees—although they were allowed to bring very little—carried *their* Viennese cookbooks including the *Hess* (e.g. the copy I analyzed) and handwritten recipe books. These included lovely combinations of Viennese, *Hess*, Christmas, and explicitly Jewish recipes like the handwritten cookbook of Margareta Wolf, who fled to the U.S.⁷⁸ Cooking Viennese dishes provided sustenance as food, memories,

⁷³ E. g. Torberg's homage to Scholet, Fladen, and Krautfleckerln in Vienna and Prague, Friedrich Torberg, *Die Tante Jolesch oder der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten* (Wien: Langen Müller, 1975). Torberg was invited to the United States as one of 'Ten outstanding German Anti-Nazi-Writers,' his mother and older sister died in the Litzmannstadt ghetto, Czeike (online): vol. 5: 464-465, *Friedrich Torberg*.

⁷⁴ August Silberstein, 'Über die körperliche und geistige Existenz der Faschings-Krapfen. Eine karnevalistische Naturforschung,' *Der Humorist*, 24 January, 1857: 84-85.

⁷⁵ Peter Herz survived the war in the UK and wrote numerous legendary lyrics, songs, and articles with Viennese culinary references, WBR (= Wienbibliothek im Rathaus), HS, Nachlass Peter Herz, ZPH 763, Archivbox 15. Wehle (having a Jewish grandfather) and Gerhard Bronner (a Viennese Jew) founded the radio cabaret, *Der Gugelhupf* (1978-2009). After the war, the only book still listing Ritscher as *the* Jewish dish was Peter Wehle's dictionary, *Sprechen Sie Wienerisch?* (Wien: Ueberreither, 1981).

⁷⁶ Vanilla crescents are *the* prototypical Christmas cookies in Vienna and Austria.

⁷⁷ Faschingskrapfen is the prototypical Christian carnival doughnut before Lent; Haman pockets are a prototypical Jewish dessert for the carnival-like celebration of Purim.

⁷⁸ Margareta's cookbook is an amalgam of the *Wiener Küche*, including Fladen, Sachertorte, Christmas braids and cakes, *Mandelkoch*, *Vanillekipferl*, lard torte, *Grammelpogatscherl* (filled with pork cracklings), *Mozarttorte*, and a few milchige dishes.

and cultural practice, but also as income when Margareta and many other female refugees and survivors made a living working as Viennese cooks and pastry chefs when first abroad.⁷⁹ Those who had been too young before 1938 were taught by older female survivors and refugees abroad how to cook typical Viennese dishes: either because they or their future husbands and in-laws expected it.⁸⁰ Others, including Urbach at age 91 in San Francisco, started teaching Viennese cooking courses.

Refugees cooked dishes closely identified with a city whose inhabitants had expelled or tried to assassinate them. Both women and men still enjoyed eating traditional Viennese cuisine in exile.⁸¹ They did not consider it ‘other’ or tainted – it was theirs, after all. This is quite remarkable. The same Holocaust survivors rejected cultural products such as the music of Richard Wagner or Richard Strauss as National Socialist, and spurned writing the cursive ‘t’ with a horizontal slash because it resembled the Christian cross.⁸²

CONCLUSION

In 1952 a *New York Times* book review tells of Clara Schlesinger, a Viennese Jewish refugee, making a living teaching fine Viennese cooking in New York. Together with Olga Hess, Clara had edited and translated the *Wiener Küche* into English and published it as *Viennese Cooking*. In a kind of code that New York Jews could decipher, the review highlighted particular features of this cookbook: certain dishes (noodle desserts), the lack of leavening, the use of nuts instead of flour, and the only recipe explained in detail: a hazelnut cake that—lacking flour, dairy, or leavening—could be served for Pesach.⁸³

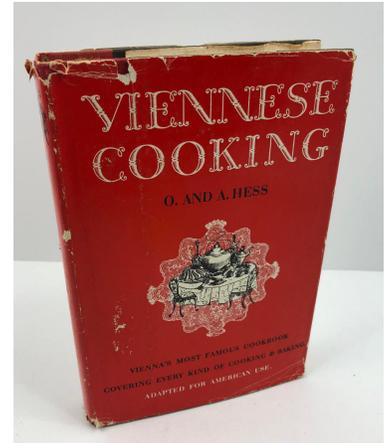


Figure 11: *Viennese Cooking* by Hess and Schlesinger

The famous *Wiener Küche* had long been a collective culinary tradition of Jews and non-Jews alike.⁸⁴ It was perhaps the perfect example, in an imperfect and Anti-Semitic city, of two formerly distinct groups moving towards each other and integrating while daily creating, cooking, and eating one cuisine. This is to

Started around 1900, her cookbook, “*Koscheres Kochbuch für junge Ehepaare*,” may have originally belonged to her observant mother-in-law; several women including Margareta continued adding recipes until the 1960s.

⁷⁹ E.g. Records of the Window Shop, 1939-1992, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, accessed February 5, 2019, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/8/resources/7188>, which include many Viennese and Hess recipes. The Boston charity 'Window Shop' ran a coffee house, bakery, and restaurants employing many Austrian and German refugee (Oliver Cope, “The Story of the Window Shop,” *The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society Finding Aid*, vol 43 (1973-1975): 97-110). Also Papers of Olga Grünberger Schiffer, 1835?-1982, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, accessed February 6, 2019, <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/012072953/catalog>, which contains Hess (1935) recipes; Veronika Zwerger and Ursula Seeber, eds. *Küche der Erinnerung. Essen und Exil* (Wien: new academic press, 2018) provide excellent additional detail.

⁸⁰ E.g.: Trudy Duhl was too poor to learn ‘real cooking’ in Vienna. Before marrying a Viennese Holocaust refugee in the U.S., his sisters taught her the basics of Viennese cuisine; Lilly Weit taught herself how to cook Viennese cuisine in New York before she married a Viennese Holocaust survivor.

⁸¹ Originally from Prague and Vienna, Herbert Marder (1930-) and his family escaped to New York in 1941. Strapped for funds, his mother nevertheless managed to cook 'Wiener Schnitzel' twice a week; conversations of author with Marder, professor emeritus of English, University of Illinois, in 2018.

⁸² Lilly Weit's father thus refused to write the ‘t’ in his last name with the horizontal slash when registering as Holocaust survivor; listed as 'Weil,' Lilly did not find him until 1967.

⁸³ Jane Nickerson, “Food News: Viennese cookery offered in new book,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1952: 32. Noodle desserts were typical Jewish dishes.

⁸⁴ In 1977, Vienna’s city library organized a “*Beautiful Old and New Cookbooks*” exhibit in the city hall with three typical Viennese menus: a 1750 menu, a Biedermeier menu, and a kosher dinner of chicken soup, goose breast, Scholet, and Hamantaschen (Gerda Barth, and Fraz Patzer, *Wechselausstellung der Wiener Stadt und Landesbibliothek: Schöne Alte und Neue Kochbücher*. Wien: MA 54, 1977).

be expected of people who lived so long and close to each other, when there still was an ‘us’ in Vienna before 1938, as fragile as it may have been. Any knowledge of this shared history was wiped out by genocide and mass flight – after 1945, there were almost no Viennese Jews left in Vienna to remind us. It required the memories and cookbooks of Jewish refugees and survivors across the world to rediscover the contributions of Viennese Jews to the famous Viennese Cuisine.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ The original manuscript for this paper included Jacob Ebstein’s recipe of the Fladen. The Demel began offering Fladen in 2018; Liam Hoare, “A Sweet Slice of Jewish History”, accessed May 18, 2019, <https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-life-and-religion/280897/a-sweet-slice-of-jewish-history>.