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Dr Jonathan C. Kaplan
Honorary Adjunct Fellow
Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building, University of Technology Sydney
Jonathan.Kaplan@uts.edu.au / Jonathan.Chaim.Kaplan@gmail.com

Author Biography

Jonathan C. Kaplan, Ph.D. is an honorary adjunct fellow at the University of Technology Sydney (Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building). His research focuses on the relationship of dress, masculinity and Jewish subjectivities in Vienna during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He currently teaches and researches in design history at UTS Insearch and the University of New South Wales.

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The Man in the Suit: Jewish Men and Fashion in fin-de-siècle Vienna

Abstract

Fin-de-siècle Vienna has long been recognised as one of Europe's centres of modernist culture, and Jewish men, as central participants in this cultural development. However, its role as a capital of fashion is often overshadowed by more well-known cities like London. This article explores the influence of English styles on Vienna's men's fashion milieu and the central function of clothing within Jewish acculturation. The adoption of modern clothing—in particular the suit—by urban male populations across the continent over the course of the nineteenth century corresponded to the broad period of Jewish emancipation in western and central Europe. Referring to contemporary fashion guides, hinged on a case study of the dress habits of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939)—arguably one of Vienna's most renowned thinkers of Jewish origin—this article explores the complex issues surrounding Jewish men and dress in the context of one of Europe's important capitals of modernist culture.

Keywords

Vienna; Fin de Siècle; Men's Fashion; Suit; Sigmund Freud; Jewish

Introduction

In the photographic collection of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) in Jerusalem is an old family album, its pages filled with monotone photographs and cartes des visites from Vienna, Prague, Brno and other parts of the once vast Austro-Hungarian Empire. The images depict members of a typical middle-class family from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 1). Their identities are unknown. Nonetheless, the album made its way to the CAHJP and the archivists believe the subjects were Jews (Götz 2016). Leafing through the photographs there is little to betray the sitters' Jewish heritage. The occupants of these images stand confidently in front of blank screens or painted backdrops, wearing stiff suits with starched collars and ties, some with hats in varying styles and sometimes dressed in more relaxed attire for leisure.

The images and the individuals illustrated within raise a series of questions about Jewish men and their clothing choices: why is it that these men dress in such quotidian styles? Do their suits cause them to stand out or blend in? What is the function of age in the selection of suits and how does an individual's bearing work with clothing to create a sartorial impression? What messages are conveyed by their clothing? Referring to

contemporary fashion guides, hinged on a case study of the dress habits of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939)—arguably one of Vienna’s most renowned thinkers of Jewish origin—this article explores the complex issues surrounding Jewish men and dress in the context of one of Europe’s important capitals of modernist culture.

The suit: dress for the modern man

Dress played a central role in the process of modernization and self-fashioning among Jews throughout Europe. The adoption of modern clothing—in particular the suit—by urban male populations across the continent over the course of the nineteenth century corresponded to the broad period of Jewish emancipation in western and central Europe.¹ Through the adoption of modern, European sartorial modes during earlier periods of modernization, Jewish women and men were able to demonstrate their dedication to secular Enlightenment ideals and their willingness to participate in the wider society in a way that was at once apparent to others.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the sartorial choices favoured by many Viennese Jews were indistinguishable both from each other and other middle-class Viennese. The common thread between the dress of middle-class Jewish men and their Gentile counterparts was the suit. Christopher Breward describes this widespread fashion as “a well-fitted set of garments to be worn at the same time, although not necessarily of matching cloth” (2016, 13). Often consisting of a jacket, trousers and waistcoat worn with a collared shirt and a variety of neckwear (ties, cravats or bowties), Anne Hollander’s classic definition presents the suit as offering men an ideal and homogenous masculinity, and asserts that the “uniformity” of the clothed male body since the nineteenth century is a sign of men’s “desire to look similar” (1994, 97). Writing more broadly of “bourgeois dress”, cultural theorist Eduard Fuchs argued at the beginning of the twentieth century, “A person wears a uniform voluntarily only when he is also spiritually overwhelmed by the ideas embodied in it; and every specific piece of clothing embodies in its way very specific reigning or influential ideas” ([1902] 2004, 318). Fuchs’s theory is relevant to the suit and its function within the context of Jewish self-fashioning and acculturation. For Michael Zakim, the suit is a democratic enabler that symbolised conformity, both visual and of the mind and attitude (2003, 126). Likewise, Breward has characterized the adoption of the lounge suit during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as offering “a relaxed sense of modernity” for

men of varying professional classes (2016, 52). In this manner, he describes the suit “as a foundational ‘idea’ of modern society in the industrial West” (76). However, in addition to its being a symbol of industrialization and modernization, Breward has also characterized the suit and other elements of “respectable” male dress at the fin de siècle as offering male consumers a multitude of choices to fashion their identity (1999). Similarly, Michael Carter argues that the way the suit is worn enables the individual to express multiple meanings, from formality to informality, dandyist precision to scruffy bohemianism (2017, 127–72).

These theories are helpful in understanding the sartorial modernization that took place among German-speaking Jews throughout the nineteenth century. The suit may embody ideas—in this case those of *Bildung* [self-cultivation] and *Sittlichkeit* [morality] that were held dear by many acculturating Jews across central Europe (Mosse, 1985). Thus, the adoption of modern dress was not simply a matter of “fitting in”, but donning a set of garments like the suit was also a statement about the wearer’s dedication to the ideals the style of dress represented. Whether politically conservative or progressive, religiously observant or secular, assimilationist or sympathetic to various forms of Jewish ethnic consciousness (including all shades of Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism), acculturated and acculturating Viennese Jews dressed in the styles that were common and accepted in society in a way that visually declared their place in a wider European society rather than as alien Others, while at the same time developing and expressing individuality.

Vienna: a fashionable centre

The Austrian capital at the fin de siècle has long been recognized as a centre of modernist culture in fields as diverse as literature, visual arts, theatre and music. Often overlooked is its role as a fashion capital before the Second World War, particularly in the department store and *Konfektion* [ready-made clothing] industries. In the historiography of European fashions, cities such as London are more iconic as capitals of tailoring and men’s elegance in the nineteenth century, and British (as well as Anglo-American) modes of masculine sartorial consumption reigned supreme in the Austrian capital. Perceived as a pinnacle of Western Civilisation, England was held in high esteem by Vienna’s bourgeoisie and élite and its dress culture exerted an influence on both men’s and women’s fashions (Buxbaum 1986, 89). The elevated status of English

culture within the sphere of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Viennese men's dress was perpetuated not only through the consumption of English styles—two famous cases to be found in the renowned tailoring and outfitter firms *Kniže* and *Goldman & Salatsch*—but likewise in the regular use of English sartorial terminology in contemporary fashion and lifestyle periodicals, as well as the names of men's tailoring establishments and ready-made clothing retailers. For example, Heinrich Neumann's fashion salon on the *Kärntnerstraße*, which catered to Vienna's *élite*,² traded under the name *Old Bond Street*, while M. Neumann's department store façade was festooned with the anglophilic title *Metropolitan Clothing Palace*. These serve as just two examples of English-language names used as an expression of quality and an indicator of likely origins (Sandgruber 2013, 59).

It was not only clothiers who promoted the notion of English sartorial superiority. The celebrated Moravian-born, modernist architect Adolf Loos (1870–1933) frequently published essays in the Viennese press concerning aspects of men's dress and appearance ([1897–1900] 1982). It was through these articles that Loos hoped to educate the Austrian population and encourage it to reform its supposedly retrograde manners, including abandoning the popular taste for *Jugendstil* or *Art Nouveau*. In his mind, the question of appearance came down to the single argument: a man should be *well-dressed*.

To be dressed correctly! I feel as if I have revealed in these words the secret that has surrounded the fashion of our clothes up until now. We have tried to get at fashion with words like 'beautiful,' 'stylish,' 'elegant,' 'smart,' and 'strong.' But this is not the point. Rather, it is a question of being dressed *in such a way that one stands out the least*. A red dress coat stands out in a ballroom. It follows that a red dress coat is unmodern in the ballroom. A top hat stands out at the ice-skating rink. Consequently it is unmodern to wear a top hat while on the ice. In good society, to be conspicuous is bad manners ([1898] 1982, 11).

Loos's notion of correct dressing follows dandyist methods of simple, albeit meticulous, modes of dress (Lubbock 1983, 44–45). The notion of correct dressing, so emphatically emphasised throughout his writing, is evident in surviving photographs of Loos (Figure

2), but his ideas of dressing correctly and unostentatiously were equally applied to his architectural and interior designs that were devoid of applied ornamentation (Kaplan 2018, 12). The dandy as an historical figure who has passed into semi-mythical status became the yardstick by which sartorially elegant men were measured. Originating as an archetype from the “arch-dandy” George “Beau” Brummell, the dandy as a socio-cultural type refers to the man for whom dressed appearance, or appearance in general, is of paramount importance (see, e.g., Baudelaire [1863] 1995; Garelick 1998). Like Loos, it is not enough for the dandy to appear beautiful; rather, he must be well-dressed, meaning maintaining an appearance of effortless elegance. A man who obviously strives to appear elegant fails.³ To Loos, a man’s appearance should be carefully contrived but never conspicuous.

In contrast to the well-dressed man, Loos rails against the “*Gigerl*”, a term which has often been mistranslated as “dandy”. In fact, the two terms denote very different figures. While a dandy can be understood as a social critic who often sets the tone of stylish consumption independent of popular fashions, the *Gigerl*—more suitably translated as “fop” or peacock—cares only about his outward appearance and hankers after of novelty and sartorial splendour (Stewart 2000, 189). This conceited and fashion-conscious figure was regularly pilloried in cartoon form in the Viennese satirical press (Figure 3). As Loos notes, “the [*Gigerl*] always wears only that which *the society around him* considers modern” ([1898] 1982, 11)—rather than becoming one who dictates fashions himself. He is therefore a lavish follower rather than a leader.

To Loos, clothing, like architectural form, went beyond serving as protection from the elements and ornamentation of the body. Loos believed the archetypes of the dandy and *Gigerl* were manifested in the national characters of England and Germany respectively. Being well-dressed—that is to say, a “dandy”—meant dressing in the reserved and practical manner of the English, rather than that of the Germans, who “express their individuality through odd styles and unusual wardrobe creations and through rather adventurous neckties” ([1908] 2011, 16). As a nation of *Gigerln*, the Germans were accused by Loos of concerning themselves with being beautiful rather than being correctly dressed, in contrast to the English, whom Loos characterises as the arbiters of sartorial taste. The latter clearly understood that correct dressing meant dressing appropriately for any given social situation and not, like the *Gigerl*, “standing out”.

The notion that England was the cornerstone of male elegance persisted in Vienna and other parts of central Europe through the early decades of the new century and into the 1930s (Toman 2015). Locally published men's fashion and lifestyle journals contained regular references to English dress fashions and culture.⁴ However, the English influence on Viennese bourgeois male dress was apparent not only in the widespread use of English sartorial terms and reference to English sensibilities in fashion literature, but also in the styles themselves. A fin-de-siècle Viennese tailoring journal with the English title *Fashions for Gentlemen* offered readers a series of both monotone and color plates of the latest male fashions, along with drafting and cutting instructions and information on the new styles printed in both English and German. The journal's title evidently indicates the perceived superiority of English male fashions, and the listing of offices in Paris, London, New York, Vienna, Berlin, Milano, Copenhagen, Brussels and St. Petersburg implied their wide reach. The styles depicted in the 1912 issues include, for example, "modern" sack suits with both single- and double-breasted jackets and tapered trousers with turned up cuffs, in light-colored, pinstripe fabric; knee-length frock coats; a morning coat with contrasting, pinstriped trousers; a short sport-coat [*Sportüberzieher*] and a raglan coat. The detailed garment information provided with the fashion plates and drafting instructions not only enlightened readers about appropriate fabric types but also compared the new styles with the old in great detail. For example, the April 1912 issue asserted the main differences between the modern morning coat [*Das modern Jackett*] and former styles were the fuller and wider design of the collar and lapels, the higher position of the front button closure, the narrower sleeves and the overall longer jacket.

During the same period, the publishing house responsible for the journal—Waldheim-Eberle—also published other sartorial-related literature, including a similar publication under the title *Wiener Herrenmode*, which included both German and English text. Like *Fashions for Gentlemen*, *Wiener Herrenmode* provided fashion plates (both color and monotone) along with tailoring instructions and information about the new styles. The fashion plates in this publication featured both young and mature-looking gentlemen in various sack suits (single- and double-breasted), frock coats, morning coats, overcoats in various styles and cuts (again, single- and double-breasted, with exposed and hidden buttons, fitted and loose, and some with contrasting collars and lapels), evening wear, including both full evening dress (white tie and tails) and

dinner suits (black tie, satin lapels), as well as sport and leisure clothing (including breeches and Norfolk jackets for hunting and riding). The figures depicted carry canes, wear a range of footwear (shoes with spats, patent leather slippers, riding boots, hobnailed boots) and headgear (*Zylinder* [top hat], bowler, panama, homburg or cap), depending on the social occasion they are dressing for. The fabrics varied as well: plain, striped or tweed (particularly for leisure clothing) in black, brown, various shades of grey, blue and green. Overall, the styles depicted in *Wiener Herrenmode* are the same as those appearing in *Fashions for Gentlemen*. What differs in the *Wiener Herrenmode* fashion plates was that many of the plates depict models in recognizably Viennese surroundings: on the Ringstraße, before the Austrian parliament building, outside the *Wiener Hofoper* and in the Prater. Presenting fairly generic styles as Viennese to an international audience, the publishers sought to stake a claim for Vienna in the world of male fashion by situating their fashion in Vienna's striking built environment.⁵

During the early twentieth century Viennese publications dedicated to male style encouraged their readers to take an interest in their dressed appearance. In its first issue, the short-lived Viennese periodical *Die Herrenwelt* (1916–1918) assured its male readers that the time had come to pay more attention to their dress, and that concerning oneself with one's sartorial identity and fashion was no longer considered “unmanly”, the concern of the “mentally deficient” or those “who had not much else going on upstairs” (“Vornehme Herren” 1916, 3–4). The time for man to air his intellectual superiority through disregarding his dress had come to an end. According to the editor, dressing tastefully was as important as cleanliness (3–4). In this manner, the magazine focused not only on “tasteful” attire, but on all manner of “tasteful” masculine lifestyles. The clothing styles featured the ubiquitous lounge suit and morning and frock coats, all in dark, subdued colors. The illustrations were printed in black and white;⁶ however, the advice for color combinations included (overwhelmingly) black, white and various shades of grey, blue, brown and green. In the journal's first issue, dated January 1916, for instance, a table titled “Wie man sich richtig kleidet” [How one should dress properly] listed various social occasions and the correct combination of garments to be worn to each, including advice on colors. For an afternoon visit or 5 o'clock tea [*5 Uhr-Tee*], gentlemen were advised to wear a black jacket with a waistcoat in the same fabric with a white insert or unicolour “fashion vest” [*Modeweste*], black trousers with grey stripes, a “Zylinder oder Melon” [top- or bowler hat], a dark overcoat, white shirt with

faint white or black horizontal striped breast and white linen cuffs, a not-too-high turndown stand collar, a black-grey patterned ascot, middle-grey or dark brown buckskin gloves, lace-up patent leather shoes with buckskin or cloth inserts, or spats in the same colour as the gloves. Finally came the jewellery: gold or platinum cufflinks, with colored precious stones to match the tiepin, and a thin gold watch-chain (“Wie man sich richtig kleidet” 1916, 12–13). Such suggestions indicate the importance of a studied appearance and that dressing was not an activity to be taken lightly. As Joanne Entwistle asserts, the continued maintenance and management of the body through dress is central to the “articulation of personal identity”, and incorrect dressing can result in negative social consequences (2015, 35).

In this context, *Die Herrenwelt* presented its readers not only with the latest fashions and editorials offering advice on gentlemanly lifestyles, it also sought to educate its readers on how best to fashion oneself as a modern man (Kaplan 2018, 12). Gesa C. Teichert maintains that although an important source of information for sartorial self-fashioning, fashion journals and guides could teach its readers only so much. It was important for men to learn how to dress properly through upbringing and bourgeois socialization (2013, 112).

Dress and acculturation

Publications like *Die Herrenwelt* would have been particularly important supplements for both assimilatory- and acculturation-minded Jews, such as those unknown individuals depicted in the CAHJP album.⁷ Examining the dress patterns within the album it might be assumed that the individuals depicted are members of the middle class; without additional information it is impossible to know for sure—perhaps these individuals donned their best suits in order to have their portraits taken and at other times dressed in garments of lesser quality. However, the maintenance of sartorial conventions from youth to maturity suggests these men were raised within a family—or families—that had already set out on the path to acculturation. For members of this segment of Vienna’s Jewish population, publications like *Die Herrenwelt* would confirm what they knew about the correct fashions (both clothing and other aspects of lifestyle) of the respectable classes. So too, then, were such periodicals important manuals for how to dress and conduct oneself in both the public and private spheres for those individuals who had yet to set out on the difficult path to acculturation: Jews arriving in

the Austrian capital from the Dual Monarchy's eastern crownlands. And although it may not be known whether a particular individual subscribed to or read such publications, the advice appearing within their pages seem to correspond to visual evidence of changing dress patterns among Vienna's Jewish men.

From the end of the nineteenth- and increasingly during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Vienna's already large Jewish population was further augmented by an increased migration from Galicia.⁸ Unlike earlier Jewish migration to the *Kaiserstadt* from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, many of the *Galitsianer* newcomers arrived in the city from villages, towns and larger cities where local Jewish communities did not necessarily venerate *Bildung*, *Sittlichkeit* and German culture to the same extent as their western coreligionists. And although the immigrants were often looked down upon by the already-established Jewish community, they nonetheless undertook a similar path to acculturation (Hödl 1994). One such individual of "eastern" origins who succeeded in achieving a high level of acculturation—perhaps not full assimilation—was the renowned "father of psychoanalysis".

The dress of Sigmund Freud

Sigmund Freud maintained a conscious practice of dress that followed the contemporary conventions of masculine respectability and placed him squarely in Vienna's educated middle class. Freud's background was typical of Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie during the second half of the nineteenth century. Born Sigismund Schlomo in the Moravian town of Freiberg (Příbor) to Jakob Kolloman (or Kalman) Freud and his third wife Amalia Nathansohn—migrants from the Galician towns of Tysmenitz (Tysmenytsia) and Brody⁹—the young Sigmund spent his early years in Moravia before the family relocated to Vienna by way of Leipzig. The wealth of literature on Freud's life and work highlights his relationship to Jewishness and Jewish identity (see, e.g., Burke 2006; Gay 1978, 29–92; Jones 1972–74; Phillips 2014). However, absent from texts that focus on Freud's Jewish identity is a discussion of the effects his background had on his dress habits. A number of factors had a strong influence on his sense of Jewish identity, and thus his self-presentation, including his family's *Galitsianer* origins, the lack of religious observance in the parental home, and his coming of age in the period directly after the 1867 *Ausgleich* [Austro-Hungarian Compromise] and the emancipation of Austro-Hungarian Jewry. Jakob Freud relocated his family to Vienna in 1860 after the

prohibition of Jewish residency in the Austrian capital had been rescinded, but prior to Jews being granted equal status to Gentiles. Although the family arrived in Vienna during a period in which Jewish migration to the city included a small number of Galician migrants compared with the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next, there were other Galician Jews who made the capital their home. The early Galician migrants were for the most part acculturated like their Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian counterparts (Hödl 1994, 140–41). The young Sigmund grew up in the Jewish environment of Vienna's second district (Leopoldstadt) which, though not the satellite *shtetl* it would become several decades later, was home to a large Jewish population.

Freud is best known for his pioneering work on psychoanalysis, a man concerned foremost with plumbing the depths of human psyche. However, he also placed a great importance on material objects, attested to by his love of collecting ancient artefacts. His Viennese and London offices were decorated with his large collection of artefacts and fetishes from varying cultures, his most prized possession being a Persian rug, of which Liliane Weissberg notes:

Too precious to put on the floor, perhaps, or to hang on the wall, the rug found its place in a quite specific location, and as an object in a peculiarly liminal site. He placed it on a couch, or divan, on which his patients would rest during treatment time. Thus, it became not only one of Freud's most prized possessions, but quite literally the foundational object of psychoanalytic treatment itself (2010, 681).

Although much has been written about Freud's collecting habits, little attention has been given in the scholarship to Freud's choices of attire. Like that of other middle-class Viennese Jewish men, Freud's dress patterns have been overlooked as visual markers in discussions of Jewish identity, assimilation and acculturation because of their supposed sameness to the styles favoured by middle-class Gentile men. In his memoir, Martin Freud (1889–1967) presents his famous father as an elegant man concerned with his appearance. He describes his father as a typical member of the bourgeoisie, greatly concerned with common notions of sartorial decency corresponding to an individual's station in life:

He was not the slightest bit vain in the common meaning of the word. He merely submitted without objection to the deeply entrenched medical tradition that a doctor should be well turned out: and so there was never a hair out of place on his head nor on his chin. His clothing rigidly conventional, was cut from the best materials and tailored to perfection (Freud 1957, 25).

In this manner, Freud the son highlights in his father's clothing choices that which Flügel described as an "adherence to the social code" ([1930] 1966, 113). As Elana Shapira explains, Freud recognised the importance of clothing in the acculturation experience of Viennese Jews. Referring to a dream of Freud in which he was caught by a Gentile maid in a state of undress, Shapira asserts the connection between a sense of anxiety derived from undress or disorderly dress and that concerning appearances among acculturating Jews in a hostile environment (2011, 221).

In surviving photographs Freud appears at first glance to be attired in a standard, uniform manner. However, he is not always dressed in the same garments and the diversity of his dress choices can be seen in the small details. For example, in many photographs depicting Freud in middle and old age, he appears in dark, three-piece lounge suits, white collared shirts and cross tie. A cursory glance might suggest that the doctor's sartorial tastes and styles hardly changed over the course of his adult life, save for the obvious change of lapel, collar and jacket styles of the wider male fashion world. A 1926 photograph of Freud sitting bent over at book at a table presents his appearance as typical of an elderly member of Vienna's *Bildungsbürgertum* of the period (Figure 4). He wears a dark, worsted three-piece suit, shirt with a faint stripe and a necktie in a light, patterned fabric, and a watch-chain hangs from his waistcoat. There is nothing particularly remarkable about Freud's clothing choices here—he looks like many other older, middle-class men of the era. His clothing, similar here to that worn in other images, adopts the role of an upper-middle-class intellectual's uniform.¹⁰

Part of a series of photographs by the renowned photographer Ferdinand Schmutzer (1870–1928) on the occasion of Freud's seventieth birthday, in which the latter poses at the table with his newspaper, documents or cigar, the aforementioned portrait has been carefully designed to evoke the seriousness and importance of Freud's status. It is in the styling of this image as well his own bearing and sartorial choices that

Freud's status as an esteemed medical practitioner and thinker is distinguished from other men of his class. Looking up from his newspaper, with his spectacles left on the white-clothed table before him, he stares back at the camera's lens in a somewhat bemused if not defensive manner, his mouth slightly open as if about to offer an expert opinion to a patient—or else a man momentarily interrupted in his intellectual pursuits. But it is no accident that Freud adopts this bearing. Appearing as he does in this image, surrounded by props that evoke middle-class values, Freud assumes the guise of both wise old man and esteemed father of psychoanalysis.

During the same year that Schmutzer took his portrait, Freud was interviewed by the German-American writer George Sylvester Viereck (1884–1962) who would publish an article about their meeting. This was the first time that Freud received an immense amount of public recognition in the wider media.¹¹ In his article, Viereck quoted Freud describing his relationship to the so-called Jewish Question:

My language . . . is German. My culture, my attainments are German. I considered myself a German intellectually, until I noticed the growth in anti-Semitic prejudice in Germany and in German Austria. Since that time, I consider myself no longer a German. I prefer to call myself a Jew (as quoted in Gay 1978, 90).

Perhaps the sense of defensiveness in the Schmutzer portrait can be understood as linked to Freud's relationship to antisemitism. During his career Freud was often regarded as a renegade of sorts within the medical field, facing ridicule due to championing a novel science that challenged the academy—a science frequently ridiculed as “Jewish” due to the fact that many of his close colleagues and patients were Jews (see, e.g., Wistrich 1989, 564–68). Freud was well aware of the antisemitic nature of this criticism, claiming in a letter to his colleague Karl Abraham (1877–1925) that the rejection he faced was certainly a result of widespread antisemitism (Gay 1978, 76–77).

Within Schmutzer's series of photographs, Freud's attire varies, albeit subtly: a change of suit, shirt, and neckwear styles. A further comparison of a wide collection of photographs—both formal portraits and more casual images—confirms that Sigmund Freud responded to the change and appeal of sartorial styles. For example, a photograph (c. 1906) of Freud in middle age by Ludwig Grillich presents him in formal

setting, sitting proudly in a Biedermeier-style armchair (Figure 5). The sense of formality is not conveyed through his rather casual pose and styling of his clothes—his left leg crossed over the right at the knee, and his jacket lying open—but rather in his straight-backed posture in which he gazes solemnly into the camera’s lens. Posed in a semi-relaxed manner that follows the conventions of painted portraits, he is a proud member of Vienna’s *Bildungsbürgertum*, exuding cultural, intellectual and financial stability in his posture. Although his double-breasted jacket with satin or silk lapels and trousers are in dark colors, they appear to be of different fabrics—common for the times (McNeil 2016, 236). As in other photographs, he wears a short, dark crosstie under his white collar, which itself is a crisp, turndown collar in contrast to the popular high, starched variety. His waistcoat, however, is patterned: a dark base fabric with lighter chequered diamonds, bars and crosses. This slight burst of pattern amidst an overwhelmingly even range of fabrication is typical of such garments and recalls the advice of *Die Herrenwelt* mentioned above. Gesa C. Teichert characterizes the male waistcoat as sitting on the border between garment and accessory, especially in its incarnation as a bright or textured piece of attire amidst an overall sober male suit, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century (2013, 155). Although after 1860 the resplendent waistcoat was replaced with one that more closely corresponded to the overall look of the suit, patterned waistcoat styles were a common male fashion of the time across age barriers (158).

In comparing the waistcoat worn by Freud in the aforementioned Ludwig Grillich portrait with an undated photographic portrait of Alfred Zweig, older brother of the renowned Viennese writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) differences can be observed. This image, most likely taken during the previous, if not the same decade, shows the elder son of a successful textile manufacturer in similar attire to those worn by Freud (Figure 6). Although the fabric patterns of Freud’s and Zweig’s waistcoats differ, since the latter is in gridded dots, the cut of the waistcoats, including lapel and roll height, and of the jackets appear similar. The similarity of styles adopted by these men of different generations raises the issue of intergenerational following of fashion. Stefan Zweig in his oft-quoted memoir recalled the tendency of young men to style themselves in a fashion that made them appear older than their years for the purposes of social and professional advancement:

Newspapers advertised methods of encouraging your beard to grow, young doctors of twenty-four or twenty-five who had only just qualified as physicians sported heavy beards and wore gold-rimmed spectacles even if they had perfect eyesight, just to impress their patients by looking experienced. They wore long black frock coats and cultivated a measured tread and, if possible, a slight embonpoint in order to achieve that desirably staid appearance, and if they were ambitious they took a good deal of trouble to dissociate themselves from the suspect immaturity of youth, at least in their outward appearance ([1942] 2011, 56–57).

The excerpt from Stefan Zweig’s memoir suggests that his older brother’s choice of attire followed that of their father’s generation. Likewise, Teichert asserts that although younger men were granted greater flexibility in adopting bolder fashions, older men were expected to dress in a sober manner that expressed respectability (2013, 175). However, whether Alfred Zweig was dressed in styles favoured by an older generation, or Freud in those of the younger, the photographs indicate that Freud was aware of and receptive to popular male dress fashions. This also appears to confirm the notion that both Freud’s clothing as well as the portrait styling (the Biedermeier-style chair to be specific) were carefully selected in order to create a visual identity that demanded respect and the right to be taken seriously by his peers and clients. Freud’s son Martin expressed the same notion in describing his father as “well-turned out” and insisting on travelling to clients in a *Fiaker* [two-horse carriage] rather than an *Einspänner* [one-horse carriage] or public transport—as was more fitting of the family’s financial situation and social status—in order to generate an image of bourgeois respectability (1957, 24).

In another photograph dated 1912 (Figure 7), Freud is sitting bent slightly forward in a chair with the stub of a cigar or cigarette dangling between his fingers. Surrounded by some of his collected artefacts, such as pottery and tile fragments, a framed image and what appears to be a reproduction of Michelangelo’s *Dying Slave*, Freud, the aging Jew in elegant clothing, is juxtaposed with the sublime beauty of the naked youth. It is in the décor of this room that Freud’s *Bildung* can be observed. The finely carved, albeit sturdy wooden furniture, valuable antiques, the framed image on the wall behind him and the parquet floor underneath are the trappings of his monetary

success and upper-middle-class status. Freud, although not formally positioned, leans forward, one arm resting on the arm of his seat and the other held in front of his body; he is casual yet aware of the photographer's presence and alert to any potential harm to his person. This serves as a contrast to the youth who leans back in a highly erotic manner, his body offered to the viewer's gaze and desires. In contrast, the layering of Freud's clothing, albeit following the fashions of the times, serves as an additional shield for his body. He is elegantly attired, but his clothing is casual, suited to the intimacy of interior spaces. Atop his waistcoat and striped trousers Freud wears a velvet smoking jacket that is possibly black or another dark color, with bound edges. The combination of velvet jacket and cigarette, with its connotations of intimacy and the private sphere (Apperson 1914, 159; Byrde 1979, 153), link Freud to the provocative youth and Freud's writings on the human subconscious and its desires. Like the pleasure he took in collecting artefacts of past cultures with which to furnish his rooms, Freud's subtle, albeit distinct, sartorial tastes were carefully chosen to generate his identity as a modern, cosmopolitan European.

Of the wealth of surviving photographs of Freud, a large proportion consists of images of Freud as an elderly man. Many of them are studio portraits, as are the majority of the images discussed above. However, there are a number of less formal images in which Freud, at various stages of his life, poses casually, alone, with members of his family, or with colleagues. Such images are important pieces of evidence into the life of Freud the man, the private citizen, rather than the famous psychoanalyst. Of particular interest are those images in which Freud poses with relatives, such as a family portrait from the 1870s, including his parents, siblings and cousins, various images of Freud with his children at different stages of their lives, and those in which he appears in the guise of a kindly old man sitting happily with his grandchildren. The importance of these images is not simply that they offer an insight into Freud's private persona but that they also shed light on the various dress habits of his middle-class Jewish milieu.

Provincial interlude: Freud in the countryside

There is a well-known photograph of Freud and his youngest daughter Anna (1895–1982), an accomplished psychoanalyst in her own right, from 1913 (Figure 8). Holidaying in the Dolomites (at the time still part of Austria), Freud and Anna are

walking arm in arm across what appears to be a field on the edge of a forest or patch of trees. Their dress stands out in contrast to that worn in most other photographs. Whereas Freud generally appears dressed in an urban, middle-class manner (for example the tailored lounge suit discussed above), both his and his daughter's dress in this photograph indicate another type of middle-class attire: that worn while holidaying in rural *Sommerfrischen* [summer holiday resorts]. Anna, like many middle-class Viennese women and girls, wears a simple *Dirndl* with puffed sleeves and an apron. Although *resembling* a form of female *Volkstracht* [folk costume], Anna's attire is not that of the local costume, which, like others in rural Austria, Bavaria and Tyrol, had its own specific characteristics and details.¹² Instead, her dress can be described as a form of more "generic" *Trachtenmode* that was popular among urban visitors to rural provinces. In contrast, Freud's attire is far less *völkisch*. He wears what appears to be a felt hat (perhaps a dark green—the image is black and white) with a tuft of *Gamsbart* [chamois hair] poking out of the band—a typically *völkisch* form of *Sommerfrische* fashion. However, his overall attire, with its a belted Norfolk jacket, knickerbockers worn with long socks and boots and a white collared shirt, appears more influenced by English country fashions. Carrying a walking stick and clutching his pipe, Freud appears the country squire in tweeds, rather than a *Lederhosen*- and *Janker*-attired local. He and Anna pause mid-stroll, glancing at the camera in a placid if somewhat curious manner, as if momentarily interrupted from an intimate discussion.

The "natural" appearance of their "rural" dress and their contented nature in this rural environment suggests a sense of comfort in the dominant German culture of Cisleithania, not a self-conscious assimilatory drive. The attire depicted in the photograph matches that purportedly worn on a hiking expedition in South Tyrol (incidentally the same region where the 1913 photograph with Anna was taken) described by his son Martin:

Father wore a conventional country suit with a soft shirt with collar attached and a tie. My mother, who ordered all my father's clothes, tried to reach absolute perfection, always taking the greatest care in ordinary well-cut clothes made from British cloth. Thus he appeared as respectable as he did in Vienna in his dark suits and black ties. Both of us had rucksacks and both wore suitably nailed boots. . . . As a contrast to my parent's respectable

appearance, I wore well-used leather shorts and the usual Tyrolean outfit. Although I was only sixteen, I was taller than my father and very thin at the time (1957, 94).

Such styles of rural dress were common and conventional. In addition to donning *Trachtenmode* while relaxing on *Sommerfrischen* or during hiking expeditions, some middle-class Viennese Jewish men also chose to attire themselves in a “conventional country suit” that aligned them sartorially and thus symbolically with the culture of the English gentleman, rather than the German—as Adolf Loos preached in contemporary newspapers. This supposed English/German style divide was not unusual; surviving photographs—including those in the aforementioned CAHJP album—depict similar gendered choices of holiday attire: mature gentlemen in soft English tweeds in contrast to women and youthful men and boys in *völkisch*-style garb (Figure 9). Through such choices of attire, Freud embraced a wider “European” identity rather than limiting himself to the local cultural identification.

Conclusion

Although the dress patterns of Viennese Jews played a varied role in the construction of self, one which this article has argued concerned the embodiment of modern masculine respectability, the result was not without consequences. The ambiguity of visual Jewishness in an age of sartorial conformity was utilised within antisemitic discourse, including accusations that Jews were trying to mask their “true” origins by wearing fashionable attire.¹³ However, as we have seen, adopting the dress of the dominant group, whether in cosmopolitan Vienna or provincial *Sommerfrischen*, went beyond trying to mask or erase an individual’s origins (Kammerhofer-Aggermann 2002, 319). This practice of dressing can be understood as a continuation of the modernization process Jews underwent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The donning of *Volkstracht*—like that of the modern suit in preference to the kaftan, or High German in favour of Judeo-German or Yiddish—announced an individual’s place in the wider society as both Jew and German.¹⁴ To these men, the adoption of popular forms of dress and culture did not signify their rejection of their Jewish identities, but rather that they, too, like other ethnic groups in Austria-Hungary, were modern Europeans and not a relic from the past. Like the suit with its multitude of symbolic registers that promised

its wearers the possibility of respectability, equality and invisibility, *Volkstracht* was a highly coded form of dress that offered its wearers a particular visual identity, but often resulted in one that had very different repercussions.¹⁵ Thus, it comes as no surprise that there is nothing among the photographs within the CAHJP album that indicate the Jewishness of those depicted. The men don sober business suits, English tweeds and provincial *Volkstracht* depending on their circumstances. Like Freud, it is probably unlikely that they felt any need to publicly broadcast their Jewishness through their appearances like some of their eastern coreligionists. In many ways that was the purpose of such clothing, in particular the suit: its democratising effect and ability to obscure the origins and beliefs of its wearers. The fate of this anonymous family is unknown: whether they were, like Freud and his family, able to flee to the safety of Britain or elsewhere beyond Nazism's reach, or else met their end in extermination camps in Poland or shot into mass graves in the forests of Ukraine and Latvia like millions of their coreligionists, we can never know. Nevertheless, as the piles of discarded clothing and accessories at Auschwitz and other Nazi extermination camps were testament, the suit's power was not enough to protect Jews from the industrialized antisemitism of the Shoah.

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Figure Captions

- Figure 1. Unidentified men by K.u. K. Hofphotograph J. F. Langhans, Vienna, c. 1907. Image source: Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem. AU/Ph 352.
- Figure 2. Portrait of Adolf Loos by Wenzel Weis, Vienna, undated. Image source: ÖNB/Wien Bildarchiv, Inv. Nr. NB 509090-B. Copyright: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
- Figure 3. From *Kikeriki* 30, no. 22 (March 16, 1890): 3. Image source: Image source: *ANNO: Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria.
- Figure 4. Photographic portrait of Sigmund Freud by Ferdinand Schmutzer, Vienna, 1926. Image source: ÖNB/Wien Bildarchiv LSCH 0059-C. Copyright: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
- Figure 5. Photographic portrait of Sigmund Freud by Ludwig Grillich, Vienna, c. 1906. Courtesy of the Sigmund Freud Privatstiftung, Vienna.
- Figure 6. Photograph of Alfred Zweig by Atelier H. Ephron, Vienna, c. 1880s. Image source: Alfred Zweig Collection, Daniel A. Reed Library Archives & Special Collections, State University of New York at Fredonia, NY.
- Figure 7. Sigmund Freud photographed by his son Martin, Vienna, 1912. Courtesy of the Sigmund Freud Privatstiftung, Vienna.
- Figure 8. Sigmund Freud with his daughter Anna in the Dolomites, 1913. Courtesy of the Sigmund Freud Privatstiftung, Vienna.
- Figure 9. Unidentified Viennese family, Austria, undated. Image source: Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem. AU/Ph 360.

¹ The dates of Jewish emancipation varied across Europe. For example, France in 1791; the Netherlands in 1834; Switzerland in 1856; the United Kingdom in 1858; Italy in 1861; Austria-Hungary in 1867; and in the German Reich in 1871 (prior to German unification Jewish emancipation varied between kingdoms, duchies and free city states).

² Gerda Buxbaum notes that in the later years Neumann's wife Theres and son Paul, who had studied fashion design in Paris, began importing and selling French styles—the other major influence on Viennese fashions at the turn of the twentieth century (1986, 203).

³ Brummell famously remarked that the greatest triumph was when someone described him as well dressed but could not pinpoint why (Teichert 2013, 154).

⁴ For example, in an article about men's outerwear in the magazine *Der Herr von heute*, published in Vienna's seventh district by L. Beck & Sohn, the author extolled the virtues of the Burberry trenchcoat as suitable for both wet and dry weather ("Eine aktuelle Frage: Wie steht so Ihrer „Regenaurüstung“?" 1931, 5).

⁵ Along with German and English the journal was also printed in French and Hungarian.

⁶ A few colour photographs do appear throughout the issues; however, these generally feature accessories displayed in the manner akin to a shop window, rather than models or mannequins wearing the garments described or featured in illustrations.

⁷ Mary Gluck describes the similar role of etiquette magazines aimed at the aspiring middle class in Budapest during the latter decades of the nineteenth century (2016, 181–85).

⁸ Galicia—a former crownland of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that corresponds to parts of modern-day south-east Poland and western Ukraine—and its Jewish population received a negative reputation in Vienna and other parts of German-speaking Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by both anti-Semites and acculturated "Western" Jews (see, e.g., Lichtblau 2009, 84–105).

⁹ Jakob Freud had come to Freiberg with his maternal grandfather, Abraham Siskind Hoffmann, a Galician travelling salesman who dealt in fabrics and raw goods. His wife Amalia had been raised in Galicia and Odessa before her family moved to Vienna, where the couple married before Jakob Freud returned to Freiberg with his young bride (see, e.g., Gay 1989, 4–5; Weissberg 2010).

¹⁰ Christopher Breward discusses the role of clothing in the construction of public personas and its centrality to middle-class ideals of professionalism. Breward writes, "professional standing was presented as a position to be striven for and earned. The onus on duty and respectability that it entailed ensured a greater concentration on the correctness of its physical manifestations" (1999, 77).

¹¹ I am grateful to Dr. Elana Shapira for this information.

¹² See for example Freud's son Martin's memoir in which he describes the differences between the *Tracht* he and his brothers wore while holidaying in Berchtesgaden, and the local *Tracht* worn by Bavarian men and boys: "The Berchtesgaden man wears bows of green silk, while the Styrian peasant is content to show stag-horn buttons. Both have chamois embroidered on the leather, but while the Austrian beast looks severe and quiet, the Bavarian animals seems gay, laughing and even a little bit drunk" (1957, 94).

¹³ The confines of this article prevent further discussion of this theme; however, the notion that Jews were (unsuccessfully) attempting to mask their Jewishness was a common trope within antisemitic literature of the period and regularly appeared in the form of stereotypical cartoons within the satirical press.

¹⁴ However, acculturated and secular Viennese Jews were not the only ones to visit *Sommerfrischen*. Vienna's Orthodox Jews also visited Austria's rural resort towns, some of which catered to their religious needs with kosher restaurants and hotels. Advertisements for such establishments regularly appeared in Jewish periodicals. For example, the 27 June 1913 issue of *Dr. Bloch's Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* (467–68) advertised a number of kosher hotels and pensions in various European spa and resort towns. Included among those in Austria-Hungary are Hotel Steiererhof (Bad Aussee), Pension Grosz (Abbazia [Opatija]), Restauration Brody (Gainfarn) and Restauration S. Ullmann (Gloggnitz). Such establishments would not only have catered to modern Orthodox members of the Viennese (and other) Jewish communities, but so too the ultra-Orthodox, including Hasidim, as is evident from numerous surviving photographs of pre-WWII Hasidic holidaymakers located in multiple archives.

¹⁵ This became more evident with the politicization of *Volkstracht* as a distinctly "German" form of dress, especially after the 1938 *Anschluss* and the introduction of the so-called *Trachtenverbot* in which Jews were prohibited from dressing in *Volkstracht* or styles that resembled it (Kammerhofer-Aggermann 2002, 328–29).